
SATURA
FAVORIT

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Satura

For Chip, who never gave up on his dream

L.N.

For my parents, who brought me this far

N.T

NOTE FROM THE EDITORS

Welcome to the first volume of Satura, the student journal of the English Department of the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster. This issue is the culmination of a ten month labor of love on the part of the Satura team. Our first goal – to bring together articles from a variety of subjects within the English Department – was successfully achieved thanks to the authors who provided us with a broad range of submissions. Our second goal – to offer experience to students in the production of a printed journal – was reached from the moment we got a group of students together to plan the first issue. Finally, our third goal – the finished work you are reading right now – was only met thanks to the dedication of the entire Satura team. It is because they shared our belief in the project that this became possible.

The seed for Satura was planted in January 2018, after a student workshop in cooperation with Universiteit Leiden. As participants, we thought it would have been nice to print a small journal as a compilation of the presentations given at the workshop. Such an edition never came to pass, but the seed had been sown and took root as an idea to print a journal representing the diversity of subjects within the English Department – a journal managed by students for students. Today, we celebrate the bounty of the first harvest.

In an era of fake news, cacophonous discourse, and 280-character debates, the study of the Humanities has become more important than ever. How else do we learn how to form arguments, gain insight from history, and peer into the soul of humankind? How else do we learn to write the words that inform and soothe rather than deceive and obfuscate? Science is important, of course, but if we leave the Humanities behind we lose, for lack of a better word, our humanity. Our vision for the future of Satura – which means mixed dish in Latin – is to encourage discourse from all areas of the Humanities, and listen to what students have to say about their studies and interests. Our aim is to make Satura a long-lasting tradition for the English Department at WWU.

We hope that you, dear reader, enjoy what Satura has to offer. To our staff and supporters we owe unending gratitude, and as always, cookies.

Laura Ntoumanis
Natalia Tolstopyat

Editors-in-Chief

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Linguistics

Literary and Cultural Studies

Teaching English as a Foreign Language

Creative Writing

LINGUISTICS

Donald Trump, Adolf Hitler and the Naming of the Shrew

On Abusive Influence on the Language of Science by Political Leadership

LARS ENGELMANN

On March 3, 1942 Adolf Hitler read a newspaper article in the Berliner Morgenpost which agitated him. He ordered Martin Bormann, head of the Nazi Party's head office, one of Hitler's most trusted deputies and unofficially the second most powerful man in Germany at the time, to write the following letter to the chief of the Reich Chancellery Hans Lammers:

> In yesterday's paper, the Fuhrer read a note about the fifteenth general meeting of the Society for Mammalian Biology and the renamings the society decided on.[1] Thereupon, the Fuhrer ordered me to inform the responsible people with desirable clarity that these changes have to be revoked immediately. If the members of the Society for Mammalian Biology are not able to do something more essential to the war effort or something smarter, they could perhaps be put to use at a working battalion at the Russian front. If another feeble-minded renaming like this occurred again, the Fuhrer would take action accordingly. Terms, which have been used for years, are not to be changed in this manner. (Bormann; translation mine)

What did the German Society for Mammalian Biology decide on that caught the attention of Adolf Hitler in the middle of World War II? They renamed shrews and bats. In German, shrews are called *Spitzmaus* and bats are called *Fledermaus*. These are compound nouns. *Spitzmaus* is formed by joining the adjective spitz and the noun Maus. *Spitz* can be translated to pointed, which refers to the animal's nose. *Maus* translates to mouse. *Fledermaus* is a bit more complicated. The first part of the compound is a word that is no longer used on its own in the German language. The Origin of *Fledermaus* can be traced back to the eighth century, when it was written *fledarmūs*, whereas *fledar* relates to *flattern*, a verb that translates to *to flutter* (Kluge 301, 300). According to *Berliner Morgenpost*, the members of the Society for Mammalian Biology decided to change the name of bats to *Fleder* and call shrews *Spitzer* (qtd. in Hutterer).

The reason for renaming these animals lies in the linguistic component they have in common: *Maus*. Neither of the two animals is biologically a mouse. The risk of mistaking a bat for a mouse is relatively low, due to its ability to fly. Bats belong to their own order called *Chiroptera*. With shrews, this risk of falsely identifying them as mice is a lot bigger. They share a habitat with and have a similar appearance to mice, hence it is easy to mistake one for the other. Most Germans probably believe they actually belong to the same family. Taxonomists classify shrews as *Eulipotyphla*, which are also called *Insectivora* – animals which feed almost exclusively on insects. According to this taxonomy, shrews are more closely related to hedgehogs and moles than to mice (Beck et al.). This is the reason German scientists in 1942 decided to abandon the term *Spitzmaus*: it is scientifically inaccurate and leads to misunderstandings. After the members of the Society for Mammalian Biology received Hitler's threat to be deported to Russia and be forced to work for the military, they revoked the name changes.

Hitler's successful attempt to prevent the application of a less misleading and more

1 Actually, it was the 16th general meeting. The number 15 was falsely attributed by the editor of Berliner Morgenpost, who wrote the aforementioned article. See: Hutterer.

scientifically accurate term for shrews in German is an example of how the abuse of power can shape scientific discourse and subsequently the perception of reality. Even today, the shrew is still called *Spitzmaus* in Germany and many people mistake shrews for mice.

MICHEL FOUCAULT AND FALLING SNOW

The famous anecdote about the unusually large amount of words for snow in Eskimo languages like Yupik or Inuit is based on a misread paragraph in the Handbook of American Indian Languages by Franz Boas from 1911. Boas, notably a linguist and anthropologist, was writing about the ties between different forms of word formation and culture. He compared English and "Eskimo" words for different kinds of snow.[2] While at least one compound of every example Boas gave for English was the word *snow*, the equivalent words in "Eskimo" were very different from each other. He compared *aput* to snow on the ground, *qana* to falling snow and *qimuqsuq* to snowdrift. Boas did not make any assumptions on the quantity of words for a specific phenomenon in either language. He simply determined that different languages use different kinds of word formation (Boas 25–26). The examples above are simply a display of disassociated vocabulary. This did not stop Benjamin Lee Whorf, one of the most influential and prominent linguists of the twentieth century, from repeating the myth in his article Science and Linguistics. He wrote:

> This class [of a noun, used by the Hopi, which includes everything that flies except birds] seems to us too large and inclusive, but so would our class 'snow' to an Eskimo. We have the same word for falling snow, snow on the ground, snow packed hard like ice, slushy snow, wind-driven flying snow – whatever the situation may be. To an Eskimo, this all-inclusive word would be almost unthinkable; he would say that falling snow, slushy snow, and so on, are sensuously and operationally different, different things to contend with; he uses different words for them and for other kinds of snow. (Whorf 8)

Whorf was advocating a theory that proposes a strong relationship between language and thought. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis states that linguistic categories like grammar and lexicon determine a person's worldview. This principle is also called linguistic relativity. The most extreme interpretation of Whorf's views on language and psychology, linguistic determinism, has since been dismissed by linguists like Noam Chomsky, who introduced the theory of Generative Grammar. This theory proposes that language and linguistic structures are innate in every human being (Chomsky 3–207). Up until today, there is no clear winner in the great debate about nurture vs. nature in linguistics. There is, however, empirical evidence for a middle ground, a weaker stance on the relationship between language and cognition that acknowledges aspects of Generative Grammar but claims that language is also able to influence perception (Meteyard et al. 1007–1013; Lupyan 300). For example, most languages use relative and absolute systems of directions alongside each other. English knows left, right, up and down as well as north, south, west and east. The Aboriginal people Thaayoree in Queensland, Australia speak Kuuk Thaayore, and this language has only absolute directions (Gaby 54).

Power, knowledge and language form a triangular relationship in which one influences the other two.

If language measurably affects cognitive processes and perception, this can have severe consequences. Power, knowledge and language form a triangular relationship in which one influences the other two. Michel Foucault proposes this link in his writings about discourse,

2 Although Boas uses the term "Eskimo" as a term for a language, it is an inaccurate designation. He either mistook the languages of the Eskimo-Aleut family native to northern America, Greenland and eastern Siberia as one or is referring to said language family by using an unusual term.

most notably in his books *Archaeology of Knowledge*, *Discipline and Punish* and *The History of Sexuality*. The term discourse is used in many different contexts and with very different concepts in mind. Foucault himself provides three definitions:

> Lastly, instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse', I believe that I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements. (Foucault 80)

The first definition is very broad: "the general domain of all statements" refers to any statement ever made. Parameters seem necessary to limit the term. Criteria could be geographical, social or political and limitations to a specific period of time are also applicable. This results in the second definition: "an individualizable group of statements" which, when applied, produces different kinds of discourse, like a discourse of masculinity or a discourse of colonialism. The third definition adds explicit rules to the concept: "a regulated practice which accounts for a number of statements". These definitions are often used interchangeably and in an overlapping way (Mills 7). Discourse is then the concept of what is said, what can be said and by whom. The set of acceptable utterances is always limited by societal restrictions like morality and other conventions. Sciences apply their own conventions on language. These conventions can differ between fields and schools of thought. While there are power structures within sciences (Collins 165–186), these conventions are usually a result of the internal discourse of a field. When political leaders use their influence to change or limit these conventions and, therefore, the scientific discourse from outside a field by force, this can be considered an abuse of power.

DONALD TRUMP AND ENTITLEMENT

On December 15, 2017 *The Washington Post* reported on a "ban" of certain words Donald Trump's administration allegedly imposed on the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). According to the article, Alison Kelly, a senior leader in the CDC's Office of Financial Resources, told officials of the agency who oversee budget issues to stop using the terms vulnerable, entitlement, diversity, transgender, fetus, evidence-based and science-based in budget documents, which are to be handed to partners of the CDC and Congress (Sun and Eileperin). As *The New York Times* reported a day later, the policy probably originated with the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) and was not a strict ban, but technically a suggestion. Kelly allegedly said that including these words in a budget proposal would lessen the chances of getting approval for said proposal (Kaplan and McNeil).

In this case, the argument could be made that the political leadership of the United States of America did not abuse its power to alter the language of scientific research and thereby change scientific discourse for political reasons by force. First of all, this is not an explicit ban on certain words. It is a suggestion, advising that avoiding these terms could help with the funding of projects. Secondly, this suggestion is only to be applied to budget documents, not to scientific research papers. Finally, this policy is only relevant to the CDC, a governmental institution, not the whole field of biology and medicine.

On the other hand, a suggestion that is backed up by monetary dependencies is slightly more than a suggestion. Scientists will have to avoid these words on the list of the HHS to be able to work. It is not important if the absence of certain language is due to an explicit ban or an implicit one. Avoiding certain terms on budget documents can lead to alterations in the scientific research. If scientists wanted to specifically research health issues of transgender people, they would have to become creative to avoid the term transgender in their budget documents. The Zika virus mostly af-

fects fetuses, so what term is to be used when proposing research into the virus? Researchers might be able to get funding for their project, but only by changing the focus or scope of their research. Lastly, the CDC has a budget of $5.66 Billion in the 2019 fiscal year (CDC-Budget Request Overview). This is a lot of money spent on medical research. The implicit restrictions by the HHS affect how and on which research projects this money is spent. The CDC often deals with basic research other scientists can build on. Therefore, this "ban" indirectly affects not only the CDC and its partners, but the scientific community as a whole.

In fact, this case seems to be a prime example of a disruption of scientific discourse. The necessity to avoid certain terms to be able to get funding for research is a manifestation of discourse as the absence of certain words can alter the perception of issues. In this case, a conservative Republican government decides whether terminology is appropriate, rather than scientists. If members of Congress never read proposals about research into the health of transgender people, they probably will not be concerned about these issues. The HHS altered the language of scientists of the CDC, which will affect the perception of reality of members of Congress, who subsequently may pass different kinds of regulation and therefore alter the reality of many people.

LANGUAGE AND POWER

Knowledge, power and language have a strong relationship. The power of political leadership can alter scientific discourse. Even small instances of abuse of this power can influence people's perception of the world. In Germany, the shrew is still widely considered a mouse due to the abuse of power by Adolf Hitler. Donald Trump did not write an angry letter (or a tweet, for that matter) proposing to deport scientists of the CDC to an Iraqi military camp, but his actions could still implicitly alter the discourse of science. It is too early to tell which consequences his actions will have, but it is not unusual that discourse outside of science influences the discourse of science. After all, science and scientists are part of society and influenced by societal circumstances. In the two anecdotes presented, political leadership explicitly imposed their own discourse onto the scientific discourse. The methods and the language used by the Republican government of the United States of America to influence scientific discourse may be less aggressive than Hitler's intervention in the renaming of the shrew, but the consequences might be much more severe.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lars Engelmann is currently studying English and German in the joint BA degree at WWU Münster with a focus on spoken language and the prospect of studying Applied Linguistics in the near future. He has an academic background in biology and is interested in a wide range of topics including psychology, the philosophy and sociology of science, scientific myths and historical anecdotes. The interdisciplinary research presented in this essay is a result of the course "Introduction to the Sociology of Science" in Winter 2017/2018. Lars Engelmann is the founder of *famoseworte.de* and former head writer of the 2016 Grimme Online Award nominee *Puerto Patida*.

Image: Lisa-Marie Rodeike

“Refugees Welcome”
Analysing Transgressive Stickers along Münster’s Harbour

LENA KASTNER, THERESA SPRECKELSEN & YASMINA TALHAUI

A recent study by the Shell Corporation revealed that students are becoming increasingly interested in political matters. The study makes a connection between this development and a growing disposition towards political actions (“Die Shell Jugendstudie”). This development has also become noticeable in Münster. It is not surprising that in Münster, an international university town, many young people are interested in politics and show action in this domain. This often goes hand in hand with the university environment, where students become more aware of the issues relevant in their local and national contexts, as well as in a globalised world.

Along Münster’s harbour, there are many bars and clubs. It is one of the city’s designated party-scenes and many of the publicly visible objects are covered in stickers with a multitude of messages ranging from advertisements to political or moral themes. Therefore, we conducted a study to analyse the potential connection between the number of stickers found in that area and the increasing political interest among young people.

THE ROLE OF ENGLISH IN GERMANY

The English language has been playing an important role in Germany, especially since World War II (Hilgendorf, “English” 135). In the last two decades, the influence of English on the German language has become even more noticeable; this has been advanced further by globalisation (143).

Education is the realm where the importance of English is most significant: it is the most studied foreign language. Since 2004, it has been compulsory to teach a foreign language in primary school. In the majority of cases, this is English (Grau 161). However, it is studied most profoundly in secondary education: more than 90 percent of pupils in secondary education study it for nine and up to eleven years (Hilgendorf, “Brain Gain” 54). In the school year of 2015/2016, more than 99 percent of all students enrolled in a secondary school received instructions in the English language (“Bildung und Kultur”). Nowadays, English is no longer restricted to a subject but also used as a medium of instruction (MOI) in other disciplines (Hilgendorf, “Brain Gain” 53–54). In 2017, a search on the website “www.study-in.de” by the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD) revealed that 1,239 out of a total of 18,817 degree programs at German universities are being taught exclusively in English (Kautzsch 210).

Because of its role as a primary language in international business, this is the domain where English is used most frequently. The use of English in this sphere is no longer restricted to communication with international business partners but has become increasingly important for correspondence within German firms as well (Hilgendorf, “English” 137). Since World War II, English has also become the primary language of publication in science and research (138). Additionally, the language has become increasingly important in tourism and private social interactions with people from other countries (Berns 41–42). Young people in particular engage with English in their spare time on a regular basis, for example in the realm of popular music, through computer games and television shows (Hilgendorf, “English” 139; Grau 166). This leads to the incorporation of Anglicisms into youth culture which then spread through the entire language. Advertisements are also influential in this development, with various brands including English words to make them more appealing to a larger audience (Grau 162). The abovementioned

developments have resulted in a complicated and ambivalent relationship towards English in Germany. This is especially noticeable in young people, who also have conflicting views towards education and are therefore suspicious of content taught in school. When words are introduced to their speech, it is often through popular culture instead of the traditional education system (163). Positive attitudes concerning the English language are prevalent in the general population. Negative views are mostly confined to groups who have a special interest in the "purification of the German language", for example National Socialists (Berns 39). Another group that shares the ambivalent relationship towards the increasing influence of English in Germany are scholars of German Linguistics (Hilgendorf, "English" 143).

WHAT IS LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPING?

In their 1997 work Landry and Bourhis (25) propose the following definition of what a linguistic landscape is:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.

Linguistic landscaping (LL) as a field of study can thus be defined as the study of language use on publicly visible signs and how these languages construct public spaces (Androutsopoulos 82).

Taking a step back, it is advisable to define the term "sign" before concentrating on what exactly LL aims to observe. Despite using different terms, authors generally agree that there are two main types of signs, namely public or top-down and private or bottom-up signs (Thurlow and Jaworski 10; Androutsopoulos 85). The former include all signs that are issued by public authorities, including road signs and official inscriptions on public buildings. The latter are commercial signs which are produced by businesses, shop owners or advertising companies and are often found in the form of billboards or writings on storefronts. Transgressive signs, such as graffiti or stickers, are also considered to be part of bottom-up signs (Androutsopoulos 85). Private signs are considered to be generally more diverse than the ones produced by authorities, since they commonly mirror "the multilingual reality of a particular area or location" (Thurlow and Jaworski 10).

This article focuses on transgressive signs and stickers in particular. So far, the medium of stickers has not been researched extensively in the area of linguistic landscaping. This might be the case because stickers are transgressive signs. According to Pennycook, transgressive signs convey artistic, social and spiritual messages (307). Additionally, Blommaert claims transgressive signs to be "out of place" (39) because they can be unexpected in certain places and might not fit in with the surrounding space. In connection to Pennycook's thoughts, Blommaert also describes transgressive signs as significantly different from other kinds of social signs, which makes them hard to understand and interpret (39).

One study on stickers has been conducted by Hagar Salamon and deals with the implications of bumper stickers in Israel. During the study, Salamon discovered that in Israel, bumper stickers take a special role in everyday communication as they are used by drivers to convey political messages and their beliefs to others. This facilitates a dynamic and far-reaching discourse about political issues and makes developments on the social and political level visible (Salamon 277).

Figure 1: Map of research area

METHODOLOGY, APPROACH AND RESULTS

This study examines whether a contemporary medium like stickers can be used to transmit one's own beliefs, orientations and ideologies. In order to structure our study, we formulated research questions we want to answer with our analysis:

1. What role does English play in the transgressive linguistic landscape of Münster's harbour?
2. Is there a relation between the language and the content?
3. Is there a political orientation to be found in the researched area? Can this be connected to the use of language?

DATA AND METHOD

The data collected for this study consists of 444 publicly visible and accessible stickers that were photographed along a section of the Hansaring and the Hafenpromenade. Because of the rich linguistic landscape we found along Münster's harbour, we randomly picked the stickers and thus created a sample. When there were several stickers of the same kind on one object, we only coded one of these stickers. However, if identical stickers were found on different objects, we added all of them to our sample. Figure 1 shows the area the data collection took place in.

In preparation for the study, we designed a code book which we used to quantitatively analyse our data. Our code book consists of several variables on contextual information like the coder or the street where the sticker was collected as well as other variables specific to our research. One of these variables is the producer. As we were interested in who creates and puts up stickers, we coded different variants of producers: political party, private business, artist/band, NGO, student group, sports club and supporters and other. If the producers were displayed on the sticker, we categorised them along these variants. If this was not the case, we coded it as not identifiable. Other important variables are the language used on the sticker and the category of content which we coded according to the following variants: advertisement for products, advertisements for events (commercial), announcements, political messages, moral issues, religious issues, sports, other and not identifiable. As we were mainly interested in political and moral issues, we further split these categories into sub variables so that we could see which orientation or belief exactly is conveyed by the sticker.

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

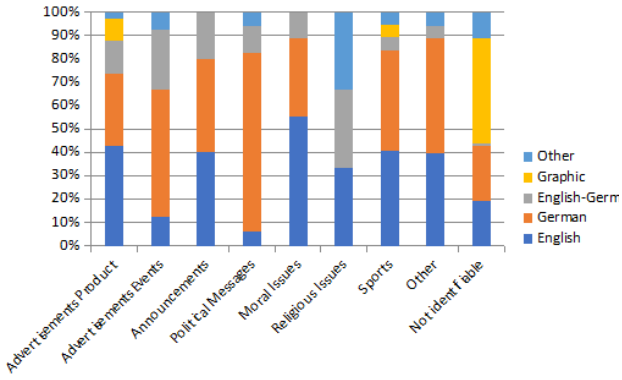

Figure 2: Relation between categories and language used on stickers

A total of 444 stickers were analysed in regard to the producer, content and the languages used. Table 1 shows the language distribution on the stickers: most are either in English (29 percent), German (40 percent) or a combination of the two languages (12 percent) throughout all categories.

Language	Number	Percent
English	127	28.60 percent
German	176	39.64 percent
English-German	55	12.39 percent
Graphic	57	12.84 percent
Other	29	6.53 percent
Sum	444	100.00 percent

Table 1: Language distribution on stickers

A high number of the stickers are produced by private businesses (187 tokens), therefore, it comes as no surprise that advertisements for products (26 percent) and events (24 percent) make up a large amount of the total number of stickers. Contrary to the expectation prior to the study, an exceedingly large number of stickers, 330, include no political message at all. Of the stickers with a political message, most were oriented towards the left (83 percent), with 60 percent of them in German and 24 percent in English. Artists or bands of a certain genre might have a political orientation that is also shared with most of their supporters, however, this is not detectable from the stickers alone. Therefore, the political message in these instances was categorised as not identifiable. Sports clubs and their supporters make up 8 percent of the producers and 22 percent are not identifiable, either because they are entirely graphic or because the producer is not deductible from the content of the sticker alone.

Regarding the relationship between the languages and the categories, as shown in Figure 2, advertisements for products are predominantly in English (43 percent). Advertisements for events are, for the most part, in German (54 percent). The majority of the political messages on the stickers are in German (76 percent) and six percent are in English. Moral issues is the only category where English is in the majority (56 percent). Only 33 percent of the tokens are in German. Since most stickers containing moral issues are created by NGO's, this is also the producer group where most of the stickers are in English (45 percent). 28 percent of the tokens in this category are in German. Regarding sports clubs and their supporters, there is an almost equal distribution between the two languages with 41 percent of the stickers in English and 44 percent in German. Less than one percent of the stickers are produced by student groups. Of those, one is in English and two are in German. Regarding artists and bands, there are a significant number of stickers produced in English (43 percent) with a minority of the stickers produced in German (29 percent). A considerable amount of the stickers in the category "other", 59 percent, are in German, only 18 percent in English.

Figure 3: Example Sticker

DISCUSSION

English does play a significant role in in the harbour's linguistic landscape. However, German remains the leading language when it comes to communicating certain messages, as it was used either in part or as the sole language on 231 stickers. Nevertheless, the findings still strongly support previous research concerning the role of English in Germany, especially regarding the relation between content and language use. Observing the findings concerning language distribution within the content categories of the stickers and combining it with previous knowledge about the English language in Germany, a relation between the language and the content can be confirmed. Without going into too much detail, it can be said that the level of locality of the content in particular does play a role in which language is used to convey meaning.

Out of more than 400 stickers only 30 are clearly defined as being political. Still, there is a trend that shows that political views expressed on these signs are predominantly leftist (83 percent). Moreover, stickers by political parties and those promoting a political message are mostly produced in German. The moral issues addressed on stickers are diverse, ranging from environmental to human

Figure 4: Example Sticker

rights and gender issues. These internationally relevant messages are predominantly spread in English.

Going beyond the research questions, there are a few categories that need to be discussed in further detail: The first content category with more English than German stickers is product advertisements. 43 percent of the stickers are in English. English seems to be the primary language in advertising. The use of English in product advertisement can thus be seen as a sign of linguistic change towards a more globalised world and language use.

More than half of the stickers advocating and informing about moral issues are produced in English which is a stark contrast to those stickers promoting political messages. The third category where English is used more often than German is stickers produced by NGOs. The last set of stickers that are mostly English are those produced by artists and bands. Over 40 percent of the stickers are English and less than 30 percent are German. Rather surprising is the distribution of language when it comes to stickers produced by sports clubs and their supporters. Despite the producers being mostly German football teams and fan clubs, the amount of English and German stickers is close to equal. This shows that it is not only the origin of the producer that decides which language is used.

German is extremely dominant in this category of political stickers. Not only are all stickers produced by political parties written in German, 76 percent of these signs also do not contain any other language. Another category where German is predominant is that of event advertisement with more than half of the stickers being produced in this language.

These results show that the language on stickers is influenced by the locality and internationality of the producer and the message. This can be seen most clearly when it comes to political

Figure 5: Example Sticker

stickers, those including the ones by political parties and the ones by other producers containing political messages. As part of a local – in this case, the German – government, parties aim to appeal to German citizens of legal voting age.

The language distribution of stickers with political messages is not as easy to explain, as we would have expected there to be a variety of politically motivated stickers dealing with international issues and thus using English as a universal language. Going against our expectations, there are only 30 stickers that can clearly be identified as political. Most of these 30 stickers are advertisements for events taking place in Germany, explaining the predominant use of the German language. These events, e.g. festivals, were arranged by organisers with distinctly leftist political views as political statements.

Our study shows that a mixture of English and German stickers can be found when topics related to popular culture and sports are addressed, despite their producers being mostly German bands

and football clubs. Another reason for this mixed language distribution could be the producers' effort to achieve international relevance or to be part of an international movement, such as the hooligan scene in sports, while still remaining true and sticking to their roots.

Stickers focusing on moral issues such as climate change and human rights are mostly produced in English. This can be explained by the fact that the topics discussed and promoted on these stickers are of global relevance. Migration flows, for example, can be felt and witnessed by most in the world, explaining and giving reason to numerous stickers saying "refugees welcome". Topics such as this require English as a universal language in order to emphasize the global scale of these issues and reach as many people as possible. The discussed findings show that the distribution of language, the producer and the content of a sticker are not arbitrary but related. This relation can be explained by language changes that are a result of a more globalised world and differences in local and international relevance of certain topics and producers.

CONCLUSION

Going into the study we expected to find a large amount of stickers produced out of political motivation. This expectation was not met however, showing that, while a political interest might exist, stickers are not used in order to share this interest as extensively as anticipated. Another remarkable aspect that was noticed was the relation between the content of stickers and the language in which this content is expressed. Due to large numbers of international students enrolled in Münster's university and the steadily increasing importance of English in Germany, we expected to find various stickers using English in order to convey information. The language distribution suggests that a topic's level of locality widely influences the choice of language.

This study sets the premise for further research by providing an extensive data base occupied with content and language distribution on stickers. It also offers explanations for the findings. In order to verify these findings, the next step should be to take a more ethnographic approach by including producers of stickers and residents of the examined site and interviewing them about their choice of language.

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Image: Lisa-Marie Rodeike

The Linguistic Construction of Power along the Concepts of Race, Class and Speciesism in *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*

DORIT NEUMANN

Harry Potter (*HP*) is arguably the favourite children's book series of a whole generation of now young adults. But it is not only a children's story about a magical world – it contains highly political themes like power, race, class and fascism. As it can be fruitful to take a look at how certain topics are presented to readers at a young age, I will try to open up a new, linguistic perspective on the construction of power in *HP* by employing methods of a literary linguistic analysis. A close look at how power relations are constructed linguistically is necessary since language is an important means to reproduce, enforce and create power. Or as Dumbledore says: "Words are, in my not-so-humble opinion, our most inexhaustible source of magic. Capable of both inflicting injury, and remedying it" (Harry Potter, 01:34:57-01:35:08).

In order to answer the question of how power is constructed along the concepts of race, class and speciesism in *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets,* the analysis will be structured as follows: First, the literary linguistic analysis of the construction of power will be presented, touching briefly upon the theoretical background of the methods used for analysis along the way. Then, the findings will be discussed from an intersectional perspective. In the end, I will provide a summary of the linguistic features primarily contributing to the construction of power hierarchies in the novel. The analysis mainly focuses on the second novel of the series because issues of racial or class differences begin to play a central role there. When the Chamber of Secrets has been opened, racially motivated attacks on students begin, and the topic of power structures moves to the centre of the story.

RACE

One axis along which a power hierarchy can be observed in the novel is race[1]. It contrasts pure-blood wizards or witches and so-called mudbloods. On the level of spatio-temporal perceptual perspective, power is constructed with the help of spatial and temporal deixis which "may be loosely characterized as those 'orientational' features of language which function to locate utterances in relation to speakers' viewpoints" (Simpson 1993, 12). It includes proximal and distal spatial features suggesting proximity to or distance from the speaker. Thus, it can reveal a speaker's attitude towards another person, an object or idea. For instance, when Ron Weasley explains the insult "mudblood" to Harry, he distances himself from this racist idea by referring to the persons who proudly call themselves pure-bloods as "they" and only "some" (Rowling 2014, 121). In contrast to that, Ron refers to the part of the wizard community that "know[s] it doesn't make a difference at all" (121) whether someone is pure-blood or not as "us" and "everyone else" (121), thus further distancing himself from the idea of pure-blood superiority. After the Chamber of Secrets has been opened, the concept becomes far more urgent for the Hogwarts students as attacks on Muggle-born students begin. The danger and immediacy this ideology embodies are underlined by proximal temporal deictic expressions uttered by Draco Malfoy: "it's only a matter of time before one of them's killed" (237[2]) and "I'm quite surprised the Mudbloods haven't all packed

1 The concept of race is not so much about skin colour or place of origin here, but rather the idea that with a certain race come certain inherited abilities or essential traits (Walters 4): the ability to perform magic or not (Wallace and Pugh 99).
2 All emphasis within quotations is mine.

their bags by now [...] the next one dies" (282).

From an ideological perspective, lexical choice and lexical fields make up one aspect that can say a lot about the attitudes of Hogwarts' students towards the concept of racial hierarchy. This aspect contains lexical fields which introduce overarching themes and also the deliberate choosing of one word over another in order to convey a certain impression or atmosphere. One lexical field that is frequently employed to talk about Muggle-borns is dirt. As the name mudblood already shows, Muggle-borns are associated with being dirty, impure persons by families like the Malfoys. For instance, Hermione is called a "'filthy little Mudblood'" (177) by Draco and is said to have "'Dirty [...] Common blood'" (122). Draco also calls all Muggle-borns "slime" (235), and "scum" (167), thus frequently drawing on this lexical field to insult Muggle-borns and lift his own status as a pure-blood above them. Additionally, the idea of dirt is extended to the concept of contamination in contrast to purity. The supposedly dirty Muggle-borns are thought to contaminate pure-bloods as shown, for example, through Professor Binn's remark that Salazar Slytherin wanted to "'purge the school of all who were unworthy to study magic'" (159). Muggle-borns contaminate others, so that Dumbledore is, in Draco's eyes, "'the worst that's ever happened to [Hogwarts]'" (235) because he welcomes Muggle-born students to the school. This image is also employed in *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* when the picture of Mrs. Black screams at Harry, Hermione and the Weasleys for coming into her house, because, in her opinion, they are unworthy people contaminating her pure-blood home: "'Filth! Scum! [...] How dare you befoul the house of my fathers'" (Rowling 2003, 74).

Moreover, the idea of disgrace adds to the one of contamination and makes up another connected lexical field. Arthur Weasley is one example of a wizard who is fascinated with and supportive of Muggles and is therefore seen as a disgrace by conservative pure-blood wizards/witches. At one encounter with Lucius Malfoy, Arthur is called a "'disgrace to the name of wizard'" (2014, 65). This idea is shared by Draco who claims: "'he should snap his wand in half [...] You'd never know the Weasleys were pure-bloods'" (235). Harry, too, is criticised for being friends with Muggle-born Hermione as Draco says: "'He's another one with no proper wizard feeling'" (236). Again, this constructs the image of being a disgrace to the magical community and not behaving appropriately for a wizard because he has relationships to 'unworthy' Muggle-born witches/wizards. By having these relationships, he endangers his and his community's purity and exclusiveness as pure-bloods and allows or risks contamination.

Dobby's slave habitus and incorporation of his inferiority leading to self-punishment are described in specific deictic expressions and mirror his slave status.

Parallel to these lexical fields, the use of modality underlines both the high level of dislike towards wizards siding with Muggles(/-borns) as well as the serious danger all Muggle-born students face at Hogwarts after the Chamber of Secrets opens. According to Simpson, "modality refers broadly to a speaker's attitude towards, or opinion about, the truth of a proposition" (43). It signals "a speaker's attitude to the degree of obligation" (deontic modality), expresses desire (boulomaic) or the "confidence in the truth of a proposition" (43) (epistemic). Therefore, analysing modality can show to what extent the racist attitudes of characters are serious and genuine thoughts. For instance, the strong disapproval of people like Arthur Weasley or Dumbledore by the Malfoys is shown by the use of high epistemic modality in statements such as: "'Father's always said Dumbledore's the worst thing that's ever happened to this place. He loves Muggle-borns. A decent Headmaster would never've let slime like that Creevey in'" (Rowling 2014, 235) Additionally, the high epistemic modality in Draco's statements about the attacks on Muggle-borns marks his confidence in

the certain danger all non-pure-blood students face as he claims at several occasions "'You'll be next, Mudbloods!'" (147), or "'I know [...] a Mudblood died. So I bet it's only a matter of time'" (237).

All of this ties into the construction of Muggle-borns as passive potential victims through transitivity. The system of transitivity "shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality" (Simpson, 82). It describes processes like "actions, speech, states of mind or simply states of being" (82), and assigns participant roles (who is doing what to whom). Material processes of doing, on which this analysis will focus, contain an actor or doer (e.g. "Jane"), the process (e.g. "ate") and a potential goal, the done-to-role (e.g. "the cake"). Applying this to the analysis of the novel shows that witches/wizards of non-magical parents are frequently pushed into the done-to-role so that they are portrayed as endangered as well as inferior to pure-bloods. For example, Draco says: "No one asked your opinion, you filthy little Mudblood" (117) to Hermione, punishing her for speaking on her own and having an opinion. By portraying Hermione in the done-to-role Draco imposes his authority based on his pure-blood status on her. Then, when characters talk about the attacks on Muggle-borns, they are again presented in the passive role, showing that they are victims at the mercy of Slytherin's heir. This can be seen when Draco says: "'I bet it's only a matter of time before one of them's killed'" (237) or when Riddle talks about Ginny who "'set the serpent of Slytherin on four Mudbloods'" (327). All this time the Muggle-borns as the goal or done-to-role are threatened, paralyzed and killed by the heir in the actor or doer-role due to a racist ideology of pure-blood supremacy.

> Transitivity, one of the most important markers of how power is constructed in the novel, shows who is given agency

Another case of not mistrusted but often racially discriminated persons in the magical world are Squibs like the caretaker Argus Filch: people with magical parents who are not or hardly able to perform magic. Lexical choice and transitivity are two prominent aspects that show how they are viewed by other magical persons. Firstly, the lexical field of the joke is employed in a letter advertising a Kwikspell course to learn magic. Two Squibs write that their potions and charms were "'a family joke'" and "'sneer[ed] at'" (134) and later Ron explains that "'it's not funny really'" (154) being a Squib. Secondly, shame is another recurring lexical field in connection to Squibs. It becomes clear that Squibs seem to regard themselves as shameful: Filch blushes, "snatche[s] up the envelope" (135), twists his hands together and begins to stutter when he notices that Harry must have read his Kwikspell letter. All these bodily reactions portray nervousness and being ashamed. This image that Squibs have of themselves and that many others seem to share is also mirrored through the use of transitivity, because they, like Muggle-borns, are portrayed in the done-to-role. Since they are "sneer[ed] at" (134), "taunted" (133), considered a shame or pitied by others, Squibs, too, become passive victims of the construct of pure-blood superiority.

CLASS

Another dimension in which a hierarchy is established between magical people is class, the difference between rich and poor (wizard) families[3]. In the Harry Potter series, the Malfoys and the Weasleys portray this conflict. Lucius and Draco frequently mock the Weasleys for being poor, drawing on the lexical field hunger connected to spending money. For example, Draco tells Ron he is "'surprised [...] to see [him] in a shop'" and: "'I suppose your parents will go hungry for a month to pay for that lot'" (65). Lucius adds, speaking to Arthur: "'what's the use of being a disgrace to the name of wizard if they don't even pay you well for it?'" (65). Another time at Hogwarts,

3 Whilst class is originally based on a person's position in the production process, the distinction used for analysis will focus on socio-economic status in general, i.e., rich vs. poor characters.

Draco again uses the fact that Ron's family is not wealthy to construct a hierarchy: "'Weasley would like a signed photo, Potter [...] It'd be worth more than his family's whole house'" (102). So by mocking the Weasleys for their lack of money the Malfoys establish a class hierarchy in which they stand at the top.

However, discrimination is often intersectional and the Weasleys are no exception. They experience not only discrimination based on their class status but in combination with being treated as a disgrace because of their fascination with and support of Muggles/Muggle-borns. This can be shown by Lucius' statement: "'The company you keep, Weasley ... and I thought your family could sink no lower'" (66). The implication that the Weasley's social status is even lower because of their interest in Muggles adds to their low economic status and leads to an intersectional perspective on discrimination. As will be shown in the following paragraphs, this perspective does not only apply to the Weasley family.

INTERSECTIONAL POWER RELATIONS

The intersectional nature of discrimination can be observed by looking at the depiction of house-elves. They experience a combination of discrimination on the levels of class and race. In this case the racial discrimination can even be specified as *speciesism*[4] since they are not human beings. This double oppression leads to and legitimises their enslavement to wealthy families. It is, for example, shown by the particular use of deictic perspective.

Firstly, Dobby, the Malfoys' house-elf, speaks of himself in the third person singular (14), indicating that he even overlooks himself as a person and does not see himself as a subject. This emphasises the idea of house-elves being passive, obedient servants to wizards'/witches' orders and not being treated equally. In addition, he does not seem to see a way out of his enslavement, because he describes his servitude as lasting "'for ever'" (14), that he "'will serve the family until he dies'" (15). Thereby he establishes a temporal deictic perspective reaching far into the future. And thirdly, Dobby's slave habitus[5] and incorporation of his inferiority leading to self-punishment are described in specific deictic expressions and mirror his slave status. For instance, Dobby "scurr[ies] in after [Lucius], crouching at the hem of his cloak" (353) which locates him spatially and metaphorically under the wizard.

Dobby's construction as inferior is also established through elements of ideological perspective such as lexical choice. One lexical field that stands out is authority, since Dobby always addresses Harry with "sir" (15) and/or his full name. This way, the house-elf reproduces the hierarchy and shows how much he is used to treating wizards/witches as authorities. Additionally, he makes use of expressions indicating his low social status when he talks of house-elves as: "'treated like vermin,'" and "'the lowly, the enslaved, us dregs of the magical world!'" (188). Also, Dobby talks about future punishment or actually does punish himself. In the second novel, this happens thirteen times in the three scenes in which he appears. These actions further underline the power the Malfoy family has over him and the great extent to which Dobby has internalised the hierarchy and the unquestionable need for punishment.

The perception of Dobby by others, too, is marked by negative lexical fields. One of them is fear and includes lexical items describing him as "anxiou[s]" (19), "miserable" (186) or with "a look of abject terror on his face" (353). Enslavement and again dirt make up another two lexical fields, because Dobby wears a "ragged," "filthy pillowcase" as "mark of [...] enslavement" (187), and calls himself "'enslaved'" (188). In the end, Dobby reacts with "wonderment" and "disbelief" (356f.) when he is handed the sock

4 Speciesism is "a prejudice or bias in favour of the interests of members of one's own species and against those of members of other species" (*The Ethics*).

5 Based on a person's socio-economic status and socialisation they develop certain tendencies of tastes, perspectives on the world and behaviours – a habitus – that can be observed in all people occupying a similar socio-economic position in society; they internalise their social position. (Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* French: La Distinction, 1979).

and thus freed from the Malfoys. This description again points to the internalisation of his slave status, making it at first hard for him to believe that he is now free.

Then, the use of transitivity and modality, as marker of power structures, adds especially to the construction of Dobby's obedience and slave status. This is achieved by underlining the seemingly natural character of house-elf enslavement. Firstly, through the passive constructions in which Dobby often talks of himself, his existence as an objectified, obedient slave is constructed. He says: "'the family will never set Dobby free'" and "'Harry Potter asks if he can help Dobby'" (15), thus presenting wizards as the actors and himself as the goal and reproducing the contrasting roles of wizards/witches and house-elves. The motif of self-punishment is introduced by high deontic modality as in: "'Dobby will have to punish himself'" (14). This portrays him as confident that he must be punished and deserves it. Using high epistemic modality therefore shows that for Dobby his punishments are an unquestioned obligation as a result of the deeply internalised power structures in the magical society.

The construction of power in *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* is supported by various linguistic features emphasising the character's ideologies concerning race, class and speciesism. One of these features is the use of lexical fields which make up a salient tool to signal attitudes towards the existing power structures. Above all, negative fields like shame, dirt, contamination, or obedience are employed to describe Muggle-borns, witches/wizards who are in contact with Muggles or who have a low class status, as well as house-elves as inferior. They also serve to position wealthy pure-bloods and humans above them in the hierarchy. Concerning deixis, spatial deictic elements like we and they are used to create in- and out-groups of, for example, pure-bloods vs. Muggle-borns or magical vs. non-magical people. Modality then underscores both the Malfoys' belief that they are superior to non-pure-bloods, Muggles or non-human creatures, as well as Dobby's conviction that wizards/witches are authorities. Lastly, transitivity, one of the most important markers of how power is constructed in the novel, shows who is given agency. For instance, Slytherin's heir and pure-bloods possess agency, whilst Hermione and Dobby remain in the done-to-role and thus in a lower, powerless position. In the end, all the different linguistic features interplay and reinforce each other to construct and reproduce the hierarchical structure along the concepts of race, class and speciesism.

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Toward interdisciplinary research-based teaching in linguistics
Integrating students into project-oriented teaching and research practices at the intersection of (applied) English linguistics and TEFL

PHILIPP MEER

In recent years, the idea of undergraduate research and inquiry and research-active teaching and learning has become relatively popular across universities in the United States and many other countries worldwide (Healey & Jenkins 2009). In Germany, a parallel trend can be observed: the concept of learning through research ("Forschendes Lernen") has not only become a popular buzzword in higher education (Reinmann 2016:226) but has substantially influenced educational practices and development strategies of many universities nationwide (e.g. HEP RUB, HEP WWU). Teacher education at university level, in particular, has been one of the domains where many new standards and goals, as well as related teaching and learning practices, have started to be implemented (KMK 2014; MSW NRW 2016).

This paper discusses the relevance and potential benefits of learning through research for the teaching of English linguistics at German universities, with a particular focus on one subtype associated with this concept: research-based teaching (Healey & Jenkins 2009:7). Drawing on general theoretical considerations and using a research-based course taught by myself as an example, the paper argues that teaching and research in (applied) linguistics – and English language studies more generally – can profit quite immensely from the introduction and/or expansion of research-based teaching and learning practices in addition to other types of learning through research. I propose that, for lecturers and students alike, interdisciplinary and project-oriented approaches especially may be a welcome contribution to the teaching and research at English departments in Germany and other countries where as different fields as Literary and Cultural Studies, English Linguistics, and Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) often belong to the same department. I suggest that such a research-based approach can help bridge the gap between teaching and research, two concepts which are traditionally regarded as separate and being very different from one another, and that future teachers of English, in particular, may profit from such an approach being put into practice.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: first, I present an overview of the concept of learning through research and research-based teaching, and I argue why and how such an approach may be beneficial for teaching and research in the given context (section 2). Second, based on a research-based course at the intersection of (applied) English linguistics and TEFL in which my students and I jointly investigated the role of "World Englishes in the EFL Classroom in Germany", I describe how such an interdisciplinary and project-oriented approach could be implemented in practice and reflect on experiences made during the process of teaching (section 3). Based on the overall outcome of the course and the initial considerations, I conclude with some suggestions for future teaching and research in English linguistics and English language studies (section 4).

RESEARCH-BASED TEACHING AND ITS POTENTIAL BENEFITS FOR ENGLISH LINGUISTICS AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDIES

Different understandings and concepts of how to link teaching and research currently exist and are used slightly differently in different countries and contexts (Reinmann 2016:226-227). Rather than a general orientation toward science when teaching, learning through research in German higher education contexts is generally understood as an active process in which students learn while going through an entire research cycle (ibid.). That is, students may be exposed to and actively engaged in different stages that emphasize student participation, research processes and problems, as well as research contents to different degrees (Healey & Jenkins 2009:7): students may learn about current research (research-led), develop personal research skills (research-oriented), engage in discussions on research (research-tutored), and even undertake research themselves (research-based). Traditionally, teaching at university level has often been too focused on the former two, less student-active approaches (ibid.; Munthe & Roger 2015:22). Research-based teaching, in contrast, places a large degree of responsibility on the students and emphasizes their active engagement in the teaching and research process. However, this is not to say that these stages are mutually exclusive to one another: a successful research-based course needs to take into account research-led and research-oriented perspectives and practices — at least to some extent. In this paper, therefore, the term research-based will be conceptualized as having students actively engage in actual research but also learn about and learn for research (Reinmann 2016:236).

Such a research-based approach to teaching can help bridge the gap between teaching and research in English linguistics and English language studies more generally. Teaching, especially in the form of lectures, is often viewed by university lecturers as a process of knowledge transfer (Badger & Sutherland 2007): lecturers have acquired a special kind of knowledge through (their own) research or a set of methodological skills which they pass on to their students. In this sense, teaching is viewed as being a very distinct process from research: while teaching is the top-down transfer of knowledge to the students, research is the accumulation of knowledge and lies in the domain of the researcher. For some, teaching might even represent an unwelcome activity that takes time from one's research. A research-based approach challenges this traditional idea of teaching and research and views students as potential additional producers of knowledge (Healey & Jenkins 2009:8). Teaching and research are not viewed as mutually exclusive, but as complementary to each other. If such a view is adopted, teaching and research can be combined in meaningful ways that can benefit both the researcher/lecturer and the students. Students may learn about, for, and through research, while the lecturer and their students jointly accumulate knowledge as partners in a bottom-up manner – perhaps even to a degree that the lecturer would not have been able to accumulate by themselves.

Teaching and research are not viewed as mutually exclusive, but as complementary to each other

A case in point for such a research-based approach to teaching is the corpus compilation project by Youssef & Deuber (2007), conducted at the University of the West Indies and based on which the Trinidad and Tobago subcomponent of the International Corpus of English was later compiled. Youssef & Deuber taught general corpus compilation and analysis skills to a group of undergraduate students who, in a second step, conducted field research in Trinidad and Tobago, and recorded and compiled data for the corpus. In a third step, students also analyzed parts of the collected data. This approach allowed the students to gain valuable insights into linguistic field research and data collection methods, which are otherwise usually not accessible to students in traditional teaching

environments in linguistics. Students generally reported to have more positive feelings toward linguistics as a result and that they learned a lot about language variation; students seemed to be especially appreciative of the practical experiences in the course. The researchers, on the other hand, welcomed the large amount of data they were able to collect together with the students in a relatively short period of time.

Although the above course serves as an example of the potential benefits of a research-based approach for both teaching and research in linguistics and English language studies more generally, it is questionable whether a department-wide implementation of similar research-based courses on a larger scale and with a high frequency is attainable or even desirable. First, considering that designing and teaching courses of a similar nature is very labor-intensive and may require a relatively large amount of institutional and other resources, a full institutional paradigm shift toward research-based teaching in favor of other teaching formats is unrealistic. Second, from a learning perspective, curricula in higher education should be balanced and incorporate all stages and foci of learning through research (Healey & Jenkins 2009:7).

Institutional curricula and single research-based courses should be balanced and include all other stages of learning through research

From a perspective of "academic opportunism" (Youssef & Deuber 2009), therefore, research-based teaching may be a welcome addition to intra-institutional research and teaching if it is implemented in a less extensive way that is more associated with project-oriented learning, a related-type of learning (Reinmann 2016:237). Even if, for instance, only a very few lecturers across different departmental fields of research decided to design specific research-based teaching projects every semester, this would have quite a profound impact on the overall diversity of courses offered within a department. Students could then profit from this newly established diversity throughout their studies and gain more hands-on experience as far as research is concerned. Lecturers, on the other hand, may use these occasional research-based teaching projects to connect their teaching more to their research and engage in joint lecturer-student work on a research aspect that fits their research agenda.

Given that future teachers of English are often the proportionally largest group of students at English departments in Germany, research-based teaching at the intersection of English linguistics (or literary and cultural studies) and TEFL may be particularly beneficial to students. Teacher trainee students can profit from research-based teaching at this intersection for three main reasons: firstly, learning through research has become an integral part of their studies and especially their later training (KMK 2014; see also MSW NRW 2016). Exposing teacher trainee students to more research-based teaching from early onwards may help them, in line with the rationale for the emphasis of such approaches during their training (ibid.), to develop a critical and inquiring stance to (their own) teaching (see Munthe & Rogne 2015:18). Secondly, conducting research at this intersection, especially in the school itself, may help them identify with the research-based teaching projects more, recognize the relevance of (their own) research for their future profession, and motivate them to become actively and critically engaged in the process. Thirdly, previous research has shown that teacher trainees often feel ill-equipped to apply theoretical knowledge in real teaching and learning contexts (Alvunger & Wahlström 2018), and that engagement in actively research-based learning activities can increase teacher trainees' feelings of preparedness for their later profession (Hammerness et al. 2005). Research-based teaching projects can help these students accumulate new personal knowledge that is relevant for their professional development toward a reflective and critical teacher personality in a hands-on manner. For lecturers, such an approach

is challenging because it requires one to incorporate at least some perspectives from another field of research. However, this circumstance may also encourage more collaboration between lecturer and students in order to try to overcome such problems jointly and provide an incentive for intra-institutional and interdisciplinary support and cooperation.

AN EXAMPLE OF AN INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH-BASED TEACHING PROJECT: A COURSE ON "WORLD ENGLISHES IN THE EFL CLASSROOM IN GERMANY"

A seminar that I taught at the University of Münster in the summer term of 2018 will here serve as an example of an interdisciplinary research-based teaching project as described above. The project was entitled "World Englishes in the EFL Classroom in Germany" and aimed at investigating the current status of World Englishes in German EFL classrooms and other educational settings by having students carry out field research. The main incentive for this endeavor was based on the observation that, despite an increasing amount of applied linguistics and TEFL literature suggesting a paradigm shift toward World Englishes-informed teaching practices (e.g. Matsuda & Matsuda 2018), the current status of World Englishes in German EFL classroom is still largely underresearched. It is currently unclear what kinds of teaching realities such suggestions would meet in practice and how such suggestions may be implemented into actual teaching in German secondary schools. All students that participated were in their third year of undergraduate study; the course was part of their advanced module on English language and linguistics.

The course was structured into four phases (cp. Reinmann 2016:232-236). In the first phase (learning about research), the students and I dealt with previous research that concerns World Englishes overall, the question of whether and how to incorporate World Englishes into TEFL, and state-of-the-art research on the role of World Englishes in TEFL in Germany. By using jigsaws and other teaching methods that are based on the division of labor we were able to cover an extensive amount of previous research in our readings and identify research gaps in the existing literature. At the end of this phase, students had the chance to attend two invited guest lectures to inform themselves about currently ongoing research.

In the second phase (learning for research), students developed their own research ideas based on the identified research gaps and ongoing research, planned group research projects, and designed their own research instruments. In project-oriented group work activities the students learned about and applied different kinds of methods and approaches: they learned, for instance, how to design questionnaires, create guidelines for semi-structured interviews, or draft linguistic elicitation tasks.

In the third and most important phase (learning through research in the strict sense), students carried out field research in German schools and other educational contexts to investigate questions such as: what attitudes do teachers, students, and trainee teachers have toward the question of whether to incorporate World Englishes into TEFL? To what extent are World Englishes being taught and how is this practically done? How are World Englishes represented in schoolbooks and curricula? What role do World Englishes play in teacher education? Students conducted interviews with (trainee) teachers, carried out a questionnaire survey with future students of English, analyzed schoolbooks and curricula, and examined spoken learner language phonetically. As a last step, students created professional scientific posters and presented them in class to report and discuss their findings from the field research phase.

The overall quality and benefits of the course were evaluated using different methods: (1) the quality of the scientific posters, (2) a paper-based evaluation survey, and (3) personal feedback from the student during class. The outcome of this evaluation can be summarized as follows:

(1) The high quality of the scientific posters of the students, the collected data, and the overall

analysis procedure in almost all cases showed that the students were able to plan, conduct, analyze, and present real research projects by themselves. The students were also able to discuss critically potential implications of their findings for their own professional development and teaching in general.

(2) The survey indicated that the students were overall satisfied with the course; they evaluated the course as good or very good on average. Several students emphasized that they liked the structure of the course and the focus of learning through research – often in contrast to traditional approaches to teaching. The students also indicated that they liked having the opportunity to attend guest lectures on the topic and that the research-based design of the course gave them the feeling to be carrying out "real research". Students generally seemed to show a large degree of variation regarding the question of whether they found the class too time-consuming. While some mentioned that they enjoyed the flexibility and freedom during the field research phase, others stressed that they found it difficult to cope with too many liberties during research-related decision-making processes.

(3) The classroom discussion revealed that the students would like to incorporate what they have learned during this project when teaching English in secondary school later on and that they would like to do so in an informed and critical way that takes into consideration theoretical perspectives but also practical ones. Such a view is reminiscent of Cochran-Smith et al.'s (2009) goals for research-oriented teacher education and shows that the students, apart from competences in conducting research, have also acquired skills which are relevant for their professional development (cp. MSW NRW 2016).

CONCLUSION

This paper discussed the relevance of learning through research for the teaching of English linguistics – and English language studies in general – at German universities by drawing on theoretical considerations and using a research-based teaching project at the intersection of (applied) linguistics and TEFL as an example. I hope to have shown that teaching and research in (applied) linguistics, and both teachers and students alike, can benefit from the implementation of (more) interdisciplinary project-oriented and research-based courses.

I would like to conclude with a few final suggestions: firstly, despite the very positive outcome of the exemplary research-based teaching project here, it is probably recommendable to offer similar courses only for advanced undergraduate students. Students in the course at hand were only able to succeed because they had had previous knowledge of World Englishes either from another course or because they spent some time reading upon on the state-of-the-art literature prior to the beginning of the course. Secondly, although this paper has emphasized the role of research-based teaching, institutional curricula and single research-based courses should be balanced and include all other stages of learning through research: a lack of profound content-related knowledge and methodological skills may make it nearly impossible to engage in research itself. Thirdly, when designing research-based classes, lecturers ought to be aware of institutional or personal constraints, such as potential overlap of field research phases with students' other classes or exams or the timetable of informants.

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LITERARY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

Altruistic Reconstructions

An Examination of Charles Taylor's Philosophical Anthropology in *Man of La Mancha* (1972) and *Zorba the Greek* (1964)

VAHID AGHAEI

Narratives, both real and fictional, are a necessary means to learn about the past (upon which the present is predicated). Moreover, almost all narratives have the capacity of being reinterpreted or re-experienced in a new light. Jacques Derrida uses the term "binary oppositions" for conceptualising experiences within narratives. For instance, "we understand reason as the opposite of emotion, masculine as the opposite of feminine, civilized as the opposite of primitive, and so on" (Tyson 254). Moreover, he believes that they form "little hierarchies", because "one term in the pair is always privileged, or considered superior to the other" (254). Therefore, "by identifying which member of the opposition is privileged, one can discover something about the ideology promoted by that production" (254). After deconstruction, hierarchies among the binary opposites could be inverted, but this will "destabilize both hierarchies, leaving them in a condition of undecidability" (Abrams 82).

Don Quixote (1605–1615) by Miguel de Cervantes and *Zorba the Greek* (1946) by Nikos Kazantzakis are not sacred metanarratives, but both are infused with Christian elements. The latter is more critical of religious dogmatism since it was written in more modern times by an author who was under the influence of Nietzsche and other major critics of fundamental Christianity. The interplay of binary oppositions is crucial for uncovering facets of the ideological framework behind the novels, but a form of reconstruction is required to fully understand them. These arguments are supported by Charles Taylor's views. "As a philosopher, Taylor's concerns are focused on what he calls philosophical anthropology, an effort to expose the roots of the contemporary sense of what it means to be human" (The Malaise of Modernity 00:01:00–11). Taylor believes that the past "can be remembered, reconstructed, and re-interpreted just as we imaginatively project ourselves and our purposes into the future. [. . .] We see our lives as stories that unfold, and in which we move closer to or further away from different strongly valued goods and goals" (Abbey 5). Therefore, Taylor's ideas may be used to highlight the transition of the narratives from novel to film adaptation, namely *Man of La Mancha* (1972) and *Zorba the Greek* (1964). It is for this reason that this survey scrutinises the more modern film adaptations of the two magnum opuses. The films project the undermining of detrimental beliefs, and, in contrast to the novels, give more agency to female characters. This is achieved via melodramatic satire as well as tense scenes that are more serious.

CHARLES TAYLOR'S BODY OF THEORIES

In *The Ethics of Authenticity* (1992), Taylor elaborates on what he calls the "three malaises" of modernity. He pinpoints "individualism" as the initial source of the malaises. According to Taylor, it renders individuals "to determine the shape of their lives in a whole host of ways that their ancestors couldn't control" (2). The threat that individualism poses may lead to an excessive reliance on selfhood, neglecting the past narratives in history. The downside of this excessive individualism "narrows our lives, makes them poorer in meaning, and less concerned with others or society" (4). This self-centering later leads to the second

malaise which Taylor calls "the primacy of instrumental reason" (5), a "kind of rationality we draw on when we calculate the most economical application of means to a given end. Maximum efficiency, the best cost-output ratio, is its measure of success" (5). Taylor further maintains that instrumental reasoning has nested in most societies, especially in the Western world. "The fear is that things that ought to be determined by other criteria will be decided in terms of efficiency or 'cost-benefit' analysis, that the independent ends that ought to be guiding our lives will be eclipsed by the demand to maximize output" (5).

In Taylor's analysis, the first two aforementioned malaises pave the way for a third one on "the political level" (8). Not only is this a threat to the flow of narrative production, it can also create mute citizens who neither care about past narratives, nor want to exchange in dialogue with others. By building on the notions of Alexis de Tocqueville, Taylor depicts a "society in which people end up as the kind of individuals who are 'enclosed in their own hearts' [that] is one where few will want to participate actively in self-government" (9). In sum, Taylor's delineation of the three malaises could be described as thus: the first leads to "a loss of meaning, the fading of moral horizons. The second concerns the eclipse of ends, in face of rampant instrumental reason. And the third is about a loss of freedom" (10).

He considers it his duty to fight evil, suffering during the process

A BRIEF CONTEXTUALISATION OF *DON QUIXOTE* AND *ZORBA THE GREEK*

Cervantes for the Spanish/Hispanic world is like Shakespeare for the British/Anglophone world. The knight-errant, Don Quixote, is such a flamboyant character in Western literature that the word "quixotic" found its way into the English language. The definition of the modern novel as an extended form of narrative owes a great deal to this masterpiece. Cervantes "uses fiction to represent different ways of thinking and ways of being as well as to capture the socioeconomic world in which his characters live" (Schwarz 25). His work depicts "the emerging field of 'global' literary studies and draws analogies between the historical period of pre-Enlightenment modernity in the Mediterranean world and the concerns of twenty-first-century post-national states" (D'haen and Dhondt 7–8).

Zorba the Greek revolves around the life of the well-educated Basil (the Boss), a half-British, half-Greek who befriends Zorba, an old and ordinary Greek labourer. Basil narrates the story of his friendship with Zorba and how they both move to Crete, Basil's native village, in order to restore an ancient mine that belonged to his ancestors. Zorba's character in particular, with his self-indulgent, easygoing manner, has "offered westerners a prototype of liberation" (Hnaraki 26). Furthermore, Kazantzakis's novel is considered an "attraction for the western society, which, tired from logic and abundance, admired Zorba, a daring, spontaneous hero, who refused conventions and admitted his emotional passions" (26). *Zorba the Greek* presents "a 'transitional age' in which the human race was poised between the decadence of the old civilization and the fulfillment of a new, authentic, vital, and liberating order" (Berke).

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF *MAN OF LA MANCHA* (1972) AND *ZORBA THE GREEK* (1964) BASED ON TAYLOR'S NOTIONS

Don Quixote does not yield to instrumental reasoning because he selflessly aims at attaining a greater good, but his plans culminate in defeat. Magdalena Barbaruk believes that "Taylor would presumably see Don Quixote as a patron of restoration of the proper meaning of the authenticity ideal and renewal of human practices [...] had the knight errant been true to his own 'originality' instead of imitating knight-errants" (45). Yet, one must add that *Man of La Mancha* has achieved this even more: Quixote's militant individualism is adequately portrayed in

the movie, but the kindheartedness of the knight is redoubled. Notwithstanding, Barbaruk maintains that:

> If culture is conceived as the cultivation of the soul, we should see the knight-errant as an agent today and approach him in the framework of the "care of the self" or Taylorian "ethics of authenticity." Don Quixote takes the helm of his life in his hands and engages in combat for the world and against the human condition defined through modern states and sentiments: boredom, passivity, inertia and banality of existence. (45)

Quixotic characteristics are also present in Zorba, but he does not possess the same degree of selflessness. Don Quixote is deeply in love and has promised to remain chaste. He considers it his duty to fight evil, suffering during the process. Zorba, on the other hand, is more of an epicurean: he falls in line with the primacy of instrumental reason. Nevertheless, he is a cultivated person with many sophisticated remarks that the Boss finds very interesting. The Boss admits that the "meaning of the words, art, love, beauty, purity, passion, all this was made clear to me by the simplest of human words uttered by this workman" (*Zorba the Greek* 20). It does not take long for Zorba to teach him "about 'real life' and how to live and enjoy living" (Elsman 44). Before engaging with the multifarious life narratives of Zorba, Basil was a self-enclosed individual, similar to those Taylor describes on the political level. In point of fact, it is Zorba who leads him towards a more profound state of individualism. "Zorba opens up genuine possibilities for the elevation of both the flesh and the spirit to a higher (and more substantial) level of understanding and meaningfulness in individual and social life" (Kovačević 195). Boss and worker (Zorba) form another binary opposition, but Zorba reverses this. The binary is ultimately shattered because the two become quite fond of one another. Zorba's personal life narratives are the main reason Basil learns to embrace real life outside of his cherished books.

In *Man of La Mancha,* Peter O'Toole plays both Cervantes and Don Quixote. At the beginning, Cervantes is imprisoned by the Inquisition. While waiting in captivity, the inmates decide to have a trial of their own. As an embittered man, Cervantes tries to defend his fictional narrative. He hails it for being real, because individuality was the crux of the matter he wanted to address. He wrote his book while in prison as the only means for countering the suffocating atmosphere the Inquisition had imposed on the population at that time. In that era's political realm, few had the literacy or even the motivation to question long held beliefs. Therefore, he becomes a "hypothetical quixotic anthropologist" who longs for "a political and ethical configuration, one that values idealism and contestation at epistemological, experiential, and political levels" (Maskens and Blanes 250).

Basil's character, too, strongly upholds the rights of others in society. He is not a ruthless miser, wanting to be obeyed at all times. In contrast to his boss, Zorba is not very lenient with the miners. In one scene, the workers run outside of the mine after hearing a loud creaking sound. Zorba is the last to exit and is angered that they have left axes inside the mine. He starts shouting at them for the loss they have caused, but Basil intervenes, asking Zorba to stop at once. The Boss mentions his relief that they are all safe and decides to call it a day. At this point Zorba says: "Boss, you better make up your mind. Are you or are you not a gosh darn capitalist?" (00:45:16–00:45:23). In response, the Boss laughs, but says nothing. He refuses to exploit the uneducated Cretans, once again distancing himself from the instrumental rationality that thrives on monetary gain alone.

Sophia Loren, who plays Don Quixote's beloved Dulcinea, is perhaps the most significant narrative innovation in *Man of La Mancha*. Her real name is Aldonza, but under the spell of his insanity, the knight imagines her as a noble lady called Dulcinea del Toboso. This character never physically appears in the novel and the knight never gets to meet her. In fact, she is described as an ugly female

character who works on a farm and has a masculine body that reeks of sweat and a coarse voice when she shouts (*Don Quixote* 217–218). However, in Don Quixote's imagination she is the most complete and beautiful damsel ever. Her character in the film is very different; she works at an inn where she cooks, cleans, and is caught up in prostitution.

Don Quixote's arrival creates another binary opposition between himself and the debased crowd that dwells within the inn. Once again, the knight proves how remote instrumental reasoning is to his character, as he has fallen in love with a woman he has never actually met in person. Although his stubborn imagination seem ethereal, he at least stays clear of the dark side of individualism about which Taylor warned. Despite this fact, his tender song does subdue Aldonza's anger for a while: "I have dreamed thee too long. Never seen thee or touched thee. But known thee with all of my heart. Half a prayer, half a song. Thou hast always been with me. Though we have been always apart. [...] I have sought thee, sung thee, dreamed thee Dulcinea" (00:36:00–00:38:02). These loving words are diametrically opposed to the instrumental intentions of the muleteers. Before the knight's arrival at the inn, Aldonza had been singing about her misery, addressing the brutes, but she was also presenting herself as a distinct character. This is one of the main merits of the film in contrast to the novel. Aldonza (Dulcinea) is given agency to speak and defend herself against the crowd. In the novel, she is only a classical muse that exists in Don Quixote's psyche, an illusory figure that is one-sidedly praised by him.

The widow, played by Irene Papas in Zorba the Greek, is another important female character. She hardly ever speaks in the movie, but her actions clearly function as a shield against a debased group of villagers who resort to instrumental reason. By refusing to marry the youngest son of the Chief, she retains her autonomy. The widow's defiant manner creates yet another binary opposition, disobeying against surrendering. After his son commits suicide, the Chief and a number of men round her up for revenge. Zorba tries to save the widow, but the Chief slits her throat. This tragic scene depicts the price one has to pay for individualism. The widow lost her life because she was outnumbered by a majority of villagers who only viewed her as a trophy to be snatched. Moreover, the silence of the religious authorities makes them culpable on the political level that allowed such a crime to take place.

Madame Hortense, a French woman, is another important female character. With her wealth, she had managed to keep the Cretans at bay. With the exception of Zorba, the men did not like her because of her old age. Old women sit around her deathbed, counting down the seconds for her to die, some even start looting her house before she gives up the ghost. This makes Zorba furious: he grabs them by the hair and throws them back, gently whispering to Hortense: "It's me Zorba. Don't be afraid" (02:05:35–02:05:38). When she finally dies, the villagers strip her house completely. This level of unsentimentality is a sign of decadence on the political level in Crete, with people only focusing on material gain, encapsulated within a restrictive religious society.

Unlike the novel, in which Basil and Zorba part ways, the two of them exchange a friendly dialogue at the end of the film. Zorba admits how much he loves Basil but urges him to be more impulsive. In other words, Zorba wants Basil to make a pattern of life that suits him well: "You've got everything except one thing, madness. A man needs a little madness, or else [...] he never dares to cut the rope and be free" (02:17:55–02:18:10). Their plans for earning money fail, but the two friends laugh and dance together, ridiculing the naivety of the priests that ruled the village. The closing scene of the film foreshadows a future, where perhaps greater happiness may ensue. The ending of *Man of La Mancha* is similarly promising. After being summoned by the Inquisition, Cervantes and

Man of La Mancha and *Zorba the Greek* are two film adaptations that greatly document paradigmatic shifts from their written narratives

his stage manager (James Coco/Sancho) walk up the dungeon stairs while the deeply touched inmates pay their regards by singing "The Impossible Dream". This final scene also projects the determinacy of positive individualism, which may hinder the instrumental reasoning percolating through the political level of society.

Spotting binary oppositions is one means of highlighting the power structures and hierarchies within a narrative. However, this method is insufficient because it is somewhat superficial for a tenable reconstruction. On the other hand, Taylor's anthropological philosophy traces the roots of major transitions in many different zeitgeists. His views show how positive changes took place, but he also warns about the malaises of modernity. According to Taylor, the negative aspects of individualism and instrumental reasoning give rise to a political realm in which the flow of narratives is obstructed. This also means that constructive critical outlooks are abandoned by individuals in such a society.

Due to the narrow scope of the article, I was not able to elaborate on Taylor's lengthy outlooks in detail. Some of his ideas are embedded within his Catholicism, but this article focused on the more general notions of his anthropological philosophy. Nevertheless, his theories provide sufficient material for an in-depth study of *Don Quixote* and *Zorba the Greek*, as well as their film adaptations. Furthermore, the religious transfigurations can be analysed based on his views. *Man of La Mancha* and *Zorba the Greek* are two film adaptations that greatly document paradigmatic shifts from their written narratives. Above all, the films present changes that are not included in the novels' texts and contexts. The role and articulacy of female characters in the production of new narratives is perhaps the most important change one can detect. Finally, the film versions also indicate vital anthropological perspectives that extract past narratives and reconfigure them in a new light.

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A Brief Gramscian Analysis of the First Five Years of the AKP

How the Organic Intellectuals of Turkey Helped Cement the Power of Erdoğan and his Party

CAN ÇAKIR

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I will try to underline the role of intellectuals in Turkey during President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's first five years as Prime Minister[1] in establishing his hegemony. The analysis will be conducted using a Gramscian approach. I will begin the paper by presenting the framework. I will give a brief definition of the concepts called *organic intellectuals* and *historical bloc*, coined by the Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci. Following the theoretical introduction, I will give empirical evidence, using excerpts from articles and interviews of three prominent intellectuals[2] who are known as the *Birikim* troika[3] in the Turkish academic and journalistic sphere. It is worth noting that two out of the three writers included in the paper were well-known full professors of economics and comparative literature in Galatasaray University and Istanbul Bilgi University, respectively. These authors, while claiming to be socialists and Marxists, gave Erdoğan and his openly conservative and right-wing party, AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, Justice and Development Party), full support until 2013. The breaking point in the relationship between the writers and Erdoğan was the *Gezi Park Resistance Movement*[4], where the government's methods of repression and police brutality made the movement famous worldwide. I will conclude the paper with the final analysis and suggestions for further research for readers who are interested in the subject.

ORGANIC INTELLECTUALS AND HISTORICAL BLOC

Antonio Gramsci is widely recognized as one of the most important Marxist theorists of the twentieth century. His most important contribution to Marxist political theory has been the introduction of the concept of *hegemony*. In this context, Gramsci argues that the bourgeoisie does not merely use brutal force during its everlasting quest to subordinate the proletariat. To achieve that, "the dominant class must establish its own moral, political and cultural values as conventional norms of political behaviour. This is the essential idea embodied in 'hegemony' [...]" (Femia 3). According to Gramsci, organic intellectuals play an instrumental part in the establishment and continuity of cultural hegemony. The term organic intellectual appears in Gramsci's most internationally acclaimed work, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, with the aim of differentiating the new intellectuals of the capitalist system from the *intelligentsia* as we know it. The familiar *intelligentsia* corresponds to the traditional intellectuals that considered themselves to be a separate social enti-

1 This timeframe corresponds to the entirety of his first term, and the beginning of his second term in power.

2 Some of these articles and interviews are only in Turkish. The English translations have been done by me. Naturally, all responsibility concerning any confusion or faults in translation is entirely mine.

3 *Birikim*, meaning *accumulation* or *accumulated knowledge*, is a Turkish journal which had been focusing on Marxist thought between 1974 and 1980, until it was shut down by the military junta. After it started being published again in 1989, the journal accommodated authors from other intellectual circles as well. The journal's tagline is *Monthly Journal of Socialist Culture*. The term *Birikim troika* was coined by the Turkish political scientist Ümit Cizre in her edited volume, *The Turkish AK Party and its Leader: Criticism, Opposition and Dissent*, edited by Ümit Cizre, Routledge, 2016.

4 The *Gezi Park Resistance Movement* was a protest movement that occurred during the summer of 2013. Originally beginning as a sit-in against the destruction of a park in central Istanbul, the protests spread throughout the country, generally as a result of police brutality. For more information, see. *The Making of a Protest Movement in Turkey: #occupygezi*, edited by Umut Özkırımlı, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

ty, not linked to the dominant class. Gramsci states that:

> The intellectuals are the dominant group's[5] 'deputies' exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government. These comprise: 1. The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is "historically" caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production. 2. The apparatus of state coercive power which 'legally' enforces discipline on those groups who do not 'consent' either actively or passively. This apparatus is, however, constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis of command and direction when spontaneous consent has failed. (12)

The organic intellectuals also have an important role to play during the establishment of the historical bloc. For Gramsci, the conception of historical bloc is a point of departure from Marx[6]. Putting it simply; whereas Marx had argued that the superstructure was determined entirely by the economic base structure, i.e. the forces and relations of production, the economic and material conditions of people would determine the cultural, political institutions of everyday life etc., Gramsci disagreed with him on this issue. He argues that, with the establishment of the historical bloc, structure and superstructure are unified and the hegemony of the ruling class is constantly being reinforced and the relationship between the two structures does not remain unilateral. One of the most important Gramscian scholars, Stephen Gill, defines the historical bloc as such:

> It refers to an historical congruence between material forces, institutions and ideologies, or broadly, an alliance of different class forces politically organized around a set of hegemonic ideas that gave strategic direction and coherence to its constituent elements. [...] For a new historical bloc to emerge, its leaders must engage in 'conscious planned struggle' in both political and civil society. Any new historical bloc must have not only power within the civil society and economy but it also needs persuasive ideas, arguments and initiatives that build on, catalyze and develop its political networks and organization. (60-61)

In the upcoming part, I will demonstrate with examples as to how those "persuasive ideas, arguments and initiatives" were propagated by the organic intellectuals of Turkey.

AKP AND THE ORGANIC INTELLECTUALS OF TURKEY

Before demonstrating the role of the organic intellectuals in Turkey, it would be important to give a brief presentation of the context in which examples from their works will be examined. The social force which employed them, AKP, first came to power following the elections in November 2002[7], right after Turkey experienced the most destructive economic crisis of its history in February 2001. The founding members of the party had split from the Islamist party tradition in Turkey, announcing that they would be more reformists, and would align themselves more with the centre-right conservative democratic position, essentially pledging allegiance to the project of in-

5 The reader should keep in mind that Gramsci wrote these notebooks in the prisons of Italy under the Fascist regime of Benito Mussolini, thus, he uses the word "group", instead of "class", the traditional Marxist jargon, for fear of censorship. Notes are mine.

6 While methodologically a Marxist, Gramsci has disagreed with Marx on several different points, going so far as declaring the October Revolution of 1917 as "the revolution against Kapital!"

7 Erdoğan, who is the founding leader of the party, was not allowed to run in the elections, since he was banned from active politics on 1998 for a period of five years. After the parliament voted to remove his political ban, he got elected in a by-election on 2003 and took office as Prime Minister, a post he held until his election to Presidency in 2014.

tegrating with global capitalism. The electoral campaign of AKP prior to being elected saw a fundamental departure from the Islamist discourse, adapting it to conform with the rising neoliberal trend in the world, emphasizing specifically their ambition to become a member state of the European Union. The AKP combined this liberal discourse with Muslim elements and demonized the authoritarian Kemalist[8] modernization project of the early 20th century. In addition to the Kemalist modernization project, the ongoing attitude of the Turkish Armed Forces in the name of protecting the Turkish democracy[9] were portrayed as the main factors which impeded the democratization process of Turkey. With the carefully planned use of these elements, AKP received significant national and international support. Following an "e-memorandum" posted by the Commander of the Turkish Armed Forces on April 27, 2007, the AKP decided to do everything they can to mobilize their supporters and call for a snap election. Receiving praise from the intellectuals for their "honourable" stand against a possible military intervention, the AKP was able to form a second consecutive majority government by obtaining 46.58% of the votes and 341 deputies out of the 550 in the Assembly[10].

Organic intellectuals play an instrumental part in the establishment and continuity of cultural hegemony

8 Kemalism is defined as the founding ideology of the Republic of Turkey. Established by the founding leader of the country, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the roots of Kemalism principally lie with French Enlightenment values: secularism, nationalism and economic liberalism, together with a break from the Ottoman past and rapid Westernization of the country.

9 The military was considered to be a "shadow actor" in Turkish politics, having intervened directly or indirectly on 1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997. The *coup d'état* of 1980 was the most brutal one, whereas it was the intervention of 1997 which has been generally used in AKP's discourse, since it was directed against one of the former parties in the Islamist party tradition. The failed intervention of July 2016 has been omitted for two reasons: a) its apparent failure and questions about its authenticity, and b) it occurred almost a decade after the epoch with which this paper is concerned.

10 The official results are published in the website of the Supreme Electoral Board (in Turkish): http://www.ysk.gov.tr/tr/1983-2007-yillari-arasi-milletvekili-genel-secimleri/3008.

Ahmet İnsel, a professor of economy and a former dean of the Faculty of Economics of Université Paris I – Panthéon Sorbonne and Galatasaray University, was one of the organic intellectuals that supported the rise of AKP. He attempted to analyse the progress of the movement using a liberal dichotomy of centre/periphery, despite having written extensively on socialism and claiming to be a socialist. In his 2003 article, published both in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* and the website of Birikim, İnsel argues that after the *coup d'état* of 1980 and the establishment of the new constitution which carries heavy military and statist influences, the society was confined to the periphery, since the new regime strictly patrolled any kind of political activity and did not allow anything outside the Kemalist republican structure to be represented. Following the rapid economic liberalization period of the 1980s, the peripheral society used the economic opportunities to re-emerge as a significant group. The AKP is the latest, and so far, the most powerful representative of the new middle class. İnsel defends the so-called democratic stance of the AKP in every aspect, except for their attitude on women, and writes that:

> "The program's [...] statement that democracy is distinguished from all other regimes by the fundamental principle of the sovereignty of the people, and its definition of democracy as a system based on tolerance are all signs that AKP could be a consistent defender of a pluralist parliamentary regime." (304)

İnsel concludes his article by expressing his high hopes and expectations from the AKP:

> The unexpected new composition of the parliament, the fact that the party positioned at the most distant point from the state has formed a majority government, and the aspirations and expectations of the new middle classes supporting this party provide reasons to think that an opportuni-

> ty for a mild but radical exit from the September 12 regime has arisen. The realization of such an exit, not by the traditional Westernizers, but by a movement like AKP, which Westernizing-statist elites regard with suspicion, will finally make the normalization of Turkey's century-old Westernization adventure possible. (306)

Another one of the powerful intellectuals who had supported AKP until 2013 is Murat Belge, a comparative literature professor at Istanbul Bilgi University. Known for his contribution to Turkish Marxist literature with important translations such as the Economical and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844 by Karl Marx, Belge had welcomed the AKP as the "secret and unwanted left-wing" party of Turkey. In an interview with Ruşen Çakır, an important journalist who focuses on Islamic movements in Turkey, Belge states that: "The leftism of AKP isn't an apparent, ideological phenomenon, it originates from their class origins." (Belge 2003) For someone who claims to be a Marxist, Murat Belge hesitated to criticize the AKP as much as he criticized the left-wing movements in the country. In his 2009 paper, he praises the AKP for pursuing the aim of European Union membership, insisting that this is a code name for the democratization of Turkey and emphasizes once again that he sees the military as the main obstacle.

> In reality, all factors that create instability and undermine the ordinary functioning of society contribute to the dominance of the military and legitimize its interventions. In this respect the socialists have much to learn from the AKP, which, knowingly or not, has employed a version of Gramscian strategy in gaining ground and avoiding confrontation, although this policy may now have come to an end with the assault on the party emanating from the judicial branch of the Kemalist state." (Belge 19)

It remains a mystery if Belge, who had a falling-out with AKP and Erdoğan in 2013, and has been criticizing them ever since, has realized or not, that thanks to his articles, statements and newspaper columns, he had been an integral part of the party's Gramscian strategy.

The third and final author that I will mention is Ömer Laçiner, a former socialist revolutionary who has been part of the brain team of *Birikim* since its foundation. Laçiner, who hailed AKP's victory in 2002 as a "more extensive and profound revolution than that on 1946-1950[11]" (2002), was also among those who acknowledged that AKP had a significant amount of support from the new, organic intelligentsia while establishing its intellectual hegemony. In an article written following the 2007 elections, he claims that:

> Should the AKP, in this second term in power, be able to transcend the plain socioeconomic interests of the class(es) that they represent, meaning if they would be able to act like a "mission party" which has been able to prioritize the will to transform Turkey into a country that has the fundamental values and standards of a civilized society; the moral and intellectual support of the aforementioned left-liberal intellectual society will surely continue. (Laçiner 2007)

Although Laçiner is not an established member of the academia as the previous writers examined in the paper, it is worth noting that as one of the editors-in-chief of Birikim, he was widely respected in the socialist community before being absorbed into the organic intelligentsia. Needless to say, he no longer is held in such high esteem within the community.

11 On 1946, the Republic of Turkey had its first multi-party election. Since it was riddled with controversies, such as closed counting of the votes, several historians and political scientists argue that the elections of 1950, where the newly founded Democratic Party won against the Republican People's Party, were the first free elections in the country, according to liberal norms.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of this paper, I attempted to briefly summarize how the new intelligentsia and the organic intellectual community have supported the AKP and Erdoğan while they were trying to enforce their hegemony over Turkish society, which, as the results of the latest presidential referendum and election have indicated[12], has ended with the complete establishment of the historical bloc. The support of these authors, that used to be widely respected in their communities, was unfortunately not limited to AKP's first two terms of government, they have also backed AKP before the referendum on 2010 which was about the reorganization of the judicial branch of the state.

Criminalizing any opposition to the proposed constitutional changes, the Birikim troika and their allies have used the similar Kemalist = authoritarian vs. AKP = liberal dichotomy to accuse anyone who disagreed with them as the obstacles against the democratization process of the country. Between AKP's second victory in 2007 and the end of the alliance on 2013, the *Birikim* crew had allied themselves with the writers of the journal, *Taraf* (Camp). Taraf was viewed by those who opposed AKP as an operation newspaper[13], since it published several news reports and articles that led to lawsuits against AKP's fierce opponents, mostly the military. Further research on the role of both *Taraf* and *Birikim* in the hegemonic rise of AKP exists, notably *Hegemonya Yeniden Kurulurken Sol Liberalizm ve Taraf* (Left Liberalism and Taraf During the Re-Establishment of Hegemony) by Aras Aladağ and *The Turkish AK Party and its Leader: Criticism, Opposition and Dissent*, edited by Ümit Cizre. The readers are encouraged to read these books and several other academic works that can be found on the Internet, should the topic interest them.

12 On April 2017, the Turkish population voted to change their political system from parliamentary democracy to a strong presidential system. The yes vote, heavily supported by Erdoğan and AKP, officially received 51.4% of the votes in the most controversial vote in the history of the country. One year later, on June 2018, the country went to the ballots again to elect its first president in the new system. Held once again in severely unreliable conditions that received worldwide criticism, Erdoğan won the election in the first round, officially receiving 52.6% of the votes.

13 The term operation newspaper was used to define the role of *Taraf* in manufacturing consent for the upcoming lawsuits against the army, the bureaucrats who were close to the military and the nationalist intellectuals. The opponents of AKP have claimed that by the use of this newspaper and the lawsuits that came with it, the role of the military as the watchman of democracy in Turkey was undermined, which led to the AKP being able to establish full control over the state apparatus. The newspaper was shut down by a decree on 2016, passed by the government of the same party

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About Writing and Journals

JOSCHKA A. HÜLLMANN

My professors and supervisors claim that to put text on paper is key to successful academic work. To formulate and explicate the arguments is more than just moving knowledge from your mind to paper or computer—or as Linda Flower and John R. Hayes put it in their seminal work: "In the act of writing, people regenerate or recreate their own goals in the light of what they learn" (Flower and Hayes 381).

Writing is a cognitive process with three phases that are entangled: planning, translating, and reviewing. Very roughly, planning is the phase of building a tacit representation of what you want to write in your mind. Translating is to explicate the tacit representation and to put it into visible language, and reviewing is to evaluate and revise. The phases are intertwined and do not occur in a linear sequence. Instead, the writer cycles through the phases multiple times in different orders, making writing an iterative cognitive process. As part of the recurring planning phase, the internal representation of what the writer has in mind changes, developing the argument further. Developing the argument is essential for compelling writing and conducting science, as for scholars, writing is a crucial instrument.

Critical thinking takes time!

For example, everyone knows the feeling of having everything perfectly thought out, only to struggle when eventually attempting to write it down. While some of it may be due to lack of fitting words, oftentimes it is because the argument is underdeveloped. "Writing is refined thinking", as Stephen King argues (131).

Like every other craft, writing does not come as easy to many, with few mastering the skill. Mr. Stephen King goes as far as to say, "if you're a bad writer, no one can help you become a good one, or even a competent one". Nevertheless, he provides insight on what makes a good writer in his autobiography. "Write a lot" is the most obvious piece of advice. Just like painting or hitting the six strings—and basically everything else—practice is at the core of composing harmonious texts. Part of this is "mastering the fundamentals" (King 142), i.e. using the targeted language at a competent level of vocabulary, grammar and style.

Explaining the craft of writing, King introduces the metaphor of a writer's toolbox, which contains one's most commonly utilised elements such as words, phrases and rhetoric: altogether, your writing style. Because you cannot use all the words or figures out there, you construct your own toolbox of language. This involves creating your own style; putting your favourite words and phrases at the top of the toolbox, while other tools are placed further down in the box. Although this metaphor has some drawbacks, for example, it does not consider how all the elements of writing must play together, it nonetheless illustrates how one can develop writing skills over time, just like a mechanic builds his box of tools.

Not everything should go at the top of this toolbox, though, for excess use of particular elements may lead to inarticulate writing. It is important not to abuse the passive voice, which lacks the clarity of action and agency, and adverbs as "using adverbs is a mortal sin" (Leonard 18). They weaken your statements and create redundancies. Consider, for example, *to sprint quickly*, which contains an unnecessary adverb that does not add any information. Similar advice has been given on adjectives and quantifiers. However, this is not a golden rule, because the words do have a place if used moderately. The right amount is often a personal

choice, but it is ideal to keep the text condensed. This does not mean to only write short sentences; rather, you should focus on the relevant parts. "Strip every sentence to its cleanest components", William Zinsser suggests, "Simplify, simplify [...] prune ruthlessly" (16) . An eight-page article can be cut down to four pages. After that, the hard part is cutting it down to three.

Even before you can start to cut your manuscript, however, you need a text to begin with. This is challenging, really challenging, in fact—and can culminate in the form of writer's block. Fortunately, Anne Lamott provides simple, yet effective, advice. You start "bird by bird" (24), which means to proceed word by word. She suggests to start with "shitty first drafts" (22) as a foundation, which you can work with, revise, and carry on from. Perfectionism may hinder your progress, especially at the beginning. I have experienced in academia, that authors rethink single words many times in their early drafts. They lose focus of their writing goal and impede their own progress as a result. Precise terminology is certainly imperative in academia, since many words may be loaded or have sophisticated meanings in different communities. Yet, if you feel like you cannot put your ideas to paper, I recommend you to jot down a first (shitty) draft of your argument and basic ideas. You can rethink problematic areas in the revision phase later.

Beyond single words, Landon (13) argues that sentences are at the heart of a text, for they lay out the bare propositions of any manuscript, in particular for prose. On the contrary, I believe that the paragraph should be the central unit of a text. Only the paragraph can link multiple statements together to form a coherent argument, which in combination with a clear narrative is crucial for compelling argumentation. An interesting model of argumentation is the Toulmin method, which links claims and evidence via warrants, i.e. the logic or theory to reason with and interpret the evidence in order to make statements (Toulmin 87). Apart from being sound in the argument, a compelling narrative should deliver a harmonious rhythm, for the reason that readers listen to a narrative with their inner voice. Accordingly, I argue that the substance of the argument and the quality of writing are inherently linked, to form convincing paragraphs—and ultimately, manuscripts.

When writing, I sometimes struggle with keeping everything in the argument together, and at the same time cutting the unnecessary parts. What helps me is to make any implicit claims of the argument explicit, by asking myself questions: What is the claim? What is the evidence? Why do I put this claim at this position? Is the claim necessary? Asking questions often lets me shape and sharpen my argument, and identify what is missing and what I need to cut.

Although taking it word by word is good advice, basic ideas are required for a first draft. This leads us from writing as a practice to reading, which is important for both academic writing and crafting fiction. Reading provides ideas, and in a scholarly setting, provides the theoretical base for your work, in which you position yourself. Drawing from other works can substantiate your arguments and provide new perspectives for your thoughts.

A journal is an outlet for practice, to engage with peers and other students, get comments and further develop your text

An essential skill of a competent reader is critical thinking. Read controversial articles; for example, opinion pieces in peer-reviewed journals, or op-eds in *the New York Times*. It is helpful to discern the arguments, and understand why they are given as is. Again, it helps to ask questions and make the claims, evidence and warrants explicit. Critical thinking takes time! That is why it helps me to have readings on my phone, to read during breaks, in the lunch queue, or in the gym, while carrying paper printouts can also be beneficial. Whoever walks with the wise becomes wise (*English Standard Version Bible,* Proverbs 13:20). Not only does reading add to your arguments, it also improves your toolbox, supplements your vocabulary and shapes your

writing style. When reading, I like to take notes, draft short vignettes or a first paragraph, which helps to overcome the challenge of putting down those first words.

> Take a pencil to write with on aeroplanes. Pens leak. But if the pencil breaks, you can't sharpen it on the plane, because you can't take knives with you. Therefore: take two pencils. If both pencils break, you can do a rough sharpening job with a nail file of the metal or glass type (Atwood)[1].

Another good advice of hers is to "do back exercises. Pain is distracting" (Atwood). It is especially good advice for students, people like you and me, who spend far too much time on their computers or phones.

Even though you read and write, and despite critically thinking and formulating your arguments, you may still end up at a dead end. After working on something for a long time, I tend to get so immersed that I have difficulties taking a step back to reflect on the manuscript. To help me leave the immersion, I copy and paste my draft into other word processing tools, export it as a PDF or print it out, so that it looks different as I try to break out of this vicious cycle, and judge it from a distance. In a similar vein, it helps to put the manuscript away for some time and sleep over it to revise at a later time. It is also constructive to discuss matters with your peers to get feedback on your arguments and drafts. Every person has a different perspective and can potentially contribute to your argument or point out flaws. Discussing with people helps tremendously in the phase of reviewing, more so if these people are experts within their field, making peer review common in academia.

Because discussions are such helpful instruments, the student journal is a great idea. It creates a space for engaging matters of interest with peers to improve and revise arguments as well as whole manuscripts. Writing is an iterative process, and all of the phases can be supported by other people, i.e. they help you to shape and sharpen your ideas, find the right words and to revise your text. A journal is an outlet for practice, to engage with peers and other students, get comments and further develop your text in a written conversation.

Besides improving single pieces of prose, the journal enables students to learn about editorial work and the process of publishing. You will need to prepare a manuscript, follow the guidelines, and keep in mind the target outlet and audience. After submission of your manuscript, you will pass through the review process, deal with reviewers as well as editors, and as part of the process revise your manuscript. Eventually, you will also deal with frustration and the all too frequent revision rounds and rejections.

Because of the latter, many authors, myself included, are afraid of putting their work out there, because they inevitably open themselves up and make themselves vulnerable to have their arguments and writing criticised—sometimes heavily. The good news is that nobody is alone in having these feelings since all writers live through this.[2] The bad news is, even if you are accomplished, the feeling does not go away. "Only bad writers think that their work is really good", as Enright once said (Atwood).

At this point, I find it quite amusing that being an Information Systems student with English as a second language, and certainly not a master of the craft, I have mouthed off about how to write, to a journal that addresses English students. By submitting my text to the journal, I have made myself vulnerable. I encourage you to do the same. I call for you to be creative and submit your works to subsequent issues, especially if you are unsure, because the student journal is the perfect opportunity to overcome your reservations. I hope that some of my experiences and the bits of information I have laid out may provoke you to respond with your own ideas, and be engaged in discussion and controversy. Follow the footsteps of authors such as Anne Lamott

1 More quotes here: https://www.theguardian.com/books/2010/feb/20/ten-rules-for-writing-fiction-part-one.

2 See also: https://shitmyreviewerssay.tumblr.com.

or Stephen King, who have started their careers by writing for college or school papers. "Writing has so much to give, so much to teach", according to Anne Lamott (xvii), and "working on the text is working at the thought." as Dürrenmatt said (Ulmi 7)[3]. I am looking forward to reading the first issue, your future manuscripts, and I appreciate the initiative.

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3 My translation.

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"In America, You Are Black, Baby"

Negotiating Colour-Blindness in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Americanah* (2013)

ANJA KEIL

While race and racism have always been present issues in the United States, the ideology of a post-racial American society and the growing awareness of the importance of transnational identity and sensibility have only reached the literary discourse at the end of the twentieth century. In this context, Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie has become one of the most well-known and widely discussed writers in contemporary anglophone literature. Her work, comprising her novels *Purple Hibiscus* (2003), *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006) and *Americanah* (2013), as well as various short stories and her prominent TEDx talk "We should all be feminists", deals with topics like feminism, racism and transnational identity. Her latest novel, *Americanah*,[1] mainly focuses on the position of the Nigerian protagonist Ifemelu in the United States and discusses the struggle of identity formation when being caught between different racial identities. The U.S. as the main setting of *Americanah* in connection with race is not coincidental: one of the dominant narratives in the U.S. today is that the country has arrived in a post-racial era. Not only is America oftentimes considered to be desegregated, but it is also habitually said to be a color-blind nation, where every person is treated equally, regardless of their race or ethnicity. However, it can be argued that *Americanah* sheds light on the color-blindness phenomenon through the story of the protagonist's experience, her inter- and intraracial relationships, and their impact on a non-American African living in the U.S. By examining the protagonist's three amorous relationships as archetypes for cross-racial relations, this essay will show how the novel illustrates that color-blindness in its normative form not only does not challenge, but indeed contributes to racism in America.

The four central frames of color-blindness – naturalization, cultural racism, abstract liberalism, and minimization

"RACISM WITHOUT RACISTS": THE COLOR-BLIND IDEOLOGY

Racial inequality and discrimination patterns have had an infamous history in the United States and still represent current problems in American society. Nevertheless, "I don't see any color, just people" is one of the most-heard answers when white people in the United States are asked about race (Bonilla-Silva 1). The color-blind ideology evolved in the late 1960s and corroborates the widely held belief in the U.S. nowadays that the country is situated in a post-racial stage, in which racial inequality is not an outcome of racial dynamics but depends on individual life choices (2). Surveys show that, for instance, employment discrimination of people of color is commonly believed to be connected to personal failure and does not include underlying racial injustice (48). Furthermore, the color-blind ideology states that racial inequality may be a product of naturalization, which would mean that racially motivated events could be explained away by white people as naturally given and therefore as persistent phenomena: "For example, whites can claim 'segregation' is natural because people from all backgrounds gravitate toward likeness" (56).

1 All references to *Americanah* are to the following edition: Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. *Americanah*. Fourth Estate, 2017.: further references in the text, abbreviated as "*A*".

Naturalization is one of four key terms with regard to color-blind racism. In addition to naturalization, abstract liberalism, cultural racism, and minimization are also crucial elements used by white people to frame color-blindness (74). Abstract liberalism

> involves using ideas associated with political liberalism (e.g. 'equal opportunity', the idea that force should not be used to achieve social policy) and economic liberalism (e.g. choice, individualism) in an abstract manner to explain racial matters. By framing race-related issues in the language of liberalism, whites can appear 'reasonable'. (Bonilla-Silva 56)

Minimization suggests that discrimination lies in the past and does not affect minorities anymore (57). The key term cultural racism relies on "cultural based arguments such as 'Mexicans do not put much emphasis on education' or 'blacks have too many babies' to explain the standing of minorities in society" (56). This generalization, marked by words and phrases like "they" and "all of them", was used as a legitimation to openly exclude and discriminate against ethnic minorities especially in the Jim Crow era (1876–1964), but its structures still affect American society today. In contrast to the Jim Crow era, when racial inequality was openly enforced, racism through so-called color-blindness is covert but still has a similar effect on marginalized groups. Bonilla-Silva coined the term "racism lite" or "racism without racists": in American society, he argues, racial definers like "black" are avoided and replaced by softer and more subtle expressions (3). For example, the topic interracial marriage, which would have been called "wrong" a few years earlier, is now "problematic" (3). Both naturalization and minimization in addition to cultural racism and abstract liberalism, are crucial components to use color-blindness as a shield for white privilege:

> The color-blind perspective removes from personal thought and public discussion any taint or suggestion of white supremacy or white guilt while legitimating the existing social, political and economic arrangements which privilege whites. This perspective insinuates that class and culture, and not institutional racism, are responsible for social inequality. Colorblindness hides white privilege behind a mask of assumed meritocracy while rendering invisible the institutional arrangements that perpetuate racial inequality. (Gallagher 26)

It is this contradiction between the prominent loyalty to color-blindness on the one hand and institutionalized racism on the other that constantly rewards white people based on patriarchal whiteness (Ioanide 11). Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Americanah* highlights color-blindness in its normative form and manages to show that this ideology indeed contributes to racial inequality and discrimination by maintaining patriarchal white privilege.

CURT, BLAINE AND OBINZE: THREE AMOROUS RELATIONSHIPS SEEN THROUGH THE COLOR-BLIND GAZE

Throughout the novel, Ifemelu engages in three serious relationships with men from different ethnic backgrounds: Obinze, her first black boyfriend in Nigeria, whom she leaves behind when she comes to the U.S.; Curt, a white man whom she gets introduced to by her employer Kimberley; and Blaine, an African American professor. Adichie uses these relationships as models for different approaches regarding race in various cultural and ethnic contexts. Especially the relationships with Curt and Blaine, which take place in the U.S., can be read through the color-blind gaze. The text's portrayal of the relationship between Ifemelu and Curt emphasizes the tension that race as a matter of contention creates between a black and a white person, especially in the context of romance:

> We don't even tell our white partners the

> small things that piss us off and the things we wish they understood better, because we're worried they will say we're overreacting, or we're being too sensitive. [...] We say that race doesn't matter because that's what we're supposed to say, to keep our nice liberal friends comfortable. It's true. I speak from experience. (*A* 291)

The novel challenges the reader to think about race in everyday life and Curt's expectation of Ifemelu as the white boyfriend: to not talk about the underlying pressure of race as a social construct and its effect on black people in the U.S. He does not recognize racial inequality; thus, the novel points out that color-blindness is directly linked to and increases white privilege (Gallagher 22): "And Curt said it was not about race, it was just that his aunt was hyper-aware of difference, any difference" (*A* 293). To Curt, race as a demarcation does not exist. Ironically, he speaks of difference in the same context and consequently enlarges the constructed racial gap between Ifemelu and himself. By saying that race is "just" difference, Curt not only understates that being black is oftentimes linked to certain stereotypes, but also assigns himself the role of defining differences between one person and another ("Othering"). Gallagher describes this process as "an 'us vs. them' dichotomy where the 'us' is defined by membership in the dominant group where racial identity can typically be ignored" (31). Although Curt does not want to acknowledge that he is being racist he unconsciously sees Ifemelu and their relationship through the white gaze: he thinks that he grasps the world in a realistic way and is not influenced by underlying racist patterns (Griffin 197). This behavior serves as an example of how color-blindness works: Curt thinks that discrimination is not racially motivated and thereby understates the mostly painful effect it has on black people in general and on Ifemelu in particular. Race as an obstacle does not exist for him because he, as a white male, has never experienced race as a barrier, which recurrently increases his ignorance of racial injustice.

Ifemelu's second boyfriend in the U.S., Blaine, is African American. While Curt is too unaware of race, Blaine sees matters of race everywhere. In contrast to Ifemelu's former relationship with a white American, Adichie "extends the novel's critique of the racialization of romantic love in the U.S. [and] include[s] relationships between black Americans and black non-Americans" (Hallemeier 239). During her relationship with Curt, Ifemelu was the one who pointed out structures of racism to him and others; however, her relationship with Blaine is highly influenced by his constant awareness of racial injustice and activism against it. Situations that she considers harmless he rates racist:

> "Your hair is so beautiful, can I touch it?" ... The [white] woman sank her fingers into her Afro. She [Ifemelu] sensed Blaine tense, saw the pulsing at his temples. "How could you let her do that", he asked afterwards. "Why not? How else will she know what hair like mine feels like? She probably doesn't know any black people." "And so you have to be her guinea pig?" Blaine asked. He expected her to feel what she did not know how to feel. (*A* 313)

The text uses the character Blaine as a lens to point out internalized racism and stereotyping, issues that the concept of color-blindness claims not to exert anymore (Bonilla-Silva 48). The quote above does not coincidentally deal with the topic hair in regard to racism: Adichie presents Ifemelu's hair as a symbol for her experiences with race in the U.S. throughout the novel. Ifemelu's various hairstyles mark different stations in her adaptation to American society and shed light on her struggle to find her identity and be comfortable with herself as a black woman in the U.S. The novel points out the process of "Othering" carried out by the white woman, accentuating Ifemelu's hair as foreign, and highlighting color-blind racism in form of generalization. The text furthermore uses hair as a symbol for "racial differences [that] are marked via the non-

white body, with the white body taken as the norm" (McMann 3). Blaine, as Adichie's model for an African American, is attuned to matters of race and does not believe the illusion that the U.S. is a color-blind society because he as a black man experiences racism first hand: "So in NYC, Professor Hunk [Blaine] was stopped by the police. American Blacks and American Whites use drugs at the same rate (look this up), but say the word 'drugs' and see what image comes to everyone's mind" (*A* 375). His experiences in the past are examples of naturalization:

> When we first met, he told me how he wanted to get straight As in high school because of a white teacher who told him to "focus on getting a basketball scholarship, black people are physically inclined and white people are intellectually inclined, it's not good or bad, just different." (*A* 375)

The word "different" at the end of the teacher's speech serves as an example of expressions commonly used to soften racist utterances of white supremacy (Bonilla-Silva 3).

In Ifemelu's relationship with her first boyfriend Obinze, with whom she reconciles when she returns to Nigeria later in the novel, race seems not to be an issue at all, neither in their youth nor when she comes back to Nigeria after spending fifteen years in the United States. Obinze is a Nigerian man, so they both share similar cultural experiences (*A* 457). The novel barely addresses race in the Nigerian context: "I came from a country where race was not an issue, I did not think of myself as black and I only became black when I came to America" (290). It clearly brushes off that race might be worth speaking about in Nigeria and links the construct of being "black" directly to the U.S. Obinze's experiences with racism only focus on his time in London:

> ... articles were written and read, simply and stridently, as though the writers lived in a world in which the present was unconnected to the past, and they had never considered this to be the normal course of history: the influx into Britain of black and brown people from countries created by Britain. Yet he understood. It had to be comforting, this denial of history. (*A* 258)

This occurrence in Obinze's storyline is the only time color-blindness is addressed outside of the American context. With the expression "It had to be comforting", the text adds a yearning tone to the situation and clearly states that the detachment of present problems from the past may be an opportunity for white people but is not and will never be the reality for black people, which is underlined through the word "denial". The last sentence of the quote also adds a certain irony to the situation; it herewith highlights the difference between the perceptions of black and white people regarding the reality of matters of race. Apart from Obinze's life in London, race is not a topic in the relationship between him and Ifemelu as it is in the relationships described above. When Obinze and Ifemelu are together in Nigeria, money, strikes, and corruption are central issues in their conversations, but race is never of any importance (*A* 98; 431). The novel presents Obinze as an example of an African black person who is not in touch with racial discrimination in the United States and therefore completely ignores the topic in his relationship with Ifemelu.

Looking at Ifemelu's relationships with Curt, Blaine, and Obinze, it becomes conspicuous that reading through the color-blind gaze gets less and less applicable from Curt to Obinze. Adichie uses Curt as the archetype for white people in the U.S. and distinctly shows how color-blindness leaves its mark in the discrimination patterns of white supremacy. Hereby, *Americanah* creates a strong contradiction between Ifemelu's life in the U.S. and Nigeria and deliberately attributes the constructedness of race to white people in the U.S. In addition, Adichie shows that the results of it affect black people in the U.S., while it seems to be of no relevance for people of color outside the Unites States, specifically Nigeria.

It becomes obvious that color-blindness in its normative form is a current phenomenon in the United States and that its unique dynamics have an exceptional effect on American society. The four central frames of color-blindness – naturalization, cultural racism, abstract liberalism, and minimization (Bonilla-Silva 74) – help maintain the racist patterns of white supremacy. Thus, they make it even more difficult for minorities to fully grasp racist utterances or actions, which results in a constant struggle to be heard and taken seriously.

Americanah addresses current problems in the U.S. such as racial inequality, social injustice – especially for people of color, and the struggles mix-raced relationships face in a unique way. It has received a lot of positive feedback, especially for its diverse representation of characters of different ethnic backgrounds. On the other hand, it is striking that Adichie's protagonist Ifemelu engages in relationships with a white American, an African American and a Nigerian, but not with another Non-American African who lives in the United States. Furthermore, the world in Adichie's *Americanah* is merely placed in the upper-middle class and upper-class society and only deals with the lower class in Obinze's storyline in London, where the lower class is directly linked to criminality and illegal residency in England. Although dealing with racism in the upper class is of importance as well, merely focusing on it erases crucial elements of racism in American society and leaves the story, even though a variety of characters are introduced, deficient in its representation of the effect that racism has on people of color of all classes. Nevertheless, the novel accentuates the dynamics of contemporary racist structures and sheds light on the color-blind phenomenon, in which generalization especially supports internalized racism and the marginalization of people of color, and lays the blame for racial injustice on external, institutionalized factors, leaving white Americans with clean hands. With *Americanah*, Adichie corroborates the fact that America is not, nor has ever been, a color-blind society.

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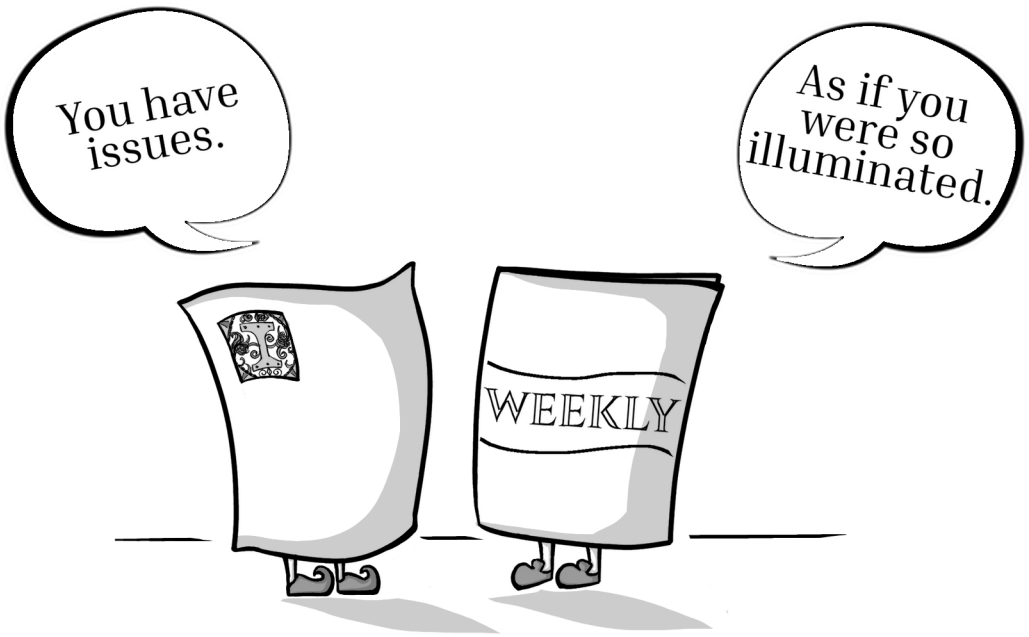

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Games for Girls?

A Glance Inside the Gendered Language and Symbols of Videogame Marketing

ALLISON MCDANIEL

Splitting commodities into separate products based on gender is a prevalent tactic used in marketing. It is commonly seen in toys, personal hygiene products, and even advertisements of different foods. By targeting separate audiences, or even excluding groups, companies may focus on creating advertisements that will resonate with the majority's desires, which in turn equals more profit. Videogames are a special topic in advertising. Unlike other toys and products, there is oftentimes no equal or clear division between what designates "boy" games and "girl" games. There are a few games that strongly target young girls, while the rest of games are assumed to be for a male audience. As an example of gendered marketing in this area, I decide to pay particular attention to one company, videogame developer and publisher Ubisoft. Ubisoft's *Imagine* sub-company creates a small, highly feminine, genre of games aimed at young girls. The Imagine series allows you to play as babysitters and fashionistas, whereas Ubisoft's other games may allow the player to be assassins and heroes. Fitness titles and dance games are also slightly geared more towards a feminine audience, though men may also be shown playing. Therefore, what I wish to uncover from this study are the answers to two questions: "How do differences in lexical usage of videogame descriptions attempt to target a gendered audience?" and "What are some of the signifiers used in advertising to denote masculine and feminine game types?"

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a long-held idea that men are practical and women are emotional. Mary Talbot specifies a set of binary oppositions between men and women, with the words used to describe women supporting a traditional idealization of women with nurturing qualities of "motherhood" (475–476). Toys, depending on the targeted gender, follow a typical set of rules in both color and nature. For appearance, boys' toys have been found to be neutral or boldly colored (red, black, brown, and gray), while girls' toys are traditionally pastel or a mix of pinks and purples (Auster and Mansbach 381–382). Color tactics such as these may help reinforce what is already taught to children – pink and princesses are for girls and not for boys. Oftentimes, however, toys originally created for boys may be released in new feminized versions in "pinks" to make them attractive and marketable to girls as well.

Toys meant for a specific gender follow stereotypical ideas of expected gendered behavior. It is not surprising, then, that Judith E. Owen Blakemore and Renee E. Centers find that toys meant for girls are rated as more nurturing and tend to "focus on the development of domestic skills" (631). They focus on physical attractiveness, a caring nature, and domestic skills such as cooking. For boys, toys rather have a violent or dangerous tone, and competitiveness is emphasized (Blakemore and Centers 631). Stemming from this, feminine trait words involve creativity and an emotional/nurturing connotation, while masculine trait words show power and leadership.

Some argue that stereotypes portrayed in the media could be detrimental to society. A study by Sue Lafky and Margaret Duffy confirmed that even brief exposure to stereotyped advertisements plays a part in reinforcing stereotypes about traditional

gender roles. Study participants first viewed either ten slides of women in stereotypical advertisements or ten slides of women in non-stereotypical advertisements and were then shown a neutral slide. The participants who had been shown stereotypical advertisements were more likely to agree with the stereotypical statements on the questionnaire (on a five-point scale) about the woman shown in the neutral slide (383–385). This study could show how learning gendered behavior and then consistently seeing it reinforced through media and social life aids in seeing the world through gendered lenses.

Lexical usage in the feminine game supports stereotypes of women as passive and pretty

Talbot stresses the point that stereotypes are produced and reproduced in various art forms – from television shows to literature. It therefore makes sense that this may also be the case within videogames. Throughout all of this constant reproduction, an ideology may be remade and reinforced, oftentimes to benefit the hegemonic power, or the groups which may be favored within a society. "Stereotypes tend to be directed at subordinate groups" and may include both "good" and "bad" stereotypes (Talbot 471). When subordinate or minority groups are portrayed, they are often done so in a stereotypical light, which reinforces surrounding ideas. One study sought to discover more about the relationship between sexualized female characters and videogame sales. The study found that both sexualizing and marginalizing women positively affected sales (Near 12). Indeed, as Anita Sarkeesan discusses in one of her videos, when female characters appear in videogames, they are often presented in sensualized ways (00:03:55–00:05:12). We can make the assumption here that this is because the videogame industry, dominated by males, is marketing most games towards a male audience, where companies seem to be following the motto of 'sex sells'.

METHOD

To find out more about gender and videogame advertisements, I focus on the differences in lexical items. The design of game covers, such as color, font, and imagery are also taken into account. On all games I specifically examine: lexical choices, color scheme, font, and the main picture/image. To narrow my options, I focus on a single company: Ubisoft. I chose Ubisoft because they produce various games, ranging from the masculine end to the feminine end of the gender spectrum. Because this study is done on a small selection of one company's games, the findings are not applicable to all games. The US GameStop website is the main source to find examples of Ubisoft titles for examination. These titles include, towards the masculine end, *Far Cry 5*, and towards the feminine end, *Imagine: Fashion Life*. I consider the pictures on the covers, the language used in the description, as well as pictures utilized as a sort of advertising in the "gallery" section. Where the game descriptions are quoted, lexical items of importance are italicized. Other important areas that are taken into consideration, as a part of intersectionality, are the uses of race and age. Although targeted gender in regard to lexical usage is the main focus of this paper, race and age also play an important role in deciding for whom these games are created.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Imagery and Symbols

Humans tend to be very visual, and the market knows this; it adapts and creates images that will quickly grab the attention of the consumer. *Far Cry* 5 shows a cover with eight men, one woman, and a wolf/dog. One man sits at a table, arms spread wide in a display of power. He wears a suit and appears to be the most well-dressed. Another man stabs a slab of meat on the table, while someone else sits on the ground, with his head down and scars across his back forming the word "SINNER". Weapons strew the scene, and three different American flags can be spotted. All characters appear white – even the wolf/dog. The woman is wearing a dress and flowers on

her head; she also holds a flower. One leg is propped suggestively up on the table. From the edge of the cover, a pair of hands reach out – one to the flower and one on the woman's shoulder. The open background and rolling hills seem to invite the player into a world of open-exploration. Violence, power, and control are clearly themes taken from the cover of this game. While the men don guns and weapons, the one woman wields a flower. She even appears delicate as the flower, while the men are shown as powerful and in control. They are perhaps a means of protection, as the man on the ground is bound and defeated. In the gameplay images available, only men are shown in combat.

For *Just Dance 2018*, the pink, purple, and blue cover seems to advertise to a more feminine audience. The cover shows four women dancing or jumping; the fifth person, who appears to be a man, is wearing a panda head. A large crowd cheers them on. This coincides with the game advertising to a more diverse (and larger) audience. No extra images are offered for this game; however, there is a video offered in its stead. Offering a video to watch, rather than displaying a series of still images, could be due to the "action" this game demands from the player.

Ubisoft's *Imagine: Fashion Life* displays three white teenage girls on the main cover. The only thing "diverse" about them is their clothing, and perhaps their hairstyle. They are all shown smiling in the image and looking directly at the viewer. The girl in the very back lifts a purse and holds a cell phone up to her ear. Focusing on the clothing and accessories in these images, the player can assume that this game will heavily focus on aspects of appearance – a feminine domain. Another stereotype can be seen mirrored here in the image of the cell phone. This could be interpreted as the portrayal of woman as the "empty-headed chatterer" (Talbot 469). To advertise to a young, female audience, this game plays up these images of femininity in western culture.

Companies seem to be following the motto of 'sex sells'

LANGUAGE AND LEXICAL ITEMS

For *Just Dance 2018*, the title is displayed in white capital letters. The bold font covers a large area on the case, immediately drawing attention to its name. For this game, language remains the most neutral, attempting to advertise to the most diverse crowd.

> Whether you're a party starter, a dancer in the making, or a seasoned pro, get ready to turn up the volume and unleash your inner dancer with Just Dance® 2018!
> Great for *family* gatherings, parties, and holidays, Just Dance 2018 brings *family* and *friends* together like no other game. (*Just Dance 2018*)

The language attempts to connect with the largest number of people – beginners to experts; young to old; women to men. "Family" is mentioned twice within one sentence, emphasizing the importance of this game as a group activity.

The title of *Far Cry 5* is a large bold white font as well. The letters are thick with sharp edges. The capital letters imply a masculinity that is powerful and in control. The font stands out and asserts itself from the front cover. Looking at the lexical usage in the game's description, I identified masculine, power words dealing with violence and control.

> [...] When your arrival incites the cult to *violently seize control* of the region, you must rise up and spark the fires of *resistance* to liberate a besieged community.
> *Freely explore* Hope County's rivers, lands, and skies with the largest customizable *weapon* and vehicle roster ever in a Far Cry game. You are the *hero* of the story in a thrilling world that hits back with every *punch*, and where the places you discover and the locals you ally with will shape your story in ways you'll never see coming. (*Far Cry 5*)

The description even instructs the player that they must "rise up" and become a "hero," again instilling this theme of power and control. Another interesting

point coincides with the imagery of an open world on the cover. As you "freely explore" and "play your way" you are also taking control and even liberating the oppressed. Most importantly, your male character is to "*lead* the resistance," one photo states. It is not going to be an easy journey, as the world is sure to hit back with every "punch," a nod to a masculinity that will need to be able to withstand this struggle.

Noticing the capital letters in the masculine videogame made me immediately realize that the feminine one rather has an excess of lower-case letters. The curly font reinforces femininity and softness. There is a star flying from one dotted "i" to another. The *Imagine: Fashion Life* game also offers an incredibly short description in comparison to the other.

> Imagine® is introducing the most *realistic* and *customizable fashion design* game yet for the Nintendo 3DS system that allows you to create whatever you *dream*. In Imagine Fashion Life, experience three *fabulous fashion careers*: become the *trendy* designer, the most *glamorous top model* or the best mall owner! This 3D game features high-quality, realistic graphics and allows players with a love of all-things- to truly unleash their *creativity* and *management* skills. (*Imagine: Fashion Life*)

What I find interesting here is that both the words "realistic" and "dream" are used within the same sentence. It is promising to the player that this game will allow them to create whatever they *dream*, while remaining a "realistic" experience. You, as the player, are able to *experience* three different fashion careers – all involving either appearance or consumerism. This even coincides with what Talbot calls "occupational stereotypes," designating women as shoppers (470). The adjectives used all contain feminine connotations: fabulous, trendy, and glamorous. The images that are shown from this game contain no words. They are pictures of your character, playing her various parts as fashionista, designer, and mall owner. Between the masculine and feminine games, a question seems to emerge: Women may be good fashion managers, but are they good leaders?

More importance seems to be put on the masculine game. Its lengthy description and edited images show more time and money has been spent in its production. This is the fifth game in the *Far Cry* series, but there appears to only be one *Imagine: Fashion Life*. The Imagine sub-company, however, goes on to offer a variety of other games and experiences, including *Imagine Teacher*, *Imagine Babyz*, *Imagine Animal Doctor*, *Imagine Master Chef*, *Imagine Rock Star*, *Imagine Figure Skater*, *Imagine Fashion Designer*, and *Petz*. Interestingly, both the masculine and feminine games offer a high level of customization and realism to attract potential buyers. However, *what* is being customized, is where gender comes into the equation. Whereas one game offers weapon and vehicle customization, the other offers an array of fashion accessories. In the masculine game, you seem to be the one in control, while in the feminine game, you merely passively "experience" your career. The longer description for the masculine game seems to denote more importance and care in the creation of it. Lexical usage in the masculine game stresses leadership, domination, and violence. Lexical usage in the feminine game supports stereotypes of women as passive and pretty. An issue may be seen within the stereotypes the feminine game reinforces; as Talbot has said, stereotypes "reduce and simplify" those to whom they refer (471).

In conclusion, lexical usage does in fact vary between masculine and feminine game types, and it tends to be utilized in a stereotypical manner. Different language and words are used to draw a particular audience into purchasing the game. When targeting a male audience, control, power, and violence are all attractive. For the female audience, a focus on appearance is important. Main signifiers targeting a gendered audience can be seen in the pictures/images presented. Pastels and pinks coincide with femininity, while more neutral or basic colors are appropriate for the masculine game. This particularly goes along with what Carol Auster and Claire Mansbach discussed regarding gender and color. Less obvious signifiers are seen in the way

the letters and font are created. Lower-case letters and soft, swirly font is on the cover of the feminine game, and the masculine game uses large, bold font and capital letters. What is also of interest is that highly feminized videogames target a younger audience, while the highly masculine range tends to be targeted to an older audience. In the videogame advertising industry, a masculine landscape dominates, because that is what translates into sales. Men and women may both find masculine or neutral games appealing, which propels them to purchase the next game in the series. Products geared towards a feminine audience have a narrow and more gender-specific buyer. To survive in the industry, it is imperative to reach the largest audience, and advertisers will use all the tools available – changing lexical usage, color, font, and description – to persuade consumers and sell their product.

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Image: Lisa-Marie Rodeike

A Landscape Lullaby?
The Function of (Post-) Pastoral Elements in Kazuo Ishiguro's *Never Let Me Go*

LISA MUSIAL

Published in 2005, Kazuo Ishiguro's novel *Never Let Me Go* presents a vision of a society where clones are raised to donate their vital organs.[1] Because of the dystopian elements in the narration,[2] one might expect a setting in a futuristic environment. Instead, the story takes place mainly in pastoral visions of the English countryside. This distinct setting creates a stark contrast to the characters' harsh reality, which is gradually revealed throughout the narrative. In this article, I argue that the novel complicates the pastoral and offers new perspectives on the relationship of humans and nature by incorporating post-pastoral elements. In order to investigate the contrast between the dystopian reality and its peaceful setting, the pastoral initially provides a useful lens. The concept is an "ancient cultural tool" often found in literature, which is used to express humanity's relationship to the land and natural surroundings (Gifford, "Post-Pastoral" 15; "Reading Strategies" 45).[3] It is extended by approaches like the anti-pastoral and the post-pastoral. By primarily following Terry Gifford's theoretical understandings, I will use these concepts for an analysis of the novel's descriptions of nature, choice of language and narrative structure. I will mainly focus on the depiction of Hailsham, a boarding school for clones, because this offers insights into the characters' ways of handling their fate and the importance of their childhood surroundings throughout their lives.

The novel's portrayal of Hailsham, where the main characters, Kathy, Ruth and Tommy, are raised, incorporates visions that show aspects typical of the pastoral concept. The school is located in a peaceful setting, sheltered in "a smooth hollow with fields rising on all sides" (*NLMG* 34). It is reminiscent of an idyllic Renaissance country-house, "one of the privileged estates" (44; see Lilley 63). Nature is described as calm, at the "pond, you'd find a tranquil atmosphere waiting, with ducks and bulrushes and pondweed" (*NLMG* 25). The descriptions of Hailsham represent the pastoral focus on country-life with a landscape characterised by spontaneous, actual elements of nature (Andrews 4; Gifford, "Pastoral" 1). Furthermore, Malcolm Andrews includes an order established by humans in the characteristics of the pastoral landscape (4). This is represented in Hailsham with "rhubarb patches" and "shrubs and flowerbeds" as signs of human cultivation (*NLMG* 25, 34). Origin of the pastoral concept is the life of shepherds talking about an idealised landscape (Gifford, "Pastoral" 1). The presence of animal images in the novel, such as Tommy's drawings, further allude to the pastoral's traditional depiction of nature (*NLMG* 178).

The place's pastoral notion is underlined by Kathy's memories of it as an adult and carer for donors (*NLMG* 115, 286). Seeing images of nature often reminds her of Hailsham, for example she states that

> driving around the country now, I still see things that will remind me of Hailsham. I might pass the corner of a misty field, or see part of a large house in the distance as I

1 Ishiguro, Kazuo. *Never Let Me Go*. Vintage, 2005.: further references in the text abbreviated as "*NLMG*".

2 A dystopia is literally a "bad place" and an imagined society that is unpleasant in every way (Abrams and Harpham 378). The political and social order is controlled by the state and (bio-) technology plays an important role for that, as represented by the cloning in *Never Let Me Go* (378; see Baccolini and Moylan 3).

3 In this context, the relationship between humans and nature will also be expanded to the relationship to clones.

> come down the side of a valley, even a particular arrangement of poplar trees up on a hillside. (6)

These kinds of passages usually introduce flashbacks to her childhood, so that Kathy's mind wandering off is represented in the narrative structure set up of memory fragments until the bigger picture of the exploitation system is revealed. Kathy's memories of Hailsham are often described as nostalgic, which too is one of the main characteristics of the pastoral (Gifford, "Reading Strategies" 44; *NLMG* 116). Gifford expands this nostalgia to the "Golden Age", an idealised view on the past as a whole ("Reading Strategies" 55). In the novel, Kathy's memories are presented in a metaphorically similar way, "they tend to blur into each other as a kind of golden time, and when I think about them at all, even the not-so-great things, I can't help feeling a sort of glow" (*NLMG* 77). Pastoral notions are therefore present throughout Kathy's life as she remembers Hailsham.

The nostalgic view of the past is based on an idealised and simplified conception of Hailsham

The nostalgic view of the past is based on an idealised and simplified conception of Hailsham. When Tommy and Kathy see an actual photograph of Hailsham in their later life, it is "just a bit of countryside", unlike their memories (*NLMG* 250; see Lilley 65). This represents the simplifying quality of pastoral writing incorporating idealised descriptions of nature and foregrounding the positive aspects of the places it refers to (Gifford, "Reading Strategies" 46, 53–54). Similarly, Kathy's descriptions of Hailsham mostly ignore negative aspects, such as her likely envy of Ruth and Tommy's romantic relationship. The novel's narrative structure strengthens this effect in omitting certain time periods of the clones' lives. Kathy's memories represent a desire for stability, contrasting the past against the frightening circumstances of her adult life (Williams 60). Hailsham's depiction therefore fits Deborah Lilley's understanding of it being "less a place in itself than a particular way of looking at place" (65).

The pastoral is sometimes subject to criticism because its simplifying character does not represent ecological or economic problems (Gifford, "Pastoral" 2, "Post-Pastoral" 14). In Ishiguro's novel, the simplification complicates the dystopian reality of the cloning system. At Hailsham, the clones are "kept away from the worst of those horrors" and do not really grasp their future until much later (*NLMG* 261). A teacher later recollects that if they had provided them with more knowledge about their future as organ donors, their "happiness at Hailsham would have been shattered" (268). Hailsham therefore represents the limited view of the pastoral in its concealing function regarding the cloning system (Lilley 64). This highlights the contrast to the dystopian truth even more. Lilley argues that "the pastoral is used to manage and to explore the tensions between appearances and reality" (61, 64). A receptiveness to problematising contexts, such as the dystopian, underlines the ongoing relevance of the pastoral concept for literary writing (62).

Despite the critique of simplification, Hailsham's pastoral conception has an important function throughout the clones' lives. For example, Kathy's childhood memories serve as a calming solace for the hardships of her adult life: "Once I'm able to have a quieter life, in whichever centre they send me to, I'll have Hailsham with me, safely in my head, and that'll be something that no one can take away" (*NLMG* 286–87). This calmness, which originates in spending her childhood in a peaceful place, can be seen as an allusion to another characteristic of the pastoral, namely the mind-expanding effect of intense contact with nature and the ensuing return to urban civilisation with new insights (Gifford, "Pastoral" 2; "Reading Strategies" 45, 53). The peaceful effect of Hailsham accompanies the clones beyond their time there. Kathy even seems to be able to transfer the calmness to the donors when telling them about Hailsham (*NLMG* 3, 5). Similarly, Lilley argues that places influence plots, which

the novel represents in the form of increasingly occurring elements that are not pastoral, such as motorways, as the clones get older (64). These elements represent the growing confusions in the clones' lives and strengthen their need for comfort represented by Hailsham. This calming function also prevents the clones from questioning the system.

The novel's incorporation of dystopian elements mainly refers to the cloning system. Lilley argues that the clones show a failure of the pastoral, which suggests that they be seen as anti-pastoral elements in the novel (64). The anti-pastoral concept generally offers a more realistic alternative to pastoral idealisation (Gifford, "Reading Strategies" 56). Nature is conceptualised as cold, its descriptions representing harsh reality and problems ("Pastoral" 119–20; "Reading Strategies" 57). In contrast to the pastoral, negative human impact on nature is not concealed but incorporated as warnings ("Pastoral" 124). The narrative, however, shows the contrast between the pastoral visions and the dystopian reality in a subtler way than the anti-pastoral. Unpleasant realities such as the donation surgeries are not explicitly articulated. Especially the language choices conceal the horror of the system. Beyond the clones' childhood, euphemisms such as "to complete" instead of anti-pastoral phrasings like "to die" are used (*NLMG* 279). Descriptions of nature are not harsh, the only sign alluding to an unpleasant reality are the dark woods surrounding Hailsham, in which people allegedly disappear (Lilley 65; Fischer 31; *NLMG* 50). The novel therefore appears very calm regarding its dystopian elements and shows subtle contrasts rather than harsh realities.

As analysed above, the novel represents the still frequent use of the pastoral in British literary writing, but also shows contradictions that are relevant for a post-pastoral approach (Lilley 61). Developed by Gifford, this concept is located between the pastoral and the anti-pastoral and investigates multifaceted themes connected to the relationship between nature and humans ("Pastoral" 150; "Post-Pastoral" 15, 17, 21; "Reading Strategies" 59). Therefore, the post-pastoral is an eligible lens which can be used to further investigate the complex effects of the novel's setting. It is defined by six criteria aiming to establish a respectful relationship to nature, of which selected aspects will be applied to the novel ("Post-Pastoral" 17–18, 21, "Reading Strategies" 59). What is crucial is the post-pastoral aim to develop a certain consciousness to result in conscience ("Reading Strategies" 61). Whereas in the past, e.g. during the Enlightenment, consciousness was seen as a factor distinguishing humanity from nature, the post-pastoral aims at the development of conscience to avoid nature exploitation. Humanity should not only be conscious of its position relating to nature but have a respectful relationship with it ("Pastoral" 163).

The post-pastoral is therefore concerned with the development of awe and humility regarding nature to overcome human hubris (Gifford, "Reading Strategies" 59). The novel incorporates elements that show how the characters acknowledge nature's power, which contributes to their calmness established in the pastoral environment ("Pastoral" 152–53; "Reading Strategies" 58). Tommy uses a nature image as a metaphor for his and Kathy's relationship:

> I keep thinking about this river somewhere, with the water moving really fast. And these two people in the water, trying to hold onto each other, holding on as hard as they can, but in the end it's just too much. The current's too strong. They've got to let go, drift apart. (*NLMG* 282)

The characters seem to have internalised a certain 'natural way' of things, which might be why they are able to cope with their fate in a comparatively calm way. This calmness, which is rooted in awe developed towards nature in a post-pastoral way, can here be seen as an extension of the pastoral calmness. Their upbringing in the peaceful surroundings of Hailsham has not only led to the clones being lulled by nature, but they have internalised a respectful relationship to the natural way of things.

The development of awe also encompasses the acknowledgement that humans "are part of nature's creative-destructive processes" (Gifford, "Reading Strategies" 44, 60). In contrast to the pastoral suppressing negative aspects, the post-pastoral follows the bio-centric assumption that "neither growth nor decay are dominant" and acknowledges death as equal to birth ("Pastoral" 153; "Reading Strategies" 44, 60). In *Never Let Me Go*, the creative-destructive power of nature is subverted. The clones cannot experience a natural life cycle in a post-pastoral sense because humans decide their death. This reality represents the presumed superiority of humans over nature in that the cloning system is designed to compensate nature's actual shortcomings, such as illnesses (Lilley 64, 67). The novel therefore hints at critiquing this superiority of humans that the post-pastoral wants to overcome as well. Despite facing an unnatural fate, the clones are able to develop a certain awe towards nature and appear relatively calm, which underlines the pastoral and post-pastoral notions in the novel.

Another way to establish a respectful relationship between nature and human is to eliminate the opposition between those categories. By being a newly emerged category situated between nature and human, the clones have the power to subvert and therefore even extend the post-pastoral. Despite them being artificially created by humans, they are situated close to nature. While in a post-pastoral sense, it would actually not be possible for them to find peace in their non-natural death, they nevertheless appear calm. The pastoral environment of their upbringing, therefore, exactly fulfils their increased need for comfort and their acknowledgment of nature further contributes to their calmness. It is likely that by the cautious reveal of their fate in a pastoral environment, the clones see the cloning system as natural, even though it is the direct opposite. Furthermore, the cultural enhancement of the clones hint at a placing in-between categories. This relationship of nature and culture is also focused on by the post-pastoral and aims at the elimination of binaries (Gifford, "Pastoral" 163; "Reading Strategies" 61). The clones are educated in Hailsham and engage with practises regarded as cultural classics such as art, drama and poetry (*NLMG* 17). The novel raises the question if this makes the clones more human, which is neglected by Miss Emily, a former teacher. Instead, it was Hailsham's purpose to "*prove you* [the clones] *had souls at all*" (260, emphasis in original). This places the clones in an in-between position again, whereas Kathy's detailed and thoughtful report that constitutes the narrative might be seen as an appeal to the reader that clones actually are fully human. In total, this presentation of clones embedded and influenced by visions of nature on the one hand, and culturally enhanced to relate them to humans on the other hand, places them in between the categories of human and nature.

In *Never Let Me Go*, the creative-destructive power of nature is subverted. The clones cannot experience a natural life cycle in a post-pastoral sense because humans decide their death.

The novel not only subverts clear-cut categories like human, nature and culture by placing clones in an in-between position, but it also incorporates tendencies of the destruction of categories like human and nature. This is represented by the pastoral "discontinuities" the novel incorporates (Lilley 66; Toliver 124). The clones' subversive effect on binaries represents the post-pastoral aim of developing conscience in humans (Gifford, "Reading Strategies" 61). In particular, it relates to the post-pastoral's focus on subverting the mistreatment of human minorities that are associated with nature (61). The post-pastoral recognises that the exploitation of nature shows similarities to the treatment of groups traditionally associated with it (44, 61). An example for this is the position of women, who are traditionally associated with nature, as theorised by ecofeminism (44, 61). The post-pastoral conscience wants to overcome these

oppressions and empower nature as well as people ("Pastoral" 165–67; "Reading Strategies" 61). *Never Let Me Go* rather subverts this by presenting the exploitation of the clones seeking solace in nature. They do benefit from their peaceful surroundings, which they meet with respect. As they cannot be placed in either the human or nature category, they complicate traditional mechanisms of oppression. Thus, the novel extends the post-pastoral by focusing on the treatment of a newly emerged, artificially created minority.

The post-pastoral proves to be an eligible lens to further investigate the clones' relationship to nature presented in the novel. Due to its dystopian character, the novel complicates traditional pastoral notions. The narrative incorporates subversions regarding categories such as human and nature and encourages the reader to reflect on them. This appeal to the reader's conscience is one of the main effects of the stylistic form of the novel, next to a questioning of appearances. It is important to consider that this analysis relies on the narrative presented from Kathy's point of view, which is influenced by the societal system's way of thinking and is therefore not entirely reliable. The focus of this article could be extended by having a closer look at the novel's descriptions of nature outside Hailsham. Moreover, an application of all of Gifford's criteria for a post-pastoral approach, a further differentiation of the term pastoral and the use of concepts such as ecocriticism could be rewarding to gain deeper insights into the relationship of clones, nature and humans.

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The Symbol of Hair in ABC's *How to Get Away with Murder*

MARLENE SALZBURG

"I'm an African American woman and there is not enough time on the show to discuss hair issues" ("Viola"). This is what Viola Davis answered on *Anderson Live* when being asked whether she found it odd that people notice and comment on the hairstyle of black women so much recently. Beauty standards and hairstyle trends have shifted over time, but there is a profound difference recognisable between the prestige associated with hair of white people versus the hair of people with African heritage.

The protagonist in ABC's TV series *How to Get Away with Murder*, Annalise Keating, played by Viola Davis, is a successful defence attorney and lecturer. She lives in a big house and is married to a white man. She is also black and wears various hairstyles throughout the series. Whenever she is depicted as strong and professional, she wears a wig. On the other hand, her natural hair is only shown in a few scenes, particularly at times when she is undergoing a crisis. By discussing three scenes from *How to Get Away with Murder* in which her natural hair is shown, this article aims to reveal how hair is used as a symbol in the show *How to Get Away with Murder*.

Styling hair has always formed a crucial part of the African identity. Through the various hairstyles, different aspects such as gender, age, tribal affiliation or status were reflected (White and White 49). Due to its relevance within the African society, hair has also shaped a crucial part of African American pride.

During the time of American slavery, slaveholders let their slaves style their hair as they wanted. Hair was, right after skin colour, the feature that distinguished between the black and white people most strikingly. Even though their lives as slaves impeded the ritual of styling their hair, the advertisements for runaway slaves in the eighteenth century portrayed numerous different hair styles. The advertisements showed that "some slaves wore their hair long and bushy on top and that others cut it short, or combed and parted it neatly, or shaved it at the back or at the front, or trimmed it to a roll" (49). The efforts of slaves to care for their hair underlines the importance of hair within their cultural identity. However, slaves were taught by the slaveholders and their mistresses to dislike their hair and not to be proud of it. The texture, for example, which differed from "the supposedly superior white variety" (56) was described with negatively connoted words such as "wool" (56). African Americans' hair was often cut as a punishment for offences (49). In the 1780s, African American women in Louisiana were forbidden to wear jewellery in their hair and, henceforth, were forced to cover their hair with a tignon (Dawkins). Even after the abolishment of slavery, African American women have often felt the need to imitate the appearance and hairstyles of white women, seen as the hegemonic standard, since their natural hair may be considered unattractive and unprofessional. Up until today, the unequal prestige of hair is still evident. In 2017, to give one example, African American girls were excluded from extracurricular activities and prom at Mystic Valley Regional Charter School in Boston because their braids and afros were seen as a "distraction" (Schoenherr). Since the hairstyles of black women have been controlled, determined and influenced by the white hegemonic culture throughout history in

the U.S., the hairstyle an African American woman wears today can be seen as a deliberate choice, one which forms a crucial part of her identity.

The problem, however, lies within the prestige that is associated with white people's hair and the fact that their hair is seen as the hegemonic standard. This thinking is increased by the problematic representation of black women in film and fiction. In her TedTalk, Chika Okoro, an African American graduate from Stanford Business School, argued that she would need to scroll down to the bottom of the film *Straight Outta Compton* cast list to find the section she belongs to, "[t]he D girls: African American, poor, not in good shape, must have darker skin tone." (1:55–2:06). Moreover, black women in the media are frequently represented stereotypically "as the oversexed Jezebel, the tragic mulatto, and the mammy figure" (Owens Patton 26). According to Michelle Wallace:

> [t]he black woman had not failed to be aware of America's standard of beauty nor the fact that she was not included in it; television and motion pictures had made this information very available to her. She watched as America expanded its ideal to include Irish, Italian, Jewish, even Oriental [sic] and Indian women. America had room among its beauty contestants for buxom Mae West, the bug eyes of Bette Davis, the masculinity of Joan Crawford, but the black woman was only allowed entry if her hair was straight, her skin light, and her features European; in other words, if she was as nearly indistinguishable from a white woman as possible. (157–158)

These intermingling issues of hair and race can be seen in *How to Get Away with Murder*. Annalise Keating is portrayed by the African American actress Viola Davis, who does not have European features or light skin. Nevertheless, her hair is styled according to the white hegemonic norm. Whenever Annalise is in the public sphere, she wears a wig, with hairstyles varying from short and straight, straight shoulder-length, or lightly curled. Wearing the wig, she is portrayed as confident, powerful, proud and professional. Without a wig, she is portrayed differently. The following text focuses on how differently Annalise as a character is depicted when not wearing a wig, and how these depictions use hair as a symbol.

HAIR AS A MASK

Until the fourth episode of the first season, "Let's Get to Scooping" the audience has seen Annalise as strong, respectable and well put-together. She has only ever been depicted in the public sphere, always wearing a wig. At the end of episode four, however, Annalise reveals her other self.

During the first few seconds of the scene, the camera focuses on Annalise removing her jewellery and looking directly at herself in the mirror. The close-ups and sudden movements of the camera allow the audience to be part of this fast, ritualised and daily routine. When she suddenly puts her hands on the back of her head revealing that she is, in fact, wearing a wig, the camera starts filming from exactly that position. After she removes the wig, the camera zooms out again and, for the first time, the audience sees Annalise's natural hair. Once again, the camera depicts her reflection in the mirror where she is seen stroking her natural hair. The shifting camera puts the audience in the position of the mirror she is looking into while removing her false eyelashes and make-up. The camera's fast movement allows the audience to become part of the scene, and when it takes the position of the mirror, it allows the audience to see Annalise the way she sees herself.

At this point, it is important to notice the difference between a white woman straightening her hair and a black woman putting on her wig in the morning because of the prestige associated with the white European beauty standard. Taking off her wig, eyelashes and make-up is portrayed as a daily ritu-

al in Annalise's life, one that is powerful and full of dignity, particularly shown by the way in which she strokes her natural hair. For the audience, it is the first time they encounter another side of Annalise, one that differs significantly from her professional self, revealing that she is authentic, vulnerable, and human. It portrays many women's reality: living in a society where "good" hair is still connected to the white hegemonic standard to which many African American women adhere to in order to climb the ladder of success, set their racialised identity aside and compete (Owens Patton 27). This scene has since gone viral and many people celebrated Viola Davis for creating this honest picture of African American women on television.

Transferring the concept of gender as performative to the beauty standards of African American women, Butler notes that gender is not just performative, but it is also "produced as a ritualized repetition of convention" (Owens Patton 36). Regarding African American women, Owens Patton says that "hair is performed as a way for the marginalised to attempt to become centred in a world of beauty that tends not to value African American forms of beauty" (36). Since Annalise needs to be respected in the public sphere, she attempts to style herself as close to the white hegemonic beauty standard as possible because "[she] is conditioned or socialized to believe [she] must look a certain way" (Banks 82). Depicting Annalise with her natural hair is thus not just important for the authentic representation of African American women in media but also for Annalise as a character who knows that when she works as a defence attorney, she must put on a mask every morning because otherwise she would not be as successful and respected.

HAIR AS PROTECTION

In season one, episode thirteen, "Mama's Here Now", a broken Annalise is shown. In the previously discussed scene, Annalise's wig symbolises the mask she wears every day. Here, hair takes on a new symbolic meaning. In this episode, the conflict between Annalise and her mother is illuminated. As a child, Annalise was sexually abused by her uncle who lived in their house. Annalise has always questioned her mother's role in it, which has strained their relationship. In this scene, her mother is shown combing Annalise's natural kinky hair while Annalise is sitting on the floor, letting her mother console her with this affectionate ritual. The camera shifts from a long shot portraying mother and daughter to close-ups focusing on the feelings and facial movements. The long shot produces a very intimate and private atmosphere, and the depiction of Annalise sitting on the floor letting her mother comb her hair illustrates her brokenness. For the first time she is not just depicted as vulnerable or human, but actually as a broken person who is suffering and needs comfort. In this scene, Annalise's mother tells her that she has let the house she loved burn to the ground knowing that the abusive uncle was there. Hearing this story, Annalise realises that her mother did protect her, she just never knew. The close-ups (starting at 36:25) emphasise the determination in her mother's eyes and Annalise's tears showing her relief. This is the moment when Annalise herself realises her mother's active role in protecting her, which means that she can rely on and trust her mother.

Hair plays a significant role in this scene. In her book *Hair Matters: Beauty, Power, and Black Women's Consciousness*, Ingrid Banks examines interviews with more than 50 black women, and many of them recalled the times when their mothers pressed their and their sisters' hair (21). In this scene, Annalise is taken back to her childhood through the ritual of hair care, but here the disentangling of Annalise's hair works a symbol for the disentangling of her and her mother's complex, complicated and somewhat broken relationship. At the end of that scene when mother and daughter hug each other tightly, their extensive conflict is overcome, and Annalise is finally able to make peace with the incidents that have always haunted her. In the previous scene, Annalise's wig symbolised a mask that hides her racial identity and

thereby gives her a professional appearance in the public sphere. In this scene, however, her wig works as a protective shield. Once she has taken it off, her feelings, especially the ones connected to the sexual abuse, are illuminated so that she must face and defeat them. Fortunately, she is able to defeat her feelings concerning the rape but even more importantly, the symbolic disentangling of her hair can be transferred to her broken relationship with her mother, which is then resolved. At the end of that scene, Annalise has let her hair down and, with it, her protection, enabling her to make peace with her past and her mother.

HAIR AS BURDEN

In "Not Everything's About Annalise", the eleventh episode of season three, Annalise is in custody while prosecutors try to blame her for the death of her student Wes Gibbons. Right before the relevant scene, Annalise has a conversation with the prosecutor who wants to trigger a confession by showing her photos of Wes' burned corpse. Although Annalise has not committed the crime of murdering Wes, she still feels responsible and guilty for his death, which is why the prosecutor can trigger the emotional outburst that follows. When the prosecutor blames her for ruining Wes' life, Annalise lashes out in anger and is taken back to her cell, where she asks her inmates for a blade. In the ensuing scene, for approximately 30 seconds, Annalise cuts her hair, filmed entirely as a close-up of Annalise. Either her face or her hands cutting her hair are constantly visible on screen. The fast movement of her hands and the way in which she tears out her hair, as well as the anger and determination in her eyes when cutting off her hair, emphasise the burden she feels she must lose.

In this scene, hair symbolises a burden. In the show, Annalise cuts her hair for two reasons. First, considering the guilt and responsibility she feels towards Wes' death, she punishes herself by cutting her hair. In doing so, Annalise does not just blame herself secretly but demonstrates her guilt to the world openly. Second, she experiences her hair as a burden. Wearing the mask daily, the one that also protected her from her traumatic experiences in her childhood, she now feels the need to lose her hair. Her caring attitude towards Wes has a profound significance for the burden she feels. Unlike in the scene with her mother, Annalise is not trying to hide from her feelings. She does not need or want her wig, or even her natural hair, to symbolically protect her in that scene. The profound difference lies within her wish to deliberately feel the pain connected to Wes' death, and to do so she needs to lose the burden of her hair that until now has worked as a protective shield for her.

HOW HAIR MATTERS

The profound significance of hair in the African American cultural identity is evident up to the current day. The situation during the time of slavery has shaped and influenced the acceptance and prestige of African American women's hair significantly and, even today, African American hairstyles are still not seen as being as prestigious as the ones worn by the white women. While the continuous under-representation of African American women in media increases this problem, Annalise Keating presents a counter-image: she is a complex character who sheds light on the nature of African American identity.

On the whole, the great importance and symbolic use of hair in *How to Get Away With Murder* is unmistakable. It is not just a mere symbol but a tool that is used to introduce different stages of Annalise's character. Within this whole development her hair symbolises a mask, protection and burden. By wearing her wig, the different identities she feels the need to perform, are symbolised. However, when she takes it off, she is confronted with her true self and inner feelings that make her vulnerable, human, and ultimately strong.

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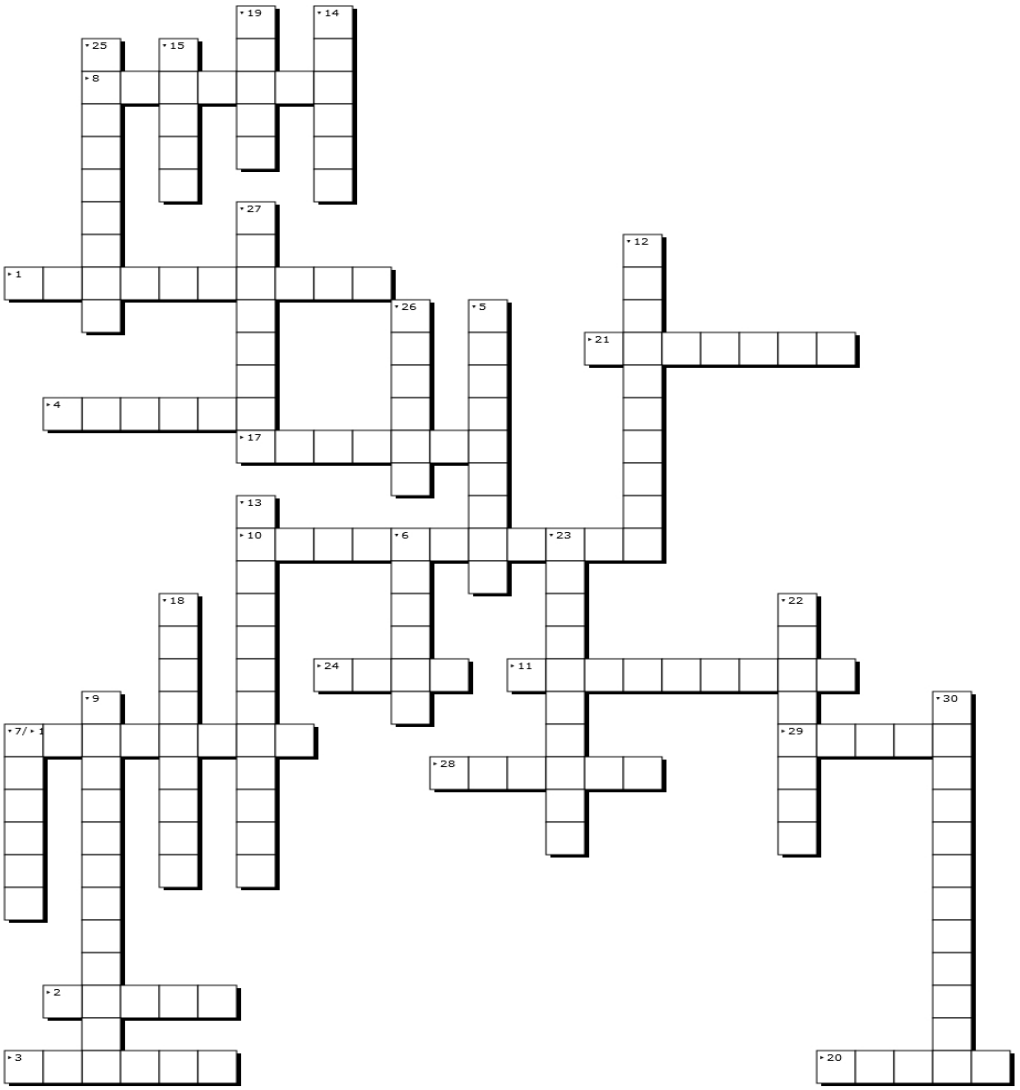

1. marks made in the margins of a book or other document
2. the back or left page of an opened book
3. German inventor best known for his high-speed steam-powered printing press in the 19th century
4. person who introduced the printing press into England in 1476
5. person who introduced a printing press with movable type to Europe
6. paragraph-opening line that appears by itself at the bottom of a page or column
7. roll of papyrus, parchment, or paper containing writing
8. enlarged beginning letter of word or paragraph
9. graphic facing the title page of the book
10. printing process that uses a flat stone or metal plate
11. book, pamphlet, or braodside printed in Europe before 1501
12. art and technique of arranging type to make written language legible, readable, and appealing when displayed
13. decoration in a manuscript
14. material used for parchment
15. paragraph-ending line that falls at the beginning of the following page or column
16. one of the central aspects Adams & Barker proposed in their circuit
17. person who designed the Communication Circuit
18. reproduction of an old book, manuscript, etc. that is as true to the original as possible
19. the back of a book
20. collection of 24 or sometimes 25 sheets of paper of the same size and quality
21. a relief printing technique in printmaking with images carved into a block of wood
22. a printers' or publishers' identifying symbol or emblem
23. the numbering of individual pages in a multi-page document
24. a single sheet of paper or half of a folded sheet of paper
25. two or more sheets of paper stacked and folded as a group (for printing)
26. A size of book page resulting from folding each printed sheet into four leaves (eight pages)
27. part of a book consisting of a small cord or strip for reinforcement or decoration
28. a person who copies documents, especially one employed to do this before printing was invented
29. a hard metal rod with a letter carved backward on its end
30. a novel in three parts; a publishing form popularized by circulating libraries in 19th century Britain; not to be confused with a trilogy

Big Small Steps
Childhoods on the Move

JESSICA SANFILIPPO-SCHULZ

Tutti i passi che ho fatto nella mia vita
mi hanno portato qui, ora.

- Alberto Garutti

In May, shortly before boarding the Milano Malpensa airport Express train at the station of Cadorna, a stone set into the floor caught my eye. Passengers of the Malpensa Express who have the time to take a closer look at the stone can read an engraved inscription in Italian and English: "Every step I have taken in my life has led me here, now" (Garutti). After a 50-minute train ride, the inscription can be found inside the Milano Malpensa airport too, emphasizing both the significance of transport and the places of transit for travellers. These works of public art by the Italian artist Albert Garutti inspire travellers to think about the deeper meaning and consequences of each of their infinite steps, journeys, actions and decisions. Why we are physically in this certain place, right now, is often connected to moves we deliberately chose to make in adulthood, for example, family or job related. Yet, for many individuals, moves which can determine the course of one's life are made in childhood due to their parents' choices. Thus some of the "steps" which have led them to certain locations were not taken of one's own free will but involuntarily.

For work reasons, at the end of the 1960s, my British mother and Italian father moved to Liberia in West Africa, where I would eventually see the light of day. After eight years, due to the deteriorating political situation, my parents decided to move to Italy, where my siblings and I attended a British school. For love, years later, I moved to Germany. Due to my family's background, relocating was not an unknown experience and my first German steps were taken in Stuttgart. Subsequently in 2004, two weeks before delivering our baby, my husband and I moved to Münster, where I began my Bachelor studies in 2008. By virtue of my cross-cultural upbringing, I then decided to enrol in the Master of Arts programme "National and Transnational Studies". During the very first weeks of this programme, whilst discussing the term natio, we were asked by a lecturer to explain what home meant to us. Many peers replied that home was where they were born or where they grew up. Somewhat perplexed, that same evening I immediately searched the whole Internet for the definition of home when one has multiple passports (in my case three), attachments and languages. Seconds later, Google informed me that having grown up "among worlds", I am a Third Culture Kid.

In sociology, individuals who experienced high international mobility in childhood are referred to as Third Culture Kids (TCKs). Typically, TCKs are raised in a 'neither/nor world' (Pollock et al. 4) and accordingly a "TCK frequently builds relationship to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership of any. Although elements from each culture may be assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is [often] in relationship to others of a similar background" (Pollock et al. 15-16). The "third culture" to which the term refers is not only the mixed identity that TCKs assume, influenced by both their parents' cultures and the cultures in which they were raised, but also "a way of life shared by others who also grow up living first in one culture and then moving to another one – maybe even two or three more – and often

back and forth between various cultures" (Pollock et al. 4). In adulthood TCKs (commonly referred to as "Adult Third Culture Kids" – ATCK) often face issues related to a lack of identity, to feelings of loss (due to their repeated separations from relatives, friends and possessions in childhood) and to restlessness.

After reading Pollock and Van Reken's pioneering book Third Culture Kids: The Experience of Growing up among Worlds, as well as scholarly articles related to this phenomenon and various engrossing narratives of TCKs posted online, I finally grasped where my feelings of not belonging to a specific culture and my "neither/nor" status came from and, above all, I realized that I shared these feelings with a global TCK network. Wanting to focus my graduate research on literary and cultural studies, I was especially fascinated to see that the effects of an international hypermobile upbringing can be detected in numerous novels written by TCKs.

THIRD CULTURE LITERATURE

Many contemporary authors, such as Lesley Nneka Arimah, Valeria Luiselli and Vladimir Vertlib, were raised in multiple countries predominantly due to their parents' career choices (e.g. in academic, business, diplomatic, military or religious sectors) but also due to external factors, such as political upheavals. Literary scholar Antje Rauwerda argues that the fiction of ATCKs often comprises common features that reflect the consequences of a displaced international childhood and accordingly coins the literary classification Third Culture Literature (TCL), which refers to novels that either deal with the TCK experience or that were written by ATCKs.

Having grown up in Spain, Alaska, Canada, Costa Rica, France and Mexico, Yann Martel is a TC author par excellence and in her book *The Writer and the Overseas Childhood: The Third Culture Literature of Kingsolver, McEwan and Others*, Rauwerda reads his novel *Life of Pi* through the TCK lens. Rauwerda innovatively demonstrates that Martel's novel comprises five features that are common to TCL. For her, the common characteristics of TCK novels are: international settings, losses, disenfranchisement and guilt (see also *Not Your Typical 'Diaspora* 20-1). Previously, the TCK model had been predominantly adopted by social scientists, educators, psychologists and therapists to describe and assist TCKs, thus Antje Rauwerda is the first literary scholar who extensively examines the fiction of TCKs.

Rauwerda argues that a new classification is needed for authors such as Yann Martel, who grew up moving from country to country because, for her, categories such as diasporic, exile and postcolonial literature are unapt to describe their writings which are clearly born out of their third culture experiences in childhood and she thoroughly illustrates how TCL breaks away from existing classifications. The novels she analyses do, of course, comprise features common to diasporic and postcolonial writing but, for her, many existing classifications focus upon the notion of one initial and central homeland and therefore typically feature binary relationships (see *The Writer* 14-22).

Carly McLaughlin, who also writes about novels that deal with transcultural childhoods, clearly explains why the term hybridity is also inadequate for the TCK experience:

> The transcultural reality in which many of the world's children grow up indicates the need to develop other paradigms of cultural identity which move beyond postcolonial frameworks of cultural belonging. In the context of migration, hybridity, for example – used to conceptualize the new cultural forms arising from transcultural encounters between the colonizer and colonized, in a colonial context, or between the host and immigrant culture – arguably remains limited to a binary paradigm of a transcultural encounter, which is grounded in the existence of two

> fixed, pre-existing cultural identities. Even if hybridity is understood as the merging of more than two cultural forms, it still defines identity in relation to a crossing-over, a collapse of two or more fixed, prior cultural identities. It is thus perhaps no longer useful in today's increasingly mobile and culturally complex world in which children, and indeed many adults, inhabit multiple cultural spaces (57).

Having originated by sociologists who were studying American communities in India in the 1950s,[1] the TCK perspective which both Carly McLaughlin and Antje Rauwerda refer to in their literary examinations has recently been condemned, not only for dealing with an elite group of white and Eurocentric "global" citizens but also for being race-blind.[2] In fact, because TCKs are typically the (white) children of diplomats, international business people and military staff, McLaughlin explains that:

> the TCK model, ever since its first use in the 1950s and its reformulation in Pollock and Van Reken's study of 2001, has been criticized for being a model for a small, privileged group of children which bears little relevance for the world's children, who migrate under much more difficult, at times traumatic, circumstance (52).

At a time when scholars are intensively engaging with new patterns of migration, TCK scholars too must re-think the drivers of migration and thus move their previous restricted focus to include ethnicity, race, gender, socio-economic status, language, religion and political beliefs in their future analyses. If the term TCK is currently used as a synonym for individuals who experience a high level of international mobility while they are growing up, it is wrong to assume that only elite groups of children are pivotal to TCK processes, because nowadays (as in the past) the reasons for migration are manifold.

CROSS-CULTURAL KIDS

A step towards bringing an end to the TCK model's negative critique and to update the innovative approach of examining the stories of children who are affected by global residential mobility is to adopt the Cross-Cultural lens. Coined by Ruth Van Reken in 2002, the term *Cross-Cultural Kids* (CCK) refers to individuals who are living or have "lived in – or meaningfully interacted with – two or more cultural environments for a significant period of time during the first eighteen years of life" (Pollock et al. 43). As Carly McLaughlin points out, this updated model "takes into account the reality of the increasing number of individuals who grow up outside of a traditional monocultural environment" (65). The CCK approach and "discussions of the impact of frequent switching between cultural worlds during childhood" (Pollock et al. 48) is significant because it offers a valuable insight into how a cross-cultural "life can affect the way a child thinks and feels about their world, and how this different perspective may manifest in the way they interact with others" (Crossman, xxix). The table below demonstrates which children are included in the CCK model of 2017.[3] I have also added to this table a description of the various CCK subcategories (as described by Van Reken) and the specific issues that the members of theses sub-categories often face.

Table 1
Groups of Children Included in the Cross-Cultural Kids (CCK) Model

1 For the origins of this term, see Useem.
2 For insightful critique see both Khosroshahy; and Saija and Dervin.
3 For further information see Pollock et al. 45-48; and Van Reken.

	CCK Sub-Category	**Description**	**Issues specific to this particular type of sub-category**
1	Traditional TCKs	Children who move to another country with parents due to a parent's career choice or advanced training	*High international mobility patterns*
2	Bi/multi-cultural/ and/or multiethnic children	Children born to parents from at least two cultures	*Two cultures within family*
3	Mixed heritage children	Children born to parents from at least two racial heritages	*Complex racial identity*
4	Children of borderlanders	Children who cross borders frequently, even daily, as they go to school, or whose parents work across national borders	*Regular international interactions*
5	Educational CCKs	Children who attend a school with a different cultural base from the one they return to at home each night	*Change of cultures daily*
6	Children of minorities	Children whose parents are from a racial or ethnic group which is not part of the majority race or ethnicity of the country in which they live (privileged or marginalized)	*Prejudice from majority culture*
7	Children of immigrants	Children whose parents have made a permanent move to a new country where they were not originally citizens	*Permanent change*
8	Children of refugees	Children whose parents are living outside their original country or place due to unchosen circumstances such as war, violence, famine, other natural disasters	*Effects of trauma*
9	International adoptees	Children adopted by parents from another country other than the one of that child's birth	*Adoption issues*
10	"Domestic" TCKs	Children whose parents have moved in or among various subcultures within that child's home country.	*Invisible cross-cultural experience*
11	Other	This circle is left blank in Third Culture Kids but **children of divorced parents** who switch recurrently from one home to another are mentioned as examples of other groups of CCKs, and McLaughlin provides the example of **"children whose parents have left them behind while they migrate for work"** (54). Furthermore, discussing deaf culture, Oya Ataman innovatively argues that the **children of deaf adults** (coda) might also find themselves in several of the categories mentioned in the CCK model, thus innovatively expanding the CCK model to children of parents with impairments (see Ataman).	*Discrimination against disabled people*

The above sub-groups of the umbrella term CCK clearly show that an increasing number of children navigate multiple cultural worlds on a daily basis. Many CCKs belong to two or more of the abovementioned CCK subcategories. As Pollock et al. interestingly point out, Barack Obama (who was born in Hawaii to a US mother and a Kenyan father and who was raised in several US States and in Indonesia – where his stepfather came from) belongs to "at least six CCK circles – traditional TCK, bicultural, biracial heritage, domestic TCK, minority, educational CCK" (43).

It is important to bear in mind that TCKs, as depicted above, predominantly experience a high-level of international mobility whilst growing up and often have a privileged status in their host country (as opposed to, for example, the children of refugees, who suffer from effects of trauma, among other things). This sets them apart from many other sub-categories of CCKs. In recent years, numerous scholars have concentrated on the long-term effects of hypermobile international childhoods and consequently the majority of studies (mainly in the social studies) refer to the terminology TCK.

Although Tanya Crossman, who interviewed over one thousand TCKs, notices that many of her interlocutors "from vastly different backgrounds express the same sentiments, at times almost word for word" (xxix), every individual clearly responds in a different way to cross-cultural interactions. Thus Crossman rightly remarks: "There is no one-size-fits-all explanation of how every TCK has felt and who they will become" (xxix). It is therefore important to understand that the CCK model, just like the TCK one, does not describe a person but a perspective (Crossman xxv). These contemporary approaches help to grasp the unique and individual experiences of children who inhabit multiple cultures.

In their literary examinations, McLaughlin and Rauwerda use the TCK and CCK perspectives solely to analyse the works of Anglophone novelists. Yet, these approaches can be expanded to the examination of non-Anglophone literary texts. An example of a third culture author who writes in German is the novelist Ilija Trojanow, who was born in Bulgaria and as the child of refugees lived in Yugoslavia, Italy and Germany until he moved to Kenya with his family as a young boy (where his father worked as an engineer). Interestingly, literary scholar Arianna Dagnino refers to Trojanow as a "transcultural writer".

TRANSCULTURAL WRITERS

Discussing the link between increasing global flows and contemporary shifts in the literary realm, Arianna Dagnino affirms that there are currently more and more writers who have "experienced the effects of global mobility, transnational patterns, and neonomadic lifestyles" (Transcultural Writers 144). Like an increasing number of contemporary literary scholars, Dagnino argues that, nowadays, numerous novelists and their texts can no longer be classified according to one single nation. Drawing upon the concepts of transculture, transculturality and transculturalism and how they are developed by Epstein, Ortiz, Schulze-Engler, and Welsch (to name just a few), Dagnino innovatively names these transient authors "transcultural writers".

Although many literary classifications "coexist, interact, and often overlap" (Dagnino, "Global Mobility" 137), Dagnino argues that her new coinage is preferable to existing terms such as cosmopolitan, diasporic, transnational and postcolonial literature (see *Transcultural Writers* 15-16). Echoing the words of Antje Rauwerda, Dagnino argues that these older distinctions are still very dependent on the notion of one specific centre. In transcultural discourse however, binary oppositions are disrupted and replaced by multiple belongings. Dagnino's transcultural writers "do not belong in one place or one culture – and usually not even one language – and . . . write between cultures and are interested in the complex dynamics of cultural encounters and negotiations" (Transcultural Writers 14). Dagnino also draws upon the research

of Braidotti and the scholar's concept of new nomadism. Like Braidotti's nomadic subjects who are not tied to home territories and who deconstruct any sense of fixed identity, Dagnino argues that the cultural orientations of her transcultural writers "tend to be reflected in their creative works, thus fostering the emergence of a transcultural mode of writing through which cultures are seen as vastly fluid, confluential, and collective identity networks" (Transcultural Writers 14).

Whilst discussing his transcultural upbringing, along with his feelings of belonging and fluid identities with Dagnino, Ilija Trojanow remarks:

> They ask me about my roots, but I am not a tree. Identity is rather something dynamic, a fluid concept, even if many people tend to think only in terms of belonging. At the beginning I suffered from this not belonging of mine. Now I have understood that all this constitutes a richness (*Transcultural Writers* 158).

In adulthood Trojanow has thus learnt to appreciate his diversity and seemingly has achieved an all-embracing transcultural state of mind (for further information regarding the difference between the notion of multiculturalism and transcultural awareness see Epstein). Yet, it is difficult to accept one's "differences" in childhood and the research of many developmental psychologists have shown that whilst growing up one strives to be part of peer groups (see, for example, Erikson). Suffering from feelings of not belonging during this significant stage can have lasting emotional effects. Furthermore, the research of medical scholars has demonstrated that residential mobility in childhood can lead to mental health issues in adolescence and early adulthood (see Tseliou et al.).

MOVING CHILDHOODS

Residential mobility in childhood and growing up "among worlds" is clearly a contemporary and critical topic, which is worth examining across diverse disciplines. As seen above, in the literary field, encounters across cultures, nations and languages are given various names, and I have mentioned only a handful of them. Cross-cultural, multicultural, neo-nomadic, transcultural, cosmopolitan, third culture or indeed postcolonial authors?[4] What is the most fitting label for authors who frequently migrated as children and texts which deal with hyper nomadism in childhood? Due to the fact that many classifications already overlap, does the literary world need a new term for these authors and their literature?

The experience of encountering manifold cultures and languages as a child is indeed unique, yet paradoxically it is becoming an increasingly common phenomenon in our globalised world. Both the TCK steps that I have taken in my life, and witnessing how my child tackles the experience of transiting between three cultures and languages on a daily basis, have prompted me to agree with Carly McLaughlin. Perceptively, McLaughlin argues that notwithstanding its flaws, when discussing migration, the TCK model merits acclaim because it "recognizes the fundamental gap between the experiences of parents and those of their children" (51). As a literary scholar, I also understand Rauwerda when she asserts that academia and the publishing world could benefit from acknowledging the literary classification TCL "and its distinguishing features" (*The Writer* 5) because this functional category ultimately paves the way for further exploration into the results of globally mobile and cross-cultural childhoods.

Bell-Villada befittingly points out that the term TCK "is not exactly household fare – even for many TCKs themselves – as yet. It remains to be seen whether the phrase, or any equivalent formula,

4 See McGillis and Khorana who argue that "children and their literature are always postcolonial, if by postcolonial we mean that which stands out and in opposition to tradition and power" (8).

will catch on and become standardized and recognizable in years to come. Still, as French intellectuals are wont to say, there is *le mot et la chose* (the word and the thing)" (424). It is open to question whether the mot will spread further or whether it will be replaced by a new one. What is clear is that within the literary realm it is timely to explore the numerous advantages (and at times disadvantages) of growing up in between multiple cultures. Therefore, name the chose as you wish, but do not forget to acknowledge the impact of small yet significant childhood steps.

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Out of Time

Temporal and Heteropatriarchal Confinements in Sarah Waters' *Fingersmith*

CORINNA WOLTERS

Time is of the essence in Sarah Waters' neo-Victorian novel *Fingersmith*. Previous works have merely brushed upon this subject, often mentioning the temporal element only in direct relation to spatiality. However, little attention has been paid to time in its own regard as a structuring element and symbol within *Fingersmith*. As the characters move between different spaces, their awareness of time is conspicuous and hints towards the overall importance of time and its specific significance for the character's gender and sexuality. In an analysis of *Space and Sexuality in the Post-Victorian Fiction of Sarah Waters*, Demelza Morgana Hall remarks that "all human-made structures unavoidably encode assumptions about gender and sexuality" (18). Time, as a structuring element of life, should then show similar qualities. The chiming bell at Sue's first arrival; the three watches of Dr. Christie, Gentleman, and Mr. Lilly; the clock-hand that halts at the end—all listed examples show that time may be a major area of interest while analyzing and interpreting the novel.

By taking a feminist and queer approach it can be examined that in the novel, clocks and watches serve as symbols of dominance in a heteropatriarchal society. It can also be argued that the omnipresence of time symbolizes the heteropatriarchal power structures that the protagonists of *Fingersmith* oppose by their act of living "out-of-time" (Mitchell 140).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF FEMININE TIME

Simone de Beauvoir discusses the function of time and connects it to the role of women on multiple occasions in *The Second Sex* (Deutscher 327–328). A woman, to de Beauvoir, is forcefully connected to her past. Though she is eager to diverge from the household she grew up in, she is confined to similar routine in her later life within heteropatriarchal dominated power structures: "The tragedy of marriage is not that it fails to assure woman the promised happiness – there is no such thing as assurance in regard to happiness – but that it mutilates her; it dooms her to repetition and routine" (de Beauvoir 496).

More so, her life is built on the very concept of routine, as she herself "clings to routine" (de Beauvoir 610). Contrasting women's life with that of men, de Beauvoir notes that for women "time has [...] no element of novelty, it is not a creative flow" (610). Thus, women remain "[u]nable to create or invent," as Rita Felski writes, "trapped in the deadly grip of cyclical time" (25). Her creative force is stunted, her life subdued to follow the repetitive movement of time. Whereas men may utilize creative forces, women are chained to their othered, reproductive role in society (de Beauvoir 610). However, domestic routine poses merely as one of the temporal entrapments of women: through reproduction women are not elevated to creative self-determination but reduced to passive reproduction. Penelope Deutscher suggests that

> Beauvoir may well see maternity as involving both repetition of life and also the repetition of tasks. But the additional aggravation is that it is a matter of repetition (convention, conformity, habit) that makes women persist with these lives of routine, *machine-like repetition*. (331, emphasis added)

Other feminist writings draw close connections to such "machine-like repetition" in clocks found in literature,

where they "assure that life keeps moving in a mechanical fashion, that things get done" (Forbes 42). Clocks are furthermore closely associated with time as a structuring element of heteropatriarchal society and its values (42).

De Beauvoir does not consider lesbians in regard to temporal limitation posed upon them by society. Female homosexuality, to de Beauvoir, poses "one way [...] in which woman solves the problems posed by her condition in general, by her erotic situation in particular" (444). Later scholars have discussed the role of lesbians in heteropatriarchal society in more detail. On the cover of *The Straight Mind and Other Essays*, Judith Butler calls Monique Wittig "the radical extension of de Beauvoir's theory, its unexpected lesbian future", who extends the previous discussion to the existence of lesbians within heteropatriarchal society. By coining the expression "Lesbians are not women" (32), Wittig enhances the idea that the dichotomy of male and female is not determined by natural or biological circumstances, but instead on cultural determinants. By breaching the "heterosexual systems of thought and heterosexual economic systems" (Wittig 32), lesbians refuse to subjugate their identity to gendered norms present and enforced by society and hence threaten dominant power structures. Albeit Wittig does admittedly not take immediate note on the importance of routine and repetition and women's relation to time, she sees lesbians entirely outside societal norms. This may lead to the suggestion that lesbians are also outside of routine and repetition as it has been described by de Beauvoir. To be outside the societal "heterosexual contract" is to be an "[o]*utlaw*" or "*mad*" (Wittig 32, 40). The demand for "an absolute break, for the triumph of feminine otherness" (Felski 27) may, in light of the upcoming analysis, be expanded to a "lesbian otherness".

In *Fingersmith*, time is prominent—either through the underlying presence of a routine or through its sheer absence.

THE OMNIPRESENCE OF TIME

In *Fingersmith*, time is prominent—either through the underlying presence of a routine or through its sheer absence. Whether Maud or Sue are in London or Briar, two spaces rooted in societal norms, time is constantly present, manifested through the mere presence of watches, clocks, and as a structuring element and by its imposed routine on the protagonists. One notable and direct acknowledgment of the omnipresence of time is found at the very beginning of the novel. At her arrival, Sue's first impression of Briar is significantly marked by the presence of a clock:

> Then I heard, from rather near, the slow tolling of a bell—a very mournful sound, it seemed to me at that moment, not like the cheerful bells of London. It tolled nine times. 'That's the Briar bell, sounding the hour,' said William Inker.[1]

The presence of the bell is ubiquitous and not just restricted to the liminal space of Briar, as the brief mention towards the "bells of London" (*FS* 56) indicates. As Sue moves from Lant Street to Briar, the presence of time remains constantly unchanging, which gives cause for the assumption that the perception of abstract time is indeed omnipresent in society. Of course, as Sue arrives after the death of King Albert, London's cityscape is already dominated by Big Ben, which is not only a clock but decidedly "gendered male" (Forbes 42). Albeit never explicitly mentioned, this observation again suggests the omnipresence of time and its close connection to heteropatriarchal values. Although Sue exits London and enters Mr. Lilly's estate, clocks remain ubiquitous.

Entering Briar, the clock appears to be a humanized watchman, closely associated with the head of the household: "High in one of the buildings was the round white face and great black hands of

1 Waters, Sarah. *Fingersmith*. 2002. London, Virago Press, 2005, p. 56; further references in the text, abbreviated as "*FS*".

the clock I had heard striking across the fields" (*FS* 57). Daily life at Mr. Lilly's estate is vigorously dictated by the clock, which is, of course, a mere symbol of his heteropatriarchal rule over Briar and its predominantly female inhabitants (Mitchell 140). The clock regulates and even reprimands:

> 'Ten days to go,' I would say to myself. 'Ten days, and you will be rich!' But I'd say it, and across the words might come the chiming of the great house bell; and then I would shudder to think of our plot being so much as a single hour nearer its end. (*FS* 137)

During the time spent at Briar, the daily life of Maud, and thus Sue, is meticulously organized by the chime of the bell (Hall 73–75). As Sue quickly remarks: "At least at Briar you always knew what hour it was" (*FS* 74). And indeed, the chimes of the bell are heard throughout the first part of the novel.

Throughout Maud's time spent at Briar, clocks, watches, and the routine they enforce is continuously represented negatively. Standoffish at first, Maud falls victim to severe punishment by her uncle at the hands of his servants. Recalling one such punishment, when locked in an ice-house, she "remember[s] the blocks of grey ice [...] that tick in the wintry silence, like so many clocks. They tick for three hours" (*FS* 192). Maud's "improper" behavior in the strict system posed by Mr. Lilly is ultimately subdued. She follows the routine of his household dutifully and assists her uncle in the reproduction of pornographic material. And although Sue's impression of the clock is barely anything other than ominous, Maud's dire perception links the clock directly to her uncle and her subjection to her assumed past: "But when I have locked my mother's face away I lie, uneasily. My uncle's clock shudders and strikes" (*FS* 248). Forced to index and read the pornographic books of her uncle, her reproductive qualities are also measured and subdued to time as it is imposed by him: "'How long shall I read for, Uncle?' He puts his watch against his ear. He says, 'Until the next o'clock'" (212).

The watch that Mr. Lilly utilizes in this quote is one of many mentioned throughout the novel. Apart from the omnipresence of time in male-dominated spaces, some characters' dominance seems to be exemplified by their possession of watches. Gentleman's watch is described as "snide" (*FS* 19), whereas the other two notable watches further establish their owners' heteropatriarchal authority: Mr. Lilly as well as Dr. Christie extend their will over Briar and the mental asylum, respectively. Both are mentioned to be in possession of a watch and make marked use of it. Hence it is Mr. Lilly's watch-chain, symbolically draped underneath the library key and razor, that Maud notices before destroying his prized books in an act of liberating defiance (*FS* 289–290). Dr. Christie has similar control and influence on his subjects:

> 'Mrs Rivers, how are you?' said Dr Christie, after he had [...] spent a minute looking over Mrs Price and Miss Wilson. 'I am perfectly clear in my head,' I said. He looked at his watch. (*FS* 420–421)

In the same way as Mr. Lilly, he is symbolically marked by possessing a watch as the preeminent authoritative figure. One may extend this to the previously discussed watches present in the novel, noting that they do indeed symbolize heteropatriarchal society and in general the time Maud and Sue live in, omnipresent and seemingly inescapable.

TIMELESS SPACES AND SOCIETY'S OUTCASTS

Not only places explicitly dominated by time are worthy of observation. Some spaces in the novel are seemingly devoid of this omnipresence. Throughout her stay at the asylum, Sue frequently mentions the timeless space she has presumably entered:

> Each morning I woke with the horrible sense that days had slipped away and I had not noticed. 'What day is today?' I'd ask Miss Wilson

> and Mrs Price. Of course, they never knew. [...] Then I'd ask Nurse Bacon. 'What day is today, Nurse Bacon?' 'Punishment Day', she'd answer, wincing and rubbing her hands. (*FS* 455)

It may be tempting to assume that this apparent timelessness might be presented as an argument against the symbolizing function of clocks. Nonetheless, by entering the mental institution, Sue experiences the reigning timelessness as isolation and paternalism. The asylum is still very much a place of practiced heteropatriarchal power. As such, it is run by Dr. Christie and his nurses, who enforce strict rules and routines the inmates have to follow, although they do not take part in organizing nor do they understand them (Hall 71). They are isolated from society, deemed "unfit" for their own time. Sue is declared "mad", not only because of the scheme she falls victim to but also for her homoerotic desire within heteropatriarchal society: "The thought that she had said it [Sue's homoerotic desire]—that she had said it, before Gentleman, as a way of making me out to be mad—struck me like a blow to the heart" (*FS* 442).

By breaching the "heterosexual contract" (Wittig 32), she is henceforth positioned outside of society and declared "*mad*" (40). Sue is kept isolated from society, which nevertheless is no indication for the absence of heteropatriarchal power structures. Instead, she is consciously kept from entering society despite her repeated attempts to convince Dr. Christie of her sanity (Hall 71).

The escape from their respective confinements ultimately leads Maud and Sue to return to Briar. In a circular motion of the narrative, Sue enters Briar to find Maud once again. Yet, it is not the chime of the Briar bell that catches her attention, but the absence of it. Previously governed by routine enforced symbolically by the clock, it is now a timeless space (Mitchell 140–141). Sue, while wandering, notices that "[i]t seemed quieter inside the walls, than it had been before—quieter, and queer" (*FS* 538). Kate Mitchell reads the absence of the Briar bell as the possibility for the two protagonists "to reunite in the newly feminised space of Briar" (140). Nonetheless, the word that draws most attention here is 'queer'—the space is thus not (only) feminized, but (also) what Patricia White calls, "lesbianiz[ed]" (156; Hall 68). Nicky Hallett suggests that "lesbian desire changes both spatial and temporal structures" (35). This appears to be true at the end of *Fingersmith*: Maud and Sue reappropriate the space previously used to confine them, as they now find it absent of Mr. Lilly's authoritarianism symbolized by the clock (Mitchell 140–141). The previously heteropatriarchal space, controlled by the constant passing of time in form of the clock, is led back to a state of origin, of timeless refuge from society, and thus from the time the two protagonists had been forced to live in (Costantini 28–29).

Ultimately, Maud and Sue seem to escape the heteropatriarchal bonds imposed on them by society, by their own time, the nineteenth century.

"WE CAN MAKE IT OURS": SURPASSING TEMPORAL LIMITATIONS

Routine and time are ruptured on several occasions, just to dissolve briefly into a timeless state as has been observed in the previous section. Most notably, this momentary timelessness is described in Maud's description of Sue during intercourse (Hall 76). Although Hall suggests that "Maud and Sue's sexual arousal is echoed and affirmed by the ticking of the clock outside their bedroom" (76), another reading may be possible. Here, the routine forced upon both of them is changed; time moves unusually as Sue herself "moves her hips and hand as if to a rhythm, a time, a quickening beat" (*FS* 283). After this erotic encounter between the two women, a shift is notable in Maud's intentions:

> I meant to cheat her. I cannot cheat her, now. 'I am not what you think,' I will say. 'You think me good. I am not good. But I might, with you, begin to try to be. This was his plot.

We can make it *ours*—'. (*FS* 284, emphasis added) A union is created that excludes all previous heteropatriarchal forces and changes the self-perception Maud had thus far displayed. Instead, she begins to think outside of heteropatriarchal society, and this can be detected in her definitive use of the word 'ours'.

Ultimately, Maud and Sue seem to escape the heteropatriarchal bonds imposed on them by society, by their own time, the nineteenth century. By entering the timeless space of Briar, they exist literally and metaphorically outside their own time, establishing a homoerotic female household within the previously "confining conditions" (Hall 62) of Mr. Lilly's estate (Hall 62–64; Mitchell 140–141). Instead of being isolated, they isolate themselves from heteropatriarchal society, accordingly becoming outcasts fleeing their societal constraints (Wittig 42; Castle 5). In this state of existence, they are able to tell their story in rich, explicit detail, which would have been an impossible endeavor if actually written during the time it takes place, the nineteenth century (Costantini 19–20; Parker 17; Mitchell 117). Thus, the ending appears to be a self-conscious admission of the neo-Victorian novel: only able to be written down and to be told by "re-reading, re-voicing, and re-imagining" (Llewellyn 180) what has previously been left untold in the protagonists' own time.

The findings that have been presented suggest that time is indeed largely omnipresent and closely associated with the authoritative, male characters. Sue and Maud are subdued to a routine not of their own choosing but of societal expectations. Briar's clock and the watches of both Mr. Lilly and Dr. Christie symbolize said demands of the heteropatriarchal, structured society.

The existence of timeless spaces does not necessarily indicate an absence of underlying heteropatriarchal power structures. Quite the contrary: Sue's detention at the asylum is still marked by routine, although she remains excluded and isolated as she is deemed "mad". Seemingly equivalently isolated from society at the return to the second timeless space, Briar after Mr. Lilly's death, reads differently. Instead of being a forced movement, Sue chooses isolation in the now timeless space as a fitting flight from society.

While the ending itself may remain ambivalent, the interrupted movement of the clock suggests a positive ending. As they now lead an existence outside the value system of their own time, it becomes possible for Sue and Maud to tell their story, indicating a self-awareness of the neo-Victorian text itself. As stated in the introduction, the notion that "time is of the essence" is echoed throughout the novel as a symbol of heteropatriarchal dominance in the spaces of *Fingersmith*.

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Corinna Wolters studied German and English Studies at the University of Münster. Her Bachelor's thesis *Between Fur and Sword: Gender Anxiety in Franz Kafka's* The Metamorphosis (*Zwischen Pelz und Degen: Geschlechtsunbehagen in Franz Kafkas* Die Verwandlung) discussed gender disorder and the resulting gender anxiety in the novella and other selected works of the same author. She has entered the first semester of her Master's Degree in "Cultural Poetics of Literature and Media" (*Kulturpoetik der Literatur und Medien*) at the same university. Her areas of research include feminist, gender and queer studies.

BOOK STUDIES

A Brief History of Book Studies in Münster

ELLEN BARTH

As students, we are intimately familiar with books. They are one of our main tools of learning, pages dog-eared and passages highlighted, as we piece together term papers, presentations and theses. We know the book, but we do not necessarily consider it beyond the text it provides. But for some students at the University of Münster's English Department, the book itself is put under the spotlight.

Book studies is currently part of the curriculum of the National and Transnational Studies and British, American and Postcolonial Studies master's programs. Those wanting to delve deeper into the pages of this little-known field of study can go beyond the compulsory first semester course *Text, Book and Culture: Introduction to Book Studies* and choose from a small selection of elective courses on offer every semester, with some past options including *"Printed Poison": the English Book Trade in Religious and Political Conflicts and Print Is Dead? Publishing in the 21st Century.*

Book studies, for those unfamiliar with the term, is just as it sounds: the study of the material book, as well as its production, distribution and reception in society. Also known as book history, it is a field that can help explain, to give a few small examples, why a seventeenth century illustrated fishing book, *The Compleat Angler*, remains one of the most reprinted books in English – and it is not because hooks and rods are so titillating to English readers (Scurr); why Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* was first published in France rather than the United States, the country of its author (Pearson); and what books children in the fourteenth century read, based on evidence in the form of doodles in the margins of manuscripts (Thorpe). Book studies is often an interdisciplinary field that can have a wide array of approaches. Reading experiences, typography, bibliography, book smuggling, manuscripts, paper-making, publishing, cataloging, e-books, book prizes, cover art, and many more subjects fall within its purview.

Perhaps more than other disciplines, the field of book studies understands the incredible impact of the recorded word. Looking at an early printed book, it can be shocking to see how dark the black ink has remained on the page after hundreds of years, the text still easily readable and waiting to reveal histories otherwise forgotten. Therefore, with this inaugural edition of Satura, it seems a proper beginning to set in ink a short history of book studies at the University of Münster (WWU), one of just five universities in Germany – the country from which the printed book hails – that offer courses in book studies.[1] Of these universities, the WWU is the only one with a specific focus on English-language book history, and it is for this reason that students may end up in a course about William Caxton, England's first printer, or Mudie's Select Library, a circulating library that helped shape Victorian values as well as book forms.

However, book studies at Münster did not begin with courses. It began, instead, in the 1950s, as a room with a large collection of antiquarian books and an unassuming sign on the door.

After an interruption caused by World War II, Prof. Dr. Heinrich Lausberg returned to academia, taking up the position of Chair of the Romanisches Seminar at the WWU ("Geschichte des"). A specialist in Romance Studies perhaps best known for his *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*,[2] Lausberg found that old

1 The others are the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, Leipzig University , University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, and Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich.

2 Originally published in German as *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*. Lausberg is also remembered by Italian linguistics as his name marks a dialectic region in Italy, called "area Lausberg" ("Geschichte des").

books were being sold cheaply, their value as objects of study and material interest not yet established or recognized – something difficult to imagine today. Lausberg collected books and used the fledgling institute to pursue his research, mainly medieval manuscript culture and paleographic studies. After he stepped down, the institute was briefly taken over by Prof. Otto Herding, a humanist scholar, who named it Institutum Erasmianum, after Renaissance thinker Erasmus of Rotterdam[3] ("Zur Geschichte").

Starting in the mid-1960s, the Institutum Erasmianum was jointly headed by Prof. Dr. Marvin Spevack, originally of New York, and Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Bernhard Fabian, taking on the additional name *Forschungsinstitut für Buchwissenschaft und Bibliographie* (Research Institute for Book Science and Bibliography). At this time, the international world of book studies was experiencing an interest in analytical bibliography, which looks for material evidence of how books were constructed (Suarez and Woudhuysen 525), and in new bibliography, which uses physical evidence to solve textual problems (963). While Profs Spevack and Fabian headed the institute, the research done was chiefly on the "history of books, the invention of printing, analytical print research, and the history and also the current status of the library system" ("Zur Geschichte", my trans.). It was also at this time that the institute began to focus on English books and book history in particular, and became linked to the English Department for the first time. This change can be seen as the result of several factors, first and foremost being the research interests of the two heads, who were both professors at the English Department. International communication between book scholars was increasing as well, and both Spevack and Fabian worked on and with international projects. Spevack not only taught abroad, but he also received numerous fellowships from institutions such as the Huntington Library, The British Library, and The Folger Shakespeare Library (Munkelt). Fabian worked to help develop *the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*[4], which, despite its name, and due to its massive scope, required the funding and support of international researchers and institutions (Eck 242).

It is impossible to list all the accomplishments of Profs Spevack and Fabian in an article such as this. Both are renowned scholars with lengthy bibliographies to their names; however, a short look at a few of their projects is not only necessary for detailing the history of book studies at the WWU, but also helps to understand the trajectory of the field itself and how it has come to be what it is today.

Perhaps surprising to many current students is that one of the earliest ever digital humanities projects was undertaken by Prof. Spevack and his research assistants, decades before the term "digital humanities" had even been coined. Culminating in the nine-volume *A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare*, the work was later released as the single-volume *The Harvard Concordance to Shakespeare* in 1973. The project used card computing to make the works of Shakespeare electronically readable; but because the WWU did not have sufficient computer facilities at the time, work was done at the German Computing Center in Darmstadt, on a large-frame IBM 7094 computer. According to our own Dr. Marga Munkelt, who worked on the project, Spevack's *Concordance* "not only broke new ground for other computerized research in non-numerical disciplines but has also become, since then, a source and inspiration for electronic Shakespeare scholarship worldwide" (Munkelt).

It began, instead, in the 1950s, as a room with a large collection of antiquarian books and an unassuming sign on the door.

It is also through Spevack and his Shakespeare research that the university is in possession of a Hinman collator. The machine, a behemoth compared to today's technology, was used by Charlton Hinman in the 1950s to compare Shakespeare's First

3 The name, which was one of several, later dealt with some confusion caused by the popularity of the Erasmus student exchange program.

4 The Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalog was later named the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), and expanded its database to include works "from Caxton to 1800" (Jefcoate 147.)

Folio, published in 1623, and it "transformed analytical bibliography" (Suarez and Woudhuysen 793). The collator uses a system of flashing lights to allow an operator to detect variants between two physical copies of the same edition. If there is variation – say, because a printer realized and fixed a mistake mid print run or because of pirated copies – the differences appear to move, or dance, as a result of the flashing lights. Although the most famous Hinman collator is at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington D.C., Münster's collator is still in working condition and continues to be used in projects for the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities, with the purpose of creating critical editions ("Der Tanz" 4).

The other head at this time, Prof. Fabian, helped to create a new consciousness in European libraries about antiquarian books through decades of library cataloging projects. Go to the book studies library, a small but labyrinthine building located on Aegidiistr. 5, and in the reference room on the bottom right shelf – the entire bottom right shelf – is the 47-volume set of *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände* (Handbook of Historical Book Holdings). One of several enormous projects undertaken and supervised by Prof. Fabian, whose work over the years was funded by the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, *the German Research Foundation* and the *Volkswagenwerk* ("Zur Geschichte"), *the Handbuch* catalogs English books held in German and Austrian libraries, as well as German books held in non-German-speaking European libraries. At the time, these books were often shelved according to their individual topics, making the books difficult to find and thus separating books which had similar origin stories. To give an example of the ways books of varying genres could find their ways to different countries en masse, many English books found at the University of Göttingen printed before the 19th century arrived there through the university's connection to George II, a German, and the last foreign-born King of England (Fabian xi). The cataloging of books such as these necessitated contact with numerous libraries in Europe, no easy feat at a time when many European countries were part of the Soviet Union. Through his Handbuch, Prof. Fabian highlighted the value of cataloging and storing these types of books together, which resulted in important changes to library science. The five largest libraries in Germany – Berlin, Frankfurt, Göttingen, Munich and Wolfenbüttel – catalog their German-language books printed from 1450-1912 according to Fabian's concepts ("Max-Herrmann-Preis").

The research pursuits of Profs Spevack and Fabian are a testament to the fact that, although certainly an interesting and important part of the field, book studies is about more than looking back; it is also about moving the study of the book forward, with new research methods, practices and technologies.

Looking at an early printed book, it can be shocking to see how dark the black ink has remained on the page after hundreds of years

For students, Münster's own history with book studies was greatly changed by Prof. Dr. Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser, who began as chair in 1998. During her time as head, the institute was endowed with a new name: Institut für Buchwissenschaft & Textforschung (Institute for Book Science & Text Research), and research centered on English book history of the late Middle Ages and the Reformation, with Prof. Müller-Oberhäuser launching several funded research projects ("Zur Geschichte"), such as, to give just one example, "New Communities of Interpretation: Contexts, Strategies and Processes of Religious Transformation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe" ("Prof. Dr."). [5] However, it was Prof. Müller-Oberhäuser's development of book studies modules which were able to be integrated into new master's courses at the English Department – including a master's program in

5 Others include: "Das Buchgeschenk im englischen Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit", "Buchzensur und Büchervernichtung im englischen Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, am Beispiel der Ketzerbewegung der Lollarden und der Reformation", and "Das Buch als Waffe in religiös-politischen Konflikten: Gewaltdiskurse und ihre Vermittlung in England im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert" ("Prof. Dr.").

book studies and British, American and Postocolonial Studies – that made it possible for students to take structured courses in the history of the book for the first time. It is not an overstatement to say that book studies in Münster as we students now know it is thanks to Prof. Müller-Oberhäuser. She not only made courses available to students, but taught the majority of book studies courses before her retirement, also finding time for research; to publish numerous chapters and articles about courtesy books, female readers, book gifts, and many more subjects (Hötker-Bolte xi—xiii); as well as to supervise master's and doctoral student theses, something that she continues to do to this day. Moreover, Müller-Oberhäuser strengthened the institute through international connections. Cooperation with the University of Leiden's Book and Digital Media Studies master's program began in the year 2000 after a meeting between herself, Prof. Adriaan van der Weel from Leiden and Prof. Simon Eliot from London. The result of this has been numerous workshops and excursions between Münster and Leiden over the years. There has also been cooperation with the University of Turku, Finland, and closer-to-home connections, such as with the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz and Münster's own *Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies*,[6] headed by Prof. Dr. Hermann J. Real.

Upon her retirement in 2015, Prof. Müller-Oberhäuser was recognized with a Festschrift, titled *Material Moments in Book Cultures: Essays in Honour of Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser*. The contributors include esteemed colleagues as well as past students, who have become teachers and research assistants, received master's or doctoral degrees, and, in the case of Ulrike Graßnick, become the Chancellor of the University of Trier. These academic contributors are a testament to Prof. Müller-Oberhäuser as an instructor and to her influence on the field of book studies in Münster and beyond.[7]

In 2015, book studies was incorporated into the National and Transnational Studies Master of Arts program. Under the supervision of Dr. Simon Rosenberg, book studies at the WWU has continued, with courses on offer every semester. Collaboration with Leiden University has been maintained through excursions and student workshops, the most recent having taken place in 2018 at Landhaus Rothenberge and at which students from Leiden and Münster presented research topics. It was after this student workshop that two participants, Laura Ntoumanis and Natalia Tolstopyat, took up the gauntlet of starting a student-run journal, so that students of book studies and later the entire English Department could display their research and writing.[8] Other recent excursions include a visit to a printer's shop in Osnabrück and a shorter jaunt to the university's own Manuscript Reading Room to view a facsimile of the richly decorated Ellesmere Chaucer manuscript. Students are often invited to guest lectures on a variety of book-related topics, and the Book Studies Film Night, first spearheaded in early 2017 by then-student Erin Kummer, screens films and documentaries related to the study of the book.

The history of book studies at Münster has long been, and continues to be, interdisciplinary and collaborative, reaching across academic disciplines as well as oceans, finding itself in somewhat unlikely locations, such as East German libraries and, more recently, the strange realm of fanfiction studies by way of master's student theses. Considering this history, it is not unfitting that book studies is now part of two master's programs that ask students to think beyond national and research borders.

Many of the original antiquarian books belonging to the former institute have been integrated into the general library collection and can be

6 *The Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies* is an excellent resource for budding book historians interested in the works of Jonathan Swift, with the Centre holding many rare books, including "the world's largest reconstruction of Swift's library in identical imprints" ("About Us").

7 To read more about the early history of book studies at Münster as well as the establishment of a book studies master's program, see Müller-Oberhäuser 57–66.

8 This initiative was also inspired by Leiden's student publication, *TXT*, copies of which can be found in the book studies library.

recognized by their Institutum Erasmianum stamp. The current book studies library houses over 9,000 volumes, and, besides a few unique treasures (such as a second-hand book that was once in Mudie's Select Library), this collection mainly contains instructive books, with topics ranging from illuminated manuscripts to e-books. There are specific research areas addressed – library studies, bibliography, book illustrations and technologies of the book – but Dr. Marie-Luise Spieckermann, senior lecturer for book studies, advises that new students begin with the call number BH: book history. The section makes most apparent how intimately the book and society are intertwined, whether through book burnings and censorship,[9] or through Oprah's book club.[10]

In our own academic society, the book remains an important object, for study and also of study. A poll of students' favorite books in the book studies library provides a fittingly book-oriented conclusion in the form of a short bibliography:

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Bhaskar, Michael. The Content Machine: Towards a Theory of Publishing from the Printing Press to the Digital Network. Anthem Press, 2013.

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Houston, Keith. Shady Characters: The Secret Life of Punctuation, Symbols, & Other Typographic Marks. Norton, 2013.

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9 Try, for example BH 543:23 and BH 608:22

10 Found at BH 751:8 and BH 751:9.

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BookTube, Book Clubs and the Brave New World of Publishing

NATALIA TOLSTOPYAT

Electronic media have increasingly affected and transformed the landscape of reading experiences and the book-selling industry. The constant improvement of e-book technology and consistent increase of Internet accessibility have brought new opportunities for readers and publishers. Blogging, particularly video blogging (vlogging), has become an essential form of the media since the beginning of 2000. While the Internet is often blamed for a decline of literary sections across traditional media platforms (Briggs and Burke 300), it has also given way to online platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, and Twitter. Websites, such as YouTube, offer different ways of collaboration for individuals and businesses through active involvement with user generated content (UGC). Publishing is one of those business spheres that followed their target audience into new media and digital formats.

Since its beginning in 2004, YouTube has evolved into a digital video site with millions of viewers and billions of videos in its archive (Soukup 3). Many users go there seeking wider interaction opportunities, and book readers are no different. The Oxford English Dictionary defines a *YouTuber* as frequent user of this video platform, especially someone who produces and appears in videos on the site (OED). YouTubers now represent a sort of intermediary between customers and companies. This unique position allows for upward mobility through the YouTube platform, creating a new class of professionals within the entertainment industry. Originally, users of YouTube were interested in sharing opinions and experiences in video format. Over time, many of them have built a significant fan base. This in turn has allowed both users and the platform to generate significant advertising and sponsorship revenue. YouTube has now become one of the giants of mainstream media. It has evolved into a fully-fledged player in the entertainment industry and offers users the opportunity to actively engage with authentic UGC as creators or consumers. Publishers along with online and offline booksellers find an opportunity to "advertise to the max" on these platforms (Procter 148), such as by sending out copies of new books and requesting BookTubers and Bookstagrammers to publish reviews.

BookTube is the online reading community based on YouTube, and the vloggers who upload book-themed videos are called BookTubers. This article will describe structure and basic elements of the BookTube community using parallels between them and book clubs. As many BookTubers also share their content on Instagram, where the same community of book enthusiasts is called Bookstagram, this platform will also be referenced. For the sake of this article, the terms book club and reading groups are used interchangeably. Lastly, the partnership of publishers and BookTubers as active agents in the field of literary and cultural production will be examined.

BOOKTUBE

BookTubers are not simply people talking about books on camera; they are a unique society with a shared purpose and set conventions: "BookTube may sound like a root vegetable, but it's actually an incredibly vibrant community of people who vlog about books on YouTube" (Scott). They are united by a love of literature and books as physical objects. The role of a BookTuber is that of an endorser, someone who recommends books and shares their opinions in videos about the books they read. They tend to encourage and promote reading and literature using informal language, as if speaking directly with a friend or the viewer. Many, if not most,

BookTube videos fit into specific categories and follow established conventions. The descriptions below detail the most popular kinds of BookTube videos.

Book tags are challenges or games that establish a series of categories, usually with a general theme. The most popular tags are "my favourite genre books," "books to read in summer/spring/autumn/winter," "my unpopular book opinions," and "my reading habits." For each of these categories, the tagged BookTuber has to select a book or a series and explain why they have chosen it.

Wrap up videos are compilation videos of the books that each BookTuber has read during a particular time period (usually a month). They show each of the books, give a short summary, and share their opinions regarding the content, characters, plot, and the author's writing style.

Book hauls are the videos in which vloggers show their latest book acquisitions. They usually make these types of videos on a monthly basis.

Unboxing videos show a BookTuber opening the book package they have received from publishers, book stores, or book box subscriptions. Viewers can watch the package being opened and the BookTuber looking through its contents. Many subscription boxes come with related book paraphernalia, such as postcards, scented candles, toys, notebooks, etc.

Bookshelf tour videos feature the bookshelves of the vlogger. Here book enthusiasts explain and discuss different organisation principles of their bookshelves, like colour coordination or genre unity. These videos do not usually contain an opinion on or a review of the books, but simply show off the most favourite printed books that these vloggers own.

Reading marathons are challenges that any member of the community can join. There are two traditional versions of marathon, twenty-four-hour and forty-eight-hour, where vloggers take time off work and/or studies and dedicate this time to reading. They make short videos and then cut them into one large marathons review, where they share their impression and ideas while reading.

A reading diary is another example of book vlogging. It is usually filmed during a longer reading session (approximately 4-6 hours) and is a cut review of the highlights and impressions people get while reading. What makes it different from the impressions readers have after finishing the whole book is the immediacy of reaction to the content that BookTubers share. This aspect of BookTube could be interesting for researchers of book studies who look into reading experience.

A collaboration video features multiple contributors. Different BookTubers team up in order to expand the audience and produce new, varied content. They might go book shopping together, explore local book stores, or take part in games and challenges, all books-related.

Videos with *'top'* lists are also very popular. They feature compilations of best or worst reads of the year, favourite books of a particular genre, best book series, worst books in a category, or best books by a particular author. These videos often serve as recommendations on how to start reading an author or how to get into a particular genre. Just as reviews, top lists serve the aim of promoting reading expansion.

Reviews usually last less than 10 minutes and are narrated in an informal way, with a fast and dynamic rhythm, which is far from the traditional ways of performing literary criticism. Review videos on BookTube are structured according to their own conventions: the first part

Research of the mutual interest between BookTubers and publishers can shed light on reading experience in the digital age

provides a short overview of the book's general plot and may include reading of the synopsis on the back of the book; the second part includes a more detailed summary of the book, usually with spoilers, and the opinions of the reviewer.

BookTubers who have more than one thousand subscribers and an active channel may receive review copies from publishers.[1] BookTubers represent a new category of intermediaries, wherein social media content creation and marketing may become their professional occupation. In this case we see the transition from voluntary unpaid labour to a paid creative work.[2] Vloggers on YouTube are also dependent on their audience. Without audience participation, channels get buried in searches, and revenue streams from advertising and sponsorship dries up. This commercial pressure makes sceptical viewers question the reliability and objectivity of BookTubers, as well as authenticity of UGC.

Despite this, book bloggers of the YouTube community are not all about marketing or getting connections in the publishing world. This online community consists of a diverse group of readers and writers who share a passion for literature. Some book bloggers even go so far as becoming writers, for example, Sasha Alsberg, Lindsay Cummings, Christine Riccio,[3] or creating their own publishing company, like Ben Alderson from *Benjaminoftomes* channel did (Scheuerer). Alderson founded his own micro-publishing company that publishes about eight titles a year and specialises in young adult fantasy with LGBTQ characters (Scheuerer).

Another platform that hosts this online community of book bloggers is Instagram. It started as an image-only platform and has recently evolved into a platform with diverse functions: users can upload photos and post short texts, comment and write direct messages, and upload short videos called "stories" that will disappear twenty-four hours later. There is also IGTV, a television-like function that shows videos from users' channels. In addition, users can also stream live interviews and performances. This variety of functions allows Instagram to offer more creative opportunities to book bloggers.

> Instagram is filled with a community of readers – both people who post actively about books and those who follow along from periphery. Instagram allows a spectrum of readers to get involved at their own comfort level. People are so busy and Instagram is a quick and simple way to provide recommendations and find recommendations in return (Piazza 3).

Many talks and interviews between Bookstagrammers and publishers are streamed on this platform and they also allow viewers to participate in these conversations in real time. Furthermore, numerous publishers have their own Instagram channels that they use to inform subscribers about new books and upcoming events. In her Forbes article, Jo Piazza describes how Bookstagrammers – as new players in the field of book sales – work:

> Bookstagrammers help in that they get images of your book cover out there (and they make them look so pretty!), and readers need to see a book a couple of times, in a couple of different places, before they are inclined to buy it. (Piazza 1).

In this case, users of Instagram help publishers and booksellers with implementing a successful marketing strategy. However, marketing value aside, the motivation behind book-related UGC is more personal: it is about individual opinions, preferences, and sharing.

1 In this case books are free of charge and the blogger may have no obligation to make a positive review on their channel. There is still a possibility of paid contracts with reviewers, but confirmation of these deals is hard to come across as corporate data is involved.

2 For example, depending on the contract with the publisher, reviews made by BookTubers can be both paid and unpaid. If a YouTube based book blogger has many subscribers (usually more than 10,000), publishers may be interested in sending them review copies of their books.

3 Her Booktube channel *PolandbananaBOOKS* has 396,000 subscribers at the time of this article being written, one of the top book vloggers on YouTube.

BOOK CLUBS VS BOOKTUBE

The larger BookTube community is similar to book clubs or reading groups of the offline world. The first similarity between book clubs and the BookTube community lies in the prioritisation of reading as a form of entertainment. In *Reading Across Worlds*, Proctor and Benwell describe book groups as a "...borderline formation, replicating certain values and conventions of both professional and lay readers" (21). Reading in academia, or professional reading, has a different aim and approach to the texts. Such qualities of books as "entertaining" and "readable" often carry negative connotations for professional readers (150). For the so-called lay reader, reading is primarily a solitary activity that is pleasant and entertaining (21). BookTube and offline book clubs share this characteristic. The uploaded videos are closer to lay reading spirit in their style and content, as they primarily feature entertaining and pleasant reading content. Some channels, such as Book Riot, also attempt to exercise intellectual influences on the reading audience through challenges to read more diverse literature. They promote, for example, postcolonial literature, books written by women, literary works that feature LGBTQ characters, and literature in translation. In one of their posts the bloggers from Book Riot encourage readers to introduce postcolonial literature to their reading lists that support 'own voices' in literature:

Websites, such as YouTube, offer different ways of collaboration for individuals and businesses

> Maybe find a book about a colonized country written by a non-indigenous person and replace it with an #ownvoices title (especially if the book is about that Indigenous community).[4]

The second shared characteristic is audience participation. In a book club or reading group, all involved take turns to share their opinions and reviews with the rest of the group. It allows the participants to broaden their horizons and discover things they did not notice before in the discussed literature. In the case of BookTube, there could be hundreds of participants sharing their feelings and thoughts about the book. The BookTuber, therefore, takes the role of discussion leader. Many videos, especially the reviews, tops or recommendations, feature questions that invite viewers to comment and actively engage in conversation. Whereas traditional reading groups involve face-to-face interaction and discussion, BookTube interactions are predominantly text-based and mostly limited to the commentary sections of the platform. BookTubers also make reaction videos and mention each other's videos in their own.

The third characteristic is establishing group intimacy. Members of book clubs would normally be well-acquainted. The relationship between viewers and BookTubers, on the other hand, is more one-sided as viewers usually have more personal information about the blogger than the other way around. However, many famous BookTubers organise meetings in their home towns or during events such as book fairs, comic-cons, and conferences. There viewers can meet the bloggers in person and discuss books offline. Some BookTubers even arrange these meeting on a regular basis. These events increase the feeling of group intimacy, an important criteria for any community.

Despite these similarities, there are several differences between book clubs and BookTube. First, traditional book clubs generally have a smaller number of participants. The conditions of real-time discourse dictate the limited number of people who can join the discussion at once. YouTube, in this relation, has no limit because the viewers can react to the comments of others and the video content at any time. Online discussions involve typing rather than oral speech, which leads to a constructedness of exchange different from face-to-face communi-

4 Instagram post from October, 8th 2018 for #indigenouspeopleday with a call to "decolonize your bookshelf".

cation. In addition, the books in the videos are not always chosen by the members of the audience; they are instead usually the individual choices of bloggers,[5] who share their opinions after reading.

BOOKTUBE AND THE BRAVE NEW WORLD OF PUBLISHING

It is undeniable that in the 21st century publishers have to survive in a highly competitive environment (Thompson 2), striving to acquire both marketing and cultural influence over readers. The Internet is full of aggressive and omnipresent content marketing; therefore, readers are looking for something that is more authentic and personalised. Proctor and Benwell note that "[o]nline communities, in the form of book clubs and reading groups, help [authors and publishers] via an ability to reach an unprecedented number of people" (148). BookTubers and Bookstagrammers create the kind of content that attracts a high number of customers for businesses, helping publishers and booksellers to implement a successful marketing strategy.

In the expanding market, advertising must be reinvented again and again. Technological innovations and the expansion of the Internet and social networks also require development of new approaches to advertising. Before the period of new digital media dominance, publishers promoted books through events and presentations. The personality of the author also played an important role for promotion. It was a matter of bringing the writer to the public through interviews, public readings or book signings. Another form of advertising was through insertion in the media: publishers sent press releases to newspapers and radio and television stations. One more way of attracting buyers was through the exhibition of attractive books in shop windows. Although these methods are still in use, the propagation of the Internet has reinvented the advertising model. Now, with promotion through the Internet, the dissemination of a book through social media channels reaches a greater number of people than used to be reached through traditional channels/outlets.

> Future of the book and publishing consists of the adoption of practices, structures, and systems anchored in the Internet culture and more specifically in the Web 2.0 culture, in which transparency, communication, and collaboration are instituted in nuclear work formulae. (Cordón-García 158)

These practices include making comments, subscribing to channels, approving or disapproving of uploaded videos, giving ratings, communicating via direct messages, and creating more visual content in response to already existing videos.

This article only scratches the surface of the ways BookTube can influence publishing in the digital market. With its similarities to book clubs, YouTube offers readers an outlet for conversation and creative collaboration with each other, authors, and publishers, while also offering the latter a new way to talk to bibliophiles and engage with newcomers to the reading market. Further observation and research of the mutual interest between BookTubers and publishers can shed light on reading experience in the digital age, as well as uncover the tendencies and currents of the contemporary book market.

5 Some vloggers ask their viewers to choose the next book to read and review from the books they already have in their to-be-read pile. As an alternative, viewers come up with their own recommendation for reading and ask for the review.

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The Women's Prize for Fiction and Book Studies

SIMON ROSENBERG

BOOK STUDIES AND BOOK AWARDS

In 2005, the controversial novel *We Need to Talk About Kevin* by Lionel Shriver was published. It caused a major dispute, especially in the United States of America, since it addressed the sensitive issue of school shootings. Also shattering the last taboo of motherhood, as the British *Telegraph* put it, the novel tells the story of a mother who does not connect emotionally with her son and blames him for her failed career and marriage ("Controversial"). Although provocative in itself, it was the book's winning the "Women's Prize for Fiction" (WPfF)[1] which acted as a catalyst for the controversy. Not only did the novel now reach a bigger audience, but the prize obviously rewarded authors writing about shocking topics. Awarded to women writers since 1996, the prize had already been controversial for years at the time of Shriver's win and once again proved to spark gender debates.

Book Studies seems to be a good point of departure to discuss the WPfF and its controversies in an academic way. This discipline, once famously described as "interdisciplinarity run riot" (Darnton 67) nowadays engages in the production, distribution and reception of books, as well as with all possible influences, be they economic, political, socioculturel, religious or otherwise. In a more recent approach to illustrate the boundaries, but also opportunities, of Book Studies, Leslie Howsam offered a simple diagram, depicting the discipline as a triangle with the cornerstones 'Bibliography' (the primary focus on documents and objects), 'History' (focus on agency, power and experience) and 'Literature' (focus on texts and criticism) (Howsam 17). The diagram makes it possible to locate book studies-relevant topics within that triangle. Literary book awards would be accurately located somewhere in the middle. They are, ideally, all about the literary quality of the texts. However, the winners are selected by humans, who are rarely unbiased, objective judges. Consequently, it is not solely literary merit that wins books prizes. Moreover, as every bookshop visitor will have noticed, winning prizes has an almost immediate effect on the appearance of the winning book and sometimes even on the whole oeuvre of the winning author. Stickers or revised cover designs point to the fact that the author is a prize recipient.

BRIEF HISTORY OF PRIZE CULTURE

It is neither a surprise nor a secret that awards are used heavily as a marketing tool and hence influence reception on several levels. In the twenty-first century, prizes have become ubiquitous, and it is hard not to become cynical about them. Award categories can range from vital contributions to world peace to "Outstanding Hairstyling for a Single-Camera Series". Within this prize culture, it can seem like a rarity to not have won an award, making the whole awarding idea feel somewhat pointless. James F. English, however, in his seminal monograph about prize culture, warns about such a cynical view and claims that there is a logic to this proliferation of prizes.

The modern rise of cultural prizes was kicked off in 1901 with the creation of the Nobel Prize for Literature. As English states: "Announced in hundreds of newspapers worldwide, the Nobel seized the collective imagination with sufficient force on us and created a curious logic of proliferation" (28). Just a few years after the first Nobel cer-

1 To avoid confusion and for the sake of consistency, this article refers to this prize as WPfF, no matter which sponsor was named in the title.

emony in Stockholm, both the Goncourt and Femina literary prizes were founded in France. During the same time period, Joseph Pulitzer declared his intention to launch prizes to honour outstanding work in journalism and literature in the USA.

While the Nobel may mark the dawning of a new age in the history of awards, it needs to be stressed that cultural prizes have existed for millennia, dating back to ancient Greece in the late sixth century BC. Apart from that, more modern forms, such as those awarded by universities and royal academies from the seventeenth century onward, have always displayed a tendency to proliferate through imitation and differentiation (English 30). What occurred with the explosion of prizes in the twentieth century is quite remarkable and it involved considerable innovation on the part of sponsors and administrators. However, in their most basic ideas, these developments are consistent with long-standing cultural practices.

The most basic goals of literary prizes are their social, representative and cultural functions. They support the author and the awarding institution with symbolic, economic and cultural capital. At the same time, they promote and support language and literature of a specific region and/or cultivation of specific genres. Obviously, literary prizes vary in prestige and, even though there are no clear-cut categories, the factors that usually influence prestige are tradition, spatial concept, the economic endowment, the award ceremony, prestige of previous winners and the attention of the public and media.

An excellent example is the British (Man) Booker Prize, first of all, because it is one of, if not the most important literary prize in the United Kingdom. More interestingly, though, is that fact that there was no obvious reason why it turned out to become this flagship of prizes. Indeed, its initial years were rocky. Having studied the minutes of committee meetings and private correspondences of people within the sphere of the Booker Prize, English compared his findings with a black-box transcript of a crashed plane:

> [P]ublishers were threatening to stop nominating books; people invited to serve as judges were routinely declining to do so; Maschler insisted on acting like the chair of the management committee while the actual chair resigned; the Book Trust was abruptly brought in to assume administrative responsibility (though they had never administered a prize); and the sponsor, though committed to an initial seven years of funding, was already making sounds of an early exit.
>
> (English 112-114)

So why is it that the Booker Prize has become so important despite decades of scandal? According to English, this question is already the answer. He quotes Bourdieu, who stated that "scandal is the instrument par excellence of symbolic action" (qtd. in English 190). One thing that scandals produce is awareness, a necessary condition for sticking out and staying in business in a world filled with prizes. And the Booker Prize has had its scandals: From winners accusing the prize's main sponsor of having exploited their workers in a postcolonial framework (John Berger), to shortlisted authors demanding guarantees that they will win as a prerequisite that they show up at the ceremony (Anthony Burgess); From former jurors of the judging panel complaining about their fellow judges (A. L. Kennedy et al), to the complaint by media outlets that the shortlist was 'too readable' (2011). And only recently it was made public that the winner in 1986 was decided by the flip of a coin.[2]

2 In September 2018, the Man Booker Prize Foundation released a series of archival interviews that revealed that David Storey's novel *Saville* was chosen this way due to judges being unable to find a compromise (Flood).

HISTORY OF WOMEN'S PRIZE FOR FICTION

Another scandalous situation occurred in 1991, when the Booker shortlist consisted of Martin Amis, Roddy Doyle, Rohinton Mistry, Timothy Mo, Ben Okri and William Trevor. It was this shortlist that provided the impetus to create one of the most controversially discussed literary book prizes of the last twenty years. By being exclusively male, the above-mentioned list underlined the general pattern that female authors were, at least seemingly, neglected within the literary establishment. It is estimated, for example, that during the year of the infamous shortlist, about 60 per cent of published novels had been written by women. Despite this, not one woman made it to the shortlist of the most important British literary book award.[3]

The WPfF seeks to "celebrate excellence, originality and accessibility in women's writing."

A group of women (and men) working in the industry — authors, publishers, journalists, etc. — discussed the issue after the infamous all-male Booker shortlist of 1991. The conclusion was that women's literary achievements were often not acknowledged by the major literary prizes. To correct the situation and at the same time create awareness of it, an award was to be established that would be judged solely by and awarded to women. The entry rules were simple: Any novel written by a woman and originally published in the United Kingdom in English was eligible ("Rules"). The prize was planned to be awarded for the first time in 1994. However, public controversy was huge and criticism about such an undertaking was so fierce that the initial sponsor of the Prize, pen manufacturer *Mitsubishi*, allegedly withdrew its support after a column written by Simon Jenkins, former editor of *the Times*, called the prize sexist (Zangen 282). Two years later, with female but otherwise anonymous sponsorship, the prize was awarded for the first time. Helen Dunmore won the prize for her novel *A Spell of Winter* and took home 'Bessie', a bronze sculpture created specifically for the prize, along with the impressive GBP 30,000 prize money. In fact, this endowment made the WPfF the most lucrative prize for literary awards in Britain, with the Booker Prize lagging behind at GBP 20,000 and the Whitbread award at GBP 22,500. Some male authors felt left out and described themselves as victims of sexism, since their gender made them ineligible for such a lucrative award. Sales figures of *A Spell of Winter* quadrupled, and even the shortlisted novel *Spinsters* by Pagan Kennedy witnessed a decisive increase in sales, from 800 to 8,000 copies sold (Zangen 281-282). If the WPfF wanted to raise awareness for women's writing, then it certainly succeeded.

However, it soon became apparent that an anonymous private sponsor would not suffice in the long run. After all, supporting a literary award is more than paying the prize money. In the years to come, the WPfF successfully convinced cellular phone service company *Orange* to sponsor the prize. According to English, *Orange* invested a quarter million pounds annually for the first few years to cover expenses for various sorts of promotions, book club tie-ins and so on. Briefly changing its name to 'Orange Broadband Prize for Fiction' from 2007 to 2008, the prize had Orange as a main sponsor for over seventeen years. After that, the prize was solely sponsored by the liqueur brand *Baileys* for four years. Since 2017, the prize has been supported by a family of sponsors including *Baileys, NatWest, Deloitte,* and, beginning in 2019, global TV production company *Fremantle*. Instead of naming itself after one sponsor, the prize has been known as 'Women's Prize for Fiction' since 2018.

Creating a literary book award and restricting it to one gender, rather than one genre, language or country, was bound to be controversial. Even after the Booker Prize raised their endowment to GBP 50,000, it was still discussed whether the prize was, in essence, sexist, because it disregard-

3 This was not an isolated case where female participation was seemingly neglected in prize culture. The Booker Prize 1992 saw merely one woman on the shortlist, and the eventual winner was not one, but two men (Michael Ondaatje and Barry Unsworth). The first female Whitbread award winner was announced nine years after its inception.

ed men. In 2008, for example, Tim Lott wrote in *the Telegraph* that the WPfF is a 'sexist con-trick', stating that underrepresented groups among the winners of the two most important British book prizes, like white working class or disabled writers, do not have a prize for themselves. He concluded that the Prize was anachronistic and sexist and "it should be shunned — or, at the very least, mocked mercilessly" (Lott). Even though it might be only a little surprising to hear such a statement from a male perspective in a rather conservative publication, it was much more surprising to hear female voices also uttering fierce criticism about a prize that was established with a feminist agenda. A. S. Byatt, author of the novel *Possession*, made it clear that she would not wish for her works to be considered for the WPfF and stressed that this was her "deepest feminist emotion" since this prize would, in her opinion, ghettoise women. In a similar vein, and probably even more controversial, Germaine Greer, one of the leading voices of the second-wave feminist movement, stated her dismay. She sarcastically commented that soon somebody would found a prize for writers with red hair (Bedell). If the prize for women was being attacked by strong, female, feminist voices, something must have gone wrong.

CRUX OF THE MATTER: ACCESSIBILITY

Statistically speaking, roughly 40 per cent of all shortlisted authors of the Booker Prize from its inception in 1969 until 1991 were female, and 38 per cent of all Booker winners were female despite the fact that 60 per cent of published authors were women. Let us now assume that, rather idealistically, literary prizes are only awarded to truly superior literature (whatever that is). Following those two statements, logic dictates basically two possible explanations: First, women were being discriminated against. If this is true, then the WPfF works as a corrective measure by applying positive discrimination to create affirmative action and rectify a deeply sexist framework within the publishing industry. A second, much more controversial, explanation: Men are better writers than women. This statement, as misogynistic as it sounds, was the one given by A. S. Byatt.[4] Even worse, the juries of the first two years of the prize grudgingly had to admit that the overall quality of the novels entered by publishers were far from excellent. Two judges were quoted saying that many, mainly British, entries could be described as "abysmal," "obscene" or "self-obsessed" (Zangen 283). Was the prize proving that female writing was, in fact, inferior to men's writing?

At the core of this controversy about the WPfF seems to be one word: accessibility. Most prizes have a specific claim that sums up their chief goals. Whereas the Booker uses the words "fiction at its finest" to describe its intentions, the WPfF seeks to "celebrate excellence, originality and accessibility in women's writing." Obviously, "accessibility" does not refer to the level of difficulty in obtaining a copy of the novel. Rather, it comments on the readability of the text. Even though it would be a fallacy to assume that a hard, uncomfortable read is a sign for high literary quality, referring to readable, accessible literature was seen synonymously with low- to middlebrow reading that does not challenge the reader and sticks to rather successful formulas for bestsellers that can be enjoyed by a wide audience. It almost seemed like a contradictory claim. How can something be excellent and also accessible? The notion seemed to underline the tendency that women writers were unable to compete with serious male writing. Rather infamously, Dorothea Tanning's novel *Chasm: A Weekend* was allegedly not considered for the prize in its first year because it was not "accessible" enough. It did, however, garner rave reviews in various media outlets (Turner 2). Literary prizes can influence the literary field of cultural production, which is characterized by a highly dynamic structure consisting of processes of interaction and competition for certain positions within the field. The spectrum of literature could be divided into two extreme ranges: from "almost no audience and no economic profit" or "art for art's sake,"

4 It may be relevant, though, to state that she did win the Booker Prize before that statement in 1990.

to literature created for the mass market and hence primarily for economic profit (Bourdieu 121-127). Literary prizes can be important processes that act as agents within this field. Every institution that offers literary prizes actively influences the literary field of cultural production. However, in order for a novel to be eligible for a prize, the authors and/or their works must fit into a specific requirements profile: the laureate has to win the attention of the institution through their work. A consensus must be found between the author's work and the values and ideologies of the institution that awards the prize. This is necessary as not only the author is honoured but also the value orientations of the institution and its ideologies at the same time. Authors, literature and prizes do not work in a closed system. Using Darnton's idea of a communications circuit, it becomes clear that authors, publishers and readers are affected by manifold influences. Political and sociocultural developments not only shape literature but also the way literature is being received by the audience. Literary awards, deliberately or not, react accordingly. Anna Burns winning the Booker Prize in 2018, for example, could be regarded as a prime example. Though Burns predominantly wanted to write about living in Belfast during the times of the Troubles, *Milkman* can also be read as a comment on fake news, rumours, #metoo and Brexit. Whether or not the author had intended this is irrelevant. In the eyes of the judges, the novel is important because it comments on current, vital issues.

If awards are given to good literature, and good literature is supposed to comment on current issues, then the WPfF is an intriguing subject, through which Book Studies and Literary and Cultural Studies should work hand in hand to come to fruitful results. Whereas Book Studies can stress the history and mechanisms of the prize, follow and elaborate on the short- and long-term impacts on the winners, and also locate and distinguish specific frameworks of prize culture in general, Literary and Cultural Studies can shed more light on the literary quality of the awarded novels as well as locate the relevant topics that are discussed in those works.

It is not the intention of this article to answer the pressing questions that arise after having summarized the history of the WPfF. Rather, it aims to achieve two goals: First, to stress the relevance of the questions by (re)stating them clearly: Was or is there still a need for a Women's Prize for Fiction or is it indeed a sexist con-trick? Did or does it achieve what it was supposed to be doing? Does it create awareness without ghettoising women? And more generally: is there such a thing as "women's writing" and if so, what is it? Is the novel *We Need to Talk about Kevin* women's writing? Does it deserve an award with strong commercial clout? It seems difficult enough to ask the urgent questions and keep discussions about relevant topics going. In times of the #metoo movement (albeit not strictly a feminist movement) and feminists lamenting the fact that feminism has become too universal and hence inefficient and meaningless (Crispin xi), the discussion about the relevance of such a prize seems more urgent than ever. It would be foolish of Book Studies to claim it could offer enough input without reading the novels, as it would be foolish of Literary and Cultural Studies to ignore the interdisciplinary framework that Book Studies has to offer. It is the second goal of this article to help avoiding this foolishness.

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TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Film: A Motivating and Effective Medium for Teaching English?

Summary of a Master's Thesis on the Use of Films in English Foreign Language Teaching in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany

NATHALIE NAYLOR

With English being by far the most frequently taught foreign language in the German school system, English teachers have a special responsibility for ensuring their pupils' language learning motivation and preparing them for real life communication with native speakers of different linguistic varieties outside school (Diehr 62). Working with films is considered an increasingly appreciated means of achieving these aims: films are motivating and authentic media which are also relevant in the pupils' daily life outside school. In addition, films can be employed to promote different competences as well as the widely demanded film and media literacy that is called for by various institutions and associations in Germany such as the *Kultusministerkonferenz*[1] or the congress *Cinema goes School*[2]: In its 2012 declaration on media education, *the Kultusministerkonferenz* states that media education is part of the schools' teaching mission and thus has to be firmly established in German schools as an obligatory element of education (3, 9). Moreover, after the congress *Cinema goes School*, a statement on film literacy[3] was published that highlights that films must find their place in every context of teaching and additionally emphasizes the absolute necessity of integrating film education and film literacy into German school curricula, thus following the example of countries such as France, Sweden or Great Britain where films are firmly established in the school systems (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2).

> Knowledge about the pupils' perception and opinion on films can help teachers plan practical work with films in the English foreign language classroom in a more effective and pupil-centred way.

However, the use of films in foreign language teaching finds itself in an ambivalent position (Henseler et al. 6): the extent to which films are included in lessons still seems to leave room for improvement (Thaler 17), just as their integration in official regulations such as North Rhine-Westphalian syllabus guidelines (Henseler et al. 24; Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (MSW NRW), "Kernlehrplan 2007"; MSW NRW, "Kernlehrplan 2014").[4] Furthermore, although there are resources for teachers to lean on,[5] much of the practical implementation is left up to them and can be rather demanding due to a variety of challenges such as Engelbert Thaler's five conflicts: time, language, reception, goal and

1 The *Kultusminsterkonferenz* ('the conference of ministers of education') is a national political assembly of the ministers of education, research and culture from all German federal states.

2 The congress *Cinema goes School (Kino macht Schule)* was organized by the German *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung ('*federal centre for political education*')* and the *Filmförderungsanstalt* ('federal film board') in 2003.

3 The statement on film literacy is originally named *Filmkompetenzerklärung.*

4 Syllabus guidelines is used as an equivalent for the German *Kernlehrpläne.*

5 Internet resources (as proposed, for instance, by Donaghy), teaching models for specific topics (that can have "serious shortcomings" (Real 28ff.)) and practical manuals (such as the manual by Solte) provide general or film-specific (methodological) recommendations for the use of films in the English foreign language classroom.

technology (29). In this context, personal interest in working with films during English lessons, the desire to get a deeper insight into this topic as well as the experience that films were a largely marginalized medium during the researcher's time as a pupil determined the decision to conduct a study on the use of films in the English foreign language classroom.

A continuous look at the use of films in foreign language teaching is of special interest for several reasons. Not only do "teaching methods and teaching material change as technology evolves" (Fjällström 2), but it can also take some time before regulations or general changes have visibly entered teaching practice. The practical use of films in English foreign language learning and teaching has been discussed in theoretical academic discourse. Furthermore, diverse studies have been conducted across the globe. Most of these aim at evaluating the effectiveness of films and subtitles for learning English, especially in a university context. In studies on films in English lessons in schools, the primary focus seems to have been on the teachers' perspective, while not taking the pupils' perspective into account. In her study, Virve Ruusunen experienced "that the teachers were not sure about the [pupils'] opinions. Perhaps the teachers have not asked for any feedback for using [films] or they have not had the time to analyse how [films] really work as a teaching tool" (90). Thus, she considers the pupils' point of view interesting for further research (Ruusunen 91).

Learning about the pupils' perception of foreign language lessons and their opinion on the methodology as well as having them judge the effectiveness of teaching for the development of diverse skills and competences can be highly illuminating and very valuable. Knowledge about the pupils' perception and opinion on films can help teachers plan practical work with films in the English foreign language classroom in a more effective and pupil-centred way. Equally, this knowledge might facilitate dealing with or even overcoming the challenges films pose for foreign language lessons. Therefore, this study primarily investigates the practical implementation of the use of films in the English foreign language classroom from the pupils' perspective. In addition, the teachers' perspective is included in order to allow for a deeper understanding of the issues raised.

As no existing studies for North Rhine-Westphalian secondary schools or the pupils' perspective were found,[6] the main research question in this study is: **How do pupils in *Q1* courses in North Rhine-Westphalian secondary schools experience, perceive and evaluate the use and methodology of working with films in the English foreign language classroom?** This main research question is broken down into the following, more detailed sub-research questions, primarily based on the reviewed literature and taking into account different learning conditions in *Q1* English courses:

1. What role do films (in English) play in the pupils' everyday lives?
2. How do the pupils experience the frequency with which films are used in English lessons?
3. Are films in English lessons motivating from the pupil perspective?
4. Are films in English linguistically challenging for the pupils?
5. Are subtitles a helpful support for the pupils and how do the pupils view their use in English lessons?
6. Which approaches for viewing films in English lessons do the pupils prefer?

6 In Germany, there are different types of secondary schools: *Gymnasium, Gesamtschule, Sekundarschule, Realschule, Hauptschule*. Only *Gymnasien* are relevant in the study. The school years *EF* (*Einführungsphase,* literally introductory phase), *Q1* and *Q2* (Qualifikationsphase 1 und 2, literally qualification phase 1 and 2) are the last three years of a German secondary school of the type *Gymnasium* after which the pupils take the German *Abitur* exams (equivalent to A-Levels). These three school years constitute upper secondary school (German *Sekundarstufe* II or *Oberstufe*). Pupils are usually aged 15 to 18. The German abbreviations *EF, Q1* and *Q2* are used in this article. For *Q1* and *Q2*, pupils can choose two advanced courses (*Leistungskurse*) in which they are taught considerably more lessons per week and thus get a more in-depth education. All other courses in *Q1* and *Q2* are basic courses (*Grundkurse*). In the EF, pupils only have basic courses.

7. How do the pupils experience film analysis and the use of film adaptations in English lessons?
8. How do the pupils evaluate the effectiveness of films in English lessons and in their free time for improving and promoting linguistic and intercultural competences as well as film literacy?
9. Do the pupils' perspectives differ dependent on whether they are enrolled in basic courses, in advanced courses or in bilingual education programmes?
10. Do the teachers' responses correspond to the results of the pupil survey and identify challenges connected with the use of films in English lessons?

METHODOLOGY

In view of the study's motivation and aims, a number of concrete considerations determined the selection of the study population. As the North Rhine-Westphalian syllabus guidelines reveal that it is solely in upper secondary school that not only extracts but also entire films are to be covered (MSW NRW, "Kernlehrplan 2007"; MSW NRW, "Kernlehrplan 2014"), the study was carried out at this level. Moreover, choosing the oldest year group available was considered most beneficial so as to ensure that the pupils had the maximum exposure to films in English lessons. Furthermore, it was assumed that the older the pupils are and the more experience they have with films in English lessons, the better they can consciously reflect upon film teaching practices, or their skills and linguistic capabilities, and the more confident they are in voicing their own opinions. Since it was clear that the *Q2* students would have already left school before the study could take place in June 2018, it was conducted with pupils and their teachers in the second oldest year group, the *Q1*. A study in the *Q1* (in contrast to the *EF*) offered the additional possibility of comparing basic and advanced courses. Moreover, it was considered most useful to include the teachers of the respective *Q1* courses as they might illuminate the pupils' responses, therefore giving a deeper insight into the topic.

Finally, the study was conducted at four North Rhine-Westphalian secondary schools of the type Gymnasium, two rural and two urban area schools. One rural and one urban school offered bilingual education programmes that differed slightly. This, however, should not have distorted the results. The study population consisted of 247 pupils in total from six *Q1* basic and seven *Q1* advanced courses. In sum, 135 pupils from advanced courses (54.66 percent) and 112 pupils from basic courses (45.34 percent) took part in the study. 18.22 percent of all pupils took part in bilingual education programmes[7]. Altogether, the sample consisted of 152 girls (61.54 percent), 93 boys (37.65 percent) and two pupils who did not specify their gender. The pupils were between 16 and 20 years old, on average 16.89 years old. The teacher sample consisted of eight teachers from the four schools. Five teachers were female, three male. They were between 25 and 60 years old, most of them 40 to 45 years old (n = 3). Four teachers instructed a *Q1* basic course, four teachers a *Q1* advanced course.

For the study, a cross-sectional design, "the collection of data on *a sample of cases* [...] at *a single point* in time in order to collect a body of *quantitative* or *quantifiable* data" (Bryman 53, emphases in the original) with low "personal involvement of the researcher" (Balnaves and Caputi 65), was most suitable for gaining an authentic and broad account of many pupils' perspectives on the current state of film teaching in English lessons. A quantitative research method, namely a survey in form of questionnaires for pupils and teachers, was chosen for the operationalization of the research question(s) for several reasons (Balnaves and Caputi 76f.; Bryman 149; Schirmer 116, 183): "Questionnaires are particularly useful if you want to know something about the incidence of some behaviour or the opinions,

7 All pupils enrolled in bilingual education programmes were advanced course pupils.

beliefs or attitudes of large numbers or groups of people" (Langdridge 67), an aim of the study, and they assure anonymity which can lead to more open and honest responses (Schirmer 182f.).

GENERAL RESULTS, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The results of the study suggest that films are overall suitable media to draw a connection between pupils' everyday lives and English lessons. However, the degree to which pupils are used to watching films (or media) in English varies. Although the pupils' experiences reveal that films are not used frequently in English lessons, which tends to dissatisfy them, films in English are generally perceived as motivating authentic media. They are regarded as being not too linguistically challenging for *Q1* pupils and slightly 'better' than working with books. Subtitles are considered both irritating and helpful although pupils mostly do not need them. This corresponds to their view that usually English subtitles are seldom to never used in upper secondary school. Watching a film as a whole without interruptions is the pupils' preferred approach and, in combination with their slight aversion to accompanying exercises, suggests that they prefer free-time viewing habits for school. Tendencies indicate that films are sometimes used for entertainment purposes only and that working with a film is still neglected compared to working with the corresponding book. The pupils' responses, however, do not create a clear picture of the extent to which the apparently existing goal conflict between entertainment and learning is an issue. Nevertheless, most pupils perceive films in English as helpful devices for improving linguistic skills, for promoting intercultural competence and, to a slightly lower degree, for furthering film literacy.

Watching a film as a whole without interruptions is the pupils' preferred approach

In sum, although the pupils' perspectives are quite individual, patterns can be detected relating to their enrolment in basic and advanced courses or bilingual education programmes. For instance, advanced course pupils watch a larger share of all media and films in English in their free time than basic course pupils. Additionally, basic course pupils generally agree less than advanced course pupils to having improved or acquired certain skills, competences or knowledge through films. Moreover, subtitles irritate advanced course pupils in bilingual education programmes most and basic course pupils least – a fact which could be connected to their language proficiency. All in all, the study's findings highlight that the use and the effects of films in English foreign language lessons in *Q1* courses in North Rhine-Westphalian secondary schools are similar to the general situation described in academic discourse and in studies conducted across the globe. The research gap could be illuminated to some extent and the expected differences between the courses and programmes were empirically verified in the course of the study[8].

For teaching at school, the results suggest that most conflicts and challenges connected to working with films in English lessons can be solved or counteracted when teachers know about their pupils' perspective and can take their course-specific, programme-specific and maybe even individual needs and wishes into consideration. However, one should not forget that the single aspects investigated in the study regarding work with films are not to be seen in isolation: their interconnection determines how pupils experience, perceive and evaluate film teaching practice. Nevertheless, the teachers' perspective reveals that one conflict prevails: time. The general prerequisites of teaching, an insufficient representation of films in syllabus guidelines and their apparently low relevance for final exams govern the possibilities

8 Due to the scope of this article, the theoretical background as well as the study's results and their discussion are presented in a very condensed and exemplary form. Additionally, some elements of the original Master's Thesis such as the study's methodological discussion are not touched upon.

of working with films. In combination with the pupils' desire to watch films more often and in their entire length, the time factor stays a challenge that is not to be underestimated. In the long run, it remains to be seen how the use of films evolves – whether they gain more importance in official regulations for schools or whether shorter audio-visual media are 'the next generation' due to their length and possibly growing popularity in pupils' everyday lives. This would be an additional starting point for future research on the use of films in the English foreign language classroom.

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Nathalie Naylor was born on 24 December 1993 in Neuss, Germany. After having been brought up bilingually in German and English, she studied English and French at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster between 2012 and 2018 in order to become a teacher for *Gymnasien* and *Gesamtschulen*. During her studies, she spent a semester studying at the University of Tours, France, followed by a short school internship, and completed two voluntary internships at schools in Montpellier, France and Norwich, England. In August 2018, Nathalie Naylor was awarded the degree of Master of Education (M.Ed.) by the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster.

CREATIVE WRITING

Creative Writing at the English Department of WWU Münster

This short introduction to the Creative Writing Section in the inaugural edition of *Satura*, to which this group is very happy to be able to contribute, is meant to provide a short background on our work and on how this section came about.

The Creative Writing Group began working together early in summer semester 2017. Many students with different backgrounds, both Bachelor and Master, have come to our meetings since then, but soon about ten participants joined our meetings regularly. Every three weeks the group met for ninety (extra-curricular) minutes, always beginning with half an hour of reading a short text together as an inspiration for the following half hour of writing in the group. Reading as writers, we discussed texts by Rachel Cusk, Grace Paley, John Keats, and others. We also looked at each meeting's text in terms of a particular topic, such as history or 'the everyday'. There were and are no rules; participants mostly write short fiction and poetry. During the final half hour, participants who wished to receive feedback read aloud what they had just written, and the group offered comments. Very often, we were amazed at how varied and immediately successful the responses to the text and our discussion about it had been. The group also met during the breaks; after our first summer semester together, we held a workshop on characterisation.

During the summer semester 2018, the English Department very generously funded a Creative Writing Class, for which we are very grateful. In this class, the group was able to work intensively on the revision process that is central to creative writing as well as on many aspects of the writing process, such as note-taking, research, or, of course, the role of reading. Many inspiring insights emerged especially from the collective revision process of the texts compiled here and more specifically from the authors' exchange with the group's feedback in their rewritings. We also continued to hold writing-generating meetings of the type described earlier. We no longer used texts as writing prompts, but different 'materials' such as fabrics or bodily movement. In our discussion and exploration of the revision process, we worked on two sets of texts in the course of the semester, both of which are printed in the following.

Part 1 is the result of a task the class explored in summer semester 2018. A story by Lydia Davis, *The Dog Hair* (2014), which consists of 91 words, including the title, was one of the set texts. We discussed this 'short short story', a type for which Davis is quite famous, and as a response, every student wrote his or her own text – not necessarily prose – with a maximum length of 91 words. The class then worked collectively on the revision process, since every student was expected to provide feedback on all of his or her colleagues' texts throughout four to five revision stages.

Part 2 brings together pieces by each writer that the authors selected individually. Several of the pieces originated in one of the meetings of the Creative Writing Group, for example *Dead Ends*, which was created as a response to a striking Zombie fabric during the meeting in which the class worked with fabrics, or *Awakening*, which engages with Ali Smith's story *Writ* (2008), in which the teenage self of the adult narrator arrives as a character so the two can have a conversation. The texts in this section were subject to the same collective, multi-stage revision process as the pieces presented in Part 1.

Sigrun Meinig

Complementary opposites, as seen

Horse – noun. four-legged mammal, strong fight-or-flight-response, young horse – called foal – can stand and run shortly after birth, domesticated since 4000 BC, at least 48 published synonyms.
Quicksand – noun. a colloid hydrogel that consists of sand in water. Chances of survival are high. Just stop moving. The fluid has a higher density than an animal's body. Once you stand still you will float.
Nighttime – noun. daytime that is cast in unbounded darkness, flooding every corner; – and then your echo, floating on windowpanes.

Gesine Heger

Dating

Silence.

Sips.

Leaning away, his growing awkwardness builds a wall plastered
in her previous utterances.

How odd, she thinks.

Anja Keil

Gulliver

I got caught in the rain today. I didn't have an umbrella. I laughed, because he had one of Brobdingnagian proportions the day we buried you. It was yellow, and I could see it over the hedges, bouncing up and down, marking the earth where you rest. I thought it was ridiculous, but I didn't care. There was no difference between the rain and my tears. Now he is gone, too. It is why I hate yellow, but not the rain.

I wish I had an umbrella.

Laura Ntoumanis

Atrax

Her kitchen sink is clogged. Call a professional, now, her flatmates command. When the plumber arrives in a murky overall she thinks of warthogs and blushes. Then, when heavy work is underway, she observes a robust spider toiling its way up the plumber's right sock. Recognizing its fangs, this time she beams. Finally, the plumber withdraws webs of words and grunts that this tragedy can't be repaired. The sink, she knows, is saturated with Greek sins, hidden acts and whispered sketches of escape. She will wait. And again smoothly create.

Jessica Sanfilippo-Schulz

Carnivore

You swiped it all and were gone. From one day to the other. From the rubble of our past to the cleansed slate of our future. *Breathe easy, start afresh. Relieve yourself of your cluttered mind.* Torn tickets and signed postcards and scribbled notes. Words of yearning and words of blame, tangled in curtains, crept into cushions, stacked between books. The decorative wreckage of a whole life faded into this, four walls, emptied shelves, fuzzy white hairs on the ground. You've got nerve. To take the damn dog.

Svea Türlings

Train Ride

His kisses still embrace her lips while she sits by the window. Sun rays, like warm fingers, caress her face, stroke her hair gently. Then, a shrill sound startles her ears, reminding her to change trains. The warmth escapes her body as soon as she leaves the compartment. Reaching the next platform, her eyes are drawn to the rails. Lies driven by commitment are waiting at her destination.

The next train arrives and bustling silhouettes rush out. Others try to enter. "Goodbye," she whispers to them.

Anja Ziejewski

Driftwood

I move in a current of people rushing through a busy winter street. Nearly washed away by elbowing woolen coats, I take a deep breath. A foam-born figure captures my gaze. Her pearl-guarded gestures hold the promise of shelter. As everyone around her moves even faster, she seems to defy the existence of time altogether. Just as I think she will never notice me, her eyes meet mine. Anchored by her radiance, I float in the gleam of this strange lighthouse.

Dorit Neumann

Just Kidding

You're an idiot. Laughter. Didn't mean it. Not that way. Clearly. No offence taken. Keep the conversation going.
I'd never do that. How absurd. Who would. Relatable lies. Who wouldn't. Cover up social anxiety. Don't mind it.
I hate my mother. Just kidding. Freud. From complexities to complexes. What an easy transition. Running gag. Sneers. Go on please.

Purpose is a prosaic myth for sleeping at night; intention is a drug to chase away the ghosts of dishonesty.

What did you mean?

Do you care?

Alisa Preusser

Newspaper Clipping

You mind elaborating no not at all it's like uhm such a chance for me y'know honestly who's to say it won't be possible who's to say it won't be my place my time my space I grow into slowly smartly stuff the whole the gaping mouths of your hair with cheese and salt the gashing gasp of your pride you hide so perpetually we gather neckbitten scrambling to pry I would like to uhm thank you for your space.

Corinna Wolters

Arachne

I despise the highest
gods of wounds and
parting flesh between my eyes
arranged anew

The tantalizing tiredness
seen of the brittle boned
mankind I leave behind
my eight-legged fury

Comb with limping finger
the riven shell of hands
curled up to caress
a wanness round my neck

Corinna Wolters

Aries

My brother died today.
A silent death for a melodious life
Morpheus held him tight.
Grief spills through every
word.
Every gesture.
Every look.
I know it will always be there
sometimes visible
often hidden, its sharp-edged fingers
clawing at my heart.
Melancholy could swallow me whole.

This is not life for the living.
I remember best
how he brought music into my life
how he never lost his passion
how he carried me downstairs
on Christmas morning
how he ran away from home
leaving his dirty running shoes
as a talisman
on our back porch.

My brother died today.
I hear him in the birds.
I see him in the trees.
I feel him in the rhythms
that swell around me.
He could charm the world
with his instruments
like that musical Argonaut
who lulled the Sirens.
Orpheus, hear me now.
Embrace my brother
as he plays among the Muses.

Laura Ntoumanis

Yourself

Open me
I promise nothing
but I give everything that you are.

As I take you in
you wander through rooms
where there is no one but yourself.

On a journey
through seas of ink and storms of words
In a space
filled with screaming silence

You go astray
and meet fragile monsters
nameless creatures of your heart.

Emerge, yourself.
Your footsteps
Charcoal fingerprints on your mind.

Alisa Preusser

I Wonder

In
between
the sheets
I've found the words
smoothly sharpened lead
astray
in covers

Will they hold
all that the I promises myself
or will they give away
too much
these bold letters
I want to write on
how I walk on
ground
edgy
smooth
soft
curvy lines
on skin
just like in ancient times
the rise of the irregular
the form a mystery
even
to myself

I
wonder
Do your thoughts wander
off close to mine
the pendulum swing
in full motion
no matter
how I keep my fingers
the earth draws circles

and meanwhile under your finger
tips my world

Gesine Heger

Banquet

When I open the door, the fresh air soothes my cheeks. Shaking, I enter the balcony and let myself fall onto a grey chair that used to be white once. I lift my head and look into the sky. Here, walls and ceilings are non-existent. Only the railing surrounds me, its rods are protecting me from the height. They let the summer breeze through and I feel it caressing my skin. I close my eyes. Now, black suits surround me. I follow the coffin in which your body lies. My feet are moving my body, directing it through the graveyard, while I am blinded by tears. I open my eyes again. Dark clouds hang above the green avenue in front of our home. The summer breeze flows through the gowns of the lime trees lining the street. It looks like it is going to rain. I stretch out my bare arm and expect to feel some drops. But there are none.

My face turns to the living room. Women and men, dressed more darkly than the clouds could ever be, sit at the table. Eating heavily, drinking heavily and remaining silent. A black frame presses them together, each black spot is glued to its own place. Watching that frame makes my stomach ache. I stare at the sky again and sigh. It feels like burning flames are licking my guts. The ache seems to suck all the blood out of my face and limbs. The only thing working properly is my heart. I feel it pumping against my sickness. What did you feel the moment yours stopped?

I inhale the summer air deeply in an attempt to ease my mind. I barely notice how the balcony door opens. He steps onto the green carpet that is spread over the ground. Its gaudy colour fails at imitating grass. The carpet lacks leaves, I think, and bugs to sit on them. My cousin sits down on the second chair, which is covered with unremovable grey spots. He takes out a cigarette and lights it. His black shoes are pointing in my direction. He leans forward and rests his elbows on his knees. I watch how my cousin's lips suck the white roll, allowing the nicotine to enter his body and flow through his veins. He bows his head and releases the stress through his mouth. I take a look at my arms and notice that they are still shaking. The cigarette does not seem unpleasant to me.

My cousin lifts his head and looks at me. "The fresh air feels good, doesn't it?" he says. His words sound familiar but my mind translates the message only slowly. Eventually, I nod, powerlessly. "I can't wait until the banquet's over," I whisper. I expect my cousin to smirk at me in agreement. Instead, he moves closer to me and touches my shoulder. We do not move for a while. A bird's singing fills the silence.

My cousin seeks a more comfortable position and leans back in his chair. Hot ash is falling from his cigarette and burns tiny holes into the carpet beneath our feet. I take a look beyond the railing. I watch the summer breeze climb into the green lime trees' gowns. It is shaking up some leaves but the pigeons do not seem to mind. Gently, they coo and remain still on their branches. Do you remember how the birds' voices woke us on weekends? And then we used to observe them and we imagined climbing on the rooftop and jumping over to them. The wind would carry us, softly, like it carries the birds. But now you are gone. I look at my cousin, who is still smoking. The blurry smoke partly covers his face. He seems to be lost in his thoughts as much as I am. I glance at the living room. The frame has not moved. My mind is forming a sudden wish. I want to stay on this balcony forever. Talking, smoking and daydreaming. Maybe smirking. I turn to my cousin. What would he say if told him what was on my mind?

My cousin moves again. He gets up from his greyed chair and straightens up. After his lungs have consumed all of the nicotine from the cigarette, he puts it out. The cigarette butt lights up for a moment. Then it fades away in the ashtray and leaves a grey little pile. My cousin leaves the balcony without sharing another word. I watch him enter the living room and move towards the banquet. He takes his seat in the portrait. Elegantly, his body adjusts to the black frame. As I take a closer look, my eyes are desperately seeking for my cousin's consoling shape. But I cannot recognise him anymore. Some of the people are still drinking. Black sleeves reach for glasses. Mouths sip from drinks, hesitating. But the eating has stopped. The tablecloth is not covered with dishes anymore. It seems like the banquet is almost over.

The cleared table urges me to go inside. I should at least shake some hands and embrace some relatives before they leave. Yet I refuse to follow my cousin. I am glued to my chair, unable to move. While the sky gets darker, the birds are seeking shelter. I notice how their small bodies make the leaves rustle. Immediately, I miss their singing voices. Their melodies allowed me to reminisce about the stories you used to tell. I recall one hot summer day. We went outside and lay down on the cool earth. Leaves of grass left prints on our soft skin. You could imagine the wildest adventures. And I would listen with excitement. I remember your lips were so close to my ears, I felt your warm breath inside them. How I would love to hear one of your stories again. But I cannot relive them now. The cool air makes my body shiver. I long for the summer breeze to still soothe me. But all I sense is the harsh wind forcing me to move my limbs. I get up and peer through the window into the living room. Shadows are floating on the floor in the dim light. My shadow is going to join them. My head turns in order to take a last glance at the empty chairs. The way they stand there unsettles me.

Anja Ziejewski

Apoptosis

I breathe you in. Hundreds of pieces of you. Skin and hair and spit and sweat. Your cells, they mingle with mine. They tumble in the hollows of my nose. And then down, deep, where my lungs unfold. It's a dance of DNA. You linger when we part, I take you with me. On my lips, under my nails. Where I go, you go.

What is it that singles you out? Is it that face, that frown, that frequency in your laugh that reminds me of an intimate past? They say we strive for the familiar. I walk blindly along the furrows of your skin. I don't trip, I know my way. Eyes closed, never ask what keeps them shut.

Or is it that mix, that one unique combination of C and G and T and A, some sugar in between? We, combined, the greatest genetic weapon. Survival of the fittest, Baby. Who cares if you even want it. Who will believe you if you don't. It's natural, it's within you, you'll see. It's out of our hands, decision made.

Or else, who knows, mere chemistry. Love at first sniff. Oxytocin when you stroke my knee, dopamine when you grip my arm. I want more. Heart beats fast. Brainstem on fire. Give me more, yes, make me happy. We're feral. How long can we get each other high?

We're reduced. Skin and hair and spit and sweat. No more thoughts in our pretty little heads.

Svea Türlings

Awakening

The alarm of my phone pulls the blanket of sleep away, violently. I sigh. Slowly, I peel back the warm duvet and courageously place my feet on the cold floor. Good morning, tiredness. Coffee, I need coffee. Another day of work gets in my way before I can embrace the much needed weekend. I bet you know what I am talking about. When I finally slip out of my apartment, I try to make as little noise as possible. Giving in to small talk with my neighbours would definitely make me arrive late for work. Even if I wasn't running late – talking to neighbours? No thank you. If it wasn't for the occasional petting of their dogs, I would probably never have a conversation with them. I rush onto the crowded train, trying to take up as little space as possible. No eye-contact, no body-contact, no anything-contact. I pass the same old buildings, crowded stations and people, half-awake, as every day. Later at work, the same old desk awaits me, nearly tipping over because of all the piles of papers and folders. The weight of a couple more paper clips or staples would break the whole Pisan construction. Observing my co-workers dragging themselves from desk to printer to coffee maker and back, I ponder how I ended up here – in a grey office, filled with grey people and a tiredness that seems to cling to the walls like dust.

At the end of the day I stumble back onto the train and let myself fall into an available seat, hoping that no one will sit down beside me. I stare out of the window into the darkness and can think of nothing more than my warm bed, the relief of sleep. Out of the corner of my eye I notice a motion in front of me and as I turn my head, I see a small child looking at me with large, curious eyes. The child tries to climb over the seats and struggles to pull herself up the back with tiny hands. Just as I move to face the window again, the child begins to smile. But not only does she smile, she smiles at me, her gaze locking with mine. Before I can even help it, I smile back. Then, the curious face disappears as the mother pulls her child back down onto the seat. I stare at the now empty space above the seat. Only a few more minutes are left before the train will stop at my station. All of a sudden, a tiny, soft hand reaches out to me between the seat backs. I hesitate. What does this child want? The hand is followed by friendly, questioning eyes. Slowly I reach out my hand and the child closes her warm fingers around it. A big smile appears on her face as she keeps holding on to me. I let her. The next thing I know, I have arrived at my station and must leave. Gently I pull back my hand and get up. With a last glance at the child I exit the train. She waves goodbye.

Without noticing "I want to be a grown-up" becomes "I never want to grow up" becomes "I wish I was a child again." We go from being raw beginners with all the courage in the world, from wanting to become superheroes and firefighters, afraid of nothing but maybe the dark or the closet or the neighbour's dog, to grown-up versions of ourselves in dark ties and high heels with printers and coffee mugs to go, not afraid any more of the dark or the closet or the neighbour's dog, but unable to say hi to a stranger in the street and afraid of asking the person we just met to come and spend time with us. When we realize at last what we lost on the way, we cannot seem to find it amongst the piles of bills on the desk and the stacks of dishes in the sink.

I won't be a sleepwalker any more. I will start my awakening by taking my neighbours' pets out for a walk and letting them guide me to places I never knew. I will build little shelters out of sticks and leaves for bugs to crawl under at the side of the road. Or I might just chase pigeons pecking on the sidewalk until they fly up, like I used to when I was younger. From now on, I want to try and live a little more like Alice and allow myself to tumble down unknown rabbit-holes from time to time. I will lie on the sofa and let my head hang upside down. I will look at my room and all the furniture and plants and dishes and bills turned upside down, dangling from the ceiling.

Dorit Neumann

Dead Ends

Die, I want to go now you said,
eyes almost blind, big blots of grey,
ailing in a hospital bed.
then raging carry me away!
hearing pain, I thirst for colour,
sick, so sick of this long anger.

Attached to your strings years ago
now there are fresher cloths to sew.
dressed, for the first time I say no.

Blood-soaked statues bid me to stay,
I flee again I'm the outcast.
roaring newborn tears point my way
to where I once gave birth. At last
here I grasp that life never ends –
Selfishly, the strain just begins.

Jessica Sanfilippo-Schulz

Striving, Halls

My soul wanders through halls of ideas,
Softly touches rotten reveries
paraded on chandeliers
And carefully confirms each one still exists.

My soul floats on paths
delineated by dreams, delayed.
But it does not find what it wants
For every path seems to vanish where it strayed.

Meanwhile, my head stays in the same place
In your ten square meter chamber of what ifs
That are barricading every exit.

Dimmed lights flicker on paintings
Of people I encountered before.
Daily affairs, unconscious motions
Immortalized under scrutiny.

Words once seemed to open the gate,
Now patrolling in solicitation
They invite me to regress in your compliant simplicity.

Somewhere outside
Infinitely, my soul roams every aisle,
While I stay detached from my heart's Versailles.

Anja Keil

ANJA ZIEJEWSKI

• *1st of September 1994
• October 2013 – October 2018: Master of Education, University of Münster (subjects: English and Educational Science)
• since November 2018: teacher training Bezirksregierung Münster

ANJA KEIL

Anja Keil, 22, is a B.A. student of Biology and English. Her research interests in biology lie within the field of female reproductive autonomy, while her interest in English Literature focuses on American and Postcolonial Studies, as well as creative writing. She is currently working as a teaching assistant at Vassar College, New York.

GESINE KATHARINA HEGER

I've grown up with the most reliable alarm clock to be found in the backyard: the early-morning cock's crow gave me ample time to deal with, which I used by reading several books simultaneously – it just made things easier, not having to decide which character I'd allow entering my room (first). Primary school brought about fist fights (boys) and football games (boys), and, to entertain the girls, writing skills. Soon afterwards friends and I started writing serialized novels on floppy disks. We dreamt about publishing them and how we would wear fancy hats for the festive ceremony. My professional writing career came to an abrupt end when, at the age of 9, we got a new computer that had a DVD drive but couldn't read the outdated diskettes. Somehow the writing continued, though. These are the first pieces that leave my notebook.

LAURA NTOUMANIS

Laura Ntoumanis started her university life as a Music Business major while working in public relations for a music venue in Nashville. Luckily, she came to her senses and switched to English literature before it was too late, leaving the music industry far behind and ensconcing herself in Arthurian romance instead. She worked on the staff and was a frequent contributor to the *Belmont Literary Journal* of her alma mater, thus fortifying her love for insane projects involving the written word. She has had her poetry published in the *Old Hickory Review* (Nashville, Tennessee) and *Poetalk* (Berkeley, California). Together with Natalia Tolstopyat she is a founder and chief editor of *Satura*.

JESSICA SANFILIPPO-SCHULZ

Jessica Sanfilippo-Schulz is a TCK and accordingly her research interests currently focus on narratives which reflect transcultural childhoods. Her scholarly articles have appeared in *Open Cultural Studies, Postgraduate English and Transnational Literature*. Shortly she will be starting a PhD programme at the University of Leeds (School of English), where her PhD project will be supervised by Dr Jay Prosser and co-supervised by Professor John McLeod. In the meantime, Jessica is enrolled as a guest student at the WWU, where she is taking part in Dr Meinig's creative writing courses.

CORINNA WOLTERS

Corinna Wolters studied German and English Studies at the University of Münster. Her Bachelor's thesis "Between Fur and Sword: Gender Anxiety in Franz Kafka's *The Metamorphosis"* (Zwischen Pelz und Degen: Geschlechtsunbehagen in Franz Kafkas Die Verwandlung) discussed gender disorder and the resulting gender anxiety in the novella and other selected works of the same author. She has entered the first semester of her Master's Degree in "Cultural Poetics of Literature and Media" (Kulturpoetik der Literatur und Medien) at the same university. Her areas of research include feminist, gender and queer studies.

ABOUT THE CREATIVE WRITERS

DORIT NEUMANN

Dorit Neumann studies Anglistik/Amerikanistik and Sociology at the University of Münster since 2015. She plans on continuing her studies at the English Department after she finishes her Bachelor programme.

ALISA PREUSSER

Alisa Preusser holds a Bachelor of Arts in English Studies and Mathematics from the University of Münster. As a second-year postgraduate student, she pursues the Master of Education and the Master of Arts in British, American and Postcolonial Studies in Münster. While she took a feminist approach to the pastoral worlds of Shakespeare's comedies in her Bachelor thesis, her current research focuses on spatiality and spatial practices in contemporary indigenous and postcolonial literatures, including conceptualisations of border spaces and border crossings. Since the summer term 2017, she has also been part of Dr Meinig's creative writing class.

SVEA TÜRLINGS

Svea Türlings studies English and Music at the University of Münster. She is currently writing her B.A. thesis discussing genre and gender conventions in William Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. Her research interests include Shakespeare, Gender and Queer Studies and contemporary British literature.

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and to Corinna Lenhardt for her advice on publishing journals in print and in digital.

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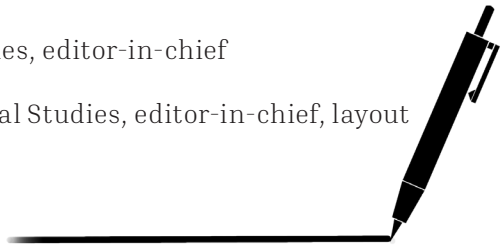

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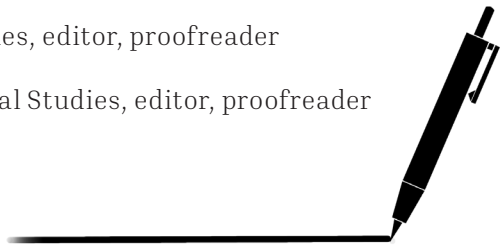

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