SYMBOLIC ETHNICITY: A NON-TEXTUAL TRANSLATION PROCESS

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**Abstract**

The translation process is commonly defined as a practice where meaning is transferred from one linguistic code to another. This poses difficulties as it excludes other meaning-making practices. By examining examples of symbolic ethnicity, I demonstrate that cultural phenomena can be considered a process of non-textual translation. To do this, I draw on Maria Tymoczko's notion of the cluster concept in order to explore the similarities and overlaps between translation and symbolic ethnicity. Furthermore, the images depicting ethnic symbols are examined using Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis in order to address the meaning connoted in the images that contribute to the representation of Italian-Canadians. Lastly, using the Constructionist Approach as understood by Stuart Hall, my research addresses how these symbols are recognizable as Italian-Canadian. My analysis of demonstrates that symbolic ethnicity is not only a form of representation but also a non-textual translation process.

**Keywords:** Cross-cultural Translation, Symbolic Ethnicity, Italian-Canadian

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**Introduction**

The translation studies field is often characterized as interdisciplinary and has been studied through various theoretical lenses over the past decades. For example, through a gender studies lens (Chamberlain 2000, von Flotow 1991, Goddard 1989 Simon 1996), a postcolonial lens (Cronin 1996, Niranjana 1992;) and through a philosophical lens (Benjamin 1999, Derrida 2001) among others. Perhaps the most influential interdisciplinary intersection was when the concept of culture was introduced to translation studies. Translation scholars and translators were encouraged to go beyond a purely linguistic approach and to consider the text in its environment, focusing on the ways in which culture impacts and constrains translation, and on the larger issues of contexts, history, ideology and power (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990, 3). This has resulted in what we know as the Cultural Turn. In translation studies, this has allowed for the examination of power and ideologies exercised in and on the translation process, and for the examination of translation trends that have prevailed during specific time periods and of the larger cultural forces that have influenced them (Simon 1996, 137).

Although the Cultural Turn has revolutionized the way the translation process is viewed, Harish Trivedi claims, in his article *Translating Culture vs. Cultural Translation* (2007) that a Translation Turn, proposed by Bassnett and Lefevere, has not been, if at all, successful (Trivedi 2007, 282). The Translation Turn entails the use of translation theories to examine concepts in other fields. Trivedi believes that this has not occurred in the cultural studies field, because its scholars work almost exclusively within one language code (Trivedi 2007, 282), whereas translation studies scholars usually deal with two or more languages (Trivedi 2007, 282).

Trivedi's statement raises several questions. The first is whether translation studies can be confirmed as a field of its own. Its legitimacy as an academic field continues to be raised in

translation studies given its apparent dependence on other disciplines (Singh 2007, 73; Simeoni 2007; Lewis 2007; St-Pierre 2007, 1). For example, in Rajendra Singh's article "Unsafe at Any Speed? Some Unfinished Reflections on the 'Cultural Turn' in Translation Studies" (2007), he states that translation studies has "taken on questions that deal only with the institutional matrices the product of translation has its genesis in and finds its way into" (Singh 2007, 73). Singh believes that by doing so, the translation studies field has not focused on theoretical questions of its own and has "peripheralized its own centre" (Singh 2007, 73). Singh's premise leads me to the following question: can translation theories be applied to concepts outside of the translation field? And, second, would this not require the expansion of the criteria for the concept of translation as Tymoczko suggests in considering the translation process as a cluster concept (Tymoczko 2007)? In Chapter 2, I explore the expansion of the concept of translation in order to discover whether practices can be considered translations (Tymoczko 2007, 54-55).

**Research Questions**

Taking into account the issues identified, first that translation has not been as successfully applied to the study of cultural phenomena, and second that there is need to reconceptualise translation, the aim of my research is to demonstrate that cultural phenomena can be studied, explained and even understood more deeply by applying translation theories to the study of the process of creation of ethnic symbols. It is my hope that, by doing this, my research can demonstrate that translation studies can be considered a discipline of its own, not only capable of being nurtured by others, but capable of contributing to the development of other fields. In addition, my hope is that my work contributes to the reconceptualization of the current dominant notion of translation as a written practice.

By examining the process of creating a particular cultural phenomenon known as symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979, 435), my research addresses the two main issues identified above. To do this, I focus on the cultural magazine *Panoram Italia* that promotes Italian-Canadian culture, and on three ethnic symbols: pasta, soccer and the Italian flag. These ethnic symbols are promoted across several issues of the magazine and are representative of the Italian-Canadian culture. By examining these symbols, my work demonstrates that cultural phenomena can be analysed and interpreted through a translation studies lens. My research affirms that cultural phenomena are not only forms of representation, but also forms of non-textual translation.

In order to accomplish my goals, I apply translation methodologies to these non-textual practices in order to gain thicker descriptions and a richer understanding of how these cultural phenomena are manifested in the *Panoram Italia* magazine. My research addresses the following questions: how might symbolic ethnicity be viewed as a meaning making practice that resembles translation? How are these ethnic symbols linked to identity? How does *Panoram Italia* contribute to the use of such symbols? And finally, what makes them recognizable as belonging to a particular ethnic group?

**Italians in Canada**

Since the unification of the Italian state in 1861, Italians have emigrated from their home country due to poor economic conditions that resulted in reduced living standards and lack of opportunities (Ramirez 1989, 3). Although many Italians arrived in North America, most headed to work as labourers in South America, particularly Brazil and Argentina. These South American countries attracted the largest contingents of Italian immigrants (Ramirez 1989, 5-6) until the 1880s when the United States started to welcome large numbers of immigrants from Southern

and Eastern Europe (Ramirez 1989, 6). The peak of Italian migration to the United States was during 1880 and 1920, when as many as four million Italians entered. By 1924 the wave of immigration to the United States subsided (Ramirez 1989, 6).

In Canada, migration peaked much later. The first wave of immigration consisted of mostly seasonal workers and was associated with large projects, such as railroad and canal construction (Ramirez 1989, 6). It was not until the 20th century, from the 1940s until the 1970s, that the peak of Italian immigration to Canada occurred. Between 1951 and 1960, 250,812 Italian immigrants arrived in Canada – approximately 15% of total entries. However, once stricter immigration laws were enforced in 1967, the numbers fell drastically. By 1972, Italians only made up 3.8% of the total number of entries into Canada (Ramirez 1989, 9).

Early Italian immigrants who settled in urban centres such as Montréal, Vancouver and Toronto established migration chains that would last into the next migration wave (Harney 1998, 17). These migration chains are described by Franc Sturino as a phenomenon produced by the arrival of a person, who then calls on either their *paesani*[1] or kin to come to the same location to make a life and improve their economic prospects (Sturino 2007, 63). Sturino has described chain migration as:

> "[O]ne of the most fruitful concepts used to throw light on the dynamic of the Italian migration movement, overall, it can be defined as the movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants" (Sturino 2007, 64).

Research on the settlement process in the Toronto and Montréal areas has shown a strong tendency among immigrants from the same village or region to form residential clusters (Ramirez 1989, 16).

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[1] Term used by Italian-Canadian scholars to refer to immigrants arriving to the host society from the same Italian region or local area (Sturino 2007, 68).

Chain migration explains how and why areas known as Little Italy were created (Harney 1998, 17). As Toronto and other cities needed labour to build urban infrastructure such as sewers and trolley lines, the Italian population grew and became more permanent. Former migrants were now working as stonemasons, tailors, bricklayers and cobblers (Harney 1998, 18). One of the first Italian settlements in Toronto was around College Street and Grace Street (Harney 1998, 19). As the migrants became settled they sent for wives from Italy (Harney 1998, 19). Soon, other Little Italy neighbourhoods were established in Toronto, such as in the Davenport and Dufferin Street areas, and the area where today's Toronto City Hall and hospitals on University Avenue are located (Harney 1998, 19).

Today, there are approximately 1.3 million Italian-Canadians, persons with an Italian ancestry and origin, living in Canada. Italians are the fifth largest ethnic group behind the British, Irish, French and German (Statistics Canada, 2011). Statistics Canada reported that in 2011 there were 429, 380 people of Italian heritage in the Greater Toronto Area, approximately 225, 000 in the greater Montréal area and about 69,000 in the greater Vancouver area (Statistics Canada, 2011). Most major Canadian cities, including Vancouver, Montréal, Calgary and Ottawa, have Italian districts called Little Italy, and in the City of Toronto there are arguably two: one on College Street and one on Corso Italia on St. Clair Avenue. Suburbs outside of Toronto such as Woodbridge in Vaughan have also been called "Little Italy" due to their large number of Italian-Canadian residents.

**Why Italian-Canadians?**

My choice of Italian-Canadians as the group examined in this research is motivated by two interests. The first is a personal one and, as I explain below, is grounded in my experience

and interactions with Italian-Canadians. The second is related to my interest in the notion of symbolic ethnicity.

I have had interactions with Italian-Canadians since I arrived in Canada in 1993 from El Salvador. Between the ages of 3 and 11, I lived just at the border of Toronto and Vaughan at Martin Grove Road and Steeles Avenue West, where the town of Woodbridge begins. Thus it was practical and easy for my family to frequent Italian grocery stores, bakeries such as the Molisana Bakery on Hwy. 7, and family-owned pizzerias such as Totto's pizza. My piano teacher and my dentist were Italian-Canadians with their businesses in Woodbridge. Soon my family had close Italian-Canadian friends who exposed me to food-related traditions such as sauce and sausage making.

In 2001, my family moved to Bolton in Caledon, north of Toronto, where there are approximately 15, 875 Italian-Canadians, making them the second largest group aside from people of British or Irish descent (Statistics Canada, 2011). From this point on, the environment in which I would study and work for the next years would be predominantly Italian-Canadian with little to no cultural diversity, especially at school. I had only ever been in a culturally diverse classroom, and being the only student in my grade not from an Italian background, made me feel like an outsider. Many of my classmates had *panini* with *salami*, *prosciutto* and cheese for lunch and would wonder why I did not have the same food as they did.  In addition, I did not know about or did not wear Italian brand clothing such as Kappa and Parasuco, which were deemed popular and valued by my classmates.

It was not until my third year of undergraduate studies that I understood the double significance of the need Italian-Canadians have to wear those particular brands of clothing and why the food they ate is important. It was during this time that I was introduced to the concept of

symbolic ethnicity, in a social science course at York University titled "Italians in North America: Migration, Immigration and Beyond". The course briefly touched upon symbolic ethnicity through Gans' article. Since then, I have wanted to examine how symbolic ethnicity was being used by the Italian-Canadian group.

Overall, the interactions that I have had with Italian-Canadians have given me the privilege of observing their traditions and practices; however, I feel that there is still much to learn about them. By examining a strategy of ethnic representation through a translation studies lens, I hope to gain a better understanding of Italian-Canadian practices and customs and unearth why they hold so much value. Furthermore, this might lead me to pursue further research comparing the use of symbolic ethnicity between Italian-Canadians and other migrant groups in the Greater Toronto Area, as well as examining this same phenomenon in other groups.

**The Object of Study:** *Panoram Italia*

Ethnic symbols take many forms, are found everywhere, and can be borne by every generation. In order to narrow the field of research, I have chosen to study ethnic symbols in *Panoram Italia*, an Italian-Canadian magazine. I have been reading *Panoram* since 2012 and have found it to be a very bountiful source of ethnic symbols that demonstrate and promote Italianicity – the essence of being Italian. As explained below, I have chosen to focus on three of the most commonly used ethnic symbols in the magazine.

*Panoram Italia* was created in 2002, in Montréal (Quebec, Canada) by Antonio Zara. During its first year it was only published twice a year and only in French for the Montréal and Ottawa areas. Currently, *Panoram* is published every two months, for a total of 6 issues per year. In addition, since April/May 2011, it has been published in both French and English for the Greater Toronto Area. Overall, there are approximately 70 issues combined between the

Montréal and Toronto editions. Furthermore, 7 luxury edition publications of *Panoram* were published between 2002 and 2008.

The magazine was created to unify Italian-Canadians, and to promote the Italian culture to Italian-Canadians and Italophiles (Panoram Italia: About). The founder, Antonio (Tony) Zara, felt that existing Italian-Canadian publications, mostly weeklies, were catering to the Italian community of Greater Montréal and needed change and improvement (Panoram Italia: About). Traditional written media were not successful in stirring interest in the growing percentage of second, third and even fourth generation Canadian-born potential readers (Panoram Italia: About). *Panoram* not only puts a spotlight on Italian-Canadians and their contributions to Canadian society and the world, it also includes information on travel in Italy, Italian food, fashion, sports, arts, culture, and history (Panoram Italia: About). Antonio Zara is still the current publisher and editor, with two editors-in-chief: Filippo Salvatore and Adam Zara. The managing editor for the Montréal editions is Gabriel Riel-Salvatore and the managing editor for the Toronto editions is Rita Simonetta (Panoram Italia: About).

Each issue has a circulation of 400,000 readers (Panoram Italia: About). Readers can view the issues online or can subscribe to receive a copy by completing a small form inserted into copies. A three-year subscription costs $20, and includes home delivery (Panoram Italia: About). Overall, *Panoram* is distributed to approximately 100,000 homes and businesses across Canada, in addition to several other locations where the organization provides copies free of charge. The magazine is able to do this since printing and distribution costs are covered by advertising revenues (Panoram Italia, December 2014/January 2015). However, in a recent message from the publisher in the December2014/January 2015 issue, Tony Zara urges readers to subscribe to the magazine stating that, "advertising revenues alone cannot cover ever-

increasing printing and distribution costs" (Panoram Italia, December 2014/January 2015). Issues are not available for sale on regular magazine stands or in bookstores and can only be acquired through subscription or at one of the distribution points.

Both Montréal and Toronto publications have a similar appearance. In the most recent editions, the images on the front cover are black and white with a few elements in vibrant colour. The images are primarily of people, presumably Italian-Canadians. There is a caption at the bottom left-hand corner identifying the person(s) depicted along with a line that says "One of Us" and in Italian: "*Uno di noi*".

The year 2013 appears to mark a *Panoram Italia* rebranding strategy. The June/July 2013 issue features a design change in the magazine's masthead. It is the first issue, of both the Montréal and Toronto editions, where the masthead stretches across the width of the cover in white font. The title now reads "Panoram Italia – The New Emerging Italians". The next issue, August/September 2013, features another change with the addition of a tricoloured green, white and red maple leaf beside the masthead. Images of the three mastheads can be found in Appendix A (Images 1-3)[2]. Prior to these changes the magazine's masthead was aligned to the left and stretched only halfway across the page. The text on the cover was still white, and the images remained in black and white. The only hint of colour was a line above the masthead. Each issue had a different coloured cover. In contrast, the luxury editions of the *Panoram Italia* publication are entirely different. These editions have vibrant colours and do not depict persons, but rather objects such as plants, cookies, fruit and vegetables (Appendix B, Image 4). The magazine is 34 cm x 24.5 cm, making it larger than the average magazine available at cashier checkouts.

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[2] All of the images in the appendices taken from *Panoram Italia* can be found on their online website, which is free access.

The content of all issues is structured in a similar manner: a publisher's note; recipes for Italian and Italian-Canadian dishes; art produced by Italian-Canadians; a Living Italian Style section including 4 profiles and pictures of Italian-Canadians living in Montréal or Toronto.

According to the magazine's website, *Panoram Italia* is the only magazine dedicated to Italian culture in Canada and is one of the few, if not the only, Italian-Canadian publication that is read by all generations. It is reasonable to attribute this to the availability of the issues online and to *Panoram*'s very active social media page. On the *Panoram* website the reader will find articles, a blog, TV channel, and an archive of past issues as well as the current issue. I also believe there is a high readership because all issues have bilingual sections. Some texts are available in both languages on the same page, others only in English or Italian.

**The Ethnic Symbols**

The *Panoram Italia* magazine has various sections, making it full of ethnic symbols representative of the Italian culture and Italian-Canadians. In order to select the ethnic symbols used in this research, 18 magazine issues were examined dating from December/January 2012 to December/January 2014. This time period is important as it contains recent magazine issues, in order to demonstrate that symbolic ethnicity is a meaning-making process that remains a present topic in this decade, as opposed to Gans' findings published in 1979. Furthermore, upon examining several issues online, the magazine underwent several layout and design changes between 2012 and 2014, which serves as a good representation of how the magazine is evolving to cater to the image of what *Panoram* calls the "emerging Italian" population.

I searched for the three most frequently represented ethnic symbols across all issues, either in photographs, drawings, graphics or themes of articles. From this analysis, I selected three categories of ethnic symbols based on their recurrence. For example, cuisine is a topic that

appears in each of the 18 issues, either in the recipe section, or in articles. In 10 of the issues, the focus in on a pasta dish. Therefore, I chose pasta as the first ethnic symbol.

Following are three examples that demonstrate the recurrence of pasta across several issues. The first is the October/November 2013 issue, "How to Make Homemade Potato *Gnocchi*" which includes a complete recipe with 7 photos of the dish (Panoram Italia, 34-35, October/November 2013), (Appendix C, Images 5-5g). In the February/March 2013 issue, the article "Cooking up a recipe for Valentine's Day" explains how to make Capellini with Fennel Pesto (Panoram Italia, 29, February/March 2013). And lastly, in the August/September 2013 issue, the article "A Guide to Homemade Pasta" shows readers how to make the dough and provides two recipes: Squid Ink Fettucine with Cream and Shiitake Mushrooms and the Linguine con le vargule. I have chosen to analyze the 7 images that accompany the "How to Make Homemade Potato *Gnocchi*" article as representative of the pasta category of ethnic symbols.

The second ethnic symbol that recurs in all issues is the Italian flag. Three issues feature it on the front cover: February/March 2014, April/May 2014, and lastly in the June/July 2014 issue which was released during the 2014 FIFA World Cup. For my analysis, I have chosen the image of the Italian flag represented in the April/May 2014 issue (Appendix C, Image 6).

The third ethnic symbol featured throughout the 18 issues is soccer. This sport is represented as a major pastime and interest of Italian-Canadians. The February/March 2014 issue, for example, features an article titled "Goalkeeper Roberto Stillo's Ready for Primetime" highlighting the dream of an Italian-Canadian soccer player to play in an Italian league. The sport is also present throughout the June/July 2014 issue, as Toronto soccer fans prepare for the 2014 World Cup. Soccer is also featured in the February/March 2013 issue through images and an article titled "AC Milan Junior Camps in Toronto". I have chosen the image accompanying

the article "Time for World Cup in Toronto" to be representative of the soccer category (Appendix C, Image 7).

Overall, I selected the images as representative of the three ethnic symbols because they are indicative of one entire narrative. The images are telling a story on their own without the help of the accompanying text. For example, the images accompanying the recipes for homemade *gnocchi* not only show what the finished product would look like, but they also show the reader the different stages of preparing the dish. The image chosen to be representative of soccer has also been chosen due to the narrative quality, and because it portrays another aspect of soccer culture: the fans. Lastly, the image chosen to be representative of the Italian flag was also selected due to its narrative quality and the unique way of depicting the flag through cuisine.

Pasta, the Italian flag and soccer are the three ethnic symbols that are most recurrent throughout the 18 issues I have examined. These symbols serve as representations of Italian culture for Italian-Canadians by Italian-Canadians. The ethnic symbols are identity markers for Italian-Canadians and can be used easily to demonstrate their Italian ethnicity to others in the same group and to those outside of the group.

**Overview**

The first chapter provides an overview of the theoretical framework and methodology used in my research. The second chapter discusses the need to expand the conceptualization of the translation process as a written process. In addition, it examines the overlaps and similarities between the processes of translation and symbolic ethnicity, in order to reinforce that they are both meaning-making processes. This allows me to demonstrate why ethnic symbols can be considered translations. The third chapter examines the three ethnic symbols chosen from the *Panoram Italia* magazine. First I analyze both denotated and connotated meanings in the images.

Lastly, in Section 2 of Chapter 3, based on my analysis of the images, I examine how meaning

has been assigned to the ethnic symbols, first through the use of codes and secondly through the

influence that social and cultural values have on meaning. Furthermore, I discuss how they

contribute to the formation of Italian-Canadian identity and the role *Panoram Italia* plays in the

creation of the symbols.

**Chapter One: Theoretical Framework and Methodology**

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical framework and methodology used to carry out the examination of symbolic ethnicity as cross-cultural translation. This research is a case study, as it examines symbolic ethnicity in a particular ethnic group in a Canadian context – Italian-Canadians in the Greater Toronto Area. The ethnic symbols chosen for this research are: pasta, the tricoloured Italian flag and soccer. I have selected these symbols from the *Panoram Italia* magazine that targets Italian-Canadians and Italophiles with the goal of unifying Italian-Canadians and promoting multiple aspects of Italian culture. Pasta, the Italian flag and soccer have been chosen from the 18 issues examined, due to their recurrence in several or all of the issues.

I seek to expand the current dominant conceptualization of translation as a written practice, in order to view practices of visual communication and other meaning-making practices as translations. This contributes to the field of translation studies by demonstrating that it is not only nurtured by other disciplines, but is also capable of contributing to the development of other fields. In this case, examining the cultural phenomenon of symbolic ethnicity through a translations studies lens can lead to a deeper understanding of why symbolic ethnicity is used and how it manifests itself. In order to accomplish this goal, I address the following: 1) how symbolic ethnicity can be viewed as a meaning making practice that resembles translation; 2) how ethnic symbols are linked to identity; 3) how *Panoram Italia* contributes to the use of such symbols; 4) and finally, what makes them recognizable as belonging to that particular group. My analysis draws upon theories from several fields.

First, I draw on sociologist Eugene Roosen's *Creating Ethnicity: The Process of Ethnogenesis* (1989) to examine how identity can be defined, how ethnic symbols are

intrinsically linked to a person's identity and, consequently, how ethnic symbols can be used to represent oneself in intercultural interactions resulting from migration.

The most important theory that I draw on for my research is that of symbolic ethnicity developed by American sociologist Herbert J. Gans. Symbolic Ethnicity, as defined by Gans, is an ethnicity of last resort, where third or fourth generations – the grandchildren and great-grand children of immigrants – resort to the use of superficial and temporary symbols to identify themselves as belonging to a specific ethnic group. These symbols must be visible, and be an easy and uncommitted way of expressing one's "ethnic identity" (Gans, 1979, 429). Examples of symbolic ethnicity include religious celebrations, and rites of passage such as the Quinceañera, a coming of age tradition celebrated by young women across Latin America. Consumer goods, notably food, are another source of ethnic symbols (Gans, 197, 435). Overall, symbolic ethnicity is an expressive form of ethnicity. The symbols used must be visible and clear in meaning to large numbers of the third generation and they must be easily expressed and felt without interfering in other aspects of life (Gans, 1979, 435).

To examine how meaning is assigned to ethnic symbols, I draw on translation studies theories to demonstrate that the translation process is parallel to the process of creating an ethnic symbol. First, I compare the process of creating an ethnic symbol to that of translation. In order to do this, I draw on functionalist translation theory, in particular Christiane Nord's Looping Model, which outlines the steps in the process of translation. By drawing on the above-mentioned theories from various fields in my framework, I hope to demonstrate how processes of cultural production are indeed cross-cultural translation processes. In order to broaden the conceptualization of translation, Maria Tymoczko's notion of "cluster concept" (2007) is used, as she highlights the inefficiencies in defining translation, such as the risk of excluding certain

meaning making-practices. Instead she prompts translation scholars to examine the shared characteristics between the dominant conceptualization of the translation process and the processes used in other meaning-making practices. I believe that symbolic ethnicity is one of these practices.

I also look to cultural studies, specifically the constructionist approach as understood by Stuart Hall, who believes that people who belong to the same culture share a similar conceptual map (Hall 1997 25-26).

Lastly, I draw on Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA), particularly the model proposed by David Mayr and Andrea Machin in their work *How to do Critical Discourse Analysis* (2012). MCDA is derived from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which analyzes texts in order to reveal ideologies that have been subtly transmitted in order to shape the representation of events, people and objects for a particular end (Machin and Mayr 2012, 5). MCDA has a similar objective, but has been modified in order to analyze visual modes of communication such as images and photographs. Since my research focuses on images of ethnic symbols present in *Panoram Italia* it is essential that I draw on tools provided by MCDA in order to critically analyze what the images denote and connote to readers of the magazine.

**1.1 Representing Ethnic Identity**

An examination of the creation of ethnic symbols also requires an examination of ethnic identity. Identity is composed of the categories a person feels that they belong to, making a person's identity flexible. For example, an Italian-Canadian can belong to an ethnic group, gender group, age group and also a language group elements (Butler 1990, 16). All of which comprise a person's overall identity.

An ethnic symbol is a visible and easy way to represent an entire culture. In his work *Creating Ethnicity: The Process of Ethnogenesis* (1989), sociologist Eugene Roosens looks at the formation and maintenance of ethnic identity and how ethnicity develops when different ethnic groups are in constant contact with each other. He looks specifically at the Hurons and other First Nations groups of Québec, which he studied from 1968 to 1982. He also looks at the immigrant minorities in Belgium. Roosens' work is useful for my own research, as he looks at the needs and creation of ethnic groups; their function, such as providing a sense of belonging; the need for ethnic identification; how 'ways of being' can be used as ethnic markers. Lastly he examines the flexibility of ethnicity based on preference and generation. This contributes to my own examination of ethnic symbols and of how they are recognizable as such.

Roosens believes that identity and its components are flexible and unstable, since every person can belong to several social categories. For example, each person is part of a nation, a profession, a family, a political party, an ethnic group, or a religious organization, among others (Roosens 1989, 15-16). Even amongst the several components that comprise identity, a person can prefer and choose one over another in a given context, so that there is a hierarchy of identities (Roosens 1989, 15-16).

Ethnic identity would not be possible without the existence of ethnic groups, since people would not differentiate between each other if there was only one group (Roosens 1989, 19). Roosens believes that by belonging to one or several social categories, a person is partially determined by it, "the person is like others who also belong to the same group and is thus different from others who are members of comparable groups" (Roosens 1989, 15-16). People who identify with an ethnic group have a feeling of belonging, a certainty of knowing their origin, and that it can be carried on in future generations (Roosens 1989, 16). In addition to this

feeling of belonging and community, an ethnic group provides its members with commonality in appearance, language, customs and rituals (Roosens 1989, 17).

According to Roosens, there is a need to represent one's ethnic identity in intercultural spaces, such as Toronto, that experience large waves of migration, due to the constant interaction with other comparable groups (Roosens 1989, 17). Between 2001 and 2006, Canada received 1,109,980 immigrants. Of these, approximately 267,855 settled in the City of Toronto, where over 140 languages and dialects are spoken (City of Toronto – Diversity – Toronto Facts). In such multicultural environments, ethnic symbols serve as identity markers differentiating 'us' from the 'outsiders' (Roosens 1989, 17-18).

This differentiation is the process described by both Benedict Anderson and Juan Flores describe in their respective works: the concept of imagined communities (Anderson 1991; Flores 2003). According to Anderson, a community is imagined "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear them, yet in the minds of each, lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1991, 4-6). Ethnic symbols play an important role in the creation of imagined communities where ethnic groups use symbols to represent themselves to other members of their community and to outsiders (Anderson 1991; Flores 2003). According to Flores, creating a community means taking into consideration what members have in common to unite them (Flores 2003, 193). In the case of the ethnic group under study in this thesis, it could be a love of a particular dish, a favourite soccer team, or traditions brought from Italy by the first generation of immigrants. Referring to Latin Americans in the United States, Flores states that "Latinos listen to their own kinds of music, eat their own kinds of food, dream their dreams and snap their own photos not just to express their difference from or opposition to, the way "*gringos*" do it", but rather for the self-conception of a kindred group"

(Flores 2003, 200). Marking the boundary between an 'us' and a 'them' in a group is a foundational practice in creating an imagined community (Flores 2003, 200).

Ethnic symbols are intrinsically linked to a person's identity, as they are representative of the group to which the person belongs based on shared factors such as language, rituals, appearance and customs (Roosens 1989, 18).

## 1.2 Symbolic Ethnicity

The term 'symbolic ethnicity' first appeared in Gans' work *Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Culture in America* (1979). Gans' work focuses on symbolic ethnicity in third generations of groups in the United States including Irish-Americans, Jewish-Americans and Italian-Americans in the 1970's. He believes that for the third generation, the culture of the first generation immigrants is only a memory or a tradition to be enjoyed once in a while in a museum or a restaurant (Gans 1979, 433).

Ethnic symbols can vary from person to person, and can be shared amongst all members of the group (Gans 1979, 435). For example, some people choose rites of passage. Others choose ethnic symbols in the form of a trip – an annual trip to the country of origin can represent strong ties to the culture, and does not involve a considerable amount of time. The important thing is that the ethnic symbol should be easy to use and that it be visible (Gans 1979, 435). This requirement eliminates some cultural and ethnic markers such as language, because they involve a considerable amount of time invested by a person and will interfere in other aspects of life.

The concept was developed by Gans in response to straight-line assimilation theory, proposed by sociologist Neil Sandberg, which proposes that different ethnic groups will be assimilated into a culturally homogenous society (Gans 1979, 429). Following Gans, I define the

concept of symbolic ethnicity as an easy, visible and uncommitted way to demonstrate ethnic identity.

Straight-line theory is based on the melting pot theory, for it implies the disappearance of ethnic groups into a single host society; furthermore, straight-line theory does not accept the values of the melting pot theorists, as it does not use terms like cultural and social liberation from immigrant ways of life (Gans 1979, 430). Gans states that over the years sociologists have heavily criticized straight-line theory (Gans 1979, 430). One argument is that straight-line theory does not differentiate between groups and treats all ethnic groups as essentially similar, ultimately overestimating the level of acculturation and assimilation of all groups (Gans 1979, 430).

Gans is among those who question straight-line theory. Although he believes that there is a dominant process of assimilation and acculturation visible in American society, he believes it occurs in what he calls a "bumpy-line approach" (Gans 1979, 441). By "bumpy-line", Gans refers to the new waves of immigrants who continue to arrive to a host country and revitalize the ethnic groups with fresh links to their country of origin (Gans 1979, 441). However, symbolic ethnicity cannot be considered as evidence of ethnic revival; it is merely one element in the assimilation trend (Gans 1979, 441). Symbolic ethnicity can persist for several generations, which leads Gans to believe that assimilation and acculturation do not occur in a linear manner.

Although the ties that later generations have to the source culture weaken over time, they do continue to perceive themselves as bearers of the original culture (Gans 1979, 433). While Gans hypothesizes that third generation immigrants are less interested in their ethnic cultures and organizations (Gans 1979, 434), he believes that they wish to maintain their ethnic identity and

the feeling of belonging to that particular group, while finding ways of feeling and expressing that identity in suitable ways (Gans 1979, 434).

For Gans, the degree of assimilation and acculturation of a person will affect how they represent their ethnic identity. For a first generation Italian-Canadian, representing their ethnic identity is a lived experience, something that they do in their every day lives (Gans 1979, 434). According to Gans, a third generation Italian-Canadian with lesser ties to the culture of origin, will look for easy ways of expressing their ethnic identity that do not conflict with other ways of life (Gans 1979, 433). They refrain from ethnic practices that require a time-consuming commitment. Any mode of expressing ethnic identity, including symbolic ethnicity, is valid as long as it enhances the feeling of belonging to that ethnic group (Gans 1979, 434). Gans states that symbolic ethnicity is a phenomenon that comes into being in the third generation as the ties to the culture of origin wane. However, he does not reject the idea that symbolic ethnicity can already emerge among the immigrant generation (Gans, 1979, 437). Overall, he views symbolic ethnicity as an ethnicity of last resort that could persist for generations before eventual assimilation.

Several sociologists who examine the processes of acculturation and assimilation, as well as resistance to these processes, have used the concept of symbolic ethnicity. Among these is Enzo Colombo in his work *Belonging and Identification Among Adolescent Children of Immigrants in Italy* (2014) and Alexander Shvarts in his work *Soviet Jews in Toronto, Ethnic Self-Identity and Issues of Integration* (2007).

Shvarts' work is interesting in that it takes Gans' concept, which was developed in the United States, and applies it to empirical research involving a specific ethnic group in Toronto. His purpose is to determine whether Jewish communities will be able to integrate Soviet

émigrés, since many Soviet Jews come to Canada with an ambivalent sense of Jewish identity coupled with a strong sense of Russian/Soviet identity (Shvarts 2007, 171). He is further interested in discovering whether members of the Soviet Jewish group will assimilate or retain their ethnic identity in Canadian society. He proposes 5 factors that might be involved in the retention of Soviet Jewish identity: fertility and intermarriage; ethnic language retention; ritual observance; institutional completeness; and ties to Israel, combined with memories of the Holocaust (Shvarts 2007, 171). Shvarts shows that ethnic symbols such as keeping the High Holidays Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, and rites of passage such as the *bar-mitvah* and *bat-mitzvah* have played a role in ethnic identity retention. Shvarts concludes, however, that Soviet Jews will not integrate or form lasting relationships with existing Jewish communities because of their strong Russian/Soviet identity. They will also acculturate more easily than these groups into the host society while maintaining Jewish symbolic ethnicity (Shvarts 2007, 185-186). His conclusion aligns with Gans' proposition of the existence of a "bumpy-line assimilation" process. Shvarts' work is useful for my research because it sheds light on the functions of symbolic ethnicity, which can be resistance to assimilation or serve as an identity marker.

Enzo Colombo's work also deals with symbolic ethnicity. Looking at immigrant children in Italy, he believes that the children of immigrants can acculturate and keep elements of their ethnicity because their generation is growing up in a globalized world (Colombo 2014, 20). Colombo builds on Gans' concept of symbolic ethnicity and examines what he calls "hyphenated identity", for example, Greek-Italian or Egyptian-Italian. Colombo believes that the hyphenation of an ethnic self-identification can be considered symbolic ethnicity, since it endorses the attachment to the source culture (Colombo 2014, 22-23). He adds that doing this allows a person to belong to two groups, showing allegiance to the source culture, as well as a partiality to the

practices of the host society. Hyphenated identity becomes a way of celebrating one's own difference without feeling excluded, marginalized or segregated, and it allows people to avoid choosing between supposedly irreconcilable options (Colombo 2014, 28). Overall Colombo's work helps me to see one way in which symbolic ethnicity can be used as an identity marker by immigrants in order to avoid marginalization while still retaining important aspects of their source culture.

My research applies the concept of symbolic ethnicity to the Italian-Canadian group. In contrast with Gans' work, I do not focus solely on a particular generation, as I believe that all persons across generations are capable of manifesting and displaying ethnic symbols. For example, wearing a jersey and eating a dish is not a practice specifically carried out by a particular generation. Essentially, my research does not look at differences between generations as Gans' does. Instead I view symbolic ethnicity as a means of cultural and identity representation used by Italian-Canadians as a group.

### 1.3 Symbols as Purpose-Oriented Translations

The choosing of ethnic symbols by Italian-Canadians is similar to the process of translation. This can be seen in several factors such as how they are chosen, abstracted, and assigned meaning and function. Therefore, by positing ethnic symbols as translations with particular functions, this research demonstrates that a deeper insight into cultural phenomena can be gained through a translation studies lens. Furthermore, it demonstrates that there is a need to broaden the traditional concept of translation to include non-textual meaning-making practices.

In order to accomplish this, I draw on functionalist translation theory. I have chosen to apply Christiane Nord's Looping Model because I believe that it provides a clear and concise

approach to translation. Nord's model also provides a balanced combination of the most important functionalist theoretical contributions.

Nord states that translation is a communicative activity that can manifest itself in the form of a text (Nord 1997, 1-3): "people have communicative purposes that they try to put into practice by means of texts" (Nord 1997, 1). This already hints at the notion that translations can be manifested as non-textual practices. This shift away from linguistic and equivalence-based approaches to translation that have long dominated translation studies allows for the focus on the function of translations. Furthermore it allows for the application of functionalist theories to examine the processes of non-textual translations such as symbolic ethnicity.

Nord's approach draws on the work of three functionalist translation studies scholars: Hans Vermeer, Katharina Reiss and Justa Holz-Mänttäri. In order to understand how Nord's model is used in this research, and in order to understand its relevance, I briefly review the contributions made by these three scholars. Hans J. Vermeer, an important contributor to the first generation of functionalist translation theories, believes that translation is a type of transfer where communicative verbal and non-verbal signs are transferred from one code into another – including pictures to music, or from a blueprint to a building (Nord 1997, 11). This inclusion of intersemiotic translation broadens the definition of translation from a written practice to include non-textual meaning-making practices.

Vermeer developed *Skopostheorie* (*skopos* - Greek word for 'purpose'). The term is borrowed from functionalist theorist Justa Holz-Mänttäri, who developed the concept by drawing on the principles of action theory. Translational action is "designed to cover all forms of intercultural transfer, including those which do not involve source or target texts" (Holz-Mänttäri 1984; Vermeer 2000; Nord 1997, 12-13). According to Vermeer there are three purposes to

translation: the purpose aimed at by the translator in the translation process, the communicative purpose aimed at by the target text in the target situation, and the purpose aimed at by a particular translation strategy or procedure (Vermeer 2000, 222-232). For Vermeer the focus is all on the purpose of the target text, and the source text holds a lower status in his theory as it regarded as an "offer of information" as opposed to Reiss who believes that the source text "is the measure of all things" (Vermeer 2000 and Reiss 1989 cited in Nord 1997, 12).

Overall, Vermeer sees translation as a purposeful action (Vermeer 2000, 222), based on the premise that "every translation is directed at an intended audience, since to translate means to produce a text in a target setting for a target purpose and target audience in a target circumstance" (Vermeer 1987, 29). Overall, *Skopostheorie* was developed as the foundation for a general theory of translation able to embrace theories dealing with specific languages and cultures (Vermeer 2000, 221-222). Furthermore, *Skopostheorie* also incorporates Reiss' concept of a relationship between text type and translation method (Reiss & Vermeer 1984). For example, if the target document's *skopos* is to be informative, the focus of the translator should be on the structure, lexis and syntax and less on embellishing the text (Reiss & Vermeer 1984; cited in Nord 1997, 46-47).

Katharina Reiss, also a functionalist, introduced the concept of text typologies to translation theory. Reiss distinguishes between types of texts based on their dominant communicative function. In her first publications on text typology and translation, Reiss establishes a general correlation between text type and the translation method to be adopted by the translator in order to bring about the intended function of the target text (Reiss 1989). She presents three main text functions: informative, expressive and operative.

In informative texts, the main function is to inform the reader about objects and phenomena in the real world. The choice of linguistic and stylistic forms in the translation is subordinate to this function (Reiss 1989, 108-109). In expressive texts, the informative aspect is complemented or even overruled by an aesthetic component. The stylistic choices made by the author and translator contributes to the meaning of the text, producing an aesthetic effect on the reader (Reiss 1989, 108-109). In this case, stylistic choices in translation are naturally guided by those made in the source text. Lastly, the translation of operative texts into operative texts should be guided by the overall aim of bringing about the same reaction in the audience and not by the form and content of the text (Reiss 1989, 108-109, Nord 1997, 38). In later work, Reiss incorporated her concept of text typology to fit into Hans Vermeer's *skopos* theory, stating that text typologies help the translator specify the appropriate hierarchy of equivalence levels needed for a particular translation *skopos* (Reiss & Vermeer 1984, 156).

The contributions of Reiss and Vermeer to functionalist translation theories are present in Nord's approach to the translation process. Nord believes that the translation process is usually represented as having two or three phases. A two-phase model includes analysis (decoding) and then synthesis (recoding) (Nord 1991, 30). The three-phase model adds a transfer phase between the analysis (decoding) stage and the synthesis (recoding) stage. Here, the meaning of the received message is related to the intention of the target message, which she calls 'transcoding' (Nord, 1991, 31). Nord states that the three-phase model most accurately represents the reality of the translation process. However, she believes that both these models fail to take into consideration that the source text function does not determine the target text function, or that the target text can have a new function in the target audience (Nord 1991, 32).

Nord's contribution to the second generation of functionalist translation theory is the Looping Model. It aims to fill the gap she identifies in the traditional models by taking into account the instructions formulated by the 'initiator' or the commissioner of the translation, which she calls the translation brief (Nord 1991, 33). The translation brief includes, either implicitly or explicitly, information such as "the intended text function, the target-text addressee, the time and place of text reception, the medium over which the text will be transmitted and the motive for the production or reception of the text" (Nord 1997, 60). Nord calls it a Looping Model because at each step the translator confirms the factors already analyzed, "every piece of knowledge gained in the course of the process of analysis and comprehension may be confirmed or corrected by later findings" (Nord 1991, 35). In other words, every decision made by the translator is influenced by the knowledge of the previous decision and situation (Nord 1991, 35). Nord's Looping Model thus conceptualizes translation as a circular process (Nord 1991, 35).

The Looping Model is composed of three phases. The first involves analyzing the target text *skopos*. This implies looking at factors that are relevant for the realization of the target text such as: identifying the source text sender, the intention of the source text sender, the intended recipient, and the medium of the transmission. All of these elements affect the condition of reception and production, how the information is to be presented, the place and the time of the communication (Nord 1991, 42-68). They also affect the motive for the communication and lastly, the intended function of the target text (Nord 1991, 42-68). The second phase involves analyzing the source text, and is divided into two parts. The first involves determining whether the material provided by the source text is compatible with the translation requirements included in the translation brief, and the second requires that the translator perform a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the entire source text in order to identify the translation-relevant

elements to be kept in the target text. The third and final phase of the Looping Model is restructuring, where the source text is presented in its new form for the target audience (Nord, 1991, 33-35).

Nord's model includes the notion of text typologies that is based on Reiss' contribution to functionalist translation theories in the 1970's (Nord 1991, 17-18). Reiss' functionalist approach aims initially at systematizing translations according to three functions: informative, expressive and appellative (Reiss 1989).

> "The translation of an informative text, should transmit the full referential or conceptual content of the source and should be in plain prose, the translation of an expressive text should transmit the aesthetic and artistic forms of the source and the translation should use the 'identifying' method with the translator adopting the standpoint of the source author, and lastly the operative or appellative text should produce the desired response in the translation receiver and the translation should employ the 'adaptive' method, creating an equivalent effect among the target audience" (Reiss 1989).

Nord provides two text types: a documentary translation, which serves as a document of a source culture communication between the author and the source text recipient, for example where the target text allows the target text receiver to access the ideas of the source text but where the reader is well aware that it is a translation (Nord 1997, 138). Second, she proposes an instrumental translation which serves as an independent message transmitting instrument in a new communicative purpose without the recipient being conscious of reading or hearing a text which, in a different form, was used before in a different communicative situation, in other words, the target text receivers read the target text as though it were a source text written in their own language (Nord 1997, 139). She believes that certain kinds of texts seem to be used repeatedly in certain situations with more or less the same function or functions, and "the idea of text typologies can be useful as a starting point for a systematic classification of text groups, classes, genres or types according to certain common features of feature combinations where the

relation between a particular configuration of features and a particular text function is culture specific" (Nord 1991, 18).

I use Nord's Looping Model to examine the process of creating ethnic symbols, a non-textual form of translation, as it clearly defines the steps in the translation process, which is similar to the process of symbolic ethnicity carried out by Italian-Canadians. Her detailed functionalist model incorporates elements of text analysis, and as seen above, the synthesized model brings together strengths of the various functional and action theories previously described.

As per the first phase of Nord's model, I carry out the analysis of the target 'text' *skopos*, which can be different than the source 'text' *skopos*. I consider the ethnic symbol as the target 'text'. In order to do this, I examine several elements included in the translation brief. According to Nord, the person commissioning the translation project provides the translation brief in possible cooperation with the translator (Nord 1991, 32). In this research, I consider *Panoram Italia* to be both the commissioner, with the desire to create ethnic symbols, and the translator producing them and disseminating them.

The next step involves identifying whether the material provided by the source text is compatible with the requirements in the translation brief. For the purposes of this research I consider the culture of origin, the Italian culture, as the source text. Since the requirement for symbolic ethnicity is that a symbol be clear and visible, this is included as one of the requirements of the brief. The brief would outline the target text *skopos* and this would indicate whether it has changed from the source text's intended purpose. In the case of symbolic ethnicity, the source text *skopos* would not be representation as it is for the target text.

In the second part the translator conducts a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the source text, in this case source culture, and identifies the elements that will be incorporated into the translation in order to achieve the target text *skopos* (Nord 1991, 33). This involves analyzing the source culture, identifying the most relevant source culture items that need to be taken into account to achieve the function of the translation. The last step is to identify the translation strategy that will be necessary to fulfill the translation brief (Nord 1991, 33). A translation strategy that would allow this would be a free translation strategy, one that would summarize a source text into the most relevant points: a gist translation. A gist translation can be categorized as a free translation, since it implies great liberties on the part of the translator. In technical terms, a gist translation is a target text that expresses a condensed version of the contents of the source text; that is, the translation is at the same time a summary or synopsis of the source text (Haywood et al. 1995, 271). However, producing a gist translation means the translator will need to decide what information from the source culture is relevant enough, and this will involve analyzing the source text for its feasibility for translation. Therefore, once the senders and recipients of ethnic symbols are identified, Nord's model sheds light on the process of choosing a cultural tradition for translation, and also on the translation strategy carried out by *Panoram Italia*.

The restructuring of the target text is the last step of the translation process, which consists of the transfer process from the source text structure or form, to the target text structure or form (Nord 1991, 33-34). Once it is in its final form, it can be examined based on its function. I will examine the "target text" not only by text function, but also using the Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis tools.

**1.4 Reconceptualising Translation**

Reconceptualising translation as a cluster concept, and thereby broadening the traditional definition of translation as a written practice, is beneficial for the translation studies field as it allows for the inclusion of all meaning-making processes in translation theory (Tymoczko 2007, 89).

By examining ethnic symbols through a translation studies framework and demonstrating that symbolic ethnicity is a process that is not generally included in traditional Western thought on translation, this research answers Maria Tymoczko's call for the need to re-think the concept of translation. Thus, I draw heavily on her work, specifically on her notion of translation as a cluster concept (2007). This helps me expand the dominant concept of translation and allows me to draw parallels between the process of translation and symbolic ethnicity. Chapter 2 of my research is devoted to examining symbolic ethnicity as a process of translation by using Tymoczko's theory of the cluster concept.

Drawing on Tymoczko, I view *Panoram Italia* as the translator involved in creating the translations that are ethnic symbols. Tymoczko believes that all human beings are "latent translators who can learn new concepts, new words (from their language or other languages), borrow new cultural patterns, communicate with more than one language or fragments thereof, and construct hybridities" (Tymoczko 2007, 231). Furthermore, she states that humans have the capacity to "receive translations and to translate the translations for their own uses" (Tymoczko 2007, 231). However, the editors of *Panoram Italia* are not only latent translators as members of the Italian-Canadian target audience; they are active translators aiming to unify Italian-Canadians and represent them in the Greater Toronto Area.

**1.5 Signifying Practices and Symbols**

The constructionist approach devised by sociologist and cultural theorist Stuart Hall in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (1997) helps me address the meaning carried by ethnic symbols and what makes them recognizable as belonging to a particular group. In this work, Hall expands the definition of language to include all communicative systems including visual and verbal acts of communication. Since my research aims to expand the dominant definition of translation, I also adopt an expanded understanding of language. Thus Hall's definition is used throughout.

In *Representation* (1997), Hall examines the concept of representation and the way it functions to connect meaning and language to culture. He proposes three approaches to representation: the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist (Hall 1997, 15). The reflective approach examines whether language reflects a meaning that already exists in the world of objects, people and events (Hall 1997, 24). The intentional approach states the opposite, and holds that it is the speaker, author or image-maker that imposes his or her "unique meaning on the world through language" (Hall 1997, 25). Lastly, the constructionist approach questions whether meaning is constructed in and through language (Hall 1997, 25). Hall explains that the constructionist approach has two strategies – the semiotic, which draws on Saussure, and the discursive, which is influenced by Michel Foucault. The constructionist approach is used in this research since its focus is on meaning constructed by representational systems and on how meaning can change depending on these systems. The constructionist approach and its two strategies are examined in this section.

Hall defines representation as the creation of meaning for objects in our world through the use of language. Representation is the link between concepts that enable us to refer to either

the real world of objects, people or events, or indeed imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events (Hall 1997, 15-17). Hall proposes two systems of representation: a mental system and a language system. In the mental system of representation "meaning depends on the system of concepts and images formed in our thoughts which can stand for or represent the world, enabling us to refer to things both inside and outside our heads" (Hall 1997, 17).

According to Hall each person carries different conceptual maps thus allowing for unique interpretations of objects, events and people (Hall 1997, 18). However, people belonging to the same culture are able to communicate because they share similar conceptual maps and make sense of or interpret the world roughly in similar ways (Hall 1997, 18). This is why he defines culture as "shared meanings or shared conceptual maps" (Hall 1997, 18). Hall states that language, as the second system of representation, helps fill in the gaps left in the conceptual map. The shared conceptual map must be decoded into a common language so that people can correlate their concepts and ideas with certain written words, spoken or visual images. These signs stand in for, or represent, the concepts and the relationships between them. And we carry these signs mentally; together they make up the meaning systems of our culture (Hall 1997, 18-19). For the purpose of this study, I consider all modes of communication such as gestures and visual signs as language. If language is thought of in this way, it allows us to understand how people can communicate and share their thoughts with others despite having a language barrier and belonging to a different cultural conceptual map (Hall 1997, 18).

According to Hall, people belonging to the same cultural group must share a similar conceptual map, as well as ways of interpreting the signs of a language (Hall 1997, 19). This sheds light on how members of an ethnic group can identify and interpret an ethnic symbol created by a member of the same group. However, in order to explain how people from different

cultural and ethnic groups can communicate with each other, this notion must be applied in a broader sense. For example, the ethnic group under study here is Italian-Canadians, specifically in the Greater Toronto Area. These people have a dual conceptual map, one that is grounded in the Italian culture, and one that is grounded in Canadian culture, thus the hyphenated self-identification as Italian-Canadians.

In addition, Hall believes that people who belong to the same culture, who share the same conceptual map and who communicate with the same language system know that a combination of gestures, images, letters or sounds will stand for or represent a concept (Hall 1997, 21). We use codes to fix the relationships between the concepts in their minds and external signs, "codes stabilize meaning within different languages and cultures and they tell us which language to use to convey which idea" (Hall 1997, 21). Overall, codes tell us which concepts are being referred to when we hear or read signs (Hall 1997, 21-22).

The constructionist approach recognizes the social character of language (Hall 1997, 25-33) and acknowledges that meaning in language cannot be fixed (Hall 1997, 25). As previously mentioned Hall draws on Foucault to discuss two strategies to carry out the constructionist approach: the discursive and the semiotic strategies.

The semiotic strategy of the constructionist approach is largely based on Ferdinand de Saussure's Theory of the Sign, developed in the *Course in General Linguistics* (1959). Saussure views the linguistic unit as the combination of a meaning or concept and a sound-image. He refers to the mental processes that create the entities – the mental impressions made on the senses by a certain thing. Saussure believes that the material world does not convey meaning; instead, it is the language system we are using to represent our concepts that conveys it. Meaning is constructed by our use of a system of representation and it is constructed and fixed by the code

(Hall 1997, 21). The language code used is what sets up the connection between our conceptual system and our linguistic system in such a way that, every time we think of a tree, for example, the code tells us that in our culture, in the English language, the word for this is 'tree' (Hall 1997, 21). Codes are shared amongst a cultural and ethnic group which govern the relationships between cultural conceptual maps and shared language systems, such as linguistics, fashion etc. (Hall 1997, 21). Thus, codes are there to fix the relationships between each concept and its sign.

Material objects can function as signs and communicate meaning, as we will see in the 9 images presented in Chapter 3. Saussure, on whom the semiotic strategy of the constructionist approach is heavily based, believes that there are two elements in meaning. There is the form, such as the actual written word or image, photo etc., and there is the idea or concept with which the form is associated. Saussure called the first element the signifier and the second element, the corresponding concept or object – the signified (Saussure 1959, 27-28). Every time one hears or reads or sees the signifier, it correlates with the signified. Both are required to produce meaning but it is the relation between them, fixed by cultural and linguistic codes, which sustains representation (Hall 1997, 31).

Hall uses the example of traffic lights to illustrate the use of codes and language systems as systems of representation. A traffic light is a machine that produces different coloured lights in sequence. Even though it is a material object, it is a culture that breaks light into the different colours, and classifies them, which allows the colours to be distinguishable from one another (Hall 1997, 26). There is a conceptual map of colours in a culture, and there are the ways words or images are correlated with colour in language systems (Hall 1997, 26-27).

A language of colours consists of more than just the individual words for or different points on the colour spectrum (Hall 1997, 27). It also depends on how they function in relation to

one another – the sorts of things that are governed by grammar and syntax in written or spoken

languages, which allow us to express rather complex ideas (Hall 1997, 27). In the language of

traffic lights for example, it is the sequence and position of the colours, as well as the colours

themselves, which enable them to carry meaning and function as signs (Hall 1997, 29).

According to Hall, what signifies and what carries meaning is not each colour in itself or in the

concept or word for it. Instead, it is the difference between red and green, which actually

signifies (Hall 1997, 27).

This is a very important principle about representation and meaning. If there was no

differentiation between red and green we couldn't use one colour to mean 'stop' and the other to

mean 'go' (Hall 1997, 27). Ultimately, what signifies is not the essence of redness, but the

difference between red in relation to other colours (Hall 1997, 31). When applied to my research,

this concept sheds light on what makes something part of and recognizable as Italian-Canadian

culture is what differentiates it from other migrant cultures that come to be established in the

Greater Toronto Area.

Drawing on Saussure, Hall concludes that the semiotic strategy is based on the idea that

"it is the person who uses the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and the other

representational systems to construct meaning. Meaning depends not on the material quality of

the sign but on its symbolic function" (Hall 1997, 25-26). Hall states that the underlying

argument behind the semiotic strategy is that, since all cultural objects convey meaning, and all

cultural practices depend on meaning, they must make use of signs (Hall 1997, 36-37). Hall

states that people must not confuse the material world, where things and people exist, and the

symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate

(Hall 1997 36-37).

Semiotics can be applied to non-textual practices and performances in order to examine the transfer of meaning and representation through objects such as clothing or a particular cultural dish such as pasta. Roland Barthes applied the semiotic strategy to examine non-textual practices in his work *Mythologies* (2013), by treating activities as signs and as a language through which meaning is communicated (Hall 1997, 66-67). In the chapter titled *In the Ring*, Barthes applies this approach to the 'spectacle' of wrestling (Barthes 2013, 3-14) and analyzes how signs and signifiers are at work in a match. For example, how a wrestler looks physically can evoke opinions about him and his character, "as in theatre, each physical type expresses to excess the role assigned to the combatant" (Barthes 2013, 5). He presents Thauvin, an old and overweight wrestler whose appearance signifies several things: "Not only is ugliness utilized here to signify vileness, furthermore, this ugliness is scrupulously projected into a particularly repulsive quality of matter: the sickly flabbiness of dead flesh" (Barthes 2013, 5). In addition, Barthes sees wrestlers' moves in the ring as signifiers. For example, being immobilized on the floor while pounding the boards with both arms signifies that the wrestler dislikes the situation he is in (Barthes 2013, 6). Alternatively, if a wrestler attacks his opponent who is behind the safety of the ropes, this signifies that the attacker disregards the rules. Thus his character is also questioned and he is made out to be a villain (Barthes 2013, 7-8). Barthes' work makes it clear that practices and gestures can be examined using the semiotic strategy of the constructionist approach.

In conclusion, the constructionist approach sees representation as meaning-making by forging links between different orders of things: what we might broadly call the world of things, people, events and experiences; the conceptual world – the mental concepts we carry around in our heads; and the signs arranged into languages, which stand for or communicate these concepts

(Hall 1997, 61). In the semiotic approach not only words and images but also objects themselves can function as signifiers in the production of meaning. For example, clothes have a physical function to cover our bodies from exposure; in addition they can serve as signs. They construct meaning and carry a message (Hall 1997, 37-38). I use the semiotic approach of the constructionist theory of representation to examine the codes used by *Panoram* in order to create meaning for a particular symbol, but also to interpret it, keeping in mind that the meaning will differ based on the receiver of the symbol.

**1.6 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis**

Another tool I use to examine symbolic ethnicity is Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA), specifically from the work *How to do Critical Analysis* (2012) by David Machin and Andrea Mayr. With MCDA I address my research questions regarding the ideological components behind ethnic symbols created and selected by *Panoram Italia*, and the meanings these images produce.

MCDA is based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a tool rooted in the linguistics field. CDA examines the interrelationship between language, power and ideology (Machin and Mayr 2012, 4) and can be used to analyze texts of all genres in order to uncover strategies that appear neutral on the surface, but can promote a certain ideology and seek to manipulate the appearance of objects, people and the representation of events (Machin and Mayr 2012, 5).

According to Machin and Mayr, scholars who had been working with CDA in the 1980s and 1990s began taking into account that meaning is not solely communicated through linguistic means but also through other semiotic modes such as images and photographs (Machin and Mayr 2012, 6). Theorists in fields such as media and cultural studies, where the analysis of visual communication is fundamental, "felt that the visual analysis models available lacked the capability of allowing for a more precise, systematic and accurate analysis" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 7). They saw a need to analyze visual meaning-making practices in the same way linguistic scholars were critically analyzing texts. Scholars such as Gunther Kress, Norman Fairclough and Theo van Leeuwen believed that some of the principles of linguistic analysis found in Michael Halliday's systemic functional theory (1978) used in CDA could be applied to visual communication (Machin and Mayr 2012, 7). Thus, MCDA was developed, and Kress and van Leeuwen coined the term Multimodal Analysis (Machin and Mayr 2012, 7).

MCDA as defined by Machin and Mayr, is interested in showing how images, photographs, diagrams and graphics work to create meaning, such as describing the choices made by the author. The objective of tools such as MCDA is to identify these choices. Like CDA, MCDA seeks to "denaturalize representations of visual modes of communication" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 9). In addition, MCDA views other modes of communication as a "means of social construction, which both shapes and is shaped by society" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 10). I have adopted this definition for my work. This model allows users to observe how texts, both linguistic and visual, are in dialogue with each other and contribute to each other's message.

CDA has received considerable attention from translation theorists, who have applied it to examine the ideologies transmitted through language choice and strategies in the translation process, and in translator training. Scholars such as Christina Schäffner have examined how discourse analysis has played a role in translation studies theory and in translator training. For Schäffner, discourse analysis is a strategy for developing translation competencies, in other words, as a tool to help students make adequate decisions during the translation process (Schäffner 2002, 5-6). Overall, the aim of discourse analysis in translation is to identify specific textual features that are relevant for the process of translation (Schäffner 2002, 6).

Translation scholars have also used CDA in order to examine the impact of translator ideology, patronage, and the publishing industry on the translation process and the translation itself. Mahdi Aslani and Bahloul Salmani, in their work *Ideology and Translation: A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach Towards the Representation of Political News in Translation* (2015), investigate the role of ideology in translating news media. They draw on Norman Fairclough, arguing that ideologies reside in texts, that it is not possible to "read ideologies off

texts," and that texts are open to various interpretations (Fairclough 1995 cited in Aslani and Salmani, 2015).

Another scholar who has worked at the intersections of translation studies and ideology is Keith Harvey. In his article "Events and Horizons: Reading Ideology in the 'Bindings' of Translations", Harvey applies CDA to analyze the titles, cover photos and back cover blurbs of three translations of American gay novels (Harvey 2003, 43). He demonstrates that the texts were positioned as intercultural events for their potential readerships (Harvey 2003, 45). Textual elements, which Harvey also calls the 'bindings', are considered to be the material and contextual factors which circulate between and bring together the elements of the cover and the translated text itself, the cover and the perceptions of the target reading subjects, and the book as a whole, as well as the receiving culture (Harvey 2003, 50). These elements are investigated in order to understand not just the way the text might be bent to prevailing target norms (linguistic, translational, socio-cultural) but also, the manner in which the translation event signals an interface between competing ideological positions (Harvey 2003, 50-51).

For example, when analyzing the first text *Rush* by John Rechy, Harvey first examines the title of the source text *Rushes* (1979) and the French translation *Rush* translated by Georges-Michel Sarotte in 1980 (Harvey 2003, 51-52). Harvey analyzes other aspects of the cover such as the blurb summarizing the contents and most importantly the cover image. He notes the person represented on the cover, his appearance including his "black leather jacket over a white low-neck t-shirt" (Harvey 2003, 54), his haircut, his facial features, the "sad softness about his gaze" (Harvey 2003, 54) and what meaning this combination of elements presents. Overall, without identifying his method specifically as MCDA, Harvey applies CDA methodology to analyze images and accompanying text.

This earlier research in translation studies using CDA is very useful since it sheds light on the fact that translations, like source texts, are also susceptible to containing subtle meanings and hidden ideologies.

I expand the definition of translation to include practices other than written ones; I use MCDA to carry out a detailed description and analysis of the images of three ethnic symbols chosen from the *Panoram Italia* magazine. Below is a description of the tools provided by Machin and Mayr to analyze visual communication and of the components that must be taken into consideration when looking for meaning and ideologies being transmitted by said communication.

Using Roland Barthes' notion of denotation and connotation for image analysis proposed in his work *The Rhetoric of the Image* (1977), Machin and Mayr propose a two-step method for analysis. Images have two main functions; they can denote events, people and places or they can connote them. The first step is to identify what is being denoted and the second involves identifying what the image connotes (Machin and Mayr 2012, 50). Identifying the image connotators requires several phases of analysis. The full model for visual communication is detailed below.

**Denotation**

In order to analyze what an image denotes, we must look at what it depicts. This requires a detailed description.

**Connotation**

When analyzing what an image connotes, we must examine any ideas and values communicated through what is represented and through the way it is represented. We can ask:

what ideas does the image-maker want to get across? What signifiers can be used to get this particular idea across? This process involves several steps outlined in the following sections.

### A. Objects

When examining an image, one must look at the objects and people shown, the clothing and accessories, the brand, and what he/she is holding amongst other things (Machin and Mayr 2012, 52). The example that Machin and Mayr provide is an image of a woman in her office wearing "clingy fabric, loose lavish hair, high heels and heavy lipstick standing next to a PC computer" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 51). This image connotes traditional feminine sexuality and presents the woman as desirable (Machin and Mayr 2012, 52). The type of computer shown suggests work where a woman is tied to her desk: "if a laptop was shown, then the image would have suggested mobility and independence" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 52).

### B. Settings

The next step is to analyze the setting presented. Settings are used to communicate general ideas, discourses, identities and actions (Machin and Mayr 2012, 52). In the image described above, the location that is depicted should be examined, as well as the type of lighting used. For example, "an empty and spacious room can connote the luxury of space with high ceilings and large windows" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 52).

### C. Salience

Salience is the third element that is highlighted in Machin and Mayr's model. This involves features in compositions that are made to stand out in order to draw the attention of the reader or to foreground certain meanings (Machin and Mayr 2012, 54). Salience can be achieved in various ways. One is through the use of potent cultural symbols. Another is through the size of depicted elements, which can indicate ranking of importance (Machin and Mayr 2012, 54).

Salience can also be achieved through the use of striking colours, rich saturated colours or contrasts (Machin and Mayr 2012, 55), as well as through the tone of the image. Advertisers often use brighter tones on products to make them appealing (Machin and Mayr 2012, 55). In addition, by using different levels of focus, the image-maker can give salience to certain elements. Focus can be heightened to exaggerate details or reduced to blur people or objects into the background (Machin and Mayr 2012, 55). A sixth method to achieve salience is foregrounding. Elements that are in the background may become subordinate; others are suppressed in order to reduce their significance (Machin and Mayr 2012, 56). Lastly, overlapping can be used to give the impression that one element is in front of others. This technique has a similar function as foregrounding; it serves to highlight the important person or object (Machin and Mayr 2012, 56).

#### D. Representation of the Person's Attitude and Identity

A fourth element in connotation analysis is to examine the presentation of the people portrayed, that is, analyzing the gaze and pose of the person (Machin and Mayr 2012, 57).

*Gaze*

Images of people are made to present a particular interpretation of their attitude, character and identity. Where a person looks and how they are looking are important ways of encouraging particular kinds of interpretations and of relationships between the viewer and the person depicted (Machin and Mayr 2012, 70). According to Machin and Mayr, by analyzing gaze we can identify its functions, specifically: offer and demand (Machin and Mayr 2012, 70). When the person is looking directly at the viewer, it demands. "It asks something of the viewer in an imaginary relationship, so they feel that their presence is acknowledged and just as when someone addresses us in social interaction, some kind of response is required. The kind of

demand is depicted by the mood of the person depicted with open arms, a smile or a frown, for example" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 71). On the other hand, when a person does not look out at the viewer, "there is no demand made to the viewer. No response is expected. This is what is called an offer image. The viewer is offered the image as information available for scrutiny and consideration" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 71).

Having the person in the image looking off-frame rather than at an object in the image also has meaning potential. In these cases the viewer is invited to imagine what that person is thinking. In Western culture 'up' and 'down' have strong metaphorical associations. For example, when someone says they are 'feeling down' we can interpret this as negative (Machin and Mayr 2012, 72-73). The same can be applied to a person's gaze. Machin and Mayr state that looking downwards can represent negativity, insecurity, worry, and suffering, whereas looking upwards connotes the opposite (Machin and Mayr 2012, 72-73).

*Pose*

Poses are an important realm of connotation in images and can signify values, ideas, identities, attitudes and moods. Image-makers rely on established meanings to shape how viewers perceive the ideas, values and behaviours of those persons depicted (Machin and Mayr 2012, 74). The analysis must take into account whether the person is sitting or standing, whether the pose takes up space, whether it is open or closed, and whether it suggests activity or stillness (Machin and Mayr 2012, 74-75). When analyzing a pose, Machin and Mayr urge a reader to examine the extent to which a person occupies space, whether they perform for the viewer or are self-contained (Machin and Mayr 2012, 76). They also suggest examining whether there is an emphasis on the person's relaxation or intensity of a posture (Machin and Mayr 2012, 76).

Furthermore, if there is more than one person in the image, the reader must examine whether the people are positioned similarly or not (Machin and Mayr 2012, 76).

### E. Classification of People Depicted

The classification of persons presented in images is another component in analyzing connotation. In order to do this, Machin and Mayr suggest that readers examine whether the persons are depicted in a personal or distant way. Thus, it is important to look at distance, angle, whether they are represented alone or with a group, whether they are represented by not being depicted (exclusion), or if their representation is generic or specific.

*Distance*

Distance in images can be understood as size of the frame – close, medium or long frame. When we are closer to a person, we want to see them intimately, and see their inner state and feelings and approachability (Machin and Mayr 2012, 97-98). In what Machin and Mayr call a "medium shot", the viewer is not encouraged to consider their thoughts on any personal or intimate level. Medium shots are used when it is important to show some of the surroundings and objects in the image. Long shots depict the person far away and can encourage the reader to feel like an objective observer (Machin and Mayr 2012, 98).

*Angle*

Angle refers to whether the person is looking directly at the viewer, from the side, above or below or if the viewer sees them from behind. The angle can also connote feelings and meanings to a viewer. For example, "a face-to-face angle demands a response, it connotes a confrontation. A side-on view is more detached, although when combined with closeness, it can, depending on the circumstances, index togetherness" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 99). If a person is photographed side-on but very close-up, this can connote a shared position, as though they share

the viewer's point of view. If the person is depicted from behind this can often serve to offer the viewer their point of view and their perspective in the world. Looking down on someone can give the viewer a sense of his or her vulnerability. Alternatively, looking up at them can give a sense of their power. For example, in lifestyle magazines, most celebrities are photographed from below, so that as readers, we look up to them and admire them (Machin and Mayr 2012, 100).

### *Individuals vs. Groups*

In addition to examining how the viewer sees the person depicted, it is important to observe whether the person depicted is represented as a single person or as part of a group. "If an individual is depicted as a group, they can be homogenized, in other words made to look like and/or act or pose like each other to different degrees, creating a 'they are all the same' impression" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 101). Examples provided by Machin and Mayr are images of immigrants or ethnic groups that accompany news stories about the negative consequences of mass immigration. "Such images serve to collectivise and generically represent people who may have many complex and different reasons for being there, and at least reasons that are highly compelling and personal. Yet they are represented as a homogenized whole. Sometimes, people are depicted alone in order to make something seem less oppressive" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 101).

### *Generic vs. Specific*

Next, we can examine if people depicted in images are shown as part of a group with no individuality or as a distinctive person (Machin and Mayr 2012, 101). To represent people as generic, the image-maker can use stereotypical representations of dress, hairstyle and grooming, and/or selected and often exaggerated physical features; "the effect is to make the individuality

of a person disappear behind the elements that categorize them" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 101). For example, cartoons can exaggerate stereotyped group characteristics such as facial features of certain ethnic groups, like a large nose or chin or small eyes (Machin and Mayr 2012, 101), in order for any differences within an ethnic group to be lost.

### *Exclusion: Ways of (not) Representing Others*

Machin and Mayr suggest that there are also ways of representing people by not including them in an image (Machin and Mayr 2012, 102). For example, in an image of a soldier, Machin and Mayr state that the viewer can conclude that he is involved in war. However, although the image may not depict the realities of war, such as casualties or military attacks (Machin and Mayr 2012, 102), it nevertheless represents real messages about "evaluations of identities, ideas, values and actions with possible social consequences" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 102).

### F. Modality

The next step is to examine modality in images. In visual communication, some features can be thought of as carrying out the same role as modals in language. Modality includes any unit of language that expresses the speaker's or writer's personal opinion of or commitment to what they say (Machin and Mayr 2012, 203). These units indicate our judgment of probabilities and obligation, signal factuality, certainty and doubt. Following are some aspects of visual modality markers that increase our ability to describe what we see when analyzing images. These modality markers serve to draw the attention of the viewer to the meaning potential of elements, features, and styles (Machin and Mayr 2012, 203).

*Articulation of Detail*

The first element of visual modality is the degree of the articulation of detail: an image can be grainy to sharp. Machin and Mayr provide the example of a photograph of a person depicted through reduced articulation of detail for an article on knife crime (Machin and Mayr 2012, 203). This can demonstrate the media's intention to symbolize a crime and not to document specific instances (Machin and Mayr 2012, 203).

*Articulation of Background Detail*

The second aspect of visual modality is background detail. The background can be blank, lightly sketched in or out of focus, or conversely, sharp and detailed (Machin and Mayr 2012, 203). The level of background detail is important as it can provide context to the image or it can symbolize location or settings (Machin and Mayr 2012, 203).

*Depth of Articulation*

The depth of articulation must also be examined, and can range from the absence of any depth, to maximally deep perspective with other possibilities such as overlapping. "Through lowered articulation of details, of background and diminished depth, images lose their origin in time and space. It serves to symbolize the event or person" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 204).

*Articulation of Light and Shadow*

Another aspect of visual modality is the articulation of light and shadow, which can range from zero articulation to the maximum number of degrees of depth of shade (Machin and Mayr 2012, 205). Brightness and light can signify optimism, while darker shades promote the opposite (Machin and Mayr 2012, 205).

*Articulation of Tone*

The articulation of tone is also to be explored. Tone can range from black to white, and from minimum to maximum expression of the colour tone. Images can have extremes of light and dark tones, which can signify extremes of emotion, truth or obscurity. Machin and Mayr state that in Western cultures, "brightness has metaphorical associations of transparency and truth as opposed to darkness, which has associations of concealment, lack of clarity and the unknown" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 205).

*Colour Modulation and Saturation*

The last aspect of modality to examine in images is colour modulation and colour saturation. Colour modulation refers to the level of brightness of a colour whereas colour saturation refers to the vibrancy of the colour and its intensity (Machin and Mayr 2012, 205). "Reduced colour modulation brings a sense of simplicity and certainty, whereas full realization of modulation can make an image appear gritty, where all is revealed in its essence" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 205). Colour modulation is used by photographers to connote realism (Machin and Mayr 2012, 205). In regards to colour saturation, the more saturated a colour is, the more it suggests emotional intensity. A lower colour saturation or dilution of colours can suggest subtlety" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 205).

## G. Transitivity

The last step in analyzing connotation is to examine the transitivity in an image (Machin and Mayr 2012, 131). Transitivity is the study of "what people are depicted as doing and refers, broadly, to who does what to whom, and how" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 104). This reveals who plays an important role and who receives the consequences of an action (Machin and Mayr 2012, 104).

In order to examine transitivity, Machin and Mayr apply Michael Halliday's six process types to images in order to critically examine what actions are being done in those images (Machin and Mayr 2012, 105). The six processes, although included in the model, may not always be applicable to image analysis (Machin and Mayr 2012, 131). The three processes that can be applied to images, and that I use in this research, are: the material process, the mental process, and the behavioural process.

### *Material Processes*

The material process describes the process of 'doing' or concrete actions that have a consequence. There are two key participants in material processes: the actor and the goal (Machin and Mayr 2012, 205). The actor is the person who performs the action and the goal is the person to whom the process is directed (Machin and Mayr 2012, 106). For example, in an image of one person embracing another, the actor completing the material process is the one hugging the second person.

### *Mental Processes*

The mental process is useful to my research as it can provide insight into the feeling that a person is presenting in an image. Mental processes can be divided into three classes: cognition, affection and perception. Mental processes can also be one way of showing that these participants appear very busy, even though they participate in no material transactions. For example, when nation states have been involved in armed conflict, it has been common to see photographs of vulnerable-looking soldiers writing home to a loved one. In this way viewers are invited to experience the feelings of the person (Machin and Mayr 2012, 108).

*Behavioural Processes*

Lastly the behavioural processes denote psychological or physical behaviour, such as watching, tasting, staring, dreaming, breathing, coughing, smiling or laughing. They aid in the description of the behaviours of the people depicted in the selected images. Furthermore, they are also in part about action. Unlike material processes, the action has to be carried out by a single person (Machin and Mayr 2012, 109). For example, if there is an image where Woman A is looking at Woman B, it is Woman A who is engaged in a behavioural process through the action of looking.

Machin and Mayr have adapted linguistic analysis tools so that they might serve in the examination of visual communication. I apply this to my analysis of three images of Italian-Canadian symbolic ethnicity chosen from the *Panoram Italia* magazine. First I identify what is being denoted in each image through a detailed description. Next, I examine the connotation by analyzing the objects; setting; salience; representation and classification of persons; modality of visual markers; and transitivity. This enables me to identify and analyze the three images in order to discover what ideologies are behind the selection of the three ethnic symbols chosen.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has provided an overview of the theoretical framework and methodology used in this research. In order to demonstrate that symbolic ethnicity can be examined through a translation studies lens, I draw upon functionalist translation theories. I also draw upon Eugene Roosens and his work *Creating Ethnicity* (1989), in order to explore the link between ethnic identity and ethnic symbols.

In order to view symbolic ethnicity as a process of translation, I have looked at Maria Tymoczko's notion of "cluster concept" (2007), as it highlights the ineffectiveness of defining

translation, as this risks excluding certain meaning-making practices. Examining the creation of ethnic symbols through the Looping Model developed by Christiane Nord highlights the similarities and differences between the translation process and symbolic ethnicity. The constructionist approach as understood by Stuart Hall is drawn upon to examine how meaning is assigned to the ethnic symbols used by *Panoram Italia.* Lastly, the Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) model proposed by David Mayr and Andrea Machin aid in the analysis of connotation and ideologies present in the images of ethnic symbols selected from the *Panoram Italia* object of study.

**Chapter Two: Symbolic Ethnicity and Translation as Meaning-Making Practices**

One goal of my research is to examine how the process of symbolic ethnicity —including how it is created, used and manifested— is similar to the process of translation as it is generally described in translation theory. In order to demonstrate the similarities of these two processes, I draw on Tymoczko's cluster concept to expand on the dominant view of translation as a linguistic transfer of meaning and information from one written code to another. Moving away from this description of the translation process allows me to include other meaning-making practices in the category of translations. Furthermore, in order to highlight the similarities between the two processes, I draw a step-by-step comparison between the translation processes as outlined by Christiane Nord's Looping Model and the process of symbolic ethnicity.

**2.1 Expanding the concept of translation**

Tymoczko provides examples of how to expand the current conceptualization of translation in order to see it as a cross-cultural cluster concept, that is, to think of it as having no defined edges or limitations, and being capable of sharing multiple similarities with other objects or concepts:

> "There is no one thing in common […] translations do not cohere as a category in virtue of sharing one or even a few characteristics that can be used to identify all translations but only translations. Rather translations are related to one another in different ways, forming a category determined within cultures and cross-culturally by many partial and overlapping similarities […] translations cannot be defined by closed boundaries such as those characteristic of categories defined within the formulations of classical logic" (Tymoczko 2007, 85).

Tymoczko bases her argument to expand the concept of translation on several factors, all of which stem from one of the most debated issues in the translation studies field: defining translation. She believes that "there are no necessary and sufficient conditions that can identify all translations and at the same time exclude all non-translations across time and space"

(Tymoczko 2007, 78). Nevertheless, translation is most commonly described as a process where meaning is transferred from one written text to another (Tymoczko 2007, 54). This is problematic because it excludes other practices that can be considered translations, for example, facial expressions, hand gestures, oral interpretations (Tymoczko 2007, 54-55).

Instead, Tymoczko proposes that translation not be defined by what it is and what it is not: "Unlike earlier scholars who have attempted to define translation and who have sought closure on the question, I am interested in exploring the openness of the definition [of translation] and the implications of that openness for the emerging international discipline" (Tymoczko 2007, 58). The solution Tymoczko offers is the cluster concept. If the translation process is thought of in this way, then it can be examined through different theoretical frameworks. She borrows the notion of cluster concepts, otherwise known as cluster categories, from Ludwig Wittgenstein, who introduced the idea in his work *Philosophical Investigations* (1953)*.* To explain this idea, he uses the example of games. He believes a game cannot be defined by what it is and what it is not, instead we should think of it as a cluster where similarities and differences become apparent (Tymoczko 2007, 85). Wittgenstein compares these similarities and differences to family resemblances, where each game demonstrates similarities and differences in a way family members do (Wittgenstein 1953, 132; cited in Tymoczko 2007, 85). Like games, translation cannot be defined in terms of specific features that hold across cultures or even within a culture. Instead translations are clusters "related to one another in many different ways, because there are cross-cultural overlaps and similarities" (Tymoczko 2007, 85). Looking at translation as a cluster concept allows for the inclusion of different types of translation processes and products. Moreover, Tymoczko states that this permits translations of

all cultures "to be worthy of equal consideration in the construction of translation theory"

(Tymoczko 2007, 98).

One goal of my research is to expand the dominant conceptualization of the translation

process as a written practice in order to include other meaning-making practices. Expanding the

concept of translation also implies expanding the concept of "translator" to include persons who

work with non-textual translation processes. Similarly, my understanding of the term language in

my research also includes both verbal and visual systems of communication. The term 'text' is

also problematic because along with other translation scholars such as Tymoczko (2007),

Schäffner (2003), and Basnett and Lefevere (1998), I believe that 'text' cannot be taken as

written documents alone. Tymoczko believes that if the concept of 'text' can be narrowly

defined as a written document, then most translation events in the past and present could be

eliminated. "Thus oral utterances must be included in the ordinary sense of texts in translation

studies" (Tymoczko 2007, 56). This premise is echoed in Schäffner's work *Third Ways and New*

*Centres – Ideological Unity or Difference?* (2003), where she broadens the dominant

conceptualization of the translation process in order to "incorporate cross-cultural practices such

as parallel writing, that would otherwise be left out by dominant translation studies discourse"

(Calzada Pérez 2003, 10). Therefore, for the purpose of this research, 'texts' will include items

such as images, paintings, films and music. This is in order to include cultural practices and

traditions chosen and displayed through images in *Panoram Italia*.

According to Maria Tymoczko in her work *Enlarging Translation, Empowering*

*Translators* (2007), the dominant conceptualization of the translation process continues to be

defined as a written practice (Tymoczko 2007, 54). Thinking of translation as a process that only

transfers information from one linguistic and written code to another is problematic and

culturally limited as it excludes other practices and contributions that can be considered translations (Tymoczko 2007, 83). Practices that can be included are facial expressions, hand gestures, oral interpretations, fashion and dress, and symbolic ethnicity.

Tymoczko avoids defining translation in order to come to a deeper understanding of translation as a transcultural concept without retreating to a limited point of theoretical departure. Instead she proposes that scholars view the translation process as being multiple things and having multiple possibilities. In order to do this, translation must be thought of as a cluster concept with a network of connections and undefined edges: "Translations cannot be defined by closed boundaries such as those characteristics of categories defined within the formulations of classical logic" (Tymoczko 2007, 85).

Presenting the translation process as a cluster concept allows for the examination of the process of translation through various theoretical lenses. For example, we can examine translation within a larger range of contexts and fields in order to broaden the dominant perception of translation, as well as identify the types of correlations that exist between translation and other cultural processes. Furthermore, looking at translation as a cluster concept allows for the inclusion of widely varied types of translation processes and products, even specific translations that are divergent or eccentric with respect to properties common to most groups of translations (Tymoczko 2007, 97).

Ultimately, rethinking the process of translation as a cluster concept leads to the inclusion of meaning-making practices through shared 'family resemblances'. Translations cannot cohere as a category just by sharing one or even a few characteristics that can be used to identify all translations and only translations. On the contrary, translations are related to one another in many different ways, "forming a category determined within cultures and cross-culturally by many

partial and overlapping similarities" (Tymoczko 2007, 85). The implication here is that if members of the cluster concept translation are related by family resemblances, then similarity in translation processes will also be characterized by family resemblances and the investigation of similarities and overlaps in translation and other processes will greatly contribute to the concept of translation as a whole (Tymoczko 2007, 87).

I have borrowed the idea of the cluster concept in this research to examine and highlight the similarities between translation and symbolic ethnicity. An example of how this can be done is to examine the cluster concept of games examined by philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein. In his work *Philosophical Investigations* (1953), Wittgenstein explains the cluster concept by comparing different types of games. Some games can be competitive; some are team sports, while others require a single player (Wittgenstein 1953, 31-33). Because of these differences, it is impossible to find a prototype of a game that would encompass all varieties; the concept might also vary widely across cultures and smaller subgroups, such as families (Tymoczko 2007, 97-98, Wittgenstein 1953, 31-33).

This same idea can be applied to the process of translation, and symbolic ethnicity can be seen as a family or subgroup of translation. Whereas one subgroup of translation can involve an analysis, a transfer of linguistic code from one language system into another and finally a restructuring of code, the subgroup of symbolic ethnicity also involves an analysis of the source, the transfer of meaning and identification of translation relevant items and lastly a restructuring into a visual and symbolic form. Approaching translation as a cluster concept allows for the inclusion of similar processes within translation theory, for example of translations that are very 'literal', as well as those that are very 'free', translations that transfer meaning orally, and visually etc. Moreover, viewing translation as a cluster concept permits translations of all

cultures and all times to be "worthy of equal consideration in the construction of translation theory, as opposed to positing a cross-cultural concept of translation as a prototype concept of translation" (Tymoczko 2007, 98). Thinking of translation as a cluster concept allows for translation to become a central form of cultural practice in each society, and it accommodates the incommensurability of terms for translation in the world's languages. The result is a view of translation that is truly cross-cultural and open to scholars across cultures (Tymoczko 2007, 98).

Broadening the concept of the translation process to include symbolic ethnicity implies re-thinking who the translator is, since this is a process that can be undertaken by any person wanting to express their ethnic identity. I agree with Tymoczko's belief that in daily life, people possess the capacity and engage in the process of translation unconsciously. In the case studied here, the editors of *Panoram Italia* as well as Italian-Canadian readers are actively engaged translators aiming to unify and represent Italian-Canadians in the Greater Toronto Area through the publication of the magazine.

In the next section, Nord's Looping Model is used to draw attention to similarities between the process of translation and of symbolic ethnicity.

## 2.2 Symbolic Ethnicity and the Looping Model

In order to produce a detailed comparison of the translation process and the process of symbolic ethnicity I use Christiane Nord's Looping Model. This method allows me to show how both processes are purpose-driven.

Nord's Looping Model comprises three phases. In this section I examine all three and break down the individual steps involved, in order to compare them to the steps taken by Italian-Canadians and *Panoram Italia* when choosing an element of their culture to become an ethnic symbol representative of their ethnic identity.  The first step involves analyzing the target text

*skopos*. This entails looking at factors relevant for the realization of the target text such as the identification of the source text sender, the intention of the source text sender, the intended recipient, the place and the time of the communication, the motive for the communication, the intended text function of the target text and lastly the medium of the transmission, as this affects the condition of the receptions, production, and also how the information is to be presented (Nord 1991, 42-68). The second phase in Nord's model requires the analysis of the source text, which is divided into two parts. The first part involves determining whether the material provided by the source text is compatible with the translation requirements in the translation brief. The second part requires the translator to perform a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the entire source text in order to identify the translation-relevant elements to be kept in the target text. The third phase of the Looping Model is restructuring meaning into the target text; once the target text is ready it can be evaluated based on the intended target text function (Nord, 1991, 33-35).

**Phase One: The Translation Brief**

In the first phase Nord identifies the senders and the recipients of the translation. She defines the senders of the translation as the persons who use it in order to convey a certain message and the source culture producer is the one who materializes the text or culture for the sender to send out into the public. The sender and producer can be the same person (Nord 1991, 43). Target culture recipients are those people who receive the translation (Nord 1991, 43). In the case studied here, the team behind *Panoram Italia* are the producers and senders of the ethnic symbols. The intended recipients of the ethnic symbols are primarily other Italian-Canadians, but also members of other cultural and ethnic communities (Gans 1979, 435). Additionally, Italian-Canadians on the *Panoram* editorial team are acting as the translators and the commissioners in

this process. This facilitates the inclusion of the intended purpose of the sender in the translation strategy, since it is the same team of people. Identifying the key players in a translation process is important as they influence the motive for translation and the medium through which it will be communicated (Nord 1991, 51).

The second element that Nord calls on the translator to examine is the motive for translation of the source text, or in this case culture (Nord 1991, 53). Symbolic ethnicity as described by Gans is a way to remain a part of the Italian group without committing to all aspects of the culture. Italian-Canadians may want to continue to feel like they belong to a group for different reasons: a sense of security, belonging, and identity. Symbolic ethnicity allows them to fulfill this need. In Nord's model, the intended purpose of a translation is important to identify, as it dictates several crucial decisions made during the translation process. The purpose of ethnic symbols is to represent an entire culture by informing others, within or outside of the same ethnic group, that a person belongs to a particular cultural group.

I also believe that the editorial team behind the creation and dissemination of ethnic symbols through *Panoram Italia* have created symbols in order to achieve an additional purpose. Their motivation for translation is the same as the purpose of the magazine: to unify Italian-Canadians, and to promote Italian culture to Italian-Canadians and Italophiles (Panoram Italia). *Panoram* not only puts a spotlight on Italian-Canadians and their contributions to Canadian society and the world, it also includes information on Italian travel, food, fashion, sports, arts, culture, and history (Panoram Italia). Thus, I conclude that a motive for the creation of ethnic symbols is to feel part of a group. The elements used by these Italian-Canadians to represent their ethnic identity are all physical objects and activities, in this case their images in the magazine.

**Phase Two: Analysis**

Once the aspects of the translation brief, such as the identification of the key players of the translation process, the motive and the purpose of the intended translation, have been determined, the translator, in this case *Panoram Italia,* can now decide on a translation strategy. They must choose a strategy that will be best suited for the *skopos*. Furthermore, they must decide which elements of the source text or source culture are relevant enough to be included in the translation (Nord 1997, 59-60). It is the intended purpose and function of the translation, which dictate the strategy to be taken up by the translator. Nord states that the information in the translation brief will let the translator know what to prioritize, what information to include in the translation (Nord 1997, 59-60).

Therefore, if the purpose of the ethnic symbol is to be an easy form representation of the entire Italian culture, then the Italian-Canadian editors at *Panoram* must choose a strategy that will allow them to condense the culture. This is a similar idea to Maria Tymoczko's notion of metonymic translation[3] in her work *Translation in a Postcolonial Context* (1999). This strategy calls for a translator to choose the most important elements that will be included in translation. Tymoczko states that the translator assumes a large responsibility in undertaking to "produce a text that becomes representative of the whole source culture" (Tymoczko 1999, 47). In order to do this, the translator conducts a source 'text' analysis. This is the second step in Nord's translation-oriented text analysis model, and entails choosing the translation strategy necessary to fulfill the translation purpose, deciding on the feasibility of translation, and most importantly

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[3] Tymoczko believes that all translations are metonymic processes as they are rewritings or partial translations of the source text. "Metonymy is a figure of speech in which an attribute or an aspect of an entity or in which a part substitutes for a whole" (Tymoczko 1999, 42-47). Metonymy in rewritings is an important aspect in cultural continuity and change, as it permits the adaptation of traditional content and form to new circumstances, allowing change while still maintaining a predominant sense of the preservation of larger elements of the tradition (Tymoczko 1999, 46). For example, if a source culture is too dense for comprehension or time consuming, then the translator must make choices about which aspects to translate and he/she must seek a format that would allow dense information to transfer easily (Tymoczko 1999, 48). Thus it falls upon the translator to select some aspects of the source culture to preserve and prioritize, in order to create one aspect to be representative of the entire culture. Thus, by definition, translation is metonymic (Tymoczko 1999, 55).

identifying the most relevant source text or source culture items that need to be taken into account to achieve a functional translation (Nord 1997, 59-60).

A translation strategy can aid the translator achieve the purpose of the translation. Translation strategies can fall under a dichotomous classification: word for word renditions versus a free rendition. In order to condense a culture into a symbol the translator, an Italian-Canadian or *Panoram*, must certainly opt for a free translation strategy. If translators were simply seeking to assign their translation of the Italian culture and continue to commit to the culture in their everyday lives, they would have opted for a literal word-for-word that would preserve every single aspect of the culture such as language and religion, cuisine and music among other elements. These, in written translation, could be the equivalent of the lexicon, grammar and syntactic component of a source text. However, in opting for a symbolic and expressive form of ethnicity, a person is not interested in preserving all the aspects of an entire culture. Therefore, the ideal translation strategy should be towards a free translation. This will allow for a metonymic translation, where the ethnic symbol, a small part of the culture, will be representative of the entire Italian-Canadian culture.

This analysis is similar Nord's step of identifying the most relevant features of a source text that must be translated into an ethnic symbol. Like an ethnographer and any translator dealing with a linguistic transfer of meaning, an Italian-Canadian will need to determine the source culture in its entirety and evaluate which aspects of the source culture are intensely embedded in the culture (Nord 1997, 85). Italian-Canadians and *Panoram* also have to keep in mind that the purpose of the translation is to provide an easy form of ethnic representation.

As in the case of the linguistic translation process, an Italian-Canadian using a gist translation strategy identifies the most valuable elements of the source text's message that have

capital[4] in society. Objects such as the ethnic symbols that are studied serve have been chosen as the most salient elements of the entire culture, meaning that they also possess symbolic capital. This capital is embedded in the object as a symbolic representation of that culture's value (Bourdieu 1986, 241-258).

In this research, ethnic symbols will be considered as giving both cultural and symbolic capital to its bearers. Pasta, for example, is a material good that serves as a symbol of Italian ethnicity, and the knowledge exchanged in order to learn how to prepare the dish properly is both a capacity which holds cultural capital and an equally important part of this symbol. Consequently the bearers of such symbols obtain cultural as well as symbolic capital. Therefore, because all persons belong to diverse social and cultural networks, they will choose an element that allows them to hold cultural capital, all the while remaining representative of an entire culture and of the Italian-Canadian group. Once an ethnic symbol is made visible, other members of the group will be able to identify with it, and it will serve to unite a community and consequently represent them.

**Phase Three: Restructuring**

Once the most relevant parts of the source culture have been identified as having the most value for the ethnic group, the translator can continue with the translation process and create a gist translation of the culture in the form of a symbol. The Italian-Canadian or *Panoram* breaks

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[4] Generally, the term capital is associated only with the economic sphere. However, Pierre Bourdieu's use of the term expands on the common definition. He believes that cultural habits and competencies are capable of generating profits or advantages. Thus, Bourdieu expands the definition of capital to all goods that can provide the bearer with advantages or social mobility and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation (Bourdieu 1986, 241-242). In his work, *The Forms of Capital* (1986), Bourdieu introduces two additional types of capital that present themselves in society: social capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). He defines symbolic capital as "capital apprehended through knowledge exchange, or more precisely of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity" (Bourdieu 1986, 257). Cultural capital is a sub-type of symbolic capital, which can promote social mobility by providing the person with social or cultural advantage. Bourdieu states that there are three types of cultural capital. First there is an embodied form, which can be understood as a competence or skill that cannot be separated from the bearer. In addition, it takes time to acquire since the embodied capital, which is wealth converted into an integral part of a person, therefore cannot be transmitted instantaneously, unlike money or property rights (Bourdieu 1986, 245).

down the complexities of the culture and re-expresses it based on their interpretation into a new form: an ethnic symbol.

Italian-Canadians recognize the cultural capital that culinary knowledge brings its bearers. Cuisine is one of the integral elements of the Italian culture; family life revolves around getting together for hearty homemade meals. This is demonstrated by the ever-present food and wine section in each magazine issue. Pasta recipes in particular are always included. Pasta is one of the most recognizable symbols of Italian culture. *Panoram Italia* promotes pasta as a symbol; they include recipes for making homemade pasta thereby encouraging readers to prepare it. This presents pasta as an important part of Italian culture that holds cultural capital. Recipes are ways to demonstrate and share cultural knowledge, and they become objectified as intellectual property or intangible cultural heritage (Palmié 2009, 54). The recipes also include replacement ingredients for the Canadian context. For example, in the article 'How to Make Homemade Potato *Gnocchi*" (Panoram Italia, October-November 2013, 34-35), although "*gnocchi* are usually made with mashed potatoes, they can also be prepared using several types of flour or foods such as wheat, rice, bran, tubers or various green vegetables such as spinach or green peas, depending on the region. *Gnocchi* are especially esteemed in Rome, where they are made solely from flour" (Panoram Italia, October-November 2013, 34).

Once the Italian-Canadian "translator" has identified the relevant information that will be carried in a translation and has used a translation strategy that achieves its purpose, the ethnic symbol is produced. As a form of representation chosen by a person, the symbol is an expressive form of the their identity, which consequently informs people that he or she is from a particular group. Lastly it also advertises the symbol of Italian culture to other third generation Italian-Canadians and other ethnic groups.

The ethnic symbol introduced in the previous section, pasta, can be examined as a text type. As translations, they have an intended purpose of representation created by the translator. However, for a receiver an ethnic symbol can have additional functions.

Based on what Nord defines as an instrumental translation, the ethnic symbol can be seen an independent transmitter being used in a new communicative form (Nord 1997, 138). However, contrary to what Nord states, it is not trying to trick the receiver into thinking it is the source written in their own language because as a symbol, it is clear that it is only a representation of the whole. Ethnic symbols are also used to propagate the Italian-Canadian culture or the immigrant culture. Thus it also serves a function of informing people. Ethnic symbols, like translations, have different functions depending on the receiver, despite the fact that an intended purpose has been assigned to them by the sender and translator. The communicative action is completed once the target audience receives the translation.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has demonstrated that the process of creating symbols of cultural identity has multiple similarities to the process of translation. Using Christiane Nord's functionalist translation theory, I have examined the way in which translation theory can be applied to explain the process of translation that Italian-Canadians undertake when creating an ethnic symbol. I have shown that an Italian-Canadian serves as the sender and translator of an ethnic symbol and assigns it an intended purpose of representation. Once the intended purpose is established, this dictates the translation strategy. This means the translator, *Panoram Italia,* must examine the entire source text or culture carefully to determine which elements have translatability and cultural capital for them in order to summarize or abstract the culture. Once the most salient points in a source text, or culture, are identified they can choose a translation strategy that helps

them retain that information, as well as helps the translation towards the intended purpose. *Panoram* uses a free translation strategy that allows them to use symbols such as pasta, the Italian flag and soccer as representatives of the entire culture.

Lastly, this chapter has determined that ethnic symbols are hybrid types of texts since their function depends on the receiver of the translation or the type of symbol used. In addition, an ethnic symbol serves as a way to inform a person that the bearer of the ethnic symbol belongs to a particular ethnic and cultural group, and it serves to promote the person's culture to other members of the same group or people outside the group. Therefore, the creation of cultural forms of expression, including symbolic ethnicity, can be studied through a translation studies lens. Symbolic ethnicity can indeed be described as a purpose-driven translation process. The comparison process highlights the great similarities between them, in other words family resemblances, which demonstrate that ethnic symbols are translations created by Italian-Canadians and *Panoram Italia*. Viewing symbolic ethnicity as a translation process establishes an Italian-Canadian and *Panoram Italia* as active translators who are involved in the analysis of their culture, retaining the elements which hold the most worth for them and transforming those into ethnic symbols – the translations of their culture. In the next chapter I examine the three ethnic symbols and identify how they are representative of Italian-Canadian culture based on the meaning they send to target text receivers.

**Chapter Three: Description and Analysis of the Ethnic Symbols**

By viewing the translation process as a cluster concept, allowing for the inclusion of the process as we know it and that of the meaning-making practice that is symbolic ethnicity, we can see how *Panoram Italia* and Italian-Canadians alike act as commissioners and translators of the ethnic symbols.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the three symbols that have been created and disseminated by *Panoram Italia*. The three ethnic symbols are: pasta, the tri-colour Italian flag and soccer. These are the symbols that are most recurrent throughout the 18 issues examined; they appear in images and serve as representations of Italian culture for Italian-Canadians by Italian-Canadians. They also serve as identity markers for Italian-Canadians and can be used to demonstrate their Italian ethnicity to others in the same group and to those outside the group.

Before analyzing how meaning is assigned to images, it is first important to identify all the elements composing the image. Then, to examine the connotations present in three of the images pertaining to the ethnic symbols chosen, I follow the seven steps in Machin and Mayr's model for Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA). The first step is the analysis of objects present in the images. The second, the analysis of the setting, followed by the third step that is the analysis of salience. Fourth, is the analysis of the representation of the person's attitude and identity, which includes the person's gaze and pose. The fifth step is the analysis of the classification of the person depicted, which includes examining the distance of the image, whether the persons are depicted as solitary or as a group, as generic versus specific, or are excluded. The sixth step is the analysis of elements of modality present in the image, that is, the level or articulation of detail, level of background detail, depth of articulation, articulation of light and shadow, articulation of tone, and colour modulation and saturation. Lastly, each image

is examined for its transitivity, which is composed of several processes: the material, the mental, the behavioural, the verbal, the relational, and the existential.

In the second section of this chapter, I explore how meaning has been created and encoded in the objects and the people presented in the images of ethnic symbols examined in the first section. Based on the results of my connotation analysis, I examine the different codes present in the nine images and how they have been used. Drawing on Hall, I also examine the conceptual map and codes shared by Italian-Canadians that are promoted by *Panoram Italia.* Then, drawing on Eugene Roosens, I examine how the map and codes contribute to making ethnic symbols recognizable, or decoded, as Italian-Canadian, both within and outside of their community.

## 3.1 Section One: Describing and Analyzing the Ethnic Symbols

### 3.1.1 Homemade *Gnocchi*

My analysis focuses on the images that accompany the article titled "How to Make Homemade Potato *Gnocchi*". As previously mentioned, this article provides a full description of how to prepare the dish. This recipe also gives non Italian-Canadians a chance to learn to prepare the dish. What differentiates "How to Make Homemade Potato *Gnocchi*" from the other article on homemade pasta, is that the *gnocchi* recipe is accompanied by 7 images that show the various steps of the recipe. The images depict the different stages of the preparation process for two options of the *gnocchi* dish, one with tomato sauce and the other with green pea, sage, butter and *pecorino tartufato*. The images narrate the process in a colourful manner that complements the text. I was also attracted to these images due to my personal experience with *gnocchi.* It is a very difficult dish to accomplish correctly as the exterior must be cooked slightly *al dente* while the

inside is soft. If the *gnocchi* are left in the pot for too long, the stuffing inside risks being too soft. However, when it is cooked just right, it is, in my opinion, the best tasting pasta dish.

### *Denotation*

All images are bright with vibrant and richly saturated colours. Image 5a presents one of the first steps in the recipe. It is 4.5" long and 6.5" wide and is located directly above the article title. The image features a person standing at a stainless steel table. Only the torso, arms and hands are visible. This makes it difficult to identify the gender of the person. However, the arms and clothing suggest the person is as a man. He wears a gray sleeveless t-shirt; his legs are not visible in the image. He appears to have a medium skin tone; his fingernails are clean and short. He appears to have a small dark tattoo on his right forearm. However, the full tattoo is not visible.

The man is depicted standing in what appears to be a brightly lit restaurant kitchen. There is also a large stock of products and what appears to be either a white freezer or a garbage bin in the background. These objects are out of focus and difficult to clearly identify. The object in the spotlight is the table covered in flour with 12 pieces of raw and freshly made *gnocchi*, with the man cutting more pieces with a large knife. The *gnocchi* are presented as rectangular shapes, slightly thicker in the middle where they have been filled with pureed green peas, according to the recipe detail on the opposite page.

Image 5b is 1.4" by 1.4", and is located at the bottom right of the first page, beside an italicized suggestion for freezing the *gnocchi.* It presents the *gnocchi* boiling in a large pot of water on the stove. Some of the *gnocchi* are still well below the water, but the cooked *gnocchi* have risen to the top. The water appears murky and extremely hot as it bubbles in the bottom half of the pot. Beside the boiling *gnocchi*, there is another pan where the red sauce is being prepared

and heated. Again, the main focus of this image is also the *gnocchi*; the pan with the sauce is barely visible on the left-hand side.

Image 5c is 2.5" x 3" and is located on the top left of the second page underneath the sub-heading "*Gnocchi* and Tomato Sauce". It is of a pot of cooked *gnocchi* transferred into a separate pan marinating in red sauce. Again, the pasta is the main focus of the picture. The stovetop is only slightly visible. The *gnocchi* have now changed from a pale, powdery appearance to a more golden colour. The *gnocchi* appear to be cooking in the boiling sauce.

Image 5d is 2.5" x 2.8" and appears beside Image 5c. It is of 12 ripe red tomatoes being washed under running water in a stainless steel bowl. The faucet and the sink are also stainless steel, making the red tomatoes the center of attention and focus. This is the second image where a person is present. The same hands that appear in Image 5d, cutting pieces of fresh, raw *gnocchi*, appear here washing the fresh, ripe tomatoes in a bowl. The man's hands are the only body parts visible, drawing all focus to the bright tomatoes.

Image 5e, shows the final *gnocchi* dish after the addition of salt, pepper, cheese and sage. Image 5e is1.5" x 2.1" in size and is placed directly underneath Image 5c. The *gnocchi* are the focal point of the image, as the dish is positioned almost directly in the centre. These *gnocchi* have a pale colour except for the green sage and black pepper. The *gnocchi* are rounder and plumper in this image.

Image 5f is 3.8" x 3" and is in the middle of the second page, under the heading "Potato and Green Pea *Gnocchi* with Sage, Butter and *Pecorino Tartufato*." It is of a white pan on a heated gas stove with a blue flame. The white pan is in clear contrast with the black stovetop, and according to the recipe, contains ½ pound of melted butter, and six sage leaves. This image represents the stage in the recipe before cooked *gnocchi* are transferred to this pan.

The last picture, Image 5g appears below Image 5f and is 2" x 2.1" in size. It is a close-up shot of two ingredients: the pale yellow *pecorino tartufato*, un-grated, and a bunch of bright green sage. The two ingredients are placed on top of a wooden tabletop, ready to be plucked and grated to add to the white pan pictured in Image 5f.

Overall, this article is accompanied by seven images, which, as demonstrated, portray the different stages of preparing homemade *gnocchi* with both a tomato sauce and a butter sauce. In two of the images a man is depicted – or rather parts of his body so as not to take away from the focal point: the food. The setting of the images is a kitchen, which does not appear to be domestic due to the objects in the background, the products and freezers in the background. Further background settings support this, such as the gas stove in Images 5b, 5c, 5e, 5f and 5g and the sink and faucet in Image 5d. All images are brightly lit and in rich saturated colours. The most vibrant are Images 5c and 5d with red tomatoes and sauce. In all the images, the *gnocchi* are the focal point.

### *Connotation*

The seven images combined from the article "How to Make Homemade Potato *Gnocchi*" present, perpetuate and place value on the culinary culture that is a component of Italian-Canadian culture. In addition, they emphasize that it is most important that Italian-Canadians know how to make traditional homemade dishes, putting emphasis on fresh meals made with fresh ingredients.

In Image 5a, the first object visible is the raw *gnocchi* being cut. This connotes freshness. The flour that is spread across the table makes it appear busy, implying that in order to make the dish you must be ready to put in hard work. The kitchen also appears to be large and empty

except for the person preparing the dish. The utensils and objects in the room such as the knife and the stainless steel table give the viewer the perception of modernity.

The person depicted as the chef also represents modernity. Although only the torso and arms are shown, the hands appear masculine. This breaks the dominant stereotype that the Italian kitchen is the primary space of the Italian *nonna* and mother. This leads me to the conclusion that *Panoram* wishes to present cooking as a shared activity amongst both genders in the 'new' and 'emerging' Italian-Canadian culture.

Since the head of the person depicted in Image 5a is not visible, it is difficult to identify the gender except through the hands. The viewer can only identify the gender if they look closely at the hands. This ambiguity reinforces that both genders can prepare this dish. Most importantly, since the man's face is not shown, he cannot connect with the viewer through gaze. Therefore the focus falls on the *gnocchi* and the hands, which reinforces that the food is not machine-made, but home made, with care and love as is stated in the title of the article. The chef is presented at close range, bringing the viewer closer to him; this makes him approachable. It gives the viewer the impression as if they were taking a cooking class with an Italian-Canadian chef with cultural culinary capital. The angle also encourages the viewer to look down at what is being preparing. The chef forces the viewer to interact with him by completing an action rather than through his gaze. This connotes the importance that the dish has and the value of learning how to prepare it.

Another connotation achieved by the composition of these images is that anyone, even the amateur cook, will be able to make this meal. The man depicted appears to be a chef, but the recipe makes it available to any viewer or Italophile. The kitchen setting supports this. It is spacious, empty and well lit with a stainless steel counter top further adding to the illusion that the kitchen is in a restaurant and not in a household.

It can serve as encouragement to the viewer that amateur chefs can prepare gourmet and restaurant quality food in their own home.

Images 5c and 5e present the two options of the recipe. This encourages readers to select the flavour of the recipe depending on the region of Italy their family came from or based on their particular taste. This can encourage the appreciation of regional roots, while serving as a unification of Italians-Canadians through the promotion of *gnocchi* as a beloved dish of all Italian-Canadians. There are many variations of *gnocchi* as mentioned in the article that includes the recipe:

> "*Gnocchi* can be prepared using several types of flours or foods such as wheat, rice, bran, tubers of various green vegetables such as spinach or green peas, depending on the region they are prepared in. *Gnocchi* are especially esteemed in Rome, where they are made solely from flour. The dish can be prepared in various colours by simply adding a few ingredients such as a spoonful of tomato paste, squid ink or boiled spinach" (Panoram Italia, October/November 2013).
> The crisp, clear colours of Images 5c through 5g come together to reinforce that the

dishes are prepared with fresh ingredients.

The text that accompanies the images includes detailed instructions for the preparation, the list of utensils and ingredients for the dish; the title is for the entire article that spans two pages.

Overall, based on *Panoram Italia*'s representation of Italian cuisine through *gnocchi*, I conclude that it is an integral element of the Italian culture and that value is placed on homemade meals. Traditionally, this responsibility falls on Italian-Canadian women (Panoram Italia, April-May 2013, 24), however Images 5a to 5g demonstrates that preparing traditional dishes can now be done by Italian-Canadian men. *Panoram*, promotes the pasta symbol by including recipes for making homemade pasta thereby encouraging Italian-Canadians to make them in order for it to be authentic and at a certain level of quality. Not only is this demonstrated in the article "How to

Make Homemade Potato *Gnocchi*", this notion is supported by Gatto-White's anthology *Italian-*

*Canadians At Table* (2013):

> In our twenty-first century, we see a return to old world artisan products and the slow-food cultural values attached to their production, sale and consumption, now ironically the purview of the privileged class […] In short, Canadians have begun a *risorgimento* of homey, predominantly southern Italian cuisine which resonates beyond the domestic kitchen into the gregarious communal restaurant table, the bustling boisterous farmers' market, the clang and clatter of outdoor cafes, the weekend line-ups at the deli counter of the few remaining mom and pop's Italian grocers where you can run a tab and delivery is free… The *cucina casalinga* and the *cucina povera* are the new haute cuisines (Gatto-White 2013, 1-3).

In addition to the importance of culinary knowledge, as portrayed by the magazine, it is

promoted as something easy and only requiring approximately 1.5 hours to make, meaning that it

does not interfere with other aspects of daily life. By preparing this signature Italian dish, the

Italian-Canadian promotes the symbol to other members of their Italian-Canadian community, as

well as to outsiders.

### 3.1.2 The Tri-Coloured Flag

The Italian flag or a rendition of it in the tricolours also appears in pictures, articles,

advertisements, and even on shoes. For my analysis, I have chosen the image in the April/May

2014 issue, because of the multiple layers of symbols present. I found it interesting that it links

both culinary ethnic symbols, as well as a creative way to form the flag. First, I will identify and

describe people present in the images, and the actions being carried out. I will then describe the

objects, the settings in the image, the colours, saturation and lighting.

*Denotation*

Image 6 (Appendix C) is the cover page of the April/May 2014 issue, and is thus the size

of the magazine at 13" x 9.5". This image is composed of several layers: the *Panoram* masthead,

the image of a woman in her kitchen and the top layer of text. The year 2013 appears to have

been a re-branding year for the magazine. One of the changes made to the magazine cover was the presentation of the masthead. It now reads, in black letters: "The Italian-Canadian Magazine mailed to homes and businesses in the Greater Toronto Area – Panoram Italia – The new emerging Italians." The name of the magazine is in large font, with the *Italia* part rotated 90 degrees in smaller, un-bolded black font, accompanied by a green, white and red maple leaf flag. In this April/May 2014 issue, the image of the woman in the kitchen is overlaid on the masthead, thus being partially covered by her head.

The second layer of this image depicts a young woman, who appears to be in her thirties, is presented in shades of white, gray and black. She is identified by small overlaid text on the cover at the bottom right as Stefanie Terrana in white capital letters. She is also identified as Italian-Canadian, in white capital letters in both English and in Italian, "One of us – *Una di noi*." Stefanie has long dark hair, parted to one side, reaching down to just above her waist. She has a feathered haircut. Her eyebrows are thin and sculpted, the same dark colour as her hair. She has a slightly pointed nose and almond-shaped brown eyes. Her head is tilted seductively, as she looks directly at the viewer. Stefanie is smiling widely, showing perfect white teeth. She is wearing low-rise jeans, a cropped, ribbed, white tank top that is visible under the cover of her hair, and allows the viewer to see her arm, which is holding a plate. Her midriff is shown exposing her navel and navel ring.

Aside from engaging the audience with her gaze and smile, Stefanie is also holding a large white plate that is a brighter and whiter shade than her shirt, teeth and any other white object in the background. This makes the plate the focal point of the image. She is holding the plate almost vertically, so that the viewer can see the contents. This is an interesting way to present the plate and food, since holding it vertically would cause the food to slide off. This leads

me to believe that for the purposes of the magazine cover shoot, the contents were held together onto the plate. Alternatively, it could be evidence of Photoshop in order to ensure the plate is the viewer's main focal point.

Salience is achieved in this image by making the ingredients the only objects on the front cover that have any colour. At the top of the plate is row of 9 bright green leaves of basil. The leaves are in sharp focus as the veins in each leaf are visible. Just below the line of fresh green basil is a *bocconcini* cheese ball cut into four round slices spread across the plate. The *bocconcini* is even whiter than the plate. The cheese is cut into uneven slices, the largest slice on the left and the smallest slice on the right. At the bottom of the plate there are three large slices of bright red tomatoes. Like the *bocconcini* slices, the tomato slices are of different sizes with the largest on the left. The tomatoes are so clearly in focus that the viewer can see the seeds. The tomatoes complete the ingredients to make the traditional Italian dish: the *caprese* salad. These ingredients, their vibrant colours, combined with the way they have been presented to the viewer create the iconic tri-coloured Italian flag. The green, white and red dish becomes the focal point of the image, commanding the attention of the viewer despite Stefanie's engaging gaze.

Stefanie is pictured in a home kitchen that appears clean and large. Behind here is a rectangular centre island, white cabinets with a darker marble countertop. On the island, slightly to the side of the pizza sitting on a white, round, ceramic stand. It is slightly out of focus and only the pepperoni and cheese are identifiable. Behind the pizza, and even less focused sits another plate or bowl with either fruit or vegetables.

Behind the marble-topped island, on the main kitchen in the far background, there are two glass jars, and a dark bottle of wine. Behind Stefanie's shoulder, the viewer can see the edge of the island table and behind that the counter and the stainless steel sink, and beside the sink, a

glass vase holding water and flowers. Natural light is streaming into the kitchen through the blinds to the right of the vase.

The third layer in this image is the additional text overlaid directly in line with the plate. One section invites the viewer to "Follow us to Friuli" in large, bold, white capital letters. This refers to an article on tourism, art, and culture in Friuli, Italy. Below the plate, appears the title of the article the cover image represents: the Italian-Canadian Diet. And, since this issue was released in April 2014, they have also added a message to the readers in bold, white capitalized font: "*Buona Pasqua!*" (Happy Easter). Both the reference to the feature article and the Easter greeting are in large white capital letters that slightly cover Stefanie's shirt and jeans. The placement of the overlaid text directs the viewer's attention to the plate. Lastly, in the bottom right hand corner, in un-bolded white text that identifies the person on the cover. This text is also overlaid on the image.

It is very interesting to see how the flag was put together with ingredients typically used to make the Italian *caprese* salad. Overall, the image is well lit by the natural light. Stefanie and the plate with the Italian *caprese* salad flag are the focal points as they are the sharpest elements in the image. The *caprese* salad stands out, as it is the only element in the image that is in colour.

### *Connotation*

The focal point of this cover image is the Italian flag. Since the *caprese* salad makes up the Italian flag, it connotes that cuisine is central to Italian Canadian identity. The image-maker could have created the flag using other elements, but instead opted to use an iconic Italian dish to represent Italian identity. This not only emphasizes that cuisine is integral to Italian culture, but that eating traditional Italian dishes are part of ethnic identity. The setting of the home kitchen, where these dishes are prepared and where culinary knowledge is passed down, reinforces this

connotation. Because the flag is the only object in colour on the cover, it appears that being

Italian is the most important thing in Stefanie's life. The third ethnic symbol studied in this

research, the Italian flag, is intrinsically connected to the other two and adds further cultural

value to them. For example, the colours used in the images representative of pasta are green sage

leaves, white, raw pasta dough and red, ripe tomatoes: the colours of the flag. Many companies

package their pasta in boxes or plastic bags that either feature the Italian flag or have a

combination of the tri-colour. This carries cultural value as it lets consumers know that it is an

Italian product and they can expect a certain level of quality.

Stefanie is also looking directly at the viewer completing a material process, enticing

them to partake in her culture with her and discover more about it. Stefanie's pose, as she

displays the Italian flag, invites the viewer to sample the dish, and reinforces the notion that

Italians are inviting. She is completing a material process of inviting Italian-Canadians and

Italophiles alike. This is reinforced by the distance of the shot: she is very close to the viewer in a

medium shot and the viewer can see her in detail, yet still see the setting. This creates a

connection between the viewer and Stefanie. The distance allows the viewer to consider the

importance of her ethnic identity, which is being represented by the coloured flag and link it to

her. The flag is also linked to identity in this image through the text, "*Una di Noi"*. It indicates

that this is what a young emerging Italian-Canadian woman would look like – stereotyping

ethnic features positively as sexy and young. This is a stark contrast to the traditional image of a

*nonna* and other traditional depictions of women in the kitchen such as Italian-American

professional chef, television personality, and cookbook author Lidia Bastianich. Instead, Stefanie

is presented similarly to emerging women celebrity chefs such as Giada De Laurentiis from

"Giada at Home" and Nadia Giosia from "Chopped-All Stars", both popular cooking shows on the Food Network.

Showing Stefanie as thin and healthy promotes the Italian-Canadian diet as something healthy. Stefanie herself connotes that the "new, emerging" Italian-Canadians are contemporary, modern-day Canadians who are also proud of their Italian heritage. This connotation is reinforced by Stefanie's belly button piercing, as well as the type of clothes she is wearing, situating her strongly in the present time. These combined elements give her sex appeal, and present her and being Italian as something desirable.

**3.1.3 Soccer**

Soccer is the third ethnic symbol that is recurrent throughout the 18 issues, demonstrating that this sport is undoubtedly an important component of the Italian culture. In the *Panoram* magazine, it is represented as a major pastime and interest of Italian-Canadians and is present in all issues.

The image chosen to be representative of this category accompanies the article "Time for World Cup in Toronto" from the June/July 2014 issue (Appendix C, Image 7). I chose this image because, as the case with Image 6, Image 7 features several layers of ethnic symbols. It links the tri-colour flag symbol with soccer in several ways and the setting demonstrates the importance of cuisine in Italian culture. This image is analyzed following the method used for the previous two: I identify any people and objects depicted in the image, the actions that are being carried out, followed by the settings, lighting, colour and colour saturation.

*Denotation*

Image 7 is large and uses an entire page of the magazine, 13" x 9.5". Like the images for the first ethnic symbol, this image is in full, bright colours. It depicts three men, between the

ages of 30-50 years old, standing at a bar. They are standing in a line at the bar slightly angled, so that the Man A appears closer and Man C is farthest away from the viewer. This position causes the first man's shoulders to cover part of the second man's body, and the second man's body to slightly cover the third. The men appear to be watching a soccer game on a television screen that is higher than their heads, with mouths open and arms in the air. The man farthest to the left is closest to the viewer. Their gazes are off-frame, thus none of the men engage with the viewer.

Man A is wearing a scarf draped around his neck and the bar partially obscures his shirt. The scarf he is wearing has wide horizontal black and white stripes, the colours of the Juventus team in the Italian league. His t-shirt is bright blue and has three vertical stripes, green, white and red close together. Overlaid on the stripes are four letters -'M', 'P', 'I', and 'O'- in gold. It is reasonable to assume that the letters spell out 'Champions' in English or Italian. Below the letter 'P' there is a picture of the world cup trophy in gold and blue, being held up by famous soccer player Fabio Cannavaro. The image represents a memorable moment in Italian soccer history, when the National Italian Soccer Team won the World Cup in 2006.

Man A has a light skin tone, dark brown hair and dark brown eyes. His eyebrows are light and not very thick. He has styled his hair short on the sides and has gelled up the top part of his hair. He has slight wrinkles on his forehead. His mouth is wide-open, revealing top teeth and, tongue. He has slight laugh lines around his eyes. He is clean-shaven, but has a slight shadow over his upper lip. His right arm raised and bent at the elbow, and his right hand is in a fist, doing a fist-pumping action. His left arm is not visible. In combination with his action, his facial expression and his Italian team attire, it is made explicit in the image that this man is a fan of the National Italian Soccer team.

Man B has a light complexion, brown eyes, dark eyebrows and dark brown hair with some strands of gray at the top and on the sides. His mouth wide open in an "O" shape, exposing his tongue and four of his bottom teeth. He is wearing a bright blue short sleeve polo shirt; the two top buttons are not done up. The t-shirt says "*Italia*" in large, white, capitalized letters across his chest. The letters are jagged at the edge and on the last 'A'; there is what looks like a stamp in blue with "*Italia*" written in blue font with a blue rectangular box around it. Just below the blue *Italia*, appears the blue and white circular logo of the *Federazione Italiana Giuoco Calcio* (FIGC). Man B is also wearing a dark green necklace, four beads of which are visible. He has a large tri-coloured Italian flag, wearing it as if it were a cape.

Man C is farthest away from the viewer. Less than half of his body is visible, obscured by Man B and his flag. Man C has a light skin complexion. He has dark short styled hair and dark brown eyes and eyebrows. He is also clean-shaven, with a slight shadow of a beard. He is wearing a blue short-sleeved, polo style National Italian soccer team jersey that has two blue buttons and a white collar. There are two stripes running around the length of the collar, one is red and the other green. On the left breast of the shirt appears the same Italian soccer logo as on Man B's shirt. The logo on this shirt is blue, green, white, red and gold. It is almost rectangular shaped, except the end at the bottom, which is pointed into a triangle tip. The top of the rectangle is a strip of blue; this is where the word '*Italia*' is written. He has a blue and white soccer scarf draped over his right shoulder. The text on the scarf is obscured, but there is one letter is visible, the letter 'A'. This flag is considerably smaller than the one draped around Man B's shoulders. Man C has both arms raised in the air and is holding an Italian flag. His gaze appears to be directed at a different overhead screen and he does not appear to be cheering or reacting to the game, but rather, just happy to be in the environment and watching his team.

The marble top bar that the three men are standing at is black, white and cream. In the foreground there are several objects for preparing coffee and espresso, such as stainless steel containers holding packages of sugar, espresso spoons and regular coffee spoons, cups and saucers, cinnamon and cocoa powder for cappuccinos.

Behind these utensils, the bar sink is partly visible, along with space for storage, where there are more white coffee saucers. A bar mat the length of the bar top, in front of Man B. The mat is black and is grooved to accommodate glasses. In the center of the mat, the Red Bull energy drink logo is visible.

In the background of the image, behind Man C there is a black refrigerator. The door of the refrigerator is glass and both sides of the door are lined with a metal material. At the top of the door, there is a gray sticker with red cursive writing that says "Coca-Cola". Although this part of the image is out of focus, the room appears to be divided into two sections, a bar area and what appears to be a dining area.

The lighting in this image is very bright and appears natural to the viewer. The men's faces and especially their soccer jerseys are the focus of the image as they are the sharpest and the colour saturation is very rich. The colour choice of the light and dark brown tones makes the setting bland, thus adding to the bright colours of the jerseys and the Italian flags. The text accompanying the image lets the viewer know that the men are dressed up because it is: Time for World Cup in Toronto. This text is in white font. Just below the title in English, the title of the article also appears in Italian: *Tempo di Mondiali a Toronto*, in the same colour and font. This text is overlaid on the lower part of the image. The photo credits appear in small white un-bolded font. The location of the setting is identified in a similar colour and font as the photography

credit: Special Thanks to Café Diplomatico. Neither of these texts is very visible, as the font colour used blends in with the colour of the marble top bar.

*Connotation*

Image 7 sends the message that soccer is an integral pastime and unifying experience for Italian-Canadians, specifically for men of this ethnic group. It also represents Italian-Canadians belonging to the same team. Their ethnic identity is linked to the Italian soccer culture, and the flags represent this.

The three men are positioned similarly, cheering for the Italian team, showing that they are unified as Italian-Canadians and as men. They are shown in a medium-long shot to allow the viewer to focus on the men's faces, but also on some of the setting, which is an integral part of the image's narrative. Their poses and gazes let us know that they are deeply involved and feel they are participating in the action. The viewer is looking at the men at eye level even though they are not engaging through their gaze. This allows the viewer the opportunity to share the men's emotions. The men represent the way every Italian man should feel and dress when cheering for the Italian team. The viewer can become like them and be a true Italian soccer fan would have the Italian shirt or jersey, a flag and a scarf. If you do not have these things then you are not a good supporter. These men represent the "ultimate *azzuri* fan". As mentioned, the setting promotes Little Italy, and portrays it as the center of Italian events in Toronto. Furthermore, the café emphasizes that cuisine or culinary aspects of Italian culture are important and underlie important events such as the World Cup.

Since no Italian-Canadian women are depicted, the message is that women appear not to like the sport, and cannot be ultimate fans. Not only does the image exclude women from this group, it also perpetuates stereotypes of physical ethnic traits in men of that age group and that

social class. For example, it presents Italian-Canadian men in this group as healthy, having a specific hair colour and skin tone and complexion. They are perfectly groomed, have perfect white smiles and are dressed with care. This is, to a certain extent, not just an idealization of the perfect soccer fan, but also an idealization of Italian-ness. The men are also dressing like soccer players. Soccer players are being idolized – they are a winning team, an elite team with an illustrious history. Wearing the jersey allows the men to embody their favourite player, showing they belong to the Italian-Canadian group, and to a particular fan group, an additional type of belonging.

The title of the article is in English and Italian "Time for World Cup in Toronto - *Tempo di Mondiali a Toronto*", thus reaching out to multiple generations by using both languages. For many Italians the soccer team is a way to interact with other community members. It can consequently lead to the feeling of belonging to a group despite the different regions Italians immigrated from, the variations in spoken dialects and culinary ingredients of a recipe. A person may not be a constant follower of the sport throughout the year or every season, but the World Cup creates a reason to become a follower of the Italian team.

Gans states that symbolic ethnicity is characterized by a feeling of nostalgic allegiance or a pride in a tradition (Gans 1979, 435). Soccer instils a pride and allegiance to the source culture. A specific example of this is the national soccer team winning the FIFA World Cup in 1982 and in 2006 (Panoram Italia, June-July 2014). In this issue, the publisher's note is all about the 2014 World Cup and what it signified for Italian-Canadians. In 1982, Italy won the World Cup for the first time since 1938; Zara states that Canadians of Italian heritage proudly marched the streets of Toronto with their *tricolore*:

> "Though I was born in Italy, my first cherished memory of actually paying attention to soccer was the 1982 World Cup…the previous 30 years after Pier 21 were marked of

hard work and *sacrifici* […] by the time the 80's came around we, as a community, were beginning to believe we belonged. When Paolo Rossi led the *azzuri* to victory with a 6-goal performance in the 1982 World Cup, we were all ready to have our coming out party. No matter where we were living across our great land, we all took out our *tricolore* and waved it proudly for all to see. We were no longer afraid to say we were Italian in Canada" (Panoram Italia, June-July 2014,10).

This presents soccer as having important social value as it is a way to unify Italian-Canadians. This signifies a cultural and ethnic affiliation with a sport that is important to the immigrant culture and culture of origin.

Overall, Image 7 presents soccer as an important activity within the Italian-Canadian culture, as it provides a means for members of the community to feel a sense of belonging. *Panoram Italia's* interpretation of the many ethnic symbols in this image, presents soccer as a man's sport. It also demonstrates the idealization of what the ultimate *azzuri* fans would look like and what they would wear and encourages people to comply with the same level of commitment to the team if they want to be considered good supporters. Lastly, it presents the importance of certain spaces in Toronto for Italian-Canadians to meet for important events.

**3.2 Section Two: Codes and How They are Used**

In Nord's Looping Model, as described in Chapters 1 and 2, the third step in the translation process involves reconstructing the meaning of the original 'text' into a new form as the target 'text'. This can only occur after the translator has conducted a comprehensive analysis of the source, in this case source culture, in order to pinpoint the translation-relevant elements in the source, which are then, if necessary, adapted to the target 'text' (Nord 1991, 33).

Nord's model leaves a gap, as she does not delve into the process of restructuring and encoding the new meaning. When the translation process occurs linguistically, we can assume that the restructuring process calls for the translator to reformulate the meaning in the form of words in the language of the target culture. The target text becomes understandable by readers because the translator has used words that have particular meaning encoded in them. This step is of particular interest for my research, since symbolic ethnicity is a non-textual practice that requires the translator to restructure meaning in a different form.

The ethnic symbols are metonymic representations of the entire culture and serve to give Italian-Canadians a sense of belonging, community and pride in their culture of origin. Because the symbols are partial and condensed versions of the culture, the meaning embedded into the symbol also has to be restructured to adapt to the new function of the translation. The creation of meaning falls on *Panoram* as both the commissioner and the translator. This means that viewers, as the receivers of the message, must be conscious that the images project a certain ideal of Italian-ness.

According to Stuart Hall, we create meaning not through the material world of objects, but with the different language systems we use. Meaning is influenced by our social and cultural values. Thus, it is Italian-Canadians who use the conceptual systems of their culture and other

representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate that world to others (Hall 1997, 25).

In order to understand how meaning is assigned to specific objects and people depicted in the images it is important to identify the codes we use to communicate and their relevance. In the case of visual language, the relationship between the concept and sign used in the image is of primary importance. Visual signs are what Halls calls iconic signs (Hall 1997, 20) that bear, in their form, a certain resemblance to the object, person or event to which they refer. For example, a picture of a tree produces some of the actual conditions of our visual perception of a tree (Hall 1997, 20). My interest is in examining how people can recognize that the arbitrary combination of an object and colours represents an object we are seeing. Hall believes that this may be possible since it is people who fix the meaning so firmly, that after a while, it comes to seem natural and inevitable (Hall 1997, 21).

Since codes are fundamental in meaning-making practices such as symbolic ethnicity, I examine the different language systems and codes used the images of the three ethnic symbols chosen from *Panoram Italia*. In the semiotic approach, part of the constructionist representation theory, words, images and objects themselves function as signifiers in the production of meaning (Hall 1997, 37). In the first set of seven images for *gnocchi*, *Panoram Italia* uses a culinary language system. For example, the *gnocchi*, tools and the setting are all part of this language system. The culinary language system also involves colour codes, for example green leaves can connote freshness.

As described in the first section of this chapter, the vibrancy and brightness of the colours used represents freshness of the meal being prepared. Just as the colour green means 'go' in the code of traffic lights, in the culinary language system it can connote 'freshness'. In Image 6,

representing the ethnic symbols of the flag, two language systems are used – again the culinary

language where colours are important, but also the fashion language. Clothes themselves are

signifiers (Hall 1997, 37). A fashion code is based on how consumer cultures like ours correlate

particular kinds or combinations of clothing with certain concepts (Hall 1997, 37). This coding

converts the clothing into signs, which can then be read as a language (Hall 1997, 37-38). For

example, Stefanie Terrana's clothes indicate that she is young, modern and fit. In Image 7, the

two code systems of cuisine and fashion are used again, but the language of sports fans is also

introduced. For example, in the culinary code, even though there is no *barista* there to make

c*appuccino*s and *espressos*, a person using the culinary code system can identify the machine

used to make them and the other elements such as the cups, saucers and sugar. The fashion code

is tied into this image through the use of the soccer jersey and jersey inspired shirts the three men

are wearing. By wearing these, not only do they present themselves as *azzuri* fans but also as

having an Italian origin. The sports code is ever present in this last image through the use of

soccer scarves, jerseys, specific logos such as the *Federazione Italiana Giuoco Calcio* (FIGC)

that appears on two shirts. Most importantly, the colour code system is also used: the particular

shade of blue of the jerseys represents the *azzuri*.

### 3.2.1 The Recognition of Ethnic Symbols

Codes fix meaning, so that we are able to correlate between the signifier and what is

being signified. This function of a code is what makes it possible for people outside the Italian-

Canadian group to recognize certain objects depicted in the images such as pasta, or an espresso

machine as pertaining to that culture. If not for this important function of codes, certain

endeavours such as *Panoram Italia* would not be able to fulfill their mission of promoting Italian

culture outside of their group and to Italophiles in the Greater Toronto Area.

Cultural and social conventions also tell us which language systems to use in order to convey meaning (Hall 1997, 22). For example, English speakers have, over time, come to an unwritten agreement without conscious decision or choice, that certain signs will stand for or represent certain concepts (Hall 1997, 22). This unwritten code is what is passed down across generations. People learn the system and conventions of representation, the codes of their language and culture, which enables them to have cultural knowledge and allows them to be a member of their culture. People unconsciously internalize the codes, which allow them to express certain concepts and ideas through their system of representation, such as writing, speech, gesture, or visualization, and to interpret ideas, which are communicated to them using the same systems (Hall 1997, 22).

To belong to a culture is to have roughly the same conceptual and linguistic universe, to know how concepts and ideas translate into different languages, and how language can be interpreted to refer to or reference the world. To share these things is to see the world from within the same conceptual map and to make sense of it through the same language systems in the same way (Hall 1997, 22). Does this mean that people recognize what is Italian-Canadian because it is different from other migrant cultures? Roosens supports this notion in his work:

> "If I see and experience myself as a member of an ethnic category or group, and others – fellow members and outsiders - recognize me as such, my ways of being become possible for me that set me apart from the outsiders. These ways of being contribute to the content of my self-perception. In this sense, I become my ethnic allegiance; I experience any attack on the symbols or values as an attack on myself" (Roosens 1989, 18).

All people from different cultures differentiate between 'us' and 'them'. What unifies 'us' sets us apart from others with different views. This differentiation is how one can recognize when someone or an object does not belong to the same group, thus identify it as part of another group. This is how symbols can be identified as Italian-Canadian.

The reader is as important as the writer in the production of meaning. Every signifier encoded with meaning has to be meaningfully interpreted or decoded by the receiver (Hall 1997, 33). By fixing the relationships between our conceptual system and our language systems, codes make it possible for us to establish the correlation between our concepts and our language systems (Hall 1997, 22).

**Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the images of the three ethnic symbols chosen for this research. These ethnic symbols were chosen because they are most recurrent throughout the 18 issues of *Panoram Italia* I selected.

I have provided an analysis of two components that comprise meaning in the images. The denotation of an image covers the first layer or meaning that an image portrays through items, people, their clothing and actions. And the connotation aspect of an image is the second layer of meaning being sent to the viewer, and I have analyzed the connotation based on the seven steps included in Machin and Mayr's model. This includes the analysis of objects present in the images, the setting, the salience, the representation of the person's attitude and identity, including the person's gaze, pose – the classification of the people depicted, which includes examining the distance of the image, whether the people are depicted as solitary or as a group, as generic versus specific or are excluded, the level or articulation of detail, the level of background detail, the depth of articulation, the articulation of light and shadow, the articulation of tone, and colour, modulation and saturation. Lastly, each image has been examined for its transitivity.

Overall, Images 5a through 5g tell the viewers that if they follow the recipe, they will be able to prepare fresh and restaurant quality gnocchi in their own homes. In Image 6, *Panoram* highlights the importance of the Italian flag, or more importantly, Italian ethnicity in an Italian-

Canadian's life. This image also links the first ethnic symbol of pasta and cuisine to the Italian flag. Image 6 also highlights the importance of the home and cuisine in Italian culture, so much so, that a signature Italian dish, the *caprese* salad, is tricoloured like the flag. Lastly in Image 7, *Panoram Italia* presents the importance of soccer in Italian-Canadian culture, in particular its role in unifying the members of the group. In addition, it also presents what the ideal *azzuri* supporters would look like. This image also links the first two symbols with soccer, by the representation of cuisine through the setting at the café, and the use of the Italian flags by the men.

I also conclude that *Panoram Italia* represents every-day people and objects in a "perfect" manner. For example, with perfect ingredients for *gnocchi*, kitchens, kitchen tools, perfect white smiles, and healthy, thin bodies. This points to the importance of how *Panoram* perceives Italian-Canadians to be and how they wish Italian-Canadians to be portrayed to others. As for the ingredients, they also connote that the Italian product has a supreme value and that one can always expect quality from it.

All ethnic symbols have cultural and symbolic values that influence the way they are perceived. In this case, they are influenced by the Italian-Canadian culture as perceived by the editors and sponsors of *Panoram Italia.* They have represented a 'new emerging' generation of Italian-Canadians in a positive manner and as something to be desired. For example, cuisine is presented as having a high cultural value and being an integral part of the Italian culture because it brings people together in interaction and family gathering. The task of preparing food has traditionally been depicted as a woman's task, however, in Image 5a, *Panoram* depicts a man in the kitchen. This demonstrates that the magazine is promoting a modern Italian-Canadian culture where anyone can prepare a delicious *gnocchi* dinner. The Italian flag is an important symbol on

its own, but used in combination with the other two symbols, it adds cultural capital as it connotes Italian authenticity and quality, especially when partnered with cuisine, such as the *caprese* salad, or even the logo on pasta packaging. Lastly, I have also discussed how soccer is seen to have cultural and social values as it not only allows Italian-Canadians to feel pride in their culture of origin, but it also serves as a means for social interaction with other members of the community.

It is important to remember that in the most recent editions of *Panoram* the masthead now clearly states that *Panoram Italia* represents "The New Emerging Italians". This, and the availability of the issues online, the blog and social media page, can be a strategy to make the publication available to all generations. The images on the front cover are black and white with only one or two items in colour to accent or highlight a particular theme. The images are primarily of Italian-Canadians. Every issue has a caption at the bottom right or left-hand corner identifying the person(s) depicted on the cover photo stating that the person is "One of Us". These people are representative of the emerging Italian-Canadian generation and their conceptualization of what embodies Italian-Canadian identity.

In addition, this chapter has discussed how meaning is assigned to certain objects and practices, specifically those that have been presented and analyzed in the images in Section One. I have examined the multiple functions of codes, one of which is to fix the relationships between our conceptual system and our language systems, thus making it possible for us to speak, receive and hear intelligibly. This allows us to establish the translatability between our concepts and our language systems (Hall 1997, 22). People learn the system and conventions of representation, the codes of their language and culture. This equips them with the cultural know-how, thus enabling them to function with cultural competence as members of a group. They unconsciously

internalize the codes, which allow them to express certain concepts and ideas through their system of representation and to interpret ideas, which are communicated to them using the same systems (Hall 1997, 22). This is how we are able to identify ethnic symbols as being Italian-Canadian, because they are different from the symbols used by other cultures.

**Conclusions**

In the translation studies field, the process of translation is most commonly described as a process of transferring meaning from one written text in one language to another. This dominant notion of the translation process has given the perception that translation studies theories cannot be successfully applied to examine concepts in other fields. Thus the aim of my research has been to demonstrate that cultural phenomena can be studied, explained and even understood more deeply by applying translation theories to the study of the process of creation of symbolic ethnicity.

By examining the process of symbolic ethnicity my research aims to demonstrate that the translation studies can be a discipline of its own, not only capable of being nurtured by others, but capable of contributing to the development of other fields. In addition, my work aims to reconceptualise the current dominant notion of translation as only a written practice. I do this by addressing the following questions in my work: how might symbolic ethnicity be viewed as a meaning making practice that resembles translation? How are these ethnic symbols linked to identity? How does *Panoram Italia* contribute to the use of such symbols? And finally, what makes them recognizable as belonging to a particular ethnic group?

In order to accomplish this analysis, I have applied translation methodologies to the non-textual practice of symbolic ethnicity in order to gain a richer understanding of how this kind of cultural phenomenon is manifested, and have focused specifically on the cultural magazine *Panoram Italia* and three ethnic symbols: pasta, soccer and the Italian flag. The magazine promotes Italian-Canadian culture, through symbols representative of the entire Italian-Canadian culture.

Drawing on Tymoczko's notion of the cluster concept and Nord's Looping Model in Chapter 2 allows me to answer my first research question, which is how symbolic ethnicity can be viewed as a meaning-making practice that resembles translation. First, Tymoczko's idea of translation as a cluster concept has allowed me to expand the dominant concept of translation and allows me to draw parallels between the process of translation and symbolic ethnicity. Moving away from the description of the translation process as being a written process allows me to include other meaning-making practices in the category of translations. Broadening the concept of the translation process to include symbolic ethnicity implies re-thinking who the translator is, since this is a process that can be undertaken by any person wanting to express their ethnic identity. In the case studied here, the editors of *Panoram Italia* are actively engaged translators aiming to unify and represent Italian-Canadians in the Greater Toronto Area.

Comparing the translation process, as per Nord's model, and symbolic ethnicity demonstrates that there are similarities in several factors, such as: how ethnic symbols are chosen, abstracted, and assigned meaning and function. *Panoram Italia* serves as the sender and translator of an ethnic symbol and assigns it an intended purpose of representation. Once the intended purpose is established, this dictates the translation strategy. This prompts the translator, *Panoram Italia,* to examine the entire source text or culture carefully to determine which elements have translatability and cultural capital for them in order to summarize or abstract the culture. Once the most salient points in a source text, or culture, are identified they can choose a translation strategy that helps them retain that information, as well as helps the translation towards the intended purpose. *Panoram* uses a free translation strategy that allows them to use symbols such as pasta, the Italian flag and soccer as representatives of the entire culture.

Lastly, ethnic symbols are hybrid types of texts since their function depends on the receiver of the translation or the type of symbol used. In addition, an ethnic symbol serves as a way to inform a person that the bearer of the symbol belongs to a particular ethnic and cultural group, and it serves to promote that culture to other members of the same group or people outside the group. Therefore, symbolic ethnicity can indeed be described as a purpose-driven translation process.

Chapter 3's in-depth analysis of the denotation and connotation of the selected images allows me to address how ethnic symbols are linked to identity and how *Panoram Italia* contributes to the use of the symbols. The second half of Chapter 3 allows me to address how ethnic symbols are recognizable as belonging to a particular group, by drawing on Stuart Hall's understanding of the constructionist approach.

The denotation of an image covers the first layer or meaning that an image portrays through items, people, their clothing and actions. And the connotation aspect of an image is the second layer of meaning being sent to the viewer, and I have analyzed the connotation based on the seven steps included in Machin and Mayr's model. This includes the analysis of objects present in the images, the setting, the salience, the representation of the person's attitude and identity, including the person's gaze, pose – the classification of the people depicted, which includes examining the distance of the image, whether the people are depicted as solitary or as a group, as generic versus specific or are excluded, the level or articulation of detail, the level of background detail, the depth of articulation, the articulation of light and shadow, the articulation of tone, and colour, modulation and saturation. Lastly, each image has been examined for its transitivity.

Images 5a through 5g from the "How to Make Homemade Potato *Gnocchi*" article ell the viewers that if they follow the recipe, they will be able to prepare fresh and restaurant quality *gnocchi* in their own homes. In Image 6 *Panoram* highlights the importance of the Italian flag and Italian identity, or more importantly, Italian ethnicity in an Italian-Canadian's life. Image 6 also highlights the importance of the home and cuisine in Italian culture, so much so, that a signature Italian dish, the *caprese* salad, is tricoloured like the flag. Lastly in Image 7, *Panoram Italia* presents the importance of soccer in Italian-Canadian culture, in particular its role in unifying the members of the group. In addition, it also presents what the ideal *azzuri* supporters would look like. This image also links the first two symbols with soccer, by the representation of cuisine through the setting at the café, and the use of the Italian flags by the men.

*Panoram Italia* represents every-day people and objects in a "perfect" manner. For example, with perfect ingredients for *gnocchi*, kitchens, kitchen tools, perfect white smiles, and healthy, thin bodies. This points to the importance of how *Panoram* perceives Italian-Canadians to be and how they wish to be portrayed to others. It is a component of shaping their Italian-Canadian identity.

Symbolic ethnicity is linked to identity, as it plays a key role in representing the identity of 'new emerging' generation of Italian-Canadians. Which is in a positive manner and as something to be desired. For example, preparing food has traditionally been depicted as a woman's task, however, in Image 5a, *Panoram* depicts a man in the kitchen. This demonstrates that the magazine is promoting a modern Italian-Canadian culture where anyone can prepare a delicious *gnocchi* dinner. The Italian flag is an important symbol on its own, but used in combination with the other two symbols, it adds cultural capital as it connotes Italian authenticity and quality, especially when partnered with cuisine, such as the *caprese* salad, or even the logo

on pasta packaging. Soccer is seen to have cultural and social values as it not only allows Italian-Canadians to feel pride in their culture of origin, but it also serves as a means for social interaction with other members of the community.

The images on the front cover are black and white with only one or two items in colour to accent or highlight a particular theme. The images are primarily of Italian-Canadians. Every issue has a caption at the bottom right or left-hand corner identifying the person(s) depicted on the cover photo stating that the person is "One of Us". These people are representative of the emerging Italian-Canadian generation and their conceptualization of what embodies Italian-Canadian identity.

Based on Hall's understanding of the constructionist approach, and of codes, it is clear that without codes, one cannot fix meaning to correlate between the signifier and what is being signified. This function of a code is what makes it possible for people outside the Italian-Canadian group to recognize certain objects depicted in the images such as pasta, or an espresso machine as pertaining to that culture. If not for this important function of codes, certain endeavours such as *Panoram Italia* would not be able to fulfill their mission of promoting Italian culture outside of their group to Italophiles in the Greater Toronto Area.

Hall's notion of a shared conceptual map, also contributes to understanding how ethnic symbols are recognizable as Italian-Canadian. To belong to a culture is to have roughly the same conceptual and linguistic universe, to know how concepts and ideas translate into different languages, and how language can be interpreted to refer to or reference the world. To share these things is to see the world from within the same conceptual map and to make sense of it through the same language systems in the same way (Hall 1997, 22). All people from different cultures differentiate between 'us' and 'them'. What unifies 'us' sets us apart from others with different

views. This differentiation is how one can recognize when someone or an object does not belong to the same group, thus identify it as part of another group. This is how symbols can be identified as Italian-Canadian.

The diversified use of translation theories as well as theories from other fields have enriched my analysis of symbolic ethnicity. The analysis was useful, as it has allowed me to conclude that the process of translation can include non-textual, meaning- making practices. Furthermore, my analysis allows me to conclude that by examining a cultural phenomenon through a translation studies lens, not only allowed me to obtain a better understanding of symbolic ethnicity as a process of ethnic and cultural identification, it has also provided me with a better understanding of the translation process. Lastly, my analysis has demonstrated that applying translation studies theories is possible and can be fruitful.

Using the magazine as the object of study allowed me to examine and select the ethnic symbols based on the criteria I set out, including the time period and the number of recurrences throughout the issues. However, by choosing to examine the ethnic symbols present in the magazine, the choice of symbols represented are at the discretion of *Panoram Italia's* editorial team – whose criteria are unknown to me. The only thing known to me is their mission statement. So the ethnic symbols examined are from the point of view of how *Panoram* sees Italian-Canadians. It would be interesting to see if Italian-Canadians in the Greater Toronto Area in their lives use the magazine's symbols chosen to be representative of the culture.

This research on symbolic ethnicity as a non-textual translation process has opened the door for further research, as many new questions have come to mind during my writing process. For example, do other ethnic groups use symbols in a similar way, why or why not? Are there

similarities or differences in the categories of symbols used? Is there a difference in ethnic symbols used across social classes and generations?

Over the past two years, whenever I shared with others about my research, they were surprised to learn the approach I was taking to the process of translation, which could involve multiple meaning-making processes. They were interested in how one's choice of food and clothing can become practices of identity markers and consequently of translations. My hope is that my research has contributed to the examination of the translation process as a non-textual practice.

**Appendices**

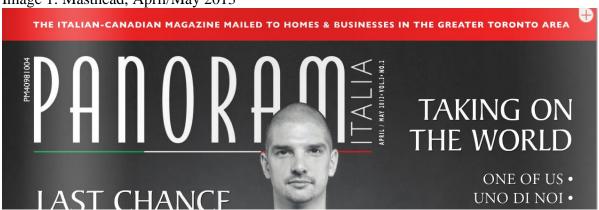**Appendix A:** *Panoram Italia* **Masthead**

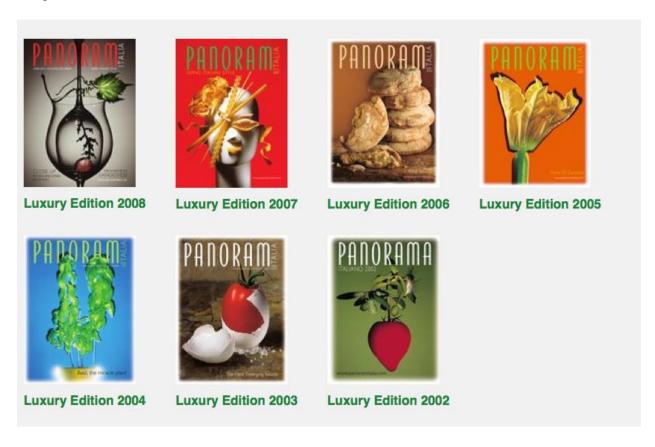Image 1: Masthead, April/May 2013



Image 2: Masthead, June/July 2013



Image 3: Masthead, August/September 2013

**Appendix B:** *Panoram Italia* **Luxury Editions**

Image 4



Luxury Edition 2008  Luxury Edition 2007  Luxury Edition 2006  Luxury Edition 2005

Luxury Edition 2004  Luxury Edition 2003  Luxury Edition 2002

**Appendix C: Symbols Examined**

Image 5



Image 5a

Image 5b



Image 5c

Image 5d

Image 5e

Image 5f



Image 5g

Image 6

Image 7

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