

## **Gloria Between Two Cultures: Identity Negotiation in Modern Family (2009)**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This study examines the negotiation of cultural identity through the character of Gloria in *Modern Family* Season 1 (2009). As a Colombian immigrant living within an American family structure, Gloria represents the complexities of multicultural identity in everyday domestic life. Drawing on Homi K. Bhabha's concept of the Third Space and intercultural communication theory proposed by Judith Martin and Thomas Nakayama, this study analyzes how identity is negotiated through language, family roles, traditions, and class relations. Using a qualitative descriptive method with thematic analysis, data were collected from selected episodes in Season One. The findings reveal that Gloria neither fully assimilates into American culture nor entirely preserves a fixed Colombian identity. Instead, she constructs a hybrid identity through adaptation, resistance, and everyday cultural preservation. This study demonstrates that television sitcoms can represent multicultural identity as fluid, relational, and continuously negotiated.

**Keywords:** Cultural Identity, Hybridity, Intercultural Communication, Television Studies, Third Space

### **INTRODUCTION**

As stated by George Santayana in the book *The Life of Reason* "The family is one of nature's masterpieces," (1905). The notion of "masterpieces" is inherently fluid and lacks universality; it constitutes a social construct influenced by historical, cultural, and ideological dynamics. Family has historically been understood as a central social institution. However, the meaning and structure of family continue to evolve alongside social change, migration, and globalization. In contemporary society, many households consist of members from different cultural, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds. As a result, identity within family life is increasingly shaped through negotiation rather than inherited as a stable category.

In the era of globalization, intercultural encounters have become an integral part of everyday life. Population movements, cross-cultural marriages, and the influence of global media have led many individuals and families to live between two different cultures. As a result, cultural identity is no longer singular, but is formed through a continuous process of encounter and negotiation. A 2018 investigation utilizing data derived from the American Community Survey and the U.S. Census scrutinized the prevalence and demographic composition of multiracial families with both married and single parents spanning the years 1980 to 2018. The occurrence of multiracial families has been observed to increase

significantly among both married and single-parent households, with unmarried white mothers exhibiting the most substantial growth—approximately 15% of this demographic had multiracial offspring in the year 2018 (Bratter et al., 2022).

This situation raises questions about how individuals form their cultural identity when living between two different cultural values. The media, especially television series, play an important role in representing this experience. Through the stories and characters they portray, the media help shape society's views on family and multicultural identity. However, this representation often simplifies the multicultural experience by portraying the adjustment process as easy and harmonious.

One of the most significant cultural works that captures the essence of multicultural family structures is the television series *Modern Family* (2009). In critical studies of television, television is viewed as a medium for the potential construction of ideological meaning; however, although every program is imbued with a certain ideology, the process of meaning-making itself remains a arena of conflict and upheaval (Fogel, 2012). *Modern Family*, an American sitcom created by Christopher Lloyd and Steven Levitan in 2009, serves as an excellent representation of the diversity inherent in American families. The series centers on three interconnected families: the Pritchetts, the Dunphys, and the Tuckers, each representing a different family model. This study will focus only on the first family, the Pritchetts, in which Jay Pritchett, a wealthy older man, marries Gloria, a younger Colombian woman, thereby creating a mixed and multicultural household that includes Gloria's son, Manny. The Pritchett family makes multicultural family structures seem relevant and acceptable to the prominent characters. One of the complex characters is Gloria who occupies a complex position between two cultures. She is expected to adapt to American middle-class norms while maintaining her Colombian heritage. Her accent, emotional expressiveness, parenting style, traditions, and economic background frequently become sources of misunderstanding. At the same time, these differences allow her to reshape family relationships and challenge dominant assumptions.

Hall (1997) argues that representation is the process of creating meaning through language and images, thereby making television an influential medium where cultural identity is not only constructed but also challenged. This TV show clearly illustrates how there is a symbolic, cultural, and discursive space where two or more different cultures meet, producing new meanings, which is in line with the third space theory proposed by Homi K. Bhabha and *Intercultural Communication* by Martin and Nakayama. However, it does not always run smoothly. Marital dynamics are greatly influenced by cultural differences in communication patterns, emotional expression, gender roles, and family expectations. These distinctions frequently serve as causes of miscommunication, conflict, and annoyance that, if ignored, can jeopardize the security and happiness of a marriage (Lomotey, 2025).

Gloria's situation shows that, although she has not yet fully let go of her own culture, she has not yet fully adapted to American culture either. This aligns with the "Third Space" by Homi K. Bhabha (1994); this experience reflects the space between the two. According to this theory, identity is not something fixed but rather the result of a continuous process of negotiation. This is also examined using the theory of intercultural communication by Martin & Nakayama, in which intercultural communication is not static but dynamic, complex, and contradictory, and thus needs to be understood as a contradictory process.

In this study, the challenges Gloria faces in intercultural communication can be identified through cultural identity, which consists of nationality, ethnicity, gender, language, and social class. Identity negotiation is fluid but is negotiated through communication. Additionally, power and communication play a significant role, as language and culture can

reflect power, status, and dominance. Therefore, this study addresses (1) how Gloria's multicultural identity portrayed through cultural aspects in *Modern Family* Season 1? (2) how does Gloria negotiate her cultural identity between Colombian and American values through Bhabha's Third Space and Martin & Nakayama's Intercultural Communication framework.

This topic has been studied in several previous studies. For example, Verma's study on *White teeth* (2022) analyzes the narrative's examination of race, culture, and history. The finding shows that Bhabha's sophisticated examination of hybridity illustrates the cultural negotiations and identity constructions that arise within postcolonial contexts. Through its elaborate character development and interwoven narratives, the novel elucidates the challenges and prospects associated with existence in the third space.

A study by Güven et al. (2025) this research investigates the intricate interplay of hybridity, identity, and diaspora. The analysis reveals that hybridity and diasporic displacement contribute to a fragmented yet evolving sense of identity among immigrant characters.

Previous studies have widely applied the concepts of hybridity and identity negotiation to novels, diaspora narratives, and postcolonial texts. However, few studies have examined these concepts in contemporary television sitcoms using Homi K. Bhabha's Third Space framework. Therefore, this study examines how the character Gloria in the series *Modern Family* represents the negotiation of identity between two cultures and how she navigates intercultural tensions in her daily life within the family setting.

## **METHOD**

The primary data uses selected scenes, dialogue, characters' behaviour, social interaction, and cultural conflict in episodes 01 and 10 of the first season that highlight Gloria's character and the conflict that show. Secondary data uses several scene clips from other episodes that support the understanding of multicultural identities in *Modern Family*. This research will use a thematic analysis to examine the negotiation of cultural identities in *Modern Family* (2009). Thematic analysis is an approach to finding out something about people's views, opinions, knowledge, experiences, or values from a set of qualitative data. (Caulfield, 2020).

The analysis followed repeated patterns were categorized into themes including social organization, language, religion and beliefs, economic background, customs and traditions, and emotional expression. The familiarization with the data includes audio transcription, reading the text, and taking initial notes, and generally reviewing the data to familiarize ourselves with it. Second, Coding, this stage highlights sections and creates short labels or codes in order to describe their contents. Third stage is generating themes which identify patterns among them and begin to discover themes. Fourth, reviewing themes, re-checking the datasets and comparing our themes to it to make it more useful and accurate. The fifth is defining and naming themes which involve precisely specifying what we mean by each theme and determining how it helps us understand the data. The last stage is writing a data analysis, which also includes a methodology section, which explains how to collect the data.

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

This chapter provides a clear and in-depth description of the negotiation of cultural identities in the sitcom *Modern Family* (2009) by one of its characters, Gloria Pritchett, and how this negotiation affects her family relationships and dynamics. The analysis is conducted

thoroughly and structured through the perspective of the Third Space and Intercultural Communication theory, with a focus on how identity and culture are not fixed, but negotiated.

To analyze the portrayal of Gloria's multicultural identity in the TV series *Modern Family*, the researcher identified several themes and their depictions. These themes serve as analytical categories to explore the differences between American and Colombian cultures. Once identified, these themes were used to examine how Gloria adapts and expresses her multicultural identity within the family context. The themes include Social Organization, Language, Religion and Beliefs, Arts and Literature, Government, Economic Systems, and Customs and Traditions. This study also specifically focuses on Gloria's interactions within her immediate family, including her husband, stepchildren, and biological children. Therefore, this analysis is limited to the family sphere and does not examine broader social influences or external social institutions. This limitation also allows the researcher to provide a more focused understanding of how multicultural identity is constructed and negotiated within daily family relationships, rather than in a broader social context.

Table 1. Aspect of Cultural Differences between Colombian and American Culture (Adapted from Martin & Nakayama, 2010; Samovar et al., 2016)

<b>Colombian</b>	<b>Aspect of Culture</b>	<b>American</b>
Low Social class Colombian small class Hierarchical and collectivist	Social Organization	Upper middle class American Individualism
Spanish and English	Language	English
Strong religious beliefs and traditional Emotionally significant	Religion & Beliefs	Strong religious belief
Taste more dramatic and sentimental Use color and pattern to dress Strong facial expression	Arts & Literature	Taste more modern Use monochrome color and not a pattern to dress in weak facial expression
Higher crime High risk of citizen security More conflict history	Government	Stable public safety High protection of citizen security More institutional stability
Lower class Cause conflict and misunderstanding	Economic Systems	Stable middle class

## **SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FAMILY ROLES**

A thematic analysis of scenes in the first season of *Modern Family* reveals a repeated pattern: Gloria consistently occupies a position that does not fully conform to Colombian norms, yet she has not fully assimilated into American structures. According to Durkheim (1997), social organization is defined as a society that distributes various roles, functions, and tasks among its members so that it can function as a cohesive whole. This pattern emerges from the coding

of Gloria's dialogue and behavior, which forms the theme of the negotiation of social organization and family roles as the focal point of cultural tension. According to Martin & Nakayama (2010), social organization consists of family structure, gender roles, parenting hierarchies, and relational authority, which serve as sites of cultural negotiation when individuals from different backgrounds are within the same domestic space.

The first code identified comes from Gloria's statement, "*Manny's very passionate, just like his father*" (S1E1, 07:44), which is coded as a reference to the family lineage. This statement is an enunciation, meaning that identity is not derived from something pre-existing but is produced in the very act of speaking. Here, Gloria articulates her history, her previous marriage, and the fact that Manny is the son of another man. This is where the rationally active "third space" which brings together two distinct family models that must coexist gives rise to a hybrid domestic structure that belongs to no single culture.

A second pattern emerges in the differing parenting styles of Gloria and Jay. Jay says, "*You know, Gloria, that little blowup with that other mom—*" (S1E1, 06:48); the phrase "little blowup" exemplifies what Bhabha (1994) refers to as a gesture of normalization of the dominant culture, while Gloria's excessive reaction—measured against American middle-class standards that prioritize self-control—appears exaggerated. Gloria's subsequent response, "*If somebody says something about my family, I'm going to—*" (S1E1, 06:51), illustrates Bhabha's concept of ambivalence. Gloria simultaneously affirms Colombian collectivism regarding family honor, yet recognizes that such behavior, within an American context, would be perceived as aggressive. From the perspective of Martin & Nakayama (2010), this illustrates a personal-contextual dialectic; Gloria's response is shaped by her individual personality and the collectivist framework she brings from her native culture.

The third pattern that emerges is the codification of ethnic stereotypes within the physical structure of the family. There is a conflict between Claire and Gloria, in which Gloria accuses her of being a *gold digger* (S1E5). Claire views Gloria through a cultural stereotype while remaining blind to Gloria's individual reality. Claire apologizes verbally: "*I don't know what to say except I'm really sorry*" (S1E5, 17:08), Gloria responds with "*Go jump in the pool*" (S1E5, 18:39). In Bhabha's concept, this is "mimicry with disruption"; she borrows American comedy to resolve the conflict but fills it with relational dynamics rather than mere verbal exchange. This demonstrates the productive function of the "third space"—it is not a compromise, but the emergence of something new.

These patterns of genealogical revelation, ambivalence, and physical relational reparation collectively shape the theme of social organization as a hybrid position that is constantly negotiated. Gloria's role within the family is a negotiation that is never stable, resulting in what Bhabha refers to as a hybrid subject position. "This process reflects what Berry (2005) refers to as integration—that is, a strategy of acculturation in which individuals preserve their cultural heritage while simultaneously adapting to the dominant culture in their new environment." Gloria enjoys her position as Jay's wife and as a Latina immigrant woman whose parenting instincts, emotional expressions, and relational expectations are consistently reshaped by those around her.

## LANGUAGE AS CULTURAL PRESENCE

The second theme that emerges in this analysis is language as a site where power and cultural identities are formed. According to Sapir (1921), language is a method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires that is entirely human in nature and not instinctive, using symbols that

are produced voluntarily. This theme emerges subtly when Gloria speaks in a way that seems different or difficult for other family members to understand. According to Martin and Nakayama (2010), language in intercultural communication is not merely a tool for communication, but is also linked to power, a sense of belonging, and self-representation. Bhabha (1994) adds that identity is formed through the act of speaking itself.

The first code unit comes from the dialogue: “*Voy a ser la brida en tu espalda, no quien te escupa en la frente.*” (EP 1 S1 (21.22)). When Jay repeated this proverb to his family members, they were confused. Gloria then says, “It sounds better in Spanish,” which shows that cultural meaning cannot be fully transferred to another language. This statement also indicates that there is a part of her identity that cannot be replaced.



Figure 1. Gloria speaks Spanish to her family Ep 01, S1 (21.22)

The second instance occurs when Gloria speaks to Manny: “*Oh, I'm sorry, mi niño.*” Her use of Spanish here demonstrates her closeness to her son. In her daily life, Gloria speaks fluent English when interacting with her family, but during more emotional or affectionate moments, she automatically switches to Spanish. She maintains Spanish as an important part of her personal relationships and identity. She also uses the dominant language, but not exactly the same way as a native speaker. Importantly, Gloria is not ashamed of her accent and remains confident even though it is sometimes the subject of jokes. This attitude demonstrates a form of cultural resilience—maintaining her identity despite being in a different cultural environment.

Overall, all these code-switching units form the theme of language as an active construction of hybrid identity. Gloria’s behavior does not fully assimilate into either English or Spanish, but rather represents a continuous practice through a hybrid cultural identity. The “privilege-disadvantage dialectic” proposed by Martin and Nakayama (2010) also operates here: Gloria is disadvantaged as an accented non-native speaker within a monolingual household, yet simultaneously holds power through her selective use of Spanish and mastery of cultural knowledge inaccessible to her family.

## **RELIGION & BELIEFS**

The next theme identified in this study is religion as a space of cultural diversity within a shared identity. The next theme found in the portrayal of multiculturalism in Gloria’s character is religion and beliefs. Religion is an integrated system of beliefs and practices concerning sacred

matters, set-aside objects, and taboos, which unites its adherents into a single moral community (Durkheim, 1997). In Gloria's family, all members adhere to the same religion, namely Christianity. However, it is precisely within this shared identity that significant differences lie regarding how religion is lived, expressed, and experienced. According to Martin & Nakayama (2010), belief systems shape not only theology but also moral values, ritual practices, and emotional expressions, all of which vary widely across cultures despite sharing the same formal label.



Figure 2. All of the family members are celebrating Christmas together Ep 10 S1 (21.10)

The first code unit comes from a scene during a Christmas celebration that serves as a space for intercultural negotiation. In Gloria's statement, "*In Colombia, practical jokes are a Christmas tradition. 'The one who gets tricked is the inocente'*" (S1E10, 02:35). This statement is encoded as a ritual assertion; Gloria is not merely describing a tradition, she is constructing her Colombian identity in front of her American family. The word *inocente* is a Spanish idiom meaning "victim" or "fool" in English. These practices reveal that religion is expressed differently across cultures. For Gloria, celebration includes emotional warmth, humor, and collective festivity. For Jay, tradition appears more structured and routine-based. Gloria's attempt to include Colombian customs reflects a desire for recognition within the family. Thus, Gloria's multicultural identity is influenced by the presence of both similarities and differences among her family members. She holds the same religious faith as her American family, but she preserves distinct Colombian cultural customs. This demonstrates that identity is maintained through everyday ritual practices, not merely through formal belief systems.



Figure 3. Gloria talked about Colombian Christmas tradition Ep10, S1 (02.35)

Furthermore, *"It's like you're trying to take away my whole Christmas"* (S1E10) is encoded as tradition as embodied identity and a loss of cultural belonging. According to Bhabha, tradition is a series of activities that can be replaced by equivalent alternatives; it is a constitutive element. Jay's desire to celebrate Christmas "the American way" is precisely the gesture that Bhabha identifies as the emphasis on cultural difference through universality. Jay does not say "my tradition is more important" but says *"this is America,"* which, according to Bhabha, is a claim to cultural authority disguised as a geographical fact.

Gloria's response to this conflict *"Manny, try to understand. Jay has great memories with his kids from when they were young"* (S1E10) is framed as bicultural mediation and active hybridity. Gloria does not take sides, but rather explains the situation to Manny in an emotional way (nostalgia, affection) on an implicit level. Gloria's question, *"Why can't we mix in a couple of Colombian traditions?"* (S1E10), is not a demand for cultural dominance, but rather a request for hybrid space.

## ARTS & LITERATURE

The fourth theme identified was art and self-expression as nonverbal markers of cultural identity. In cross-cultural communication, art and self-expression encompass dress styles, facial expressions, and the ways in which individuals present themselves in social settings (Martin & Nakayama, 2010). The data within this theme were coded as "embodied cultural identity" and "visual marking of difference." In intercultural communication, art and literature encompass several aspects such as song, music, dance, visual art, performance, architecture, fashion/clothing style, and aesthetic expression. Songs reflect a societal movement away from rigidly adhering to long-term objectives or customs and toward instant emotional fulfillment and the desire to live in the now (Saraswati, 2025)

In the context of art and literature, Gloria's multicultural identity can be seen in her clothing style. In most scenes across several episodes, Gloria is depicted as always wearing artsy clothes colorful and patterned. This undoubtedly represents her native culture, reflecting Latin femininity, an expressive aesthetic, and cultural confidence. Meanwhile, Jay is often seen wearing only formal, colorless, and boring clothes. This can highlight the differences between two cultures within a single family. The Third Space manifests visually; every time Gloria enters a room, she brings with her a cultural presence that cannot be ignored or fully assimilated

by the surrounding space. Here are some examples of how Gloria dresses in the series *Modern Family*:



Figure 4. Example of Gloria's clothes in several clips

In addition to their different styles of dress, there are also clear differences in their facial expressions. In several episodes, Gloria is portrayed as passionate or expressive, while her husband Jay tends to be more laid-back and monotonous in his expressions. This contrast reflects what Martin and Nakayama (2010) identified as differences in display rules, cultural norms regarding which emotional expressions are considered appropriate in public spaces. Here are some of the differences in her facial expressions:



Figure 5. Example of Gloria's facial expressions in several clips

## GOVERNMENT

The next theme that found in Gloria's representation of multicultural identity in *Modern Family* is Government. Government is the political and legal system that governs society and maintains social order and security (Samovar et al., 1990). In cultural studies, government comprises the political system, the legal system, power structures, the protection of citizens, and national stability. Government itself determines how society is governed and how individuals interact with authorities and social norms. Within this theme, the researcher identified several scenes and dialogues that address the theme of government.

In one scene, Gloria reveals her background in the line, "*I come from a small village—very poor but very beautiful*", "*It's the number one village in all of Colombia for murders.*"

The phrase “number one village in all of Colombia for murders” indicates that she lives in an environment with a high crime rate, weak security, and unstable public safety. The portrayal of Gloria as an immigrant who moved to America and had to adapt to the American legal system also highlights her immigrant status and legal standing. She became part of an American family through marriage and had to follow the legal and social norms of her new country.



Figure 6. Gloria talks about Colombia Ep1, S1 (01.36)

## ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

According to Martin and Nakayama (2010), the economic system relates to sources of income, employment, financial control, the distribution of money within the family, economic status, and financial dependence or independence. In this case, Gloria and Jay come from different economic classes. Jay is from the city and belongs to the upper-middle class, as Gloria mentions in the dialogue: “*Jay’s from the city,*” “*He has a big business.*” Meanwhile, Gloria herself comes from a lower-class background, as she states in the dialogue: “*I come from a small village. Very poor, but very beautiful.*”



Figure 7. Gloria talks about her economic background Ep1 S1 (01.34)

Economic class also becomes a site of tension. Jay is portrayed as wealthy and socially established, while Gloria frequently refers to a modest upbringing in Colombia. Because of this difference, Claire initially suspects Gloria of marrying Jay for money. Given this difference, Jay Claire’s biological son believes that Gloria is a gold digger and married him solely for his

money, as illustrated in the first theme. Claire's view on this isn't entirely unfounded, as her father—an ordinary yet wealthy man—is what led her to think that way. The stereotype of Latina women as “spicy,” hyper-sexual, and dominant also influences Claire's perception of Gloria. This makes economics a source of social conflict, leading to wealth inequality, economic suspicion, and stereotypes toward immigrant spouses. From the perspective of intercultural communication, this conflict is categorized as a cultural-individual dialectic. Although Gloria is a Latina woman, she does not fit the stereotypes commonly held by the general public. Within Bhabha's framework (1994), this stereotype constitutes a form of colonial discourse: it reduces complex subjects to categories that can be controlled and understood by the dominant culture. Gloria refuses to fit into these categories; she firmly upholds her dignity, and the conflict that arises is not merely about money, but about who has the right to define whose identity.

### CUSTOMS TRADITION

The last theme found in the portrayal of multiculturalism in Gloria's character is Custom Tradition. In the field of intercultural communication, customs and traditions refer to cultural practices that are repeated over time and passed down from one generation to the next within a community. Customs and traditions include holiday celebrations, family rituals, ceremonies, daily habits, and cultural celebrations

A conflict arises over a custom because there are two different cultures within Gloria's family. Her husband was initially annoyed because they had played a prank on him, and Gloria said, *“In Colombia, practical jokes are a Christmas tradition.” “The one who gets fooled is the ‘inocente’”* (Ep. 10, S. 01, 02:35). This statement shows that in Colombian culture, humor and games are part of the Christmas celebration. Then Manny also said, *“In Colombia, they open presents at midnight and stay up until morning.”* However, Jay said that this is America, not Colombia, so they should do things the way they usually do. Gloria then adds, *“Why can't we mix in a couple of Colombian traditions?”* Here, Gloria isn't imposing Colombian culture, but is trying to incorporate their traditions, seek a compromise, and create a cultural balance. This aligns with the concept of the negotiation of cultural identity.

There is also an expression of Manny's frustration toward Jay: *“It's like you're trying to take away my whole Christmas.”* This statement shows that tradition is not merely an activity, but a part of his cultural identity. Manny feels a loss of culture, a sense of belonging, and his past memories. This is where the connection between tradition and identity lies. After that, Gloria tries to explain: *“Manny, try to understand. Jay has great memories with his kids from when they were young.”* Here, Gloria acts as a cultural mediator. She tries to explain things from Jay's perspective, defuse the conflict, and maintain family harmony. This demonstrates Gloria's bicultural competence the ability to understand two cultures simultaneously.



Figure 8. Manny talked about missing his culture Ep10, S1 (13.53)

This distinction underscores how customs and traditions can differ among cultures, even when observing the same holiday. According to Martin and Nakayama, these variations illustrate cultural diversity in daily activities and show how traditions act as indicators of cultural identity. Additionally, Gloria's relationships with her spouse and children illustrate how she navigates her Colombian customs within an American family context. She presents her cultural traditions while also embracing the practices followed by her family. This process illustrates the negotiation of diverse cultural identities within the framework of the nuclear family. Consequently, customs and traditions act as essential cultural components that differentiate Colombian and American cultures, while also fostering family cohesion through common festivities.

## CONCLUSION

This study examines two research questions: how Gloria's multicultural identity is portrayed across various cultural dimensions in Season 1 of the series *Modern Family*, and how she balances that identity between Colombian and American values. Regarding the first research question, the findings indicate that Gloria's identity is portrayed as layered and context-dependent across six cultural dimensions. Through language, she maintains Spanish as a marker of belonging even within an English-dominated household. Through social organization, her emotional expressiveness and parenting style consistently place her outside both Colombian and American norms simultaneously. Through customs, economic background, and self-expression, she is often reduced to cultural stereotypes, yet actively rejects them at every opportunity.

Regarding the second research question, Gloria's negotiations align with Bhabha's theory of the Third Space. Rather than choosing between two cultures, she occupies the space between them, creating hybrid meanings through cultural ambivalence and mediation. This is most clearly evident when she advocates for blended traditions during the Christmas conflict. The dialectic of privilege and disadvantage proposed by Martin and Nakayama further explains how Gloria simultaneously holds power through cultural knowledge, yet remains marginalized as an immigrant woman within a household dominated by the majority culture. Overall, this study demonstrates that television sitcoms can portray multicultural identity as fluid and constantly negotiated, rather than resolved through assimilation.

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