

# The ESSE Messenger



In this Issue:

Articles by ESSE Doctoral Symposium (Mainz)  
Participants  
Book Reviews



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## ESSE Doctoral Symposium (Mainz)

The annual Doctoral Symposium organised by ESSE started in 2012 with the aim to provide a platform for young scholars to present their work and receive feedback. The Symposium is open to PhD students who are writing their theses within the field of English Studies and are at least in the second year of their doctoral studies at the time of the application for the Symposium.

The present issue gathers five papers by participants at the ESSE Doctoral Symposium that took place at Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz (Germany) on 29th-30th August 2022 within the 16th ESSE Conference. The three strands of the Symposium (English Language and Linguistics, Literatures in English, and Cultural and Area Studies) are represented in the issue.

# Enhancing EFL Students' Motivation Using the ARCS Model

## The Case of Tunisian University Students

Bochra Kouraïchi

King Khalid University, SOAS University of London

**Abstract.** An abundance of research suggests that motivation is important for foreign language learning. However, fewer studies have focused on the effective use of motivational strategies by EFL (English as a Foreign Language) teachers. Keller's (2010) ARCS (attention, relevance, confidence, satisfaction) model addresses the gap between L2 motivation theories and classroom practice with a focus on four categories: attention, relevance, confidence and satisfaction. The present research seeks to investigate Tunisian university EFL teachers' use of motivational strategies (MotS) (Dörnyei 2001) and the extent to which their students find them effective. It also explores the difference between teachers' reported use of MotS and their actual motivational practice. To answer the research questions, the Instructional Materials Motivational Survey (IMMS) questionnaire (Min and Chon 2021) was administered with students and teachers, and the Motivational Orientation of Language Teaching (MOLT) scheme was used for classroom observation (Guilloteaux and Dörnyei 2008). Quantitative and qualitative methods were employed for the data analysis. The present study is expected to make methodological and pedagogical contributions to the Tunisian educational context.

**Keywords:** motivational strategies, English as a foreign language, ARCS model, EFL teachers, Tunisian higher education.

### 1. Introduction

Motivation is arguably the most studied variable in learners' individual differences (IDs) studies. Dörnyei (2005) advances that all ID variables are related to the study of motivation as "it provides the primary impetus to initiate L2 learning and later the driving force to sustain the long and often tedious learning process" (65). This is primarily relevant to adult foreign language learners who choose to learn the language and often endeavor to reach a good proficiency level for a personal or a professional aim. Research on L2 learning motivation is quite prolific; however, studies on teachers' use of MotS remain scarce (Lamb 2019). In this context, the present study aims to explore the use of MotS by EFL teachers in Tunisian universities as well as students' perspective towards employing these strategies.

#### 1.1. Background to the study

L2 motivation research has gone through three main phases: the socio-psychological phase, the cognitive phase and the socio-dynamic phase (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015; Dörnyei and Ushioda 2021). The social psychologists were primarily interested in learners' attitudes towards the second language and its speakers, as well as their motives for learning it. In the 1990s, there was an educational shift and theories began to focus on the learning context and not just



on the learners themselves (Al-Hoorie 2017). Later on, the conceptualization of L2 motivation has changed from being viewed as a fixed personal trait to being theorized as a dynamic construct that is bound to temporal and contextual changes. Based on Keller's (1983) theory of motivation in terms of interest, relevance, expectancy and satisfaction, Crookes and Schmidt (1991) proposed a model with four components: (1) the micro level, which includes the "motivational effects on the cognitive processing of SL stimuli" (483); (2) the classroom level, which deals with motivational techniques; (3) the syllabus level; and (4) a broader view that takes into account "considerations relevant to informal, out-of-class, and long-term factors" (483). In this vein, Dörnyei (1994) put forward a tripartite model of L2 motivation that concerns three levels: the language level, the learner level and the learning situation level. Ushioda (2013) urges L2 motivation researchers to focus more on "teacher- and classroom-focused empirical studies to investigate how teachers' instructional and interactional practices contribute to shaping processes of motivation in their classrooms" (237). This view was supported by Dörnyei's (2001) process view of motivational teaching that informs teachers on the motivational strategies (MotS) that they could employ to enhance learners' motivation. Prominent longitudinal research in Hungary led to the theorization of this process-oriented view (Dörnyei 1994; Dörnyei and Ottó 1998; Dörnyei 2001). Dörnyei's (2001) process model with 103 micro-strategies was designed based on the results of the study by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998). This model of L2 motivation conceptualized motivational teaching in four main phases: (1) creating the basic motivational conditions; (2) generating initial motivation; (3) maintaining and protecting motivation; and (4) encouraging positive retrospective-evaluation (Dörnyei 2001). This taxonomy initiated a surge of studies on the impact of motivational teaching practices on promoting student motivation (Dörnyei 2020). In this context, combining both researchers' and teachers' perspective of motivation, Csizér (2020) puts forward the following definition of L2 motivation as "an interactional process which subsumes effort and persistence to learn a foreign language and which is co-constructed by teachers and students alike" (2020, 11).

According to Cohen and Henry (2019), student motivation can be enhanced in a conscious manner "by employing principled methods, it is possible to generate motivation and to channel it in positive directions" (175). One practical way teachers could promote their students' motivation is the use of MotS. Guilloteaux and Dörnyei (2008) define MotS as the "instructional interventions applied by the teacher to elicit and stimulate student motivation" (57). Lamb (2017) points out that enhancing student motivation fosters extra effort in studying throughout the course, yields even higher results, and possibly even carries over to subsequent study periods. Besides examining how teachers employ MotS, students' perception of MotS is equally important (Lee and Lo 2017). Numerous studies zoomed in on the use of MotS by English teachers, most of which were conducted in high school contexts in countries such as Hungary (Kouraichi and Lesznyák 2022), Taiwan (Cheng and Dörnyei 2007; Guilloteaux 2013; Guilloteaux and Dörnyei 2008), South Korea (Maeng and Lee 2015), Japan (Sugita McEown and Takeuchi 2014), Saudi Arabia (Alrabai 2016), Iran (Tavakkoli, Yaghoubinejad and Zarrinabadi 2018) and China (Wong 2014; Yang and Sanchez 2021).

There have been calls for language motivation studies that target the learning context per se and explore students' language learning experience (Csizér and Kálmán 2019; Csizér 2020). The ARCS (attention, relevance, confidence, satisfaction) model draws on motivation theories and instructional design models (Keller 1983, 1987, 2010) to connect the theory and practice divide. Maeng and Lee (2015) suggest that the ARCS model “offers a comprehensive picture of motivation, including both teachers and students, theory and practice, and broad components and detailed constructs of motivation” (26). Along these lines, Csizér (2020) adds that the ARCS model offers teachers clear recommendations on how to motivate their students. Keller's (2010) ARCS model has four main categories, with three sub-strategies for each (see Table 1). Attention-getting strategies seek to stimulate and maintain learners' attention and interest. They include perceptual arousal, inquiry arousal and variability. Relevance-producing strategies accentuate the relatedness of the instruction to learners' goals. They are divided into goal orientation, motive matching and familiarity. Confidence-building strategies boost students' confidence for success in learning the content and completing the assignments. They comprise learning requirements, success opportunities and personal control. Satisfaction-generating strategies allow students to “have feelings of satisfaction with the process or results of the learning experience” (Keller 2010, 46). They include intrinsic reinforcement, extrinsic rewards and equity. This model has been applied in various contexts as well as different fields, among which is foreign language teaching (Li and Keller 2018).

Categories	Sub-categories	Guiding questions for teachers
Attention-getting strategies	Perceptual arousal	What can I do to capture their interest?
	Inquiry arousal	How can I stimulate an attitude of inquiry?
	Variability	How can I maintain their attention?
Relevance-producing strategies	Goal orientation	How can I best meet my learners' needs?
	Motive matching	How and when can I provide my learners with appropriate choices, responsibilities and influences?
	Familiarity	How can I tie the instruction to the learners' experiences?
Confidence-building strategies	Learning requirements	How can I assist in building a positive expectation for success?
	Success opportunities	How will the learning experience support or enhance the students' beliefs in their competence?
	Personal control	How will the learners clearly know that their success is based upon their efforts and abilities?
Satisfaction-generating strategies	Intrinsic reinforcement	How can I provide meaningful opportunities for learners to use their newly acquired knowledge/skill?
	Extrinsic rewards	What will provide reinforcement to the learners' success?

Categories	Sub-categories	Guiding questions for teachers
	Equity	How can I assist students in anchoring a positive feeling about their accomplishments?

Table 1. ARCS categories in detail from Keller (2010).

## 2. Methodology

A thorough review of the literature has shown that there is little research on EFL motivation in Tunisia. In this context, the present study involves both teachers and students through a model that was not applied in the Tunisian context before and it aims to take both students' and teachers' perspectives on the use of MotS. This study aims to answer the following research questions through a mixed-method approach:

1. What are the MotS that EFL teachers in Tunisia employ?
2. Is there a significant difference between students' perception of MotS and their teachers' reported use of MotS?
3. What is the relationship between teachers' self-reported use of MotS and their classroom practice?

### 2.1. Research context

Multilingualism is part of Tunisian history and identity (Daoud 2001, 2011; Aouina 2013; Boukadi and Troudi 2017; Smari and Navracsics 2019; Smari and Hortobágyi 2020). The first language in Tunisia is Arabic. The Tunisian dialect contains a lot of code-switching with French, which is the second language that is taught in state schools starting from grade 3. English language classes are introduced in grade 6 and continue until university as a compulsory subject. French is also the language of instruction of scientific subjects at high schools and later at university level. Subjects in humanities and social sciences are still taught in Arabic. Only two universities use English as the language of instruction and are accredited by the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research in Tunisia.

Sociolinguists have argued that there is a 'rivalry' between French and English in Tunisia which calls for considering English as an L2 (Battenburg 1997; Daoud 2011). Despite the global spread of English nowadays, French continues to be the first foreign language widely used in Tunisia. Veltcheff (2006) proposes that French is part and parcel of Tunisians' daily life as it is used in humor and media, besides education. She further suggests that depending on people's social class, code-switching could be considered a continuum from Arabic dotted with French to French dotted with Arabic.

### 2.2. Participants

The data collection procedure was carried out during the university year of 2021-2022 at different Tunisian universities. The whole data collection process spanned nearly two semesters, starting from September 2021 and ending in May 2022. A call for teacher participants was open in the fall semester when the pilot

study was conducted. Then in the spring semester, the main data for this study were collected. During the data collection period, classes were held in-person and masks were compulsory in classrooms. Heads of English departments were contacted via phone or email and written or oral consents were obtained before the data collection.

Convenience sampling followed by snowball effect was employed to recruit teachers. The study used Facebook and groups of teacher associations in Tunisia to recruit teachers willing to participate. Colleagues later spread the call to involve more participating teachers. A total of 46 teachers of English (see Table 2) from nine universities across Tunisia answered the questionnaire while nearly the half agreed to take part in classroom observations. Student participants and teacher participants were then contacted at the beginning of the spring semester.

Number of teachers	Gender		Age	Years of teaching experience
46	Female	Male	28-59	1-35
	42	4		

Table 2. Teacher participants.

Student participants were recruited from different universities (see Table 3 below). However, for logistic reasons, most of student respondents were eventually from one university. A total of 264 undergraduate students were recruited (English majors: N = 248 and non-English majors: N = 16). All participants were Tunisian from public universities. Questionnaire administration for students was both online and, in a pen and paper format.

<b>Gender</b>	Male	57
	Female	171
	Other	2
<b>Age</b>	Less than 20 years old	23
	20-24 years old	193
	25-30 years old	9
	More than 30 years old	3

Table 3. Student participants.

## 2.3. Instruments

### 2.3.1. Questionnaire

The instructional materials motivational survey (IMMS) was originally designed by Keller (2010), following the four main categories of the ARCS model. For the aims of this study, I used the adapted version by Min and Chon (2021) that was validated in a study in South Korean high schools. The main difference between the original questionnaire and the one developed by Min and Chon (2021) lies in

the degree of explicitness in the wording of items. They also designed a teacher version of the same questionnaire to report on the use of MotS. The adapted version includes 40 items that follow a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The first part collects participants' demographic information including their age, gender, university and years of teaching experience (for teachers). The teacher version requires participants to report their use of MotS while the student version asks respondents to evaluate their teacher's motivational practice.

For each ARCS category, 10 items are randomly listed. Below are some examples:

- Attention (e.g., teacher varies teaching materials or presentation style, when necessary).
- Relevance (e.g., teacher clearly explains the relevance of the lesson to what I already know).
- Confidence (e.g., teacher tells us about what I will be able to do after successfully completing the lesson).
- Satisfaction (e.g., teacher shows personal interest when I work hard or when I complete an assignment successfully).

### 2.3.2. Observation

Classroom observations were conducted following the motivational orientation of language teaching (MOLT) scheme, designed by Guilloteaux and Dörnyei (2008). It is based on Dörnyei's (2001) motivational framework as well as Spada and Frohlich (1995) observation scheme. It records minute-by-minute teachers' motivational practice through 25 MotS that fall under four main categories: encouraging positive retrospective self-evaluation, activity design, participation structure and teacher discourse. Students' motivated behavior is reported in terms of their alertness, volunteering and engagement.

All classroom observations were done during the spring semester of the academic year 2021-2022 (February 2022). A total of 21 face-to-face classes were observed. They were given by 21 (18 female and 3 male) teachers from different universities who taught different classes (language, culture, literature). Only 4 teachers were teaching English for Specific Purposes (ESP) classes while 17 taught English majors. Given the relatively large number of observations scheduled in a short period of time and the different universities involved, only one class observation could be scheduled per teacher. Although the class lasted one hour, the observation of the main lesson took only 45 minutes.

## 3. Preliminary results

### 3.1. Questionnaire results

Exploratory factor analysis was run on SPSS to check the validity of the questionnaire. A total of 27 items loaded on 4 factors with the KMO = .89. These 4 factors explained 53.88% of the total variance. Following Meyers, Gamst and Guarino (2017), factors were identified based on the questionnaire items and

informed by the ARCS model. The first factor was labelled as confidence-building strategies, which included 10 items ( $\alpha = .88$ ). It accounted for 20.08% of the variance in the data. The second factor accounted for 12.14% of the variance in the data and included 7 items labelled as relevance-producing strategies ( $\alpha = .76$ ). The third factor, accounting for 11.87% of the variance, had 7 items that were labelled as attention-getting strategies ( $\alpha = .81$ ). The fourth element accounted for 9.77% of the variance with 5 items that were labelled as satisfaction-generating strategies ( $\alpha = .77$ ). The reliability of each factor was calculated using Cronbach's alpha. The overall reliability alpha values as well as for each ARCS scale indicate satisfactory internal consistency of the questionnaire.

The first research question aimed to identify the MotS that Tunisian EFL teachers use most as they reported in the IMMS questionnaire. The mean scores for the ARCS strategies show that teachers deploy confidence-building strategies the most, followed by relevance-producing strategies, satisfaction-generating strategies and attention-getting strategies.

Rank	ARCS Strategies	Mean	SD
1	Confidence-building strategies	4.12	1.33
2	Relevance-producing strategies	4.09	1.22
3	Satisfaction-generating strategies	4.01	1.49
4	Attention-getting strategies	3.80	1.34

Table 4. Teachers' MotS.

For the second research question, teachers and students' answers were compared through an independent samples t-test. There were significant differences between students' perception of MotS and those of the teachers ( $p < 0.05$ ) for all ARCS categories. Teachers' scores were still higher than students' scores for all ARCS categories and did not follow the same frequency order (see Table 5).

	Mean scores		T-test*
	Students (N=264)	Teachers (N= 46)	
<b>Attention-getting</b>	2.72	3.80	.00
<b>Relevance-producing</b>	3.39	4.09	.00
<b>Confidence-building</b>	3.30	4.12	.00
<b>Satisfaction-generating</b>	2.95	4.01	.00

\* $p < 0.05$

Table 5. Teachers and students IMMS results.



### 3.2. Observation results

To answer the third research question, teachers' questionnaire results were compared with their classroom observation. For each class observation, the average frequency for each teacher's motivational behavior was calculated. These scores were converted to standardized z-scores on SPSS and were later compared with standardized z-scores from questionnaire results (for more details, see Kouraïchi and Lesznyák 2022). Following Kouraïchi and Lesznyák (2022), the MOLT categories were categorized following the ARCS strategies. The MotS observed were then compared according to the teachers' questionnaire answers.

The MOLT observation results indicated the dominance of relevance-producing strategies, namely establishing-relevance, scaffolding, process-feedback, self or peer-correction. Some motivational strategies were totally absent such as promoting integrative and instrumental values, team competition, personalization, tangible task product and promoting autonomy. The comparison of z-scores for each teacher highlights discrepancies between questionnaire and observation results. Some teachers scored below the mean during the observation while having a score above the mean for the questionnaire. This result indicates that teachers' use of MotS during the observation were not the same as reported in the questionnaire. Other teachers scored negatively for both the classroom observation and the questionnaire. Their negative z-scores could show how they negatively estimated their motivational teaching practice. Scores of teachers with higher observation results indicate that they used more MotS during the observed classes than they usually do.

## 4. Conclusion

This research is a continuation of a research line presented at the Doctoral Symposium of the ESSE conference in Mainz 2022 and offers preliminary results of my dissertation (Kouraïchi 2023). The preliminary findings suggest that teachers reported using confidence-building strategies the most through their questionnaire answers. On the contrary, observation results showed that teachers relied on relevance-producing strategies the most. The findings report a significant difference for all ARCS categories. The strategies highlight the importance of the learned content to students and activation of their background knowledge (Maeng and Lee 2015). Compared to the Estonian context, confidence-building strategies were similarly the most used (Kouraïchi 2025). Moreover, results from Hungarian high schools suggest that satisfaction-generating strategies were the most important (Kouraïchi and Lesznyák 2022). For higher education, the importance of these MotS lies in forging students' confidence to use English after graduation. Adult students might be less influenced by rewards or care less about the ultimate result. The finding that students do not recognize the MotS used by their teachers resonates with previous results (Min and Chon 2020). In line with these findings, Lamb (2019) suggests that although both teachers and students value the importance of MotS, "teachers do not use them as frequently as one would expect from their stated importance, and when they do, students do not always recognize them" (295). In fact, students' perception of the MotS proves not just their importance but also their effectiveness.

L2 Motivation is inextricably linked with emotion since students' anxiety or enjoyment are a vital part of the classroom experience. This could be highlighted during the classroom observation. In addition, students' willingness to communicate was explored through another questionnaire to identify their L2 motivational self-vision that was not included in this paper. It would have been interesting to examine the difference between English majors and non-English majors in terms of the way that they evaluated the use of MotS. However, this was not possible because of the small number of ESP participants. Difference between female and male student participants' perception of MotS could also yield insightful results since few studies have focused on gender and L2 motivation (Henry and Cliffordson 2013). It should be mentioned that recruiting teachers for classroom observation was the most challenging part in the data collection. Although my presence might have influenced teachers' and students' behavior, there was no possibility for a second observer given the sanitary measures put in place and the time constraints during the collection of data.

In brief, this research aims to throw light on Tunisian EFL teachers' use of MotS and university students' evaluation of their teacher's motivational practice. The emerging findings echo with previous studies (Cheng and Dörnyei 2007; Ruesch, Bown and Dewey 2012; Tavakoli, Yaghoubinejad and Zarrinabadi 2018; Karimi and Zade 2019; Hsu 2020; Min and Chon 2021; Kouraïchi and Lesznyák 2022). The current study attempts to contribute to the scarce research on language learning motivation in the Tunisian context and provide practitioners with practical techniques to enhance students' motivation in the EFL classroom.

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# An Examination of British Modernist Literary Patronage

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**Abstract.** Part of a larger ongoing dissertation project, this article presents an application of patronage studies' methodology, namely Helleke van den Braber's (2021) model of post-romantic patronage, to selected British modernist patrons—Lady Ottoline Morrell and Lady Sibyl Colefax and the writers that they supported. It examines all the elements of van den Braber's model—the patron, the artist, the artwork and the public—as they interacted in relationships of patronage in the first four decades of the twentieth century. Thanks to the critical perspective offered by sociologists of art, especially Howard Becker and Pierre Bourdieu, who are among the central theoretical voices consulted in this article, it illustrates how modernist writers entered a complex exchange of capitals in order to escape the demands of the mainstream literary market. Besides commenting on the role of commodification in the modernist literary market, this article contributes to understanding of the conditions under which literary works are written, their value is influenced and notions of authorship and creative agency are problematised when a patron is involved.

**Keywords:** patronage, modernism, art worlds, field of cultural production, Ottoline Morrell, Sibyl Colefax.

## 1. Introduction

The argument of Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* (2014), first published in 1929, is generally accepted and the work is hailed as the pinnacle of the author's non-fiction, although the implications that it carries are almost never thought out in their most straightforward and material form. Due the perceived “ideological contradiction between art and money” (Wexler 1997, xii, 16), it might feel counterintuitive and somewhat “blasphemous” to consider the question of finances when studying the authors of the high modernist works. Many share the attitude of D. H. Lawrence, who, echoing Woolf's (2014, 112) proposed “five hundred a year” has written: “This money business disgusts me. I wish I had two hundred a year, and could send everybody to the devil” (Lawrence 1956, 354). With Hogarth Press at her disposal as a means to disseminate her work and the work of a few selected others (Lee 1997, 352, 440), as well as income from journalism (556-562), Woolf could afford what Lawrence desired. The path that he and other modernist writers less fortunate than Woolf had to navigate to create their work, however, offers an interesting insight into the dynamics of modernist cultural production.

The few studies of economic aspects of modernist work interested in these dynamics manage to map the relationship of “cultural [...] and economic modernity” (Comentale 2004, 6) and even correct simplifications about the modernists' relationship to publishing culture (Wexler 1997) but tend to disregard the role that personal patronage played in this period either altogether or view it only along the lines of material support. Alternatively, other studies favour a quantitative approach and thus fail to capture the intricacies of

interpersonal relationships governing patronage (Crozier 2022). An application of a methodology deeply rooted in patronage studies to the modernist creative milieu allows us to look for the real, often non-monetary, costs of production and to appreciate Lawrence Rainey's (1998, 3) claim that in its opposition to mass culture, modernist writers do not resist commodification but ratcreate "commodity of a special sort."

A primary argument for the inclusion of patronage in consideration of literature can be found in Howard Becker's seminal work *Art Worlds* (1982). As a sociologist of art, he shines light on the context in which artworks are created and the influence of the factors involved. Becker's main thesis emphasises that, far from a work of individual genius, artworks of any kind are dependent on a network of people contributing to their final form—the manufacturers of the materials used, patrons, sellers, critics, scholars and so on. Each factor—material as well as social—shapes the final outcome (1-2). Such an argument follows the postmodern turn of appreciating the Other, as well as questioning the myth of the romantic genius. More importantly for this debate, it raises questions about the pre-eminence of modernist individual creativity since it is a reminder of the involvement of various other people in the production of magna opera such as T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* or James Joyce's *Ulysses*. It is the latter work which Lawrence Rainey (1998, 7) takes as an example in his own study of modernist (non)commodification:

If *Ulysses*, as is often said, is the archetypal narrative of modernism, it may not be an accident that its two male protagonists spend their day not in aimless wandering about the city of Dublin, as is often reported, but in a tireless search for patrons and patronage [...].

In theory, the technological developments that transformed the literary field and publishing at the end of the nineteenth century and brought about the "modern times" should democratise the field of production and establish a literary meritocracy in which everyone talented enough and working hard, no matter from what background, could find a publisher and earn a living this way. As Rainey (1998, 1) discovered, among those sharing this sentiment was also Charles Dickens:

"Literature has turned happily from individual patrons, sometimes munificent, often sordid, always few, and has found there at once its highest purpose, its natural range of action and its best reward." "The people," Dickens concluded triumphantly, "have set Literature free." And in return for that gift of liberty, he opined, "Literature cannot be too faithful to the people."

If such a release did come, it certainly was not in a way that would be wholly satisfactory. As it is the case with the market in capitalist societies (Connor 1996, 13-27), profit-driven decision making took over and forced the publishers to seek more works to satiate the demand at the price of lower quality. Naturally, profits ensued, but not every artist was willing to subscribe to such policy. The particularities of this period are described in the works of Pierre Bourdieu, whose importance for this article and patronage studies in general has already been echoed in the terminology of the previous lines.

It is precisely Bourdieu's (1993, 48-50) *The Field of Cultural Production* which proves to be a central text in understanding the more practical side of modernism:

[...] writers are [...] condemned to have an ambivalent attitude towards sales and their audience. They tend to be torn between the internal demands of the field of production, which regard commercial successes as suspect and push them towards a heretical break with the established norms of production and consumption, and the expectations of their vast audience.

Considering that reputation is the true currency of modernism, not money (Jaffe 2010), it is understandable why modernist artists identified individual patrons as the "lesser evil" which prevented their works from vulgarisation and, seemingly, from commodification which would stem from having to go through the mainstream publishing process. That a different cost would have to be paid became apparent only once the relationship was underway.

It is important to understand that the nature of patronage is different from the way it is traditionally described and understood in the works of Kent and Simons (1987), Sinclair (1990) and Brown (1993), to name a few. The renaissance figure of a mighty individual patron, or the Parisian *salonnière* of the eighteenth century are associated with a practice that would not stand to scrutiny in the eyes of the avant-garde artists. Understanding the role that reputation and appearances played in these circles, modern, post-romantic patrons have attempted to obscure the business-like nature of patronage, which was apparent in its more traditional, commission-based forms of support (van den Braber 2017, 46-47).

These modern post-romantic patrons had to adopt disinterested airs which would match the attitude of the artists they sought to help. Feigning solidarity and benevolence to an extent that they often convinced themselves of their impartiality, the patrons often offered their support with seemingly no strings attached—the only way to attract avant-garde cultural creators wary of losing their independence (van den Braber 2017, 46-47). Since formalising these relationships on paper would be too much like signing yet another publishing contract, the exact conditions of these relationships were rarely discussed. Thus, the real transactional nature inherent in patronage remained hidden, only to become apparent later, resulting in disenchanted remarks on both sides or various feats of rebellion in literary form, as will be described later.

The emergence of various forms of institutional support after the Second World War (to add to the already existing Royal Literary Fund), for example, Council for the Encouragement of the Music and the Arts, led originally by Lord Macmillan and, more notably for this article, by John Maynard Keynes after him, partially created new opportunities for those creators unwilling to follow the mainstream path (Sinclair 1990, 122).<sup>1</sup> Although individual patronage never disappeared wholly, it is precisely at the period in which this article is interested

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<sup>1</sup> It needs to be pointed out that this situation applies specifically to Britain. In France, the second notable hub of European patronage, similar structures were operating in forms of Academies since the seventeenth century and have, as was the case, for example, with impressionist painters, developed into yet another thing to rile against (Garber 2008, 122).

(roughly 1900-1945) when the power plays included in it render it so controversial in terms of its participants and so interesting in terms of its outcomes.

It is apparent from the description of patronage provided thus far that it is a complex and dynamic interplay of various factors and motivations. Any attempt to analyse relationships of patronage and their influence must face the facts that it is a charged environment, full of subjectiveness, misunderstandings and high-strung emotions. In an attempt to navigate this field, Helleke van den Braber developed a methodology which so far seems to be unparalleled when it comes to mapping out individual elements of patronage. The following paragraphs will explain the model shown in Figure 1 and elucidate its parts with examples from the British literary modernist milieu.

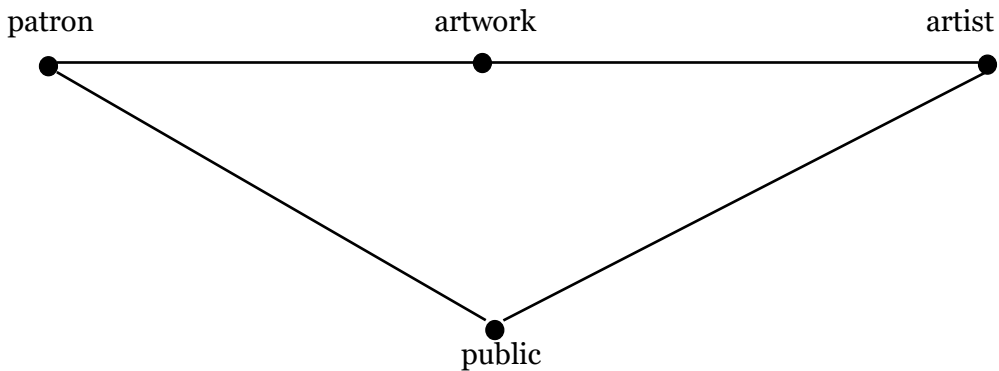


Figure 1. Model of patronage dynamics (van den Braber 2021, 27).

## 2. The patron

If a patron is understood as any figure using their wealth and influence to support artists in their work, their list, even cut down to reflect the period in question, might turn out to be quite extensive. If, however, reputation is taken as the measure based on which the most important patrons of the period are singled out, the list becomes much more manageable. The biggest names would include Lady Emerald Cunard, an heiress of a shipping empire, and Ettie Grenfell, Baroness Desborough. Although both lived well into the middle of the century and were active during the period in question, their interests rarely overlapped with those of modernist circles. Instead, their salons presented a much more traditional mix of fashionable artists and influential politicians—quite resembling the eighteenth-century Parisian sets (Masters 1982).

Despite being less respected in the eyes of the previously mentioned women and their coteries (Masters 1982, 163), the more relevant patrons in terms of this article's focus on modernist writers are Lady Ottoline Morrell and Lady Sibyl Colefax, who attracted more alternative crowds. Both had quite the reputation—Morrell as an eccentric (Lee 1997, 274) and Colefax as a name-dropping socialite (467-469). In accordance with modernist values, it was perhaps that, rather than the patrons' inconsequential wealth (as they often did not, in fact, have the means to do patronage as much as they did), which drew modernist artists to them. Their



partially overlapping sets of friends and beneficiaries were writers such as T. S. Eliot, Max Beerbohm, David Cecil, Harold Nicolson, Desmond MacCarthy and Aldous Huxley.

The means by which they operated changed over the years. Lady Morrell started her career with Thursday meetings at her 44 Bedford Square house which, partly because of their proximity and partly because of the people attending them, were sometimes viewed as rivalling the weekly meetings of the Bloomsbury Group:

There was no doubt that her parties offered a dazzling contrast to the play-readings held at Clive and Vanessa Bell's [...] and the buns-and-cocoa evenings over which [...] Virginia Stephen was shyly presiding in Fitzroy Square (Seymour 1993, 75).

They were noted for a unique mix of less and more established artists, politicians and aristocrats brought together with often only Morrell in common (Morrell 1963, 155). Having always dreamed of a more utopian project, Morrell had eventually moved on to Garsington in 1915 (Seymour 1993, 223), where she established a refuge for beneficiaries seeking to escape the demands of London and every-day life, as well as conscientious objectors needing employment. Amazing in its ambition, with people like Bertrand Russell, Siegfried Sassoon, D. H. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, John Middleton Murry, Mark Gertler and Dora Carrington meeting there (to only name a few not yet mentioned), it is a grand modernist project in its own rights. The near destitution brought about by this support and other unforeseen circumstances forced Morrell and her husband to sell the manor and resettle to London, where, disenchanted with the life of patronage, she chose to hold weekly meetings only with her few remaining friends, Virginia Woolf among them (Seymour 1993, 350-356).

Sibyl Colefax started her patronage soon after the acquisition of a country house, Old Bockhurst, in 1912, where she organised parties which lasted from Friday to Monday with a mixed set of artists attending. Away from Old Bockhurst, she notably organised a poetry reading with Huxley and Eliot presenting their works to a "large and expensive" audience (McLeod 1991, 47). As with Morrell, the pinnacle of Colefax's patronage came only with the acquisition of a more suitable space—Argyll House—which was the meeting place for Sibyl and her beneficiaries until her husband's death. Again, the destitution that came with later years meant that she was forced to move her entertainment to Dorchester Hotel, where she organised paid dinners, so called Ordinaries, which were the last attempt at keeping the meetings going and found a surprising role of preserving high social spirits in the war-torn London (McLeod 1991, 168).

The support offered by patrons of this period was far from merely financial. In accordance with the attempts to hide patronage, material gifts—from sentimental keepsakes such as embroidery, to valuable jewels—were often offered by patrons rather than lump sums of money (Seymour 1993, 274-275). Even more popular was immaterial support. One of the goals of organising parties and salon meetings was giving a chance to artists to network and to find a commission (van den Braber 2017, 50). If they failed on their own, various opportunities and sinecures could be directed their way. Furthermore, the basic needs of the artists were satiated by offers of food and lodgings, especially in the case of events taking

place outside of London, such as at Garsington and Old Bockhurst. The role of patrons also often overlapped with that of mentors, reading manuscripts, providing care and attention and offering various notes, although for that their authority in the given field needed to be recognised by the artists and, if found wanting, their advice was seldom followed (Lawrence 1956, 313; McLeod 1991, 108). This all is largely omitted in the studies of the financial aspects of modernism, yet it provided the writers time to focus on their work and accelerated various background processes surrounding writing, all at an unrecognised cost to the patrons.

It can be noticed that the patrons mentioned here are all women. Although some male examples can be found overseas, such as Carl Van Vechten and John Quinn, this is an occupation primarily practised by women.<sup>2</sup> The reasons for this are quite pragmatic—in times of stricter societal rules related to women, it was one of the few ways in which they could exercise some power and put their wealth to use (van den Braber 2016, 61-62). Unable to do so openly, they could become background players, be it in cultural or political fields. This has greatly influenced the way patronage is perceived—the lines between a patron, a muse, a mother and a lover were often blurred, further complicating the relationship of patronage. The lack of respect shown—by the artists, the public, other patrons, as well as the authors of today—which is reflected in the commonly used term “lion-hunter,”<sup>3</sup> also stemmed from this. As a result, then, the term has infected the discourse and finds itself used, even in sympathetic accounts of patrons, without awareness of the baggage that it carries.<sup>4</sup>

What needs to be understood, however, is the agency which these women had and the way in which they used their position as a currency in their social spheres. Another crucial text of patronage studies, Vera Zolberg’s (1982, 15-16) “New Art, New Patrons” attempts to categorise early twentieth-century patrons and understand their motivation. She characterises four types of collectors (patrons): those born into a “high status group,” having traditional tastes (Conservatives); those born into lower status groups seeking to “legitimise their own prestige aspirations” (Epigones); those well-born society individuals “estranged from its values” (Eccentrics); and, finally, lower-status individuals not using collecting to solidify their prestigious position (Rebels). Although any attempt to place the aforementioned patrons on a specific spot in Zolberg’s model shows that it is partially reductive, it is useful in recognising that patronage can be viewed as means of either changing or solidifying one’s reputation.

Despite describing it as a spiritual mission (Seymour 1993, 98), Morrell (1963, 89-90) clearly used patronage as a way of escaping the suffocating aristocratic background into which she felt she did not belong. To make up for the money she herself often lacked, she mediated, for example, the commissioning of many

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<sup>2</sup> Masters (1982, 5) also hails Philip Sassoon, although his gatherings seem to be purely social.

<sup>3</sup> A derogatory term used to refer to female patrons playing on them collecting the celebrities—lions—and forcing them to perform “tricks” to the assembled audience. Colefax’s house was even called “Lions Corner House” (Masters 1982, 151).

<sup>4</sup> See for example Lord Cecil’s (1976) introduction to *Lady Ottoline’s Album* or Claire Tomalin’s (1987) biography of Katherine Mansfield.



paintings by her brother, Lord Bentinck (Seymour 1993, 106). This way, she used her aristocratic background to the advantage of her beneficiaries while also trying to distance herself from its limitations.

If Woolf's usually very keen eye is to be believed, for Colefax, patronage was a way of shaping one's life as best as possible with what was offered:

[Sibyl] had to trim and hedge; and admit that parties are a stimulus to the imagination; and that her chief pleasure is to tell herself stories, to make up a life, a picture, as she bustles and flits [...]" (cited in McLeod 1991, 7).

As a lady through marriage only, Colefax had no towering aristocratic background to escape from, neither was she discriminating enough in the selection of her acquaintances to be viewed as a "Rebel" in Zolberg's term. Perhaps she merely wished to build a world of her own with herself at its centre as many of her modernist friends were bound to do (Jaffe 2010). Morrell (1922, 55-56) was of a different opinion though:

[Sibyl] never would do anything for [sic] struggling literary man – unless he was in the limelight. Her talk is painful to my ears – soft soap – which smothers and irritates one's skin – and makes one puck all over. It consists simply of the tossing up and down of the coloured balls of fashionable names [...] What she gets out of it all, I don't know. I suppose a certain feeling of warmth and delight in being in the swim. I think a sensual pleasure – she "lives" with [sic] Society of eminent men – as a harlot lives with a man. Certainly she is richer in snobbishness than anyone else I have ever met – a snob genius.

The way in which Morrell, for example, used her background to her advantage shows how one of the ways that one's social capital, the connections one has, can be made use of. It follows Bourdieu's theory of capitals at the disposal of actors in the field of cultural production, as described in his "The Forms of Capital." Most of the time, patrons are exchanging their economic capital, that is the money, which the artists do not have, for cultural capital, which the patrons seek. Cultural capital can be understood either as objectified or embodied. Objectified cultural capital is relatively straightforward and connects especially to traditional forms of patronage—it is the outcome, the artwork. Embodied cultural capital, the knowledge and education, the genius of the artist supported, is much more ungraspable and in a way also attractive (Bourdieu 1986, 17-21). It is one of the reasons why patrons not only support their beneficiaries financially but choose to be surrounded by them as well. Another motivation for this is that it helps them establish their desired position in the world. Unknowingly then, the artists themselves were a modernist commodity as well, trading in on their prowess and reputation to be shielded from the demands of the mainstream literary marketplace.

### 3. The artist

Trying to decide who comes first, whether the artist or the patron, as Zolberg (1982, 1) has mentioned at the beginning of her essay on patrons comes too close to a premise of a joke or an exercise on, quite ironically, Hegelian lord-bondsman dialectics (Hegel 1977, 111-119), both of which would be unproductive at this point. The fact is that patronage was still a relatively common practice at that

period, with the artists coming across often a number of patrons in the course of their lives. The following will be an overview of selected modernist writers who had, at some point, had dealings with the aforementioned patrons and who illustrate a variety of forms patronage can take.

Virginia Woolf's situation has already been mentioned—her position at the Hogarth Press and as a contributor to *Times Literary Supplement* (Lee 1997, 215) allowed her relative freedom in publishing her own works and writings of those around her. Despite all of this, she was in some cases more than familiar with the patrons in question. Her position is predominantly that of a commentator since she was frequently approached by the patrons but did not have to rely on their benevolence. Of Morrell she wrote:

I am told that she is deserted and despised, and claws you like a famished tigress to go to Garsington, where no one will now stay, save the Cos [conscientious objectors] who have to (cited in Seymour 1993, 287).

Free in her scathing comments on paper, Woolf (1978, 108) nonetheless felt the need to moderate her behaviour towards Morrell in real life:

Indulging in those labyrinthine antics which is called being intimate with Ottoline: I succumb, I lie, I flatter, I accept flattery, I stretch and sleek, and all the time she is watchful and vengeful and mendacious and unhappy and ready to break every rib in my body if it were worth her while.

Not in need of financial patronage, though unable to resist the humbug that seemed to surround Morrell, Woolf never cut her off altogether. The two have only managed to become friends in their old age though, when neither had the strength to play social games anymore and Morrell quit patronage (Seymour 1993, 391-398).

Woolf's relationship with Colefax was quite similar—for the longest time Woolf resisted invitations and, when she finally went, loathed the functions. Describing Colefax as pretentious and shallow, she nonetheless tries to understand why eventually some sort of tentative friendship blossomed between them in her Memoir Club essay "Am I a Snob?":

"I've been thinking of all the people I've met there", I said. "Arnold Bennett. George Moore. Max Beerbohm..." She smiled. I saw that I had given her pleasure. "That's what I've wanted—that the people I like should meet the people I like. That's what I tried to do—" "And that's what you've done," I said, warming up. I felt very grateful to her, although in fact I had never much enjoyed meeting other writers, still she had kept open house; she had worked very hard; it had been a great achievement in its way. I tried to tell her so" (Woolf 1985, 219).

Despite having titled her "Colebox" and pronounced that she "collected all the intellectuals around her as a parrot picks up beads" (cited in McLeod 1991, 83), Woolf was eventually able to assume a more conciliatory tone.

An example of a steadily deteriorating, yet strangely respectful case of patronage is that of Siegfried Sassoon and Morrell. Approached by Morrell via a celebratory letter on his poem that she had read (Morrell, 1917a), they circled each other until a point where Robbie Ross brought Sassoon over and finally introduced the two. Ross urged Sassoon to: "be very nice to Lady Ottoline as she could be of the greatest help to me [Sassoon] when my poems were published"

(Sassoon 1947, 11) so from the beginning the terms of the relationship were quite clear, at least for the poet. What followed was the mutual infatuation, most probably platonic, gifts and admiration on Morrell's side and gratitude at point even reflected in a dedication of a handwritten and decorated volume of poems given by Sassoon to Morrell (Seymour 1993, 273n). Morrell's support again took the form of lodgings, material gifts, as well as various introductions and a successful attempt to entice Woolf to review Sassoon's poetry (Morrell 1917b, 208). It comes as no surprise, however, that the relationship between artists and patrons changes over time, often proportionately to the tide of the artist's fortune—the war poet has been a great example of this. In her journal, Morrell (1918, 36) described the relationship thus:

I have lavished so much upon him, thoughts, imagination, lots of letters – besides books and needlework – all expressing very great intensity of beauty. I have not the vaguest notion it has entered into him or affected him – anymore than a cup of coffee would please or affect me in my real life. It has been casting my pearls before a wild stag.

Similar disenchantment came with D. H. Lawrence and Aldous Huxley. Both spent considerable time with Morrell in Garsington—Lawrence in a cottage he built on the property (Seymour 1993, 225) and Huxley exempt from service as a farmhand (235). Both were supported by Morrell financially, through gifts, lodgings, food and, most crucially, through the shared network of people staying at the manor. Finally, both chose to capitalise on this experience in their works. Lawrence, after falling out with Morrell over his wife Frieda, decided to subscribe to more traditional publishing schemes and lived in destitution for some time, as described in his letters from the period roughly corresponding to the Great War (1956). His hopes were put into the release of his new book *Women in Love* (1920), which cruelly caricatures Morrell as Hermione Roddice. Despite trying to renounce the connection later, Lawrence hoped that she would not hear of the novel, nor ask to see the manuscript, understanding well that it would not please her (Seymour 1993, 278). Morrell (1918, 78) described him along similar lines as she did Sassoon:

I have seen Lawrence to whom we had given so much – deride, distort – and characterise me venomously, obscenely – making me publicly into a pornographic image of his own mind. I have seen the young who owed me so much turn and with their feeble spite – say all manner of ill of me.

It needs to be remembered that, years earlier, it was Lawrence who called for Morrell to form a nucleus of a new community which “shall start a new life among us [...] we will bring the church and the house and the shop together,” also claiming that “[y]ou must be president, you must preside over our meetings. Garsington must be the retreat where we come together and knit ourselves together” (cited in Seymour 1993, 215-216). It seems that Lawrence never stopped looking for something along these lines, be it in his idea of Rananim or in the Taos Art Colony in New Mexico under the wings of yet another patron, Mabel Dodge Luhan (Kinkead-Weekes 2011, 187-197, 674-721).

Huxley's inspiration with his patron went further and he published as many as three novels reflecting Morrell and Garsington—*Crome Yellow* (1921), *Those*

*Barren Leaves* (1925) and *Point Counter Point* (1928). Here, Morrell is portrayed as usual: an ageing, wretched aristocrat using money to draw people closer to her. Whether depicted as Priscila Wimbush in *Crome Yellow*, Lilian Aldwinkle in *Those Barren Leaves*, or Mrs Bidlake in *Point Counter Point*, she always lacks depth and any attempts at describing her more closely are usually those focusing on her appearance. Instead of an attempt at deeper understanding of one's friend and benefactor, they merely work as a jeering satire on Morrell's dominance and generosity. The root of the discord was again ascribed to a wife which Huxley even met at Garsington, though it was never felt as bitterly as the results of Lawrence's work (Seymour 1993, 323).

Finally, an instance where the artist has decided to take things into their own hands in support of another one needs to be mentioned—Ezra Pound and his Bel Esprit scheme. Believing that “it is a crime against literature to let [Eliot] waste eight hours vitality per diem in that bank” (in Goldstein 2017, 110), Pound tried to find an effective way of raising money which would allow his fellow expatriate T. S. Eliot to focus on writing.<sup>5</sup> Quite famously working in his office job in 1922 while creating one of the most significant poetic works of the century, Eliot refused any means of financial support offered by Morrell who tried to establish an “Eliot Fellowship Fund” with Woolf (Darroch 2017, 348; Goldstein 2017, 109). A frequent visitor of Morrell, he was willing to accept help only when it came to personal assistance with his unstable first wife Vivien (Seymour 1993, 388-389). Pound tried to raise awareness of the issue by publishing an article in *The New Age* “Credit and the Fine Arts,” where he claims that

democracy has signally failed to provide for its best writers; aristocratic patronage exists neither in noun nor in adjective. The function of an aristocracy is selection; illiterate motorowners are incapable of that function (Pound 1922, 284).

This refusal to rely on the support and tastes of the general public, as mentioned before, reflects also Lawrence's own scorn: “I can't write stories to make money, because I don't want to. Curse the idiotic editor and the more idiotic people who shall read, shall I pander to their maudlin taste? They bore me” (1956, 340). Pound's (1922, 284) proposed solution was supposed to be, quite famously, the Bel Esprit scheme:

“Bel Esprit” proposes simply to *release more energy for invention and design*; the practical way is to release those artists or writers who have definitely proved that they have something in them, and are capable of its expression. What we want is not more books, but a better quality of book; and the modus is (1) to find the man; (2) to guarantee him food and leisure, by a co-operation of subscribers (individuals or groups) pledging themselves to give per year, for life or for as long as the artist needs it.

Accidentally, Eliot was to be its first recipient. What Pound did not realise was that such a publication of Eliot's mental and financial struggle—that year was, for Eliot, both extremely difficult and successful—could be viewed as vulgar by the readers and was rejected both by Eliot and by their patron, John Quinn (Goldstein

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<sup>5</sup> As Delany (2002) shows, Eliot's financial situation was far from bleak.

2017, 111-112).<sup>6</sup> Dissatisfied with the support that could be achieved in democracy, Pound eventually tried his luck under Mussolini's fascistic regime (Rainey 1998, 107-145). It seemed that as far as modern patronage went, there would not be any new solutions any time soon and the individual patrons would continue reigning strong.

#### 4. The artwork

Without a doubt the artwork itself is the key element of patronage which not only motivates the relationship but is also at the centre of the scholarly interest. The artwork can be understood in a number of ways. Most traditionally, it is a single piece of work, conceived in advance, for the completion of which funds are needed—in some cases for the materials, in case of writers to survive until it is finished. In this instance, patronage can be provided by means of finances, lodging and food or, nearing the publication of the work, by providing advice and finding means of publishing the outcome. An interesting example of the latter type of support is one of the case studies provided by Rainey—Joyce's publication of *Ulysses*. The reason why such a book could be published without relatively any major compromises from the author is the patronage support offered by Sylvia Beach and Harriet Weaver, both of whom, together with Quinn, played the role of a patron in Joyce's career. They not only made sure that the book would be published in its huge form, but also found buyers for a number of limited-edition copies even before the book itself came out, presenting a fine example of a successful relationship of patronage (Rainey 1998, 42-77).

More often than not, however, in the attempt to informalise the relationship, the outcome of patronage is not specified in advance and the artist is supported purely for art's sake, with the hope that inspiration shall come and both the artist and the patron will bear its fruit. In a way, as Quinn noted, it is akin to an investment:

I can't come back too STRONGLY to the point that I do NOT consider this Eliot subsidy a pension. I am puke sick of the idea of pensions, taking care of old crocks. For me my £10 a year on Eliot is an investment [...] I put this money into him as I would put it into a shoe factory if I wanted shoes. Better simile, into a shipping company, of say small pearl-fishing ships, some scheme where there was a great deal of risk but a chance of infinite profit (cited in Rainey 1998, 74).

Such an approach, where a specific outcome is not expected, also corresponds with the avant-garde understanding of the field of cultural production—only those creating “inferior” mainstream works can be expected to produce on command to fulfil the public demand.

No matter whether the works' conception is swift and straightforward or not, Becker's (1982) thesis of art worlds needs to be kept in mind—the relationship of patronage will find a way to imprint itself into the final product. One way was already introduced with *Ulysses*—the length of the book, as well as its contents, had to be kept in check much less knowing that it would not have to conform to

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<sup>6</sup> Quinn served as a legal advisor and did not financially support Eliot—hence the perceived need for Bel Esprit (Goldstein 2017, 183).

the traditional demands. Moreover, there were sufficient finances to print luxurious editions for the most select bibliophiles, thus ensuring that Joyce's name would resonate among them. Again, a special kind of commodity was produced to fit the limited market.

Attempts of patrons to influence the contents of the works created under their patronage are indirect and rare in this period, since they are attempting to appeal benevolent and trustful when it comes to the people they chose to support. Quite an interesting phenomenon, however, ties itself to modernist patronage—*romans à clef*. Patrons often find their way into the works of their beneficiaries quite unwittingly and unlike the traditional celebratory dedications presented at the beginning of Restoration plays, their portrayals tend to be very acerbic. Lawrence's and Huxley's depictions of Morrell that have already been mentioned constitute only a fragment of this practice. Among other examples of the depiction of Morrell are, as identified by Seymour, Gilbert Cannan's *Pugs and Peacocks* (1921) and *Mendel* (1916), John Cramb's *Cuthbert Learmont* (1910), Graham Greene's *It's a Battlefield* (1934), Constance Malleson's *The Coming Back* (1933), Osbert Sitwell's *Triple Fugue* (1924) and Walter Turner's *Aesthetes* (1927) (1993, 431-432). Sitwell has also quite famously caricatured Sibyl Colefax in his poem "Rat Week" for her involvement in the abdication scandal of 1936 (McLeod 1991, 149-150). She can also be found in T. S. Eliot's play *The Cocktail Party* as Julia (McLeod 1991, 122). The reason for this is going to become clearer once the next element of van den Braber's (2021) model, namely "the public," is explained, but it is already apparent how the reliance on real-life figures challenges the modernist claim to originality and imaginative superiority. Focusing on this is Sean Latham's (2009, 132) *Art of Scandal* where he comments on *romans à clef* thus:

After all, rather than professional productions staked on a romantic claim to creativity, they are instead deliberate bids for social and economic capital. Their authors sell out Morrell, turning on her with painful regularity to declare their independence from the world of cultural values she is made to represent while simultaneously capitalizing on the market for gossip about England's wealthy, aristocratic families.

At this stage of patronage then, the insight into the patrons' private lives not only signals to the public one's past proximity to the patron, heroically rejected as a sign of independence, but becomes yet another currency in the modernist market, often traded in at the point where the patronage is no longer viewed as otherwise productive. The cost of the patron's privacy or the damage to the relationship turns out to be too little not to be paid to advance in one's career.

## 5. The public

As it turns out, it is precisely matters of recognition and reputation that create the most friction in patronage and among its participants. Therefore, the public completes the system and connects to the patron and the artist on another level.

However much the patron and the artist might be trying to obscure the relationship of patronage, it will become apparent at some stage—observed and judged by the public. If this element is understood as a general public of the



period, it can be easily discounted as it did not particularly come into question in relation to avant-garde groups such as the modernists—it discovered them only once they were legitimised and entered the mainstream (or the canon).

The public should, in this case, be understood as friends, acquaintances and other people moving in and out of the modernist cliques. Where the general public could be easily dismissed as unable to understand “artistic genius” and their decision, people from similar circles have to be, at least partially, taken into consideration by the artists, as they constitute a part of the reputation-making apparatus.<sup>7</sup>

The fact that patronage therefore plays out under scrutiny of the ingroup greatly influences the behaviour of the patron and the artist, with the exchange taking on a performative character. As was mentioned before, patronage can be explained along the lines of Bourdieu’s capitals. Where the economic and social (partially) belong to the sphere of the patron and the cultural to the sphere of the artist, the fourth, symbolic capital, can only exist and accumulate with the public present to observe it and is almost analogous to van den Braber’s (2021, 21) “narrative capital” which allows for the construction of narrative around one’s artistic/philanthropic practice and is most closely tied with the reputation-building process.

The affirmation/change of the patron’s position in the world would not happen if they merely owned an artwork or supported an artist. It is only when the works are seen, in their home or in the museum, or they are known in association with the artist, that some of their spirit and status can reflect on them. Even though with writers there are no artworks to exhibit, there are other ways of signalling their relationship. One, the dedication of books, has already been mentioned. Second, they keep the writers around by inviting them to their salons, parties or homes. Declining or ignoring the invitation might lead to the loss of favour or, in case of some patrons, to a relentless stream of further invitations. Another way, unkindly looked at by the artists, even got its name from one of the patrons—colefaxismus. It is the practice of casual name-dropping of people one knows or supports (Masters 1982, 154). Known are also shows of public support, for example when Morrell stepped in to save Lawrence’s paintings and books from being burned (Seymour 1993, 363).

Such an association might be flattering and sought by the artists initially since the interest of the “mighty,” in the end, reflects positively on them in the early stages of their career. However, as they become able to establish their position by their own work, they tend to look unfavourably at this.

At this point, the concept of ‘consecrative power’ needs to be explained. Again, Bourdieu (1996, 148) proves to be the most appropriate commentator:

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<sup>7</sup> The line of thinking of art worlds however requires other forms of public to be considered as well. The evaluation of the subjects and the patronage does not end with the public of the period, general or ingroup. Scholars, critics and new audiences continue to perceive and reevaluate these relationships a long time after all the subjects are dead. Just as the work itself is “never finished” so the reputation of the subjects is never settled and the once-sought-after consecration can be viewed negatively later on (for example, an association with Pound).

Economic capital cannot guarantee the specific profits offered by the field – and by the same token the “economic” profits that they will often bring in time – unless it is reconverted into symbolic capital. The only legitimate accumulation, for the author as for the critic, for the art dealer as for the publisher or theatre director, consists in making a name for oneself, a name that is known and recognized, the capital of consecration – implying a power to consecrate objects (this is the effect of a signature or trademark) or people (by publication, exhibition, etc.), and hence of giving them value, and of making profits from this operation.

Patrons, themselves only building their positions, do not hold such a consecrative power as the artists already recognised in the field do—Morrell and Colefax definitely did not. It is, therefore, much more desirable for the young artists to be associated with the consecrated artists than with patrons.

Since relationships of patronage were meant to be merely a compromise to save avant-garde writers from having to subscribe to traditional publishing machinery, they are often readily discarded when no longer needed. Association that was once desired is shunned and it is again in the hands of the public to recognise this—the shift in the relationship needs to be signalled again. As a result, artists use strategies such as the publication of *romans à clef* mentioned previously<sup>8</sup> or public shows of disloyalty to free themselves of the unwritten “contract.” Rather than petering out or being officially concluded, many relationships of patronage then go up in flames, with the patrons feeling slighted and the artists refusing to acknowledge the patrons’ contribution. Still, the prospect of accruing symbolic or narrative capital is what keeps the participants (especially patrons) entering such relationships time and again, ultimately influencing the way patrons are perceived within their respective milieus.

## 6. The conclusion

The main advantage of patronage studies’ perspective in critical approach to modernism lies in the fact that it already provides a methodology capable of dealing with the intricacies of the modernist field of production. Viewing patronage as comprising of a series of intertwined elements not only allows for a greater consideration of everyone’s motivations but also explains why reputation plays such a major role in avant-garde groups. Works interested in the economic aspects of modernism not taking advantage of the insights that patronage studies offer, cannot fully appreciate the role patrons played in the period and the indirect influence they had over the final outcomes, as well as the questions of value, originality and authorship that patronage raises.

Recognising that modernist exchanges extend beyond money, Wexler argues that by rejecting mainstream publishing, modernist writers “paid dearly by losing the feedback editors, reviewers, and readers normally provided” (1997, 20), yet she writes off private patrons as merely contributing to the problem by not being able to provide expert feedback either (13). Patronage studies’ perspective shows how patrons recompense the artists, however involuntarily, for their temporary loss of autonomy with information from their private lives which can be used to

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<sup>8</sup> Described in detail in Latham (2009) and Melišová (2022).



signal one's presence in the right circles, or, ironically, traded in for better sales. Moreover, the time free from worry and adequate space for the artists to create in comes at a cost to the patrons, which they willingly pay for the establishment of their desired "position of honor in the living pantheon of modernism" (Delany 2002, 159). That instead of such achievement they were often relegated into the background is due to the fact that in the end, the artists' cultural capital held more power in modernism than the patrons' economic or social ones.

Ultimately, all the capitals are exchanged in the attempt to accumulate the crucial modernist currency—symbolic or narrative capital. Just as the patrons surround themselves with artists to defy, uphold or change their position in the world, while creating networking opportunities and space for creative freedom, the artists' desire to escape the clutches of the mainstream literary marketplace motivates them to act in a way which would attract likeminded individuals or prospective patrons—thus Rainey's modernist commodity of a special sort might not just be the work, but the modernist lives themselves.

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# Excavating Ceddo Film and Video Workshop

## Navigating Censorship through *The People's Account* (1986) and Reading Meaningful Silences with *Culture for Freedom* (1990)

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**Abstract.** During the 80s, several black independent film and video workshops gained importance in the United Kingdom. These workshops tried to encapsulate the political and social problems black British communities were facing as well as countering the misrepresentation and stereotypes put forward on black British subjects by British media. One of these workshops, and on which this paper focuses, was Ceddo. Ceddo was a film and video workshop whose productions were characterised by its community orientation and its use of image as a weapon. I concentrate on the films *The People's Account* (Bryan 1986) and *Culture for Freedom* (Gordon 1990a). These works use the riots of 1985 in Brixton and Tottenham as a background to expose the marginalisation of black British communities by hegemonic Britain. They mirror each other in content but not in form being *Culture for Freedom* a continuation to *The People's Account* and the censorship that it faced.

**Keywords:** Black British communities, The Workshop Years, Ceddo Film and Video Collective, 1985 uprisings, memory, Tottenham Three.

### 1. Introduction

According to Manthia Diawara (1996, 293), “narration is always in a fragmentary state and never closed, until it enters into a relation with the film subject.” This mirrors the dynamic nature of one’s stream of consciousness, signifying how thoughts are in constant flux, much like the subjects experiencing them. This underscores the idea that identities are not fixed but rather fluid, continuously evolving—a becoming rather than being (Hall 1996). Moreover, when the object of study is encapsulated in cinema, this entails that thoughts, words, images and sounds are timelessly kept. However, this does not mean that what is recorded is unchangeable since one’s relationship and understanding of it may vary as time goes by and an individual’s experience expands. Cinema is as a tool to access a given “structure of feeling” deriving its power from the ability to capture a particular moment (Williams [1954] 2021, 861). Furthermore, fragmentation not only characterises narration but also the history of black British film culture (Pines 1988, 1). The Association of Black Film and Video Workshops in Britain was founded in 1984 with the goal of fostering unity and dialogue among black British filmmakers (Pines 1988). The importance of solidarity among filmmakers derives from how they play a pivotal role in addressing questions that concern society and countering misrepresentation. As Fernando Solanas claimed in an interview with Coco Fusco, they, as filmmakers, “assume their role as avant-garde intellectuals and provoke the system with a great deal of information, with the

great themes of our countries, and the memories of our struggles” (Fusco 1987, 59).

In the 80s, several black film and video workshops emerged in the United Kingdom with the aim of challenging the biased representation enforced by mainstream British television and cinema concerning black Britons’ experiences. These black British filmmakers, through their innovative and experimental productions, successfully integrated various disciplines and articulated important reflections on post-colonial identities in contemporary Britain. They excavated and examined the archive, generating their own narratives to explore their identity using cinema as a medium. Interrogating the archive allowed them to counter official history and fight national amnesia. As articulated by Auguiste, “the archive constitutes a privileged terrain of knowledges: in archival texts, we were confronted with fragmented residues of histories of migration” (1988, 6). Moreover, archival memory resides in documents, texts, letters and films, which exhibit resistance to change and contribute to a society’s collective memory (Lagerkvist 2017). Their interrogation of the archive was conducted in a fragmentary manner, characterised by absences, gaps and the remediation of misrepresentation, complicating their work of excavation. The identities that they sought to uncover were unstable given their fragmented state. As Mercer (1994, 4) notes, “identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty.”

Some of the collectives that pursued these objectives were Sankofa, Black Audio Film Collective (BAFC) and Ceddo—pronounced [ˈtʃɛd.do]. As Homi Bhabha (1994, 214) states, “in every state of emergency there is an emergence,” and these collectives, gaining prominence in the 80s, played a crucial role in combating collective amnesia. However, this paper focuses on Ceddo, specifically on its productions *The People’s Account* (Bryan 1986) and *Culture for Freedom* (Gordon 1990a). These two documentaries will be used to illustrate how identities constructed in the margin of a hegemonic community can counter a false or stereotyped narrative. Furthermore, this paper aims to address the often-overlooked contribution of Ceddo to black British cinema as a prolific black British film workshop. To achieve these objectives, a brief historical and contextual background detailing the creation of Ceddo will be offered. Then, I will use *The People’s Account* to deal with questions related to traumatic memory, censorship and the uprisings of 1985 in Tottenham. After this, I will read *Culture for Freedom* as a thematic continuation of *The People’s Account* with an emphasis on its form and its role in healing the trauma stemming from what is presented in *The People’s Account*. By introducing these two documentaries, Ceddo will be brought to the foreground and its significant contribution to black British cinema will be highlighted.

## 2. A brief inquiry into The Workshop Years: The institutionalisation of black British filmmaking and the birth of Ceddo

The early 80s “signalled a shift not only in terms of the form and content of the black independent practitioners, but also in terms of the relationship between

black independent practitioners and cultural (funding) institutions” (Pines 1988, 3). Ceddo, along with Black Audio Film Collective, Retake and Sankofa exemplifies this shift. Ceddo operated as a franchised workshop following the ACTT (Association of Cinematograph and Television Technicians) Workshop Declaration of 1982. This Declaration, formed in collaboration between ACTT and institutions such as Channel 4, the British Film Institute and the Greater London Council, provided a framework for independent practice (Mercer 1994, 80). It not only granted financial stability but also guaranteed a model of integrative practice for independent film and video workshops where experimentation was encouraged. In line with this approach, Ceddo, engaged in the “production, training and exhibition” of its works to connect with the black British community (Givanni 1988, 213).

Despite the political polarisation of the 80s (Correia 2022, xiii) and the sense of “relentless vertigo of displacement for black Britain” (Mercer 1994, 2), during this decade, marginalised groups began to assert their voices and move from the margins of society towards the centre (Fanon [1952] 2008; Bhabha 1994; Spivak 1994). However, this resignification happened before the Workshop Declaration.<sup>1</sup> A significant event in black British history was the New Cross Fire on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1981 in Deptford, London. On this day, thirteen teenagers died. The lack of response to this incident by British institutions fuelled suspicion within the community, who took the event as a racially motivated attack. Given the lack of institutional help or acknowledgement, the black British community of New Cross organised a march on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1981: the Black People’s Day of Action. This march was a historic day for black Britons since people from different classes and ethnic backgrounds from all over the country united in solidarity. A few months later, the riots of Brixton took place, following a massive stop and search operation. These uprisings were soon propagated to other cities in the country. Some institutions gave a response to the situation by creating policies to stop institutional racism. One of such answers was the financial help of the Greater London Council to black British filmmakers and the ACTT agreement. Consequently, as noted by Julien (1986, 60), “the Black independent film sector was born directly out of the political climate created after the 1981 uprisings. Throughout their struggles, certain institutions were forced to take up black people’s demands.”

Thanks to the Workshop Declaration, “the area of black independent filmmaking saw the growth of a number of workshops established with the specific aim of catering for black film needs” (Auguiste 1986, 58). From 1982 to 1997 these collectives carried out a job of excavation and deconstruction of black Britain’s experience, acting, in this way, as a counter-hegemonic force to fight the

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<sup>1</sup> The emergence of these collectives in the wake of the 1981 riots does not imply that there were not pre-existing issues affecting black Britons or that there were no previous black British filmmakers or workshops throughout the UK. Additionally, another important reason for the appearance of these collectives is that its members had had access to higher education and training, and this helped them participate in the subsidised space created by the Declaration. As Reece Auguiste (1986, 58) claims, “black film making existed before the uprisings, but [...] in 1981 we witnessed the uprisings which in turn created a space for our intervention in the media.”



misrepresentation of black Britishness. This article focuses on Ceddo because out of the three black British workshops that were mentioned before, it has been the one that has received less attention. This accounts for the noticeable gap in previous articles or information for the literature review of the two documentaries being explored here. Ceddo tried to bring the imagined community of black Britain, which was placed at the edge of British society to the centre through its productions. This is an example of bell hooks's (2003, 95) idea of the oppositional gaze in terms of language since they wanted not only to stare but also to change reality. In fact, in the Association of Black Film and Video Workshops Brochure, Ceddo (1988, 13) expressed the importance of establishing a relationship with their community given that it was important to their practice as a workshop.

The members of Ceddo possessed prior experience and training in television and film before the establishment of Ceddo. The filmmakers Bryan, Shabazz and Caesar had worked together at Kuumba productions, a production company that continued working at the same time as Ceddo. Noteworthy works by these members of Ceddo in collaboration outside of Ceddo and which are relevant in the history of black British Cinema are, for example, *Step Forward Youth* (Shabazz 1977), *Breaking Point* (Shabazz 1978), *Riots and Rumours of Riots* (Bakari Caesar 1981), *Burning an Illusion* (Shabazz 1981), *Blood Ah Go Run* (Shabazz and Bakari Caesar 1982), *I Am Not Two Islands* (Bryan 1984) or *The Mark of the Hand. Aubrey Williams* (Bakari Caesar 1987). Watching these productions allows for an understanding of the history of black Britain. The works address issues close to the community such as the 'sus laws,' the uprisings of 1981, the New Cross Fire and important black British figures such as the artist Aubrey Williams.<sup>2</sup> Ceddo's productions were *Street Warriors* (Bakari Caesar 1986), *We Are the Elephant* (Masokoane 1987), *Time and Judgement* (Shabazz 1988), *Omega Rising* (Davis 1988), *The Flame of the Soul* (Thomas 1990), *Racism: A Response* (Gordon 1990b) and *Blue Notes and Exiled Voices* (Bakari Caesar 1992).

### 3. The pressure of the streets: Remembering the account of the people

#### 3.1. The generation of 'postmemory': Young, British, and Black. Conceptual background<sup>3</sup>

As June Givanni (2018, 122) writes in *The Long 1980s: Constellations of Art, Politics, and Identities: A Collection of LaMicrohistories*, "[r]ace relations in eighties Britain were characterised by the struggles of previous decades: equal

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<sup>2</sup> The 'sus laws' refers to a stop and search law created by the Victorians, allowing the police to stop and search individuals without a specific cause. This law was in operation during the 80s, particularly impacting black Britain. In January 1981, a house in New Cross was set on fire resulting in the death of thirteen teenagers. The lack of response to this incident by British institutions fuelled suspicion within the community, who took the event as a racially motivated attack. The inconclusive investigation together with the silence from British institutions serve to reinforce the suspicions.

<sup>3</sup> *Young, British, and Black* (1988) refers to the title of Coco Fusco's book on BAFC and Sankofa.

rights and justice; representation; human and citizenship rights. These were closely linked to black theatre, art, music, dance, film, and publishing.” The struggle of the 80s is a continuation of previous ones. However, there is a generational difference between migrants who arrived before the 70s and the protagonists of the riots. As Mike Philips and Trevor Philips (1999, 352) show, “the immigrants before the decade of the seventies are isolated and marginalised, humbly accepting their lot, until the following generation which has grown up [...] rejects racist limitations by rioting during the eighties.” Jade Parker (2022, 9) explains this by pointing out to the idea that British-born West Indians and younger migrants who were educated and raised in the United Kingdom were British, but this was not what they felt in their daily lives as a consequence of their experience of alienation and uncertainty. This fostered the construction of a black British consciousness. The younger generation fought against their unjust situation and the deflected dreams of belonging of previous generations.

This is an instance of transgenerational trauma. As Gabriele Schwab (2010, 13) states, “transgenerational haunting operates through family secrets and other forms of silencing.” In the context of black Britain, however, it is not a deliberate choice but rather the only option available. Their voices and narratives were not allowed by Britain’s hegemonic imagined community. When dealing with transgenerational trauma and the generations that make up black Britain, especially in the 80s, the concept of ‘postmemory’ as coined by Marine Hirsch is of importance for the purposes of this paper. According to Hirsch (2008, 106), “postmemory describes the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they remember employing the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up.” For black Britain, postmemory works in multiple ways, which is close to Michael Rothberg’s (2009, 21) idea of multidirectional memory since for black Britain different histories are conceptualised and coexist in the public sphere.

On the one hand, the generation that disrupted the institutional British silence did not witness slavery or colonialism, but they remember it through images and stories coming from their parents. On the other hand, they have been living a reality of displacement and non-belonging growing up trying to reconcile the duality behind being black and British. This generation is an example of memory and history patched up together (Schwab 2010, 14). As Arnold-de Simine (2013, 216) claims, “memory is used to describe a way of relating to the past [...] based on lived experience—one’s own or that of others.” This generation remembers the distant past of slavery, colonialism and their parents’ failed dreams of belonging as second-hand knowledge, but they can account for the present that they are witnessing and living and the disturbances of 1981 and 1985 epitomise this. The second wave of uprisings in 1985 shows that the ghost present in the transgenerational trauma of black Britain was haunting the generation involved in the disturbances. A generation that realised that Lord Kitchener’s “Calypso” was ironic and that London was not the place to be.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> An idea coming from the “Calypso” song by Lord Kitchener, “London is the Place for Me” (1948). This does not mean that the experience of non-belonging happened only in London.

On the other hand, they have been living a reality of displacement and non-belonging growing up as they tried to reconcile the duality behind being black and British. As Arnold-de Simine (2013, 216) claims, “memory is used to describe a way of relating to the past [...] based on lived experience—one’s own or that of others.” This generation is an example of memory and history patched up together (Schwab 2010, 14) to make sense of the past and the present for the sake of the future. In this paper, I focus on the uprisings of 1986. These riots are a further indication of the historical tension between black British communities and the British State, which is controlled by Ideological State Apparatuses such as the media and Repressive State Apparatuses like the police and prison system (Althusser 1984). The uprisings of 1985 illustrate that the problems signalled in 1981 had not been solved.

Uprisings are tangible traumas through the motives of chasing, fire and blood as Malini Guha (2009, 108) signals. In fact, as Stuart Hall claimed in a public meeting in 1978 re-edited into Akomfrah’s *The Stuart Hall Project* (2013), “the end of Empire instead of being something taking place far away, overseas, and on the news, becomes something taking place in the street, next door, and, through television.” An idea closely related to the term ‘pressure’ used by Gilroy (1993, 83) to describe “racism, displacement and exile experienced by black diasporic communities.” Pressure describes the situations that black Britons had to deal with and overcome as *Pressure* (Ové 1976) or *Burning an Illusion* (Shabazz 1981) exemplify.

The works mentioned throughout this paper and the ones which are going to be analysed indicate how trauma is translated into a language that can be understood (Schwab 2010, 8) and literature and the arts are an example of this since they are, as Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub (cited in Schwab 2010, 8) contend “artistically bearing witness.” In fact, “postmemorial work endeavours to reactivate and re-embody more distant social/national and archival/cultural memorial structures by reinventing them with resonant individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression” (Atkinson 2017, 46). These works are an aesthetic expression of memory which is “the only raw material, the only stock, that [black cultural movements] can turn to [...] [B]lack culture finds itself endlessly confronted with the question of what one does with a body of informal codes” (Bourland 2019, 261). The idea of informal codes adds up to Schwab’s (2010) thought of patching up one’s history or narrative and the two documentaries addressed investigated here show this.

### 3.2. The trauma of the streets of 1985: The Broadwater uprisings as portrayed in *The People’s Account*

Previous critical engagement with *The People’s Account* agrees on the idea that the documentary aimed at granting the black British community a space to speak and counter the stereotypes fostered by British media. According to T. J. Demos (2019, 38), “the decade of the 80s represents a crucial formative period for film and video practice in Britain” and *The People’s Account* is an example of it responding to the uprisings of 1985. For Jacob Ross (1988, 93), *The People’s Account* offered the black community the “opportunity to voice its position and respond to the many attacks levelled at it by an increasingly intolerant society.”



In the same line of thought, Isaac Julien (1990, 22) claims that the realistic agit-prop documentary that is *The People's Account* “was meant to give voice to the black working-class people.” For Aikens (2018, 207) “at the core of the film’s message was the question of rights: the right of those in Tottenham, Brixton, Handsworth and elsewhere to live without fear of their safety as well as the right to speak and be heard.”

*The People's Account* is not only an example of the artistic expression of black British memory but also an exploration of intergenerational trauma, reflecting the concept of ‘postmemory’ as previously discussed. The documentary offers the perspective of the black British community on the 1985 uprisings in Tottenham and Brixton (London) and Handsworth (Birmingham). As the synopsis of the documentary states:

In 1985 three major uprisings rocked mainland Britain. In each case it was sparked off by an act of police lawlessness on a black woman. Handsworth (Birmingham), Brixton and Broadwater farm in London, all have in common a large black community and a history of sensitive relationships with the police. Prior to the 1985 disturbances police presence in these communities had been mounting. Residents had complained about increased police harassment and arrests. In the Autumn of 1985 when the black community took to the streets, seemingly on a “bout of lawlessness”, it was because they were not prepared to allow the police to brutalise black women [...] In Tottenham Mrs Jarrett suffered a heart attack when the police unexpectedly burst into her home. They also said they were looking for her son. These were the catalysts that instigated the 1985 uprisings. However, they were more or less ignored by the media. They preferred, instead, to concentrate on the ‘riotous mobs’ and the ‘spree’ of violence and looting that followed. *The People's Account* is a direct response to this *media hysteria*. It tells the stories of the uprisings from the people’s perspective (Ceddo 1986, n.p.; emphasis added).

Since mainstream media failed to provide fair coverage of the events, ignoring the perspective of black Britons, *The People's Account* emerges as a counter-hegemonic force. It endeavours to visually remediate the biased representations found in mainstream British media. For Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney (2009, 8), “remediation is concerned with the ways in which the same story is recalled in new media at a later point in time and hence given a new lease of cultural life.” The documentary seeks to challenge and correct the dominant narratives surrounding the uprisings of 1985, ensuring a more accurate understanding of it away from the misrepresentation enforced by mainstream Britain. This prevents next generations from forming a false ‘postmemory’ since *The People's Account* challenges misrepresentation. As was explained before, the younger generation is recipient of transgenerational trauma and lived with a postmemory that is fragmented and, as such, they need to assemble the fragments of a history that they have not lived (Schwab 2010).

After the death of Miss Cynthia Jarrett, according to *The People's Account*, there was an enquiry, but no police officer involved in the death was disciplined in any way. This was not the case of the aftermath of the death of police officer Keith Blakelock. According to the pamphlet produced by the Tottenham Three’s Campaign, 369 people were arrested for this even if no forensic evidence was recovered (The Tottenham Three Campaign 1991, 2). Winston Silcott, Mark

Braithwaite and Engin Raghip are the Tottenham Three and *Culture for Freedom* deals with this episode. They were sentenced to life imprisonment but released later on because of the lack of evidence.

Coming back to the uprisings of 1985, these started as a peaceful demonstration on the part of the black British community. Nonetheless, as *The People's Account* highlights, “for some still unexplained reason, the police took action to prevent the people leaving the state and it was this action by the metropolitan police which directly caused the uprising.” As the documentary states, before the uprising, the metropolitan police had been spreading rumours of a forthcoming uprising in Tottenham. The work elucidates the impossibility of knowing the truth behind the rumours and the uprisings, which shows that the wound of the previous uprisings of 1981 was still opened and not healed and that the problems that arouse from previous uprisings were unresolved.

The idea of not being able to access the truth and how it differs for several sections of society is also explored by Michael Foucault. For him, as Paul Rabinow (1984, 73) signals, each society determines what is acceptable or not. In other words, “each society has its regime of truth” as well as methods and practices to apply to those who go against the accepted regime of truth. For Foucault truth cannot be located outside, it is constructed as discourses in society. *The People's Account* questions and analyses the truth behind the uprisings. That is why the documentary is an ethnographic film since it needs to record the account of the community. As Catherine Russell (1999, 12) writes “ethnographic film assumes that the camera records a truthful reality,” and the importance of the footage taken for the documentary is highlighted with Nora Alter's (2018, 273) ideas. As she maintains “archival images function as “reservoirs of memory [...] to attest to the diasporic subject's existence.”

*The People's Account* indicates how black British communities are united across space and time. As one of the interviewees argues, “I am not suddenly going to forget the injustices that my people have suffered.” The uprisings are the result of the explosion of their collective memory. In fact, Silke Arnold-de Simine (2013, 16) claims, “memory is used to describe a way of relating to the past [...] based on lived experience (one's own or that of others) and requiring empathy and identification.” Examples of this are present throughout the documentary such as with the portrayal of the events surrounding Cherry Groce, the death of Cynthia Jarrett and the constant question of who is going to be next, showing the uncertainty faced by the community.

The context behind the reception of *The People's Account* is equally revealing of the struggle for representation of black Britons as the censorship that the work faced reveals. The film was censored on three different occasions even if “there was nothing drastically wrong with it” (Julien 1986, 22). The IBA (Independent Broadcast Authority), the body in charge of granting permission for transmission on British television, opposed to the broadcasting of *The People's Account* because of its unbalanced representation of the police. The IBA asked the collective to change some words and include a programme after the documentary balancing the film. For Ceddo, implementing those changes would mean not portraying the real account of the people. Ceddo believed that the changes that the IBA wanted them to implement were “[t]antamount to state censorship” (Mercer 1994, 70). Lawyers of Ceddo and Channel 4 stated that legally speaking

there was nothing wrong with *The People's Account*. However, the IBA claimed that Ceddo was infringing section 4 of the 1981 Broadcasting Act.<sup>5</sup> Despite Ceddo's insistence of the gains that the nation could have by watching the documentary, there was no luck.

This episode indicates how the idea of pressure is present both in the film's content and its history of censorship. *The People's Account* unapologetically addresses the experiences of marginalisation faced by black Britain as well as the silences and absences of British institutions. It gave voice to black Britons creating a visual piece of radical openness (hooks 1989) different from previous media depictions. At the same time, the work indicated how race is a category trying to create differences. As Hall (1996, 167) signalled, "racism, of course, operates by constructing impassable symbolic boundaries between racially constituted categories, and its typically binary system of representation constantly marks and attempts to fix and naturalise the difference between belongingness and otherness." The following section shows how in spite of this censorship, the black British community continued fighting.

The collective believed that the changes that the IBA wanted them to implement were "tantamount to state censorship" (Mercer 1994, 70). However, on 7<sup>th</sup> April 1987 Ceddo issued a press release to put forward their own account of the situation happening with the IBA. On this document, it is possible to read how the documentary had been scheduled for transmission on three occasions and how despite having complied with requests to make changes to the documentary, it did not happen. Lawyers of Ceddo and Channel 4 stated that legally speaking there was nothing wrong with *The People's Account*. However, the IBA felt that it was biased when it came to the representation of the police and that *The People's Account* should be followed by a balancing studio discussion programme to counter the biased depiction of the police by Ceddo.

On May 1987 a further press release explained why the IBA was not airing the programme. The IBA was asking for editorial changes which would put an end to Ceddo's self-expression. The IBA claimed that Ceddo was infringing section 4 of the 1981 Broadcasting Act. Despite Ceddo's insistence on the gains that the nation could have by watching the documentary, there was no luck. Funnily enough, nowadays the documentary of Ceddo that is easier to access just with a simple internet search without the need of having to be based in the United Kingdom is *The People's Account*. As such, *The People's Account* has managed to become timeless and not consigned to oblivion in spite of the IBA's opposition. The following section shows how, in spite of this censorship, the black British community continued fighting and gathering to make their voices heard.

### 3.3. Reading meaningful silences and remembering: Countering censorship with *Culture for Freedom*

I take *Culture for Freedom* as a response to the censorship faced by *The People's Account*. The film is a documentary which uses strategic silence in some

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<sup>5</sup> These claims refer to the clause "nothing is included in the programmes which offends against good taste or decency or is likely to encourage or incite to crime or to lead to disorder or to be offensive to public feeling" (Broadcasting Act 1981, 68).

sequences as a subversive mechanism. It includes a recording of the event named *Culture for Freedom* which took place at the Hackney Empire (London) in 1990.<sup>6</sup> This event was organised by the Broadwater Farm Defence Committee and the families of the Tottenham Three—Winston Silcott, Engin Raghıp and Mark Braithwaite—wrongfully imprisoned for the death of police officer Keith Blakelock. The benefit night included performances of various members of the community to raise awareness and send the message that black Britons were united. The people who performed that night were She Rockers, the Bemarrow Sisters, Gatecrash, Irie Dance Company, Craig Charles, Lioness Chant, Leo Chester, Roger Robin, Hepburn Graham, Treva Etenne and Asward & Soul II, among others.

*Culture for Freedom* portrays the aftermath of the uprisings and introduces the Tottenham Three, not present in *The People's Account*. This is why I consider the work a continuation of *The People's Account*. Additionally, its post-production to eliminate sound of the sequences where artists deliver political speeches indicates how Ceddo may have been trying to avoid censorship while showing that they were going to continue using images as a weapon against oppression and censorship. Silence forces viewers to carefully decode its message and asks them to actively engage with the work. As such, *Culture for Freedom* is a counter-documentary which fights national amnesia and continues the task initiated by *The People's Account*.

The edited recording of the night is not the only issue encapsulated in this documentary since by juxtaposing images and the inclusion of montages the viewer is immersed in the issues brought to light by the benefit night and the oppression faced by black Britons as the Tottenham Three and the uprisings of 1985 indicate. There are some scenes—which will be further on explored—that can be heard as well as the recurrent voice-over saying, “release the Tottenham Three,” which is accompanied by a drawing of the Tottenham Three: Winston Silcott, Engin Raghıp and Mark Braithwaite.

The fact that *Culture for Freedom* deals with the aftermath of the 1985 uprisings five years after *The People's Account* signals how the memory of what happened had not died. It also indicates the enduring nature of issues that continue to haunt communities, persisting in collective memory and resisting erasure. The interplay between remembering and forgetting is evident in the narratives that have been systematically suppressed or marginalised, underscoring the ongoing struggle for these narratives to exist and be acknowledged. As Schwab (2010, 13) maintains, “historical information remains stable when the narrative arising from the multiple versions becomes independent of its tellers.” The narrative arising from the uprisings of 1985, the Tottenham Tree Campaign and how the community reacted to it showed that in 1990 the wound was opened.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> When I do not use italics on *Culture for Freedom* I am referring to the event and not the film.

<sup>7</sup> The families of the Tottenham Three produced pamphlets to inform on the situation of the Tottenham Three. This brought the issue closer to the community and was used to ask for help and involvement. The benefit night in *Culture for Freedom* includes a phone number which can be rung to contribute.

When decoding *Culture for Freedom*, the silent dialogue in some sequences established between its viewer and the interventions of the event are an example of a talking cure carried through images and music and not words (Freud [1893] 1955). Ceddo is the analyst and the viewer is the patient who has to overcome mainstream amnesia by giving meaning to silences and absences, which have a deep emotional relevance and significance. This reading is a symptomatic one since the viewer needs to be aware of the intention behind its silent form. Following Özem Güçlü (2016, 19), “silence [...] might also be a vehicle of expression, judgement, and will.” To this idea, it could be added that “[t]he role of moral consciousness is normally associated with the muted one, the person around whom everyone else feels guilty” (Chion 1999, 96). This is one of the situations that the viewer of *Culture for Freedom* could experience. Guilty for not being able to understand what happened and what led to the event.

*Culture for Freedom* provided an avenue for both those present in the benefit night and viewers of the work afterward to confront and potentially alleviate the guilt stemming from misinformation. It facilitated a sense of belonging within the community, spanning generations and transcending temporal spatial boundaries. By encapsulating the memory of the event, the documentary serves as a vessel through which individuals can connect with their community’s history and collective experiences, fostering a deeper sense of connection and understanding across time. Art in the form of speeches, poetry reading, songs, dancing and comedy worked towards freedom and connected black Britain. This documentary existing also means that those who were not part of the event and want to remember it can do so in the form of a prosthetic memory. For Alison Landsberg (2004, 19), “prosthetic memories originate outside a person’s lived experience and yet are taken on and worn by that person.” Anyone watching *Culture for Freedom* can wear this memory and by remembering it, they are keeping its memory alive. Cinema is an example of prosthetic memory. This idea emphasises once more the community orientation of Ceddo and its productions with the past, present and future and the viewers of *Culture for Freedom* as an example of it.

There is a sheer number of scenes that are of interest to demonstrate how the film visually constructs black Briton’s oppression. The opening scene does not immediately present an image. Instead, the viewer first listens to the piercing wail of a police siren. Following this, a sign with the words “Welcome to Broadwater Farm” emerges, setting the tone for the narrative that follows. Shortly after, the sign shifts from a green background to a red one and the words “Welcome to Broadwater Farm” appear. This is followed by a collage of young black Britons on the right and policemen on the left. In the middle buildings separate them. This represents the pressure of the streets that I previously wrote about and which the police and young black Britons embody. Immediately afterwards, the viewer is given a close-up of the young black people on the right and the sign “Welcome to Broadwater Farm.” The police do not appear anymore. This indicates how *Culture for Freedom* focuses on black Britons and their account, not the police’s or any other repressive apparatus.

The close-up is followed by juxtaposed images of episodes in black British history and the memory of communities. They show uprisings, people marching in demonstrations and especially the Tottenham riots. After this fast-paced flow of juxtaposed images, the images start to get colourful. The colours are green,



yellow and red, a reference to the colours of the flag of the Rastafari movement together with a black fist in the middle, a further reference to black power and the idea that the narration belongs to black Britain. This introductory part of the documentary shows how Ceddo helps the viewer navigate the message encoded in a refined artistic way. The event *Culture for Freedom* starts with a hearable live musical performance. The lyrics of the songs are quite subversive and add to the idea that meaning is encapsulated in music and images and not words. The song is “Breaking Down the Barriers” by The Twinkle Brothers. The relationship between the African Diaspora and music is significant. Music is where the consciousness of time travels, especially in music involving drums as is the case in most of the performances in the work. There is a political function behind the music which was recognised already by masters in colonial times (Bidnall 2017, 19). After this long take, the experience of silent reading starts through the several speakers taking up the stage. This silence is only disrupted on specific occasions throughout the documentary. An example is the repetition of a drawing of the Tottenham Three behind bars and the voice-over that repeats the sentence, “release the Tottenham Three.” This is the structure that is repeated on several occasions in the documentary and which mediates the silent bits providing the film with cohesion.

An important silent scene is the dramatic reconstruction of a young black Briton being interrogated in prison.<sup>8</sup> In a following scene, this person takes the stage and, reading from his hand, shares what he was asked. He embodies those people from Broadwater who were interrogated after the disorders. This suggests once more that art—a dramatic performance in this case—is a medium used to mediate and heal traumatic experiences, especially when someone who may have first-hand knowledge about it takes the stage and shares it with the community. Having to read this silent scene among many others of relevance is an example of how viewing this documentary is a constant exercise of reading against the grain. By reading against the grain, I follow Walter Benjamin ideas as explained by Mela Dávila-Freire (2020) on reading history against the grain to approach *Culture for Freedom* from an unconventional perspective and read it in a different way not done before.

There are only three scenes where voices are heard. The first one is that of a speaker pointing out to the idea that the media are to blame for the Tottenham Three’s imprisonment. This person directly asks the audience for help. He has addressed the media, an ideological state apparatus, which constantly vilifies black Britons as I indicated in *The People’s Account*. This shows how the people in that event knew that the problem that they were facing went beyond the Repressive State Apparatus, which are the police or the prison system. The power exercised by the media in the UK and its relationship with black British community was encapsulated in *Racism: A Response* (Gordon 1990b) by Ceddo.

The following hearable example is what seems to be a comic sketch between two women which ends up in a gloomy tone. These two women talk about daily issues such as having families, being mothers and generational gaps. However,

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<sup>8</sup> Scenes of interrogations in police stations are recurrent among the mentioned workshops. Further examples are *Mysteries of July* (Auguiste 1991) by BAFC and *Young Soul Rebels* (Julien 1991) by Sankofa.



one of them mentions that she has her son in prison, her son Winston. She is embodying the feelings of the families of the Tottenham Three. As such, it is an attempt at healing the community's trauma through a cathartic experience that many parents in the audience could relate to. The final hearable moment comes from a woman who asks for help. She asks the audience to spare a thought for the Tottenham Three and do something about it. She wants help to put pressure on the home secretary as it has been done with the families of Broadwater and to actively fight.

These hearable moments are quite strategic and they emphasise not only the idea of pressure on black Britons but also encourages the community to fight back since it is the only solution available to face a problem that is common and, as such, to be united. They also include the viewer in the narrative by being an active witness and decoder as well as a carrier of prosthetic memory. Consequently, this documentary together with this article are examples of how by using the arts—whether through writing, film or music, or a combination of all of them, as *Culture for Freedom* does, traumatic memory is a productive force. By engaging with the past through acts of remembrance and commemoration, they offer opportunities to reshape the relationship between past and present. Through it, individuals and communities can confront and process traumatic experiences, fostering healing and memorialisation.

#### 4. Conclusion

All in all, this article expands the conversation between modes of remembering and audio-visual culture through Ceddo's productions and their two productions *The People's Account* and *Culture for Freedom*, which are underexplored. This article has done so by considering the importance of Ceddo and its productions to understand the construction of black British identities in the 80s in the social, political and cultural context that Ceddo dealt with. This has been demonstrated by addressing the context in which Ceddo was born following the Workshop Declaration Act, an institutional response of the uprisings of 1981 as well as the context of the uprisings of 1985 in Tottenham. Additionally, by remembering *The People's Account* it has been possible to explore questions related to trauma and the generation of postmemory that occupy the visual space constructed in the documentary together with questions related to censorship. Moreover, and strictly related to the previous argument, this article has managed to read *Culture for Freedom* as a response to the censorship faced by *The People's Account* and as an attempt at healing the trauma present on it by reading the silences and absences of the stories that were not allowed to exist. It has also been taken as an example of prosthetic memory. In this way, these productions reveal the relationships between memory and identity concerning the black British experience in the 80s.

Ceddo puts forward an excavation of black British identities that were not part of the main British narrative as well as a representation of black Britishness from the point of view of the own community. The fact that this paper brings into the conversation these two productions and explores them is a way of keeping the memory of these productions and Ceddo alive. As Masokoane (1986, 63) states

on behalf of Ceddo, “[t]he future could still be in our hands, let us, therefore, make this gathering a turning point where we can push and advance black film making in this country to become a recognisable force.” Their engagement with community issues demonstrated that the future awaited them and this paper has shown that they are still an important film and video workshop addressing crucial questions in terms of memory, cinema and identity formation.

This article shows that Ceddo’s productions are still of relevance today and that they should be included more often in conversations about black British cinema. There have been recent attempts at doing so as the conversation “Chronicles of a Black Filmmaker” between one of the members of Ceddo, Imruh Bakari Caesar and Linton Kwesi Johnson at the black-led gallery 198 Contemporary Arts and Learning on 26<sup>th</sup> October 2022 in Brixton shows. A further example is the display of some of Ceddo’s works in the exhibition *PerAnkh: The June Giovanni Pan-African Cinema Archive* which took place from 15<sup>th</sup> April to 4<sup>th</sup> June 2023 at Raven Row, London.

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# The Portrayal of Migration and Mental Health Issues in Twenty-First Century Latina Literature<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract.** The aim of this article is to examine the portrayal of migration and mental health issues in selected works by Reyna Grande (2012), Diane Guerrero (2014), Julissa Arce (2016) and Karla Cornejo Villavicencio (2020). These twenty-first century Latina texts are analyzed by incorporating an interdisciplinary approach that seeks to observe simultaneously how this literature reflects reality and how migration and mental health are perceived by literary criticism. The first part of this paper will summarize the state of the art and provide the sociohistorical context of the literary texts, and the second part will address the key points of the literary analysis, that is, the impact of migration and undocumented status on the mental health of the protagonists and its implications for social belonging and the pursuit of the American Dream. The selected literary works are first-person narratives that deal with migration to the US and the multiple factors embedded in this process, and they also depict how these experiences may have an impact on the mental health of migrants. These texts are valuable contributions to the ongoing debate on migration and illustrative of the evolution of the DREAMer movement.

**Keywords:** mental health, migration, Latina literature, DREAMers.

## 1. Introduction

The aim of this essay is to analyze the portrayal of mental health issues in twenty-first century Latina narratives. Specifically, it examines the impact of migration on mental health in *The Distance between Us* (2012) by Reyna Grande, Diane Guerrero's *In the Country We Love* (2016) and Julissa Arce's and Karla Cornejo Villavicencio's *My (Underground) American Dream* (2016) and *The Undocumented Americans* (2020) respectively. This paper scrutinizes how Latinx families residing in the US are affected by migration and how this affects their emotional wellbeing, sense of belonging and social position, placing a special focus on the lives of women and children in migrant families. The mental health issues that are being considered for the present project are those related to migration, as explained in studies in clinical psychology, psychiatry and sociology.

Given the high prevalence and increasing awareness of mental health conditions among the global population, analyzing a body of works published in the last decade could make a relevant contribution to the ongoing conversations on mental health and migration. The authors chosen for this project have portrayed mental health issues in a relatively explicit way that favors the literary analysis and discussion of the prevalence of these conditions. In addition, these works, which could be labeled as memoirs (in fact, this term is included on the

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cover of Grande and Guerrero's books), keep a close connection with the world that we live in. Since literature could be understood as a representation of reality, it seems relevant to analyze how these works resonate with reality and, in particular, with studies conducted in sociology, psychology and psychiatry focusing on the mental health of migrants. These texts could be potentially inspiring for those who are undergoing similar experiences to the ones described in the selected books.

At a broader level, I seek to observe how cultural representations may have the potential to increase awareness of current social issues such as migration and mental health, which are highly stigmatized by society. Since they are global issues, the experiences and findings of this project could be transferred to multiple contexts such as the European one. Moreover, I seek to explore how these narratives contribute to a more diverse literary panorama that, far from including stereotyped and problematic stories, seeks to increase Latinx representation in literature and other cultural productions, thus giving visibility to a community that is often subjected to racial stereotyping and discrimination.

The first part of this paper will summarize the state of the art by providing the sociohistorical context of the selected literary works, focusing on Latinx migration to the US and the presence of mental health issues in the Latinx community, as well as outlining some of the main approaches to the study of mental health conditions in literary criticism. The second part of this essay will summarize the literary analysis of this project, focusing on three main points: migrating and living undocumented in the US, the portrayal of mental health issues that may arise as a result of migration, as well as the quest for social belonging and the achievement of the American Dream.

## 2. The sociohistorical and literary context of the project

### 2.1. Migration and mental health in the Latinx community

One in five people in the US has a mental health condition, but only half of them are receiving treatment (NIMH 2019). Among this population, women and young people have a higher likelihood to experience mental health issues (Mental Health America n.d.). Those with a mental health condition experience difficulties when seeking treatment due to social stigma, lack of resources and low insurance rates (WHO 2001). Mental health issues also affect Latinxs living in the US, a community of over 60 million people (US Census Bureau 2019), who are less likely to receive treatment for anxiety and depression owing to an overall lower socioeconomic status and insurance rates, as well as cultural and institutional barriers and social stigma (Ruiz 1985; Ruiz and Alarcón 1996; Guarnaccia, Martinez and Acosta 2005; Nadeem et al. 2007; Fontenot, Semega and Kollar 2018). Furthermore, those who migrate often experience an alteration of family structures and gender roles (Pessar 2005), and they tend to hold a worse social position in the host country (Capps et al. 2007). This factor may intersect with other social parameters and affect the mental health of migrants.

Migration and asylum laws have become increasingly restrictive, and the time to process petitions tends to be long. Due to all this, it is estimated that 11 million

people are undocumented in the US (Passel and Cohn 2012) and many of these migrants fear deportation, which has been on the rise in the twenty-first century. Nowadays, those lacking legal authorization are often referred to as “illegal.” Originally a legal category, “illegal” has now a social dimension and is overused to designate and undermine both documented and undocumented migrants. In legal terms, lacking a residence permit entails deportability or the possibility of being deported, which makes those who lack legal status vulnerable, and it often leads them to endure poor work and social conditions (De Genova 2006). In addition, those who are undocumented tend to have lower social status and restricted access to services (Abrego and Lakhani 2015; Menjívar, Abrego and Schmalzbauer 2016). Undocumented status also leads to social “alienation,” defined as “the process through which individuals come to be defined as ‘illegal aliens’” (Coutin 1993, cited in De Genova 2002, 423). This gradual isolation affects the sense of belonging of the unauthorized population (Glenn 2011) and increases their stigmatization (Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco and Dedios-Sanguinetti 2013).

Those who are undocumented often live in mixed-status families (Fix and Zimmermann 2001), where members have different legal statuses. In the US, 16.7 million people are estimated to live in this type of family (Mathema 2017), and those who are documented also experience the impact of the undocumented status of their relatives. This is known as “multigenerational punishment,” a term coined by sociologist Laura Enriquez (2015, 939) defined as “a distinct form of legal violence wherein the sanctions intended for a specific population spill over to negatively affect individuals who are not targeted by laws.” This results in restricted access to services, fear of deportation and ultimately “living in the shadows,” that is, avoiding social interactions and becoming socially invisible. Thus, living in a mixed-status family may have a negative impact on one’s wellbeing, especially among children (Fix and Passel 1999; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco and Todorova 2008).

Studies have shown that children in mixed-status and migrant families are more prone to depression, developmental risks and underuse of social services (Ortega et al. 2009; Perreira and Ornelas 2011). In addition, the social stigma and potential deportation of their relatives often create great levels of psychological distress among children (Dreby 2012). However traumatic deportation can be, it has been described as “the tip of the iceberg” (Dreby 2012, 830), as the banishment of family members often entails multiple difficulties such as economic hardship and increased mental distress among children (Brabeck and Xu 2010; Dreby 2012; Allen, Cisneros and Tellez 2015).

The undocumented youth, often known as DREAMers after the DREAM Act (Development, Relief and Education for Minors Act) proposed by the Obama administration, have gained prominence in recent years. They belong to the generation that will take the lead when the white baby boomers retire (Menjívar, Abrego, Schmalzbauer 2016, 121), but their undocumented status often exposes them to deportation, racial discrimination and other tensions that may affect their emotional wellbeing (De la Torre and Germano 2014). While they could be expected to avoid public presence due to their legal status, they are politically active and promote self-advocacy within adverse contexts.

Numerous DREAMers are recipients of DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals), a measure implemented in 2012 that grants temporary residency and a work permit, but no path to permanent residency. While the over 700,000 DACA recipients are less likely to live below the poverty line (Amuedo-Dorantes and Antman 2016; USCIS 2018), having no path to citizenship and the ongoing rescissions and attempts to block the program leave the lives of many in a limbo. This situation creates “anxiety, uncertainty and guilt” (Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco and Dedios-Sanguinetti 2013, 1175) and mental health issues related to deportation and family separation among DREAMers. As research has shown, the rescission of DACA could have a profound impact on the mental health of DREAMers (Venkataramani and Tsai 2017). Moreover, being in a legal and social limbo leads them to question their identity and future prospects, as they are, in a way, “excluded from an American identity, though raised in this country” (Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco and Dedios-Sanguinetti 2013, 1188). In view of the relevance of DREAMers in the US, contributing to social changes that improve the conditions of DREAMers as well as those in mixed-status families would be beneficial for the country as a whole. As Jorge Delva and colleagues (2013, 33) argue, “in the end, all citizens, not just undocumented immigrants stand to gain with more humane policies.”

DREAMers have taken an active role on social media and across cultural productions to claim their belonging in the US and share their stories, as well as the suffering that they experience due to their legal and social condition. This discussion has permeated Chicana and Latina literature, where female authors have also overcome oppressive beliefs that questioned their identity and writing. Since the second half of the twentieth century, Chicana and Latina authors progressively gained prominence in the literary panorama by examining a wide range of topics and writing in multiple literary genres (Lomelí, Márquez and Herrera-Sobek 2000; McCracken 2017). However, it is worth noting that only a few contemporary Latina works have portrayed mental health issues. While most works in the twentieth century portrayed psychological distress as a consequence of certain events and in an implicit way, works written in the twenty-first century have portrayed mental health conditions as a central topic across multiple genres. Some of these works are *I Am Not Your Perfect Mexican Daughter* (2017) by Erika L. Sánchez, *Confessions of a Firework* (2016) by Angela Aguirre, *Corazón* (2017) by Yesika Salgado and *Juliet Takes a Breath* (2019) by Gabby Rivera. Mental health has also been depicted across other Latinx cultural productions such as TV series, podcasts and photography.

## 2.2. On migration, trauma and healing

The portrayal of mental health issues in literature has received considerable critical attention during the last decades. Particularly since the consolidation of Trauma Studies in the 1990s, scholars have expanded and criticized the original notion of trauma in favor of a definition that is more relevant to a greater proportion of society (Kirmayer, Lemelson and Barad 2007). One of the most notorious criticisms of Trauma Studies has emerged among Postcolonial Studies scholars, as they have advocated for a more open trauma paradigm that

overcomes the limitations that Trauma Studies poses in these contexts. In other words, the event-based notion of trauma originally developed by Cathy Caruth does not account for experiences occurring in postcolonial environments (Rothberg 2008; Visser 2018). At the same time, postcolonial scholars have rejected the exclusively individual and collective notions of trauma, arguing that both may occur and co-occur (Rothberg 2008). In addition, the postcolonial approach to Trauma Studies highlights the importance of assessing traumatic experiences within their sociopolitical contexts, to acknowledge and determine how power relations and oppression may contribute to the perpetuation of trauma (Dragulescu 2018).

The postcolonial approach to Trauma Studies resonates with studies on the mental health of migrants. Psychiatrist Joseba Achotegui has long studied the impact of migration on mental health, elaborating on the notion of migrant grief. According to Achotegui (2003), migrants undergo psychological changes as a result of migration, which often cause a continuous or ongoing type of emotional suffering. This type of grief is different from others, as the grieved element is not deceased, but is still present while distant in a migrant's life (Achotegui 2003). The effects of migrant grief may be aggravated by the lack of social support and high expectations often faced by migrants (Achotegui 2002). These high hopes set on migration are often influenced by the myth of the successful migrant, that is, the belief that hard work and inevitable suffering will eventually lead to success (Hron 2018). This myth can be highly problematic, as it not only normalizes suffering but it also takes for granted that migrants will thrive, which is not always the case (Hron 2018).

Specifically, in the Latinx context, Chicana scholars have also theorized on the presence of trauma in their community, which bears resemblance to the notion developed in Postcolonial Trauma Studies. Gloria Anzaldúa, one of the leading voices in Chicana epistemology, conceptualized the US-Mexico as an “open wound” (2012, 25) (note that *trauma* is the Greek word for “wound”) and regarded Chicana identity as a borderland and a displaced identity: “as a mestiza, I have no country, my homeland cast me out—yet all countries are mine because I am everyone's sister or potential lover” (Anzaldúa 2012, 102-103).

Chicana scholar Edén Torres (2003, 14) stated that Chicanxs experience “unresolved grieving” due to ongoing racial and class oppression, and lack of social acknowledgement of their pain. In addition, borrowing María Root's words, Torres (27) stated that Chicanxs live in a “culture of denial,” as they have not been given the permission nor the conditions to grieve and to acknowledge their suffering. The lack of space to grieve of Chicanxs and Latinxs intersects with social parameters such as legal status, class and gender, and it has a direct connection with social power. As Fetta (2018, 13) contends, “a full display of emotion is conditioned by one's social position.” This explains the overall little agency that Latinxs and undocumented migrants have been given in the media (Aldama 2013).

All in all, it could be stated that twenty-first century literary criticism is increasingly interdisciplinary, given the emergence of various approaches such as Narrative Medicine (Charon 2006) or Cognitive Literary Studies (Jaén and Simon 2013), which enhance the quality of medical and other professional practices and enrich literary criticism. As Roger Kurtz (2018) argues, the future of literary

studies is post-traumatic, as Trauma Studies have influenced and permeated the analysis of literature, making the study of trauma a truly interdisciplinary field.

### 3. The portrayal of mental health issues in Grande (2012), Arce (2016), Guerrero (2016) and Cornejo Villavicencio (2020)

Reyna Grande was born in Mexico, where she grew up while her parents were in the US. At age 9, Grande and her siblings migrated to Los Angeles to live with their father. She worked as a teacher at LAUSD and has written several literary works such as *Across a Hundred Mountains* (2007), *The Distance between Us* (2013) and *A Ballad of Love and Glory* (2022). Grande's *The Distance between Us* begins years after her father's migration, when her mother leaves for the US, and Reyna and her siblings stay with their grandparents while occasionally seeing their parents. The second part of the book narrates her migration to the US at age 9 and her new life with her father and siblings in Los Angeles. She describes the experiences that led her to become the first person in her family to earn a college degree, as well as her constant longing to be a united family and struggle to negotiate her identity.

Julissa Arce was born in Mexico, where she grew up with her grandmother and two older sisters, while her parents and younger brother lived in the US. At age 11, Arce migrated to the US, and became undocumented, but her sisters remained in Mexico. She is the author of *My (Underground) American Dream* (2016), which was adapted into a young reader's version in 2018, and *You Sound Like a White Girl: The Case for Rejecting Assimilation* (2022). Aside from writing, Arce is engaged in social justice, migrant rights and education. *My (Underground) American Dream* revolves around the lives of Arce and her family. While her academic performance was excellent, she became a victim of domestic abuse, and her undocumented status prevented her from completing the rites of passage and taking certain steps towards upward social mobility such as applying to college. After finally graduating from college and still undocumented, Arce began her professional career and became the vice president of Goldman Sachs at age 27. Her story revolves around her quest for the American Dream, but it also illustrates the deep impact of undocumented status and social exclusion on one's professional life and wellbeing.

Diane Guerrero is an actress born in New Jersey into a Colombian family. At age 15, she faced the sudden deportation of her parents and brother and found herself alone in the US. She has pursued a successful acting career and published her memoir *In the Country We Love* in 2016, which was adapted into a young adult book in 2018. Guerrero also collaborates actively with organizations supporting migrants and the Latinx community. *In the Country We Love* describes her first years growing up in Boston, when her parents struggled to legalize their status while fearing their deportation. The turning point in the memoir comes when her family is deported, as she finds herself alone in the US and decides to stay. This poses multiple challenges to the protagonist's financial security, career prospects and wellbeing. While narrating how she gradually overcame those difficulties, Guerrero describes growing up to pursue an acting career while processing the distance that remains between her and her family.



Karla Cornejo Villavicencio was born in Ecuador and migrated to the US as a child to join her parents. She is the author of *The Undocumented Americans* (2020) and has also written several essays on migration, mental health and her own experiences. Her account of becoming a Harvard graduate while being undocumented received considerable critical attention. *The Undocumented Americans* narrates Cornejo Villavicencio's migration from Ecuador to the US, and her life as an undocumented young person. Unlike the three aforementioned works that mainly revolve around the lives of the protagonists and their families, Cornejo Villavicencio combines her narrative with stories of undocumented migrants that she has interviewed across the US, giving visibility to multiple experiences of different ages and backgrounds that receive little critical attention and whose suffering is often dismissed.

These four narratives are valuable as they question stereotypes and prejudices against undocumented migrants and Latinxs living in the US. Scholar Sarah Bishop (2019, 30) has defined the stories told by undocumented migrants as "reclaimant narratives," which are "the experiential, partial, public, oppositional, and incondensable stories that marginalized individuals used to assert their right to speak and reframe audience understanding." Bishop (2019, 169) also believes that these stories contribute to the "self-making" of the undocumented. This is vital not only for the undocumented population but also for Latinxs, who have been a "mediated minority" (Aldama 2013, 3), and for those with mental health issues, who have also lacked agency and trust and have been spoken for.

The four works selected for the present paper revolve around three main themes: the impact of migrating and living undocumented in the US, the emotional suffering deriving from migration, and the quest for social belonging and the achievement of the American Dream.

### 3.1. The impact of migration and living undocumented in the US

The central topic of the selected works is migration and its impact on the protagonists, their families and communities. In all cases, the protagonists belong to mixed-status families, where at least one member is undocumented. Diane Guerrero was born in the US and is therefore a citizen, but Reyna Grande, Julissa Arce and Karla Cornejo were born outside the US and, when they migrate, they hold undocumented status. Their legal situation and belonging to mixed-status families determine their life and prospects in the US as, to a greater or lesser extent, they all live "in the shadows," avoiding social interactions in multiple contexts. This has a profound impact on the sense of belonging and wellbeing of migrants, as explained above.

Reyna Grande's narrative emphasizes how migration has altered family dynamics, leading to the physical and emotional separation of family members, which makes them feel "abandoned" (2012, 33), as they are called "orphans" (17). When her mother is about to migrate to the US to join her husband and build a family home, Reyna's sister states: "We don't need a house. We need Papi" (12), which shows how the children prioritize affective wellbeing over economic wealth. This can also be observed in her use of *Papi*, an affective word over *father*, and *house*, a more neutral term when compared to *home*. While the physical distance



is overcome when Reyna and her siblings migrate to the US and the family is partially reunited, the emotional distance remains.

Similarly, in Julissa Arce's case, the family is permanently separated, as her sisters remain in Mexico when she migrates to the US. In addition, due to her Mexican roots, she feels rejected at school (2016, 44). Arce comes to terms and feels the impact of her undocumented status when she is unable to complete rites of passage such as celebrating a quinceañera or applying to college because she lacks a Social Security Number (85). She expresses her powerlessness and frustration when she argues that "there was literally nothing I could do to change the situation I was in. There was no waiting line" (107). This statement also questions meritocracy and the popular belief that migrants should wait in line to legalize their situation.

Despite being a citizen herself, Diane Guerrero experiences multigenerational punishment (Enriquez 2015), as the undocumented status of her parents and brother has a negative impact on her life. From the beginning, Guerrero's family prioritize their legalization, which is regarded by the protagonist as "a path forward. A safe passage out of hiding. A passport from the underworld. The next chapter of our story" (2016, 41). Aside from the upward social mobility implied in this statement, Guerrero's use of *our story* illustrates how the undocumented status of her parents has deep legal and social implications for all relatives. Guerrero fears the deportation of her relatives and then sees her parents and brother being deported over a short time period. This leads her to live "in the shadows" and to feel alienated (Coutin 1993, cited in De Genova 2002, 423), developing a distance with society and becoming progressively invisible. The deportation of her parents occurs abruptly, leaving Guerrero little time to process and grieve the experience. She also sees the criminalization of her parents when they are at the detention center wearing an orange jumpsuit (2016, 91).

Karla Cornejo Villavicencio combines her story of migration with those of other undocumented people who live in the US and who are not part of the DREAMer movement. These migrants belong to different generations and, as Cornejo states (2020, 160), live "in a place where [they're] not wanted." She declares that, despite the toll that migration takes and the contributions made to the US in particularly difficult situations, they are just seen as "illegal," "a burden" and as "workers" that are only valued for their productivity (138; 152; 13). As the author explains:

I've heard them call us "undocumented workers" as a euphemism, as if there was something uncouth about being just an undocumented person standing with your hands clasped together or at your sides. I almost wish they'd called us something rude like "crazy fuckin' Mexicans" because that's acknowledging something about us beyond our usefulness—we're crazy, we're Mexican, we're clearly unwanted! but to describe all of us [...] as workers in order to make us palatable, my god. We were brown bodies made to labor" (13).

The author's disapproval of this euphemistic designation is due to the capitalist justification of migrants, as it is their productivity what legitimizes their presence in the US. Moreover, Cornejo Villavicencio denounces the dehumanization and essentialization experienced by this segment of the population through her use of "Mexicans" to designate all Latinxs, a common term in anti-Latinx rhetoric.

### 3.2. The portrayal of mental health issues

The impact of migration on emotional wellbeing has been long studied by mental health professionals, as well as by scholars across disciplines. If migration is a complex process that tends to have a negative impact on mental health, when those who migrate are undocumented, the process becomes even more complex and complicated. As mentioned above, within mixed-status families, relatives may experience the multigenerational punishment (Enriquez 2015), which tends to create distress on all family members. Perhaps the most detrimental implication of living undocumented is the possibility of being deported, which tends to create great psychological distress among families. Finally, mental health issues and undocumented status carry a considerable amount of social stigma, which is expected to contribute negatively to the undocumented and those with mental health conditions. All these points are made in the analyzed works, but the portrayal of mental health issues varies considerably.

In Reyna Grande's memoir, mental health conditions are portrayed in a less implicit way, perhaps owing to the fact that the story is focalized by a younger Reyna (Muñoz and Vigil 2019). After the migration of Reyna's parents to the US, their mother seems detached, which leads to feelings of abandonment and emotional distress among the children. Once they go to the US, Reyna and her siblings are victims of domestic abuse, as their father becomes violent with them. Towards the end of the story, after weighing all the positive and negative experiences that her family has endured, Reyna admits that "immigration took a toll on us all" (Grande 2012, 208), acknowledging the emotional pain that all family members have experienced as a result of migration. She also accepts what their parents have become and states the following:

I wondered if during their crossing both my father and mother had lost themselves in that no-man's land. I wondered if my real parents were still there, caught between two worlds. I imagined them trying to make their way back to us. I truly hoped that one day they would (Grande 2012, 315).

Julissa Arce's emotional distress stems from multiple negative experiences such as her inability to complete certain rites of passage and steps towards upward social mobility that are expected from a person of her age and having an occasionally abusive father. Learning about her undocumented status is a great source of psychological distress for the protagonist, who feels dehumanized and rejected when being referred to as an "illegal (alien)" (Arce 2016, 60, 266). Her legal condition also shatters her expectations and affects her physical and psychological wellbeing. This does not end when she becomes a citizen, as she feels rejected by society (285).

Mental health issues are portrayed in a more explicit way in Diane Guerrero's work, as her constant preoccupation with the potential deportation of her relatives becomes difficult to cope with. However, the turning point in Guerrero's emotional wellbeing comes when her relatives are deported, and she is forced to make a living on her own in the US. Even after the deportation, the protagonist becomes hypervigilant and worried, leading her to a progressive breakdown that is felt due to the overwhelming pressure to succeed. She experiences anxiety and depression and even contemplates suicide, but she then starts a progressive

recovery. Guerrero describes not only her own emotional distress but also her brother's suffering as an undocumented young person living in the US, whose mental health depends on his legal status: "my brother fell into an emotional slump. He couldn't see a future for himself in this country; it's nearly impossible to dream big when you don't even have your legal papers" (2016, 21). She also criticizes how access to mental healthcare is also determined by socioeconomic status, which, as explained above, tends to be low among undocumented migrants: "Emotional Wellness is a First World luxury" (37).

Karla Cornejo Villavicencio also provides an explicit account of the negative impact of migration that is inscribed in her body and has affected her mental health negatively. She reflects on her undocumented status as a condition leading to attachment issues that also impacted her sense of protection: "As an undocumented person, I felt like a hologram. Nothing felt secure. I never felt safe. I didn't allow myself to feel joy because I was scared to attach myself to anything I'd have to let go of" (Cornejo Villavicencio 2020, 59-60). In addition, Cornejo Villavicencio expresses her vulnerability and that of her parents and other undocumented migrants who are ageing and who have "no safety net" (149), as they are not covered by insurance at vital moments. It is also worth noting how Cornejo Villavicencio illustrates that, in moments of collective grieving, the suffering of the undocumented does not seem to be worth as much. In other words, it seems that undocumented workers are not allowed in the general collective grieving of the US population: "because the antithesis of an American is an immigrant and because we could not be victims in the public eye, we became suspects. And so September 11 changed the immigration landscape forever" (40).

In addition, Cornejo Villavicencio conceptualizes the psychological distress of children of migrants the following way:

Researchers have shown that the flooding of stress hormones resulting from a traumatic separation from your parents at a young age kills off so many dendrites and neurons in the brain that it results in permanent psychological and physical changes. One psychiatrist I went to told me that my brain looked like a tree without branches. So I just think about all the children who have been separated from their parents, and there's a lot of us [...] and I just imagine us as an army of mutants. We've all been touched by this monster, and our brains are forever changed, and we all have trees without branches there (61).

Aside from explaining the deep impact of family separation experienced by children of migrants, her use of "mutants" evokes the term "alien," giving it a new dimension, as she frames the host country as the one who alienates migrants by turning them into mutants, thus questioning the pejorative use of *alien* to designate migrants.

### 3.3. On the achievement of the American Dream

As explained above, being undocumented and belonging to a mixed-status family determine the lives of those who migrate to a great extent, as well as their vision of the American Dream. Even if the families of the protagonists prioritize achieving legal status, they are faced with multiple difficulties that hinder legal status and the achievement of their own versions of the American Dream. For

these protagonists, this dream is linked to upward social mobility and pursuing higher education. At a personal and emotional level, the American Dream also represents the potential family unity that has been interrupted by the migration of relatives to the US, and a way of taking care of their parents after the sacrifice they made when they migrated.

However, all these authors expose the limitations of the American Dream. In all cases, family unity is not achieved, despite being one of the central objectives of all of them. This distance between relatives happens both at a physical and an emotional level, and in some cases, it remains permanent. In addition, all authors question the romanticized version of this dream, which is directly linked to the myth of the successful migrant (Hron 2018). As Bishop (2019) notes:

the tale of the United States as a Promised Land for those seeking a better life permeates national consciousness. But a close inspection makes clear that the branding of the United States as a nation of immigrants only makes space for a particular kind of immigrant—and a particular narrative—and leaves others out of the story altogether (49).

As seen in these works, the protagonists and their families strive for a better future in the US but, despite their efforts to legalize their situation, their undocumented status hinders their future prospects. Not only do these texts portray a not-so-idyllic American Dream, or characters who do not achieve it, but they also illustrate the suffering that is behind becoming successful in the US. In other words, instead of being exclusively narratives of self-made women, they also show how their parents and other relatives do not fulfill their dreams partially or completely, in order to demystify the idea(l) of the good and successful migrant. These stories also question the prejudices against parents who migrate with their children and are undocumented, stating that children have “no fault of their own” (Bishop 2019, 74), a statement that rejects the parents and their willingness to thrive. In addition, it is also shown how many Latinxs, despite being or becoming citizens, do not feel like they belong to the US or are still rejected by society. This resonates with recent views and feelings studied in sociology (Flores González 2017).

Reyna Grande achieves her own version of the American Dream, as she becomes a citizen, holds a university degree, and has a successful career as a writer. However, she describes the deep toll that migration has taken on her and her family, and the inability to fulfill her parents’ dream, which was building a house, a family home (2012, 157). Aside from that, Grande rejects the claim that migrants must fully assimilate to the host culture, and states how her identity is shaped by both Mexico and the US As she explains:

The United States is my home; it is the place that allowed me to dream, and later, to make those dreams into realities. But my umbilical cord was buried in Iguala, and I have never forgotten where I came from. I consider myself Mexican American because I am from both places (320).

Similarly, Julissa Arce pursues an education and an impressive career while still being undocumented. Even if she succeeds in the material dimension of the American Dream, she feels “sick and tired of living in this golden cage” (2016, 220), which illustrates how material abundance comes at the expense of affective

deprivation. In addition, she also acknowledges the suffering experienced for many years and the rejection she has felt by society even after becoming a US citizen, as “some people still want me ‘to go back to where I came from’” (xi).

Diane Guerrero’s career as an actress, podcaster and author is well known, but she also admits that, due to the deportation of her relatives and the suffering behind it, hers is not a completely happy ending after all:

My story represents all that should be celebrated about America. Only here could the daughter of immigrants grow up to succeed in the competitive and exciting world of acting. And only here could a girl like me be invited to have a conversation with the President. I will always cherish those opportunities. And yet my experience in this country also reflects a reality that’s still tough for me to face (2016, 247).

The toll experienced by Guerrero and her relatives is caused by structural factors, which is the reason why the protagonist urges those residing in the US to take action and reflect upon the suffering of migrant families.

Finally, Karla Cornejo Villavicencio pursued an education at one of the most prestigious institutions while still being undocumented. Despite having achieved the American Dream, the author reveals how her progress has taken a toll on her parents, who were the original dreamers. This is why she questions the romanticized version of the Dream and the myth of the successful migrant attached to it, and she claims to have a different American Dream: “the twisted inversion that many children of immigrants know is that, at some point, your parents become your children, and your own personal American Dream becomes making sure they age and die with dignity in a country that has never wanted them” (2020, 148).

#### 4. Concluding remarks

This essay has analyzed the impact of migration and undocumented status on the mental health of migrants in the works by Reyna Grande, Julissa Arce, Diane Guerrero and Karla Cornejo Villavicencio. These narratives portray the stories of four Latina women living in mixed-status families whose parents migrated to the US in search of a better life. All of them succeed in their own version of the American Dream, despite not being exactly the one that they had hoped.

All families strive for upward social mobility by focusing on legalizing their situation, pursuing an education, and achieving material success, but factors such as legal status, ethnic prejudices and low social position compromise the achievement of these objectives and affect their sense of belonging to the US negatively. Put differently, they reveal the toll that migration takes on all family members at multiple levels, including family separation and mental health issues.

By doing so, these authors question the “good” (“legal,” worthy of the American Dream) vs “bad” (“illegal,” deportable, not deserving the American Dream) migrant dichotomy, revealing that, all migrants, despite their legal status, strive for similar objectives. In other words, they question the validity of the dichotomic labels of the “good” and “bad” migrant, as they do not illustrate the stories and efforts behind these categories.



These narratives continue to broaden the multimodal community of undocumented migrants and allies that use their “reclaimant narratives” (Bishop 2019, 30) to gain agency and assert their belonging to the US. As Bishop has noted, these works provide “cultural citizenship in the face of their lack of legal citizenship” (and I would add, also when legal citizenship is attained) to their authors (2019, 4). Moreover, these works may serve as counternarratives to the often stereotyped, dehumanizing and criminalizing media portrayals, by illustrating the deep impact that migration has on one’s emotional wellbeing, and the mental health of mixed-status families in particular. They also show how psychological wellbeing is linked to multiple social parameters such as low socioeconomic or legal status. Thus, these works are valuable contributions to the ongoing debate on migration and could have potential pedagogical implications, as they could be used in educational contexts to help raise awareness of mental health issues, break stereotypes and question prejudices against migrants both within and beyond the US.

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# Universalism as a Factor in the Global Popularity of the Harry Potter Universe

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**Abstract.** One of the most interesting phenomena of the turn of the century is the rise of the Harry Potter culture. Irrespective of their race, ethnicity, nationality and religion, children and adults around the world feel they belong to the Wizarding World. What is it about these stories that makes them so translatable to other cultures? In this paper, I argue that the universalism of the Harry Potter stories is a factor in the rise of the Harry Potter culture. Even though race, ethnicity, nationality and religion are a part of the Harry Potter world, in the novels and films, they are never discussed explicitly. Their function is to paint a 'real world' backdrop of Britain at the turn of the century. To support my claims related to the presence of religion in Harry Potter novels, I analysed keywords in a context using digital tools *AVOBMAT* and *Voyant Tools*. I hypothesised that if words that have religious origins appear in the novels, they do not refer to a specific religious practice, rite or ritual. The words I examined are *pray*, *church*, *God*, *religion*, *Jesus* and *Christmas*.

**Keywords:** Harry Potter, religion, fantasy fiction, digital humanities, popular culture.

## 1. Introduction

In this paper, I argue that 'universalism' is an important factor in making the Harry Potter (HP hereafter) stories 'translatable' to various cultures and thus making it possible to produce the HP hype on a global level. In defining 'universalism,' I rely on the philosophical notion of 'universal' as a shared feature, attribute or quality (*Britannica*). For the purpose of this paper, I define 'universalism' as a characteristic (of HP novels) or a set of attributes in the novels that makes them understandable to readers of different cultures. Its opposite, 'particularism,' refers to a characteristic of something or a set of attributes that requires knowledge of a particular culture in order to be understood.

For example, a historical novel typically has characteristics of particularism. It engages the reader in learning about a specific set of cultural information related to a particular geography and a period. We could argue that a reader with better knowledge of the period can understand more aspects of the novel. Most fantasy novels would fall into the category of universalism, as they do not require a reader to know a particular aspect of culture in order to understand a novel. This is especially true for children and young adult literature because we do not expect children to possess complex knowledge about cultural dynamics. Although attributes that may fall under categories of universalism and particularism can be found in all literary works, suppressing particularism and thus increasing universalism, I argue, is an important characteristic of the style of writing of the HP novels.

Universalism in Harry Potter novels is present both on the level of the structure of the narrative as well as the style of writing. I draw on the Proppian analysis of the HP novels by Joel Hunter to point to universalist features on the

narrative level. I argue that the function of national, ethnic and religious attributes in the HP novels is to paint the “real world” backdrop of a low fantasy novel. These attributes do not play an important role in the plot of the novels. To support a part of my argument related to the presence/absence of words with religious origins, I searched keywords in context using *Voyant Tools* (Sinclair and Rockwell 2016) and *AVOBMAT (Analysis and Visualization of Bibliographic Metadata and Texts)*; see Péter et al. 2020). My research results support the re-enchantment theory as proposed by Stark and Bainbridge (1985), Christopher Partridge (2004) and Jason Josephson-Storm (2017).

## 2. The irresistible rise

As Blake (2002, 3-5) notes, before him, the scholarly understanding of the HP hype was focused on the themes and topics that enchanted children all around the world while omitting the fact that even before its global popularity, HP novels won the hearts of children and adults in the UK. Blake (2002, 5-7) argues that the HP phenomenon was a part of the process of reimagining Englishness in the late 1990s. Drawing on Anderson’s (2006) notion of the ‘imagined community,’ he shows how changes in the political status of the United Kingdom facilitated the need for rebranding Englishness. Here, he refers to the changes in the status of Northern Ireland and Great Britain in 1998 and a move towards greater autonomy of Scotland and Wales. The political image of the UK was loosening without an opportunity to reconstitute itself around the notion of England. “Politically, England does not exist,” Blake (2002, 6) asserts.

In a New Historicist fashion, Blake sees HP novels as both a product of these historical events and as producing the new perception of England as an imagined community. On the one hand, HP novels are full of motives from the English past. Right at the beginning of the first novel (and the movie), Blake (2002, 7) notes that we find Harry and his aunt, uncle and cousin living in a new house but trying to make it look more traditional—“a very English way of living.” On the other hand, he shows that due to the immigration of people in the 1950s, in the 1980s and 1990s, there was a variety of expressions in music, painting and architecture influenced by this ‘reverse colonisation.’ HP novels incorporate this aspect of English culture by portraying Hogwarts as a multicultural space (14-15). So, the two elements of HP’s success in the UK, according to Blake, are reimagining the past in the present and multiculturalism. Like many other cultural products, Blake argues, HP was on the point of tackling present issues but also a part of the cultural rebranding of England.

To argue for the success of the HP novels compared to other contemporaries like Pullman’s *His Dark Materials*, Blake points to various sales and marketing strategies that were used to produce hype from the interest in the HP stories. He demonstrates how, in 1995, even before the Harry Potter books, the book market changed. The book sales focused on teenage and preteen consumers (Blake 2002, 71-93). Bookselling chains like Barnes & Noble and Borders relied on the mass production of books, setting cafeterias in bookshops, and linking reading with purchasing. Waterstones and Blackwell organised events, book signings and readings. Interaction with readers was also encouraged through internet

platforms such as Amazon. Blake (73-74) shows how HP publisher Bloomsbury Publishing followed all these trends. They had an e-magazine, *Blumbsurymagazine.com*, with a section devoted to Harry. He asserts that equating reading with purchasing was the key to creating the HP hype in the UK and the US.

To argue for spreading this hype globally, Blake claims that the pivotal role was the status of the English language and culture in the world. Due to the British colonies and relationship with Hollywood, Englishness, as a cultural product, became globally appealing. Thus, Harry Potter, as an English hero, much like Sherlock Holmes and James Bond before him, appeals to the global audience (Blake 2002, 90-91). To support his argument, he quotes an essay from a Polish student who claims that she became interested in the novels because it was popular in Britain (89). However, even in this isolated case, we do not find that she was interested in books because she recognised that Harry is English. She does, nevertheless, refer to aspects of British culture, like dormitories. But we have no reason to believe that she recognised dormitories as a part of British culture, Englishness, or that any reader would recognise Harry as a typical English suburban child.

### 3. The Proppian structural analysis

I agree with Blake's position that the popularity of the English language and culture facilitated the global success of HP stories due to the legacy of British colonisation commodifying English cultural products (Blake 2002, 90). However, his argument that Harry is English and therefore appealing to a global audience is the weakest point in Blake's argument. On the other hand, he briefly touches upon the two much more important factors in the global HP hype (before Warner Bros movies) but does not expand on them. He notes that the popularity of the HP stories is related to their similarity to folk tales, as well as to the fact that Harry is not Protestant (Blake 2002, 17, 93, 102). In his understanding of the relationship between HP novels and folk tales, Blake (17) notes that Harry is a literary universal, much like Cinderella and King Arthur. What he omits is that the connection of HP stories to folk stories is not only on the level of themes, topics and motives but also on the structural level of the narrative.

Following a Proppian model of structural analysis, Joel Hunter (2012, 5) conducted a survey to test whether there is any correlation between the aesthetic taste of the audience and the Proppian model. In the first part of his study, Hunter analysed seven HP novels using the Proppian structural method. Following Propp's proposal that folk tales have functions that appear in the established order, he detected these functions in HP novels and produced a model which shows to what extent each novel deviates from the Proppian structure; the measure that he called 'incongruity.' Here, he notes that we need to bear in mind that the measure is subjective; nevertheless, it facilitates comparison. He then extracted five propositions from Proppian laws and deduced two additional measures. The second one is related to features that became apparent when we take into consideration the relationship between the novels and the series of



novels as a whole. The third one is related to violations of the propositions (Hunter 2012, 15-20).

In the second part of his study, he conducted an online survey with students who completed the Harry Potter course in various colleges. The students were sorted into categories based on how many times they read the novels, and their task was to rank novels in the series from the least to the most aesthetically satisfying (from 1 to 7). The next step was to correlate the aesthetic satisfaction from the surveys related to each particular novel of the series to the three measures that reflect the extent to which each of the HP novels follows (or instead fails to follow) the Proppian narrative model (Hunter 2012, 5). He sums up his research in the following table (Table 1).

Measuring Unit	Least aesthetically satisfying books		Most aesthetically satisfying books	
	CS	OP	PA	DH
Incongruity	Very Low	Very High	Nil	Nil
Violation	4	3	0	1
Creative Exploitation	0	1	3	6

Table 1. Measures of concordance in the *Harry Potter* stories.

In the table, we can see that the two novels that received the highest aesthetic grades were *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (PA) and *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (DH), while *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (CS) and *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* (OP) received the lowest grades.

Hunter shows how the level of incongruity and violations of propositions are negatively correlated to aesthetic satisfaction, while creative exploitations of the functions are positively correlated. This leads him to conclude that the aesthetic satisfaction of readers is positively correlated to Propp's narrative structure (Hunter 2012, 21). In other words, the readers attributed more aesthetic satisfaction when the novels followed Propp's principles. Walter Burkert (1998, 58-59) calls this Proppian model "The Quest." Analysing the universality of The Quest, Burkert and Dissanayake argue that it points to our biological programming and is related to our biological needs and functions. Moreover, they argue that it reflects the most important features of our evolutionary development as a species (Burkert 1998, 58-59; Dissanayake 2012, 83).

#### 4. Universalism as a feature of a style of writing

Universalism not only appears on the structural level of the HP novels but is also a feature of a style of writing. Here I use the term ‘translatable universalism,’ coined by Alan Strathern. Drawing on Assmann’s (2010, 18-19) notion of the ‘translatability’ of polytheistic religions, Strathern (2019, 27) argues that even though gods of ‘immanentist’ religions are local, they are tied to particular cities, temples, landscapes and customs that are easily ‘translatable’ to other cultures. This allowed a form of flexibility to these religions that the Abrahamic religions did not have. Gods of ‘immanentist’ religions could become more local in a tribal environment, but more universal in spreading culture.<sup>1</sup> A god of death, war or thunder is easily translated to other cultures, even though he or she has distinct local features (Assmann 2010, 45-47). This cannot be said for ‘transcendentalist’ religions, such as Abrahamic ones, for example. As Assmann (19) puts it, “Jupiter cannot be translated to Yahweh.”

National or ethnic attributes in the HP franchise are ‘translatable’ to those aspects of the various cultures of the world that a reader is familiar with. A typical British boarding school can be translated by combining concepts of school and home. Christmas festivity can be translated to any other celebration—free time to spend with friends and family, receive gifts and enjoy food. There is nothing about these attributes that would cause confusion, require further elaboration, and thus disturb the flow of the narrative. Contrary to what Blake argued, most kids around the world will not even recognise that at the beginning of the first novel, Harry’s family has a very English style of living. They will easily translate aspects of Englishness into their own cultural code. This is mainly because national and ethnic attributes are not given as important elements of the narrative. Their function is simply to paint a ‘real world’ backdrop of the low fantasy world of the HP universe.

Another aspect of universalism as a writing style is reflected in the use of words with religious connotations in HP stories. Most importantly, throughout the HP novels, words that have religious origins do not describe religious belief or practice. Even facing certain death, Harry does not pray; he relies on magic—the stone of resurrection to communicate with his dead parents (Rowling 2007, 703). When Voldemort attacks Hogwarts, professors and students never call on God but use protective magics to form a shield around the castle and bring statues alive to defend the school (501-502). I use the term ‘religion’ in a narrow sense as an institutionalised tradition. The plot of the HP books is set in the United Kingdom, so the religious elements that I am exploring here come from the Christian religious tradition.

In the books, we learn about religion because of Christmas. However, in the HP universe, there is no mention of denominations, prayer or any other belief,

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<sup>1</sup> Strathern (2019, 27-106) defines religion with two opposing terms. ‘Immanentism’ designates those forms of religion where supernatural forces coexist with the believers. They are able to interact with them for their benefit. Most indigenous religions fall into this category. ‘Transcendentalism,’ on the other hand, designates forms of religion that rely on separating the world of believers and supernatural forces. Examples of these religions include Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, etc.

rite or ritual that would directly imply religion. Here, I do not claim there is no religion in the HP universe. As a low fantasy, the HP world contains all aspects of the ‘real world.’ That is to say, it includes religions, nationalities and ethnicities. Nevertheless, these are given as cultural and geographical features and do not play a significant role in the plot. We can imagine that in magical schools elsewhere, students celebrate different holidays, religious or otherwise. But even in the celebration of Christmas in the HP novels, there is nothing explicitly religious. It is a period of a year, a school break or a festivity like any other.

## 5. A digital perspective

To test my arguments about the absence of words with religious connotations, I have created and cleaned a corpus of seven txt. format Harry Potter novels.<sup>2</sup> *AVOBNAT* lemmatised the novels (Péter et al. 2020). In the first search, I used *AVOBNAT*’s NGRAM option to create a chart related to the occurrences of the words *religion*, *pray*, *God*, *Jesus* and *church*. The results show that the words *religion* and *Jesus* are not mentioned even once in the entire HP corpus (or any other derivatives of these words). The search also reveals the words *pray*, *God* and *church* throughout the HP series.

Here, I used *Voyant Tools* to double-check my results. *Voyant Tools* is also helpful because it shows the number of occurrences of each derivative of the root of the word. For example, the root *pray* does not ever appear as the verb (to) *pray* but appears 12 times in the form of *praying*, *prayer* and *prayed* (Figure 1).

The results of the search are as follows:

- *pray* (12): *praying* (9), *prayer* (2), *prayed* (1)
- *god* (21): *god* (19), *god’s* (2)<sup>3</sup>
- *church* (25): *church* (21), *churches* (1), *churchgoers* (1), *churchyard* (1), *churchyards* (1).

After the search revealed that the HP corpus contains the above-listed words, I used *AVOBNAT* and *Voyant Tools* to look up these words in context. After looking up each of these derivatives, I concluded that my hypothesis is confirmed—there is not even one case where a word is used to explicitly denote a specific religious tradition, a rite, ritual or belief.

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<sup>2</sup> *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* (1997), *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (1998), *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (1999), *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* (2000), *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* (2003), *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince* (2005), *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (2007).

<sup>3</sup> I did not show the following words because of their irrelevance: *godric*, *godric’s*, *godfather*, *godfather’s*, *godelot*, *godson*.

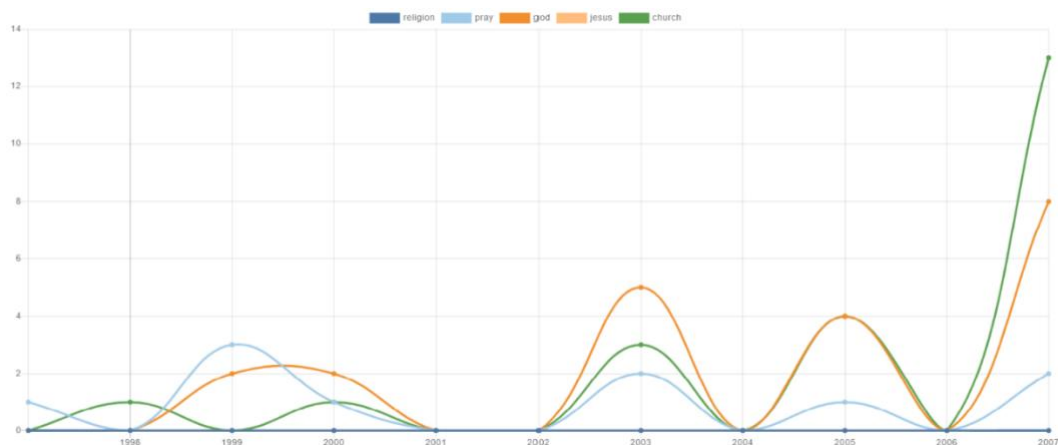


Figure 1. Religion, pray, God, Jesus, church.

### 5.1. Results: *God*, *pray* and *church*

When it comes to the word *God* and its derivatives (Figure 2), it is used as a phrase, most commonly as an exclamation to express the emotion of surprise, amusement, excitement, fear, etc.:

- “Thank God,” shivered Ron as they were enveloped by warm, toffee-scented air (Rowling 2005, 245).
- My God, my father told me about it ages ago... heard it from Cornelius Fudge (Rowling 2000, 159).
- “My God — Diggory!” it whispered. “Dumbledore — he’s dead!” (Rowling 2000, 571).
- “But why didn’t you — oh my God — you should have said” (Rowling 2005, 99).
- “My God, what an eyesore!” (Rowling 2005, 209).

Joanne Rowling	Without title	1999	So I'll go an' get 'em. Hang on...” He strode away from them into the forest and out of sight. “ <b>God</b> , this place is going to the dogs,” said Malfoy loudly. “That oaf teaching classes, my father’ll have
Joanne Rowling	Without title	1999	transform? And the caption said the boy would be going back to Hogwarts... to where Harry was...” “My <b>God</b> ,” said Lupin softly, staring from Scabbers to the picture in the paper and back again. “His front paw...”
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2000	he said delightedly. “You’ve got a father and brother at the Ministry and you don’t even know? My <b>God</b> , my father told me about it ages ago... heard it from Cornelius Fudge. But then, Father’s always associated
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2000	” The face of Cornelius Fudge appeared upside down over Harry: it looked white, appalled. “My <b>God</b> — Diggory!” it whispered. “Dumbledore — he’s dead!” The words were repeated, the shadowy figures
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2003	heard the front door open and then close. “Snape never eats here,” Ron told Harry quietly. “Thank <b>God</b> , C’mon.” “And don’t forget to keep your voice down in the hall, Harry,” Hermione whispered. As
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2003	felt like joining in as they heard Sirius tramping past their door toward Buckbeak’s room, singing “ <b>God</b> Rest Ye Merry, Hippygriffs” at the top of his voice. How could he have dreamed of returning to
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2003	Dumbledore ever taught you how to count?” “He’s dot alone!” shouted a voice from above them. “He’s still <b>god</b> be!” Harry’s heart sank. Neville was scrambling down the stone benches toward them. Hermione’s
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2005	results would be arriving today!” “Today?” shrieked Hermione. “Today? But why didn’t you — oh my <b>God</b> — you should have said —” She leapt to her feet. “I’m going to see whether any owls have come...”
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2005	sounds, his expression hungry. Merope raised her head. Her face, Harry saw, was starkly white. “My <b>God</b> , what an eyesore!” rang out a girl’s voice, as clearly audible through the open window as if she had
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2005	was mercifully open, and Harry and Hermione staggered in his wake into the crowded shop. “Thank <b>God</b> ,” shivered Ron as they were enveloped by warm, toffee-scented air. “Let’s stay here all afternoon,”
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2005	what’s he telling all these... all these...” Harry’s voice tailed away; he was staring at the fire. “ <b>God</b> , I’ve been stupid,” he said quietly. “It’s obvious, isn’t it? There was a great vat of it down in the
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	removed by Dark Magic. But it could have been so much worse... He’s alive.” “Yeah,” said Harry. “Thank <b>God</b> .” “Did I hear someone else in the yard?” Ginny asked. “Hermione and Kingsley,” said Harry.
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	few feet from them, Bill and Fleur slid from its back, windswept but unhurt. “Bill! Thank <b>God</b> , thank <b>God</b> —” Mrs. Weasley ran forward, but the hug Bill bestowed upon her was perfunctory. Looking directly
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	said Ron, mopping his forehead on his sleeve. “She used to come for Christmas every year, then, thank <b>God</b> , she took offense because Fred and George set off a Dungbomb under her chair at dinner. Dad always
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	“Well, as long as it doesn’t get them into trouble, though they might’ve been arrested already. <b>God</b> , that’s revolting.” Ron added after one sip of the foamy, grayish coffee. The waitress had heard: she
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	Rag Cattermole was all that quick-witted, though, the way everyone was talking to me when I was him. <b>God</b> , I hope they made it... if they both end up in Azkaban because of us...” Harry looked over at Hermione
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	keeping the sword. Snape caught them as they were trying to smuggle it down the staircase.” “Ah, <b>God</b> bless ‘em,” said Ted. “What did they think, that they’d be able to use the sword on You-Know-Who? Or
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	that’s little Scorpius,” said Ron under his breath. “Make sure you beat him in every test. Rosie. Thank <b>God</b> you inherited your mother’s brains.” “Ron, for heaven’s sake,” said Hermione, half stern, half amused

Figure 2. The word *God* in context.

The word *pray* is mostly used as a synonym for *hope* (Figure 3). The derivative *prayer* is used to describe the way someone is holding their hands or head:

- “He stumbled forward and sat down on the bed again, staring at his hands, his head bowed as though in prayer” (Rowling 2005, 271).
- “The Dumbledore in Harry’s head smiled, surveying Harry over the tips of his fingers, pressed together as if in prayer” (Rowling 2007, 483).
- “Harry swerved again as the serpent lunged at him; he soared upward and straight toward the place where, he prayed, the door stood open: Ron, Hermione, and Goyle had vanished; Malfoy was screaming and holding Harry so tightly it hurt” (Rowling 2007, 534).
- “They edged toward the open door, mouths dry, praying the troll wasn’t about to come out of it” (Rowling 1998, 174).
- “Praying that the Dursleys were still fast asleep, Harry got down on his hands and knees and reached toward it” (Rowling 1999, 13).

Authors	Title	Publication year	Text
Joanne Rowling	Without title	1997	lock it in.” “Good idea,” said Ron nervously. They edged toward the open door, mouths dry, <b>praying</b> the troll wasn’t about to come out of it. With one great leap, Harry managed to grab the key, slam
Joanne Rowling	Without title	1999	across the room. Harry followed it stealthily. The book was hiding in the dark space under his desk. <b>Praying</b> that the Dursleys were still fast asleep, Harry got down on his hands and knees and reached toward
Joanne Rowling	Without title	1999	and the Marauder’s Map. Snape picked up the Zonko’s bag. “Ron gave them to me,” said Harry, <b>praying</b> he’d get a chance to tip Ron off before Snape saw him. “He — brought them back from Hogsmeade last
Joanne Rowling	Without title	1999	sentence. He shuffled forward on his knees, groveling, his hands clasped in front of him as though <b>praying</b> . “Sirius — it’s me... it’s Peter... your friend... you wouldn’t...” Black kicked out and Pettigrew
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2000	He raised his wand. “Accio Firebolt!” he shouted. Harry waited, every fiber of him hoping, <b>praying</b> ... If it hadn’t worked... if it wasn’t coming... He seemed to be looking at everything around him through
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2003	it! And if either of you ever —” “Hem, hem,” Professor McGonagall closed her eyes as though <b>praying</b> for patience as she turned her face toward Professor Umbridge again. “Yes?” “I think they deserve
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2003	through the only door still open, the one through which the Death Eaters themselves had come. Inwardly <b>praying</b> that Neville would stay with Ron — find some way of releasing him — he ran a few feet into the
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2005	new
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2005	find the right page; at last he located it and deciphered one cramped word underneath the spell: <b>Praying</b> that this was the counter-jinx, Harry thought Liberacorpul with all his might. There was another
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	his head bowed, and his white hands folded over the Elder Wand in front of him. He might have been <b>praying</b> , or else counting silently in his mind, and Harry, standing still on the edge of the scene, thought

Figure 3. The word *praying* in context.

In the case of the word *church*, the connotations are spatial (Figure 4). The church is always a place, a building. The word *churchgoers* refers to people going out of church:

- “Harry looked around, worried, thinking of dementors, then realized that the carols had finished, that the chatter and flurry of churchgoers were fading away as they made their way back into the square” (Rowling 2007, 327).
- “According to a clock on a nearby church, it was almost midnight” (Rowling 2005, 59).
- “The Riddles were buried in the Little Hangleton churchyard, and their graves remained objects of curiosity for a while” (Rowling 2000, 4).
- “I’m sure it is,” said Hermione, her eyes upon the church. “They... they’ll be in there, won’t they? Your mum and dad? I can see the graveyard behind it” (Rowling 2007, 323).
- “*He looked out over a valley blanketed in snow, distant church bells chiming through the glittering silence*” (Rowling 2007, 350).

Authors	Title	Publication year	Text
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2000	gone. They were standing instead in a dark and overgrown graveyard: the black outline of a small <b>church</b> was visible beyond a large yew tree to their right. A hill rose above them to their left. Harry could
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2003	retired from public life after being struck in the ear by a tunip at a concert in Little Norton <b>Church</b> Hall nearly fifteen years ago. I recognized him the moment I saw his picture in the paper. Now, Stubby
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2003	far end... It too opened at his touch... And now he was in a dimly lit room as high and wide as a <b>church</b> , full of nothing but rows and rows of towering shelves, each laden with small, dusty, spun-glass
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2003	back at the door and pushed. It swung open. They were there, they had found the place: high as a <b>church</b> and full of nothing but towering shelves covered in small, dusty, glass orbs. They glimmered dully
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2005	He set off at a brisk pace, past an empty inn and a few houses. According to a clock on a nearby <b>church</b> , it was almost midnight. "So tell me, Harry," said Dumbledore. "Your scar... has it been hurting
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2005	Harry quickly. "Hermione Granger told me." "And she is quite right. We turn left again." The <b>church</b> clock chimed midnight behind them. Harry wondered why Dumbledore did not consider it rude to call
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2005	him: Neither can live while the other survives... Dumbledore had stopped walking, level with the <b>church</b> they had passed earlier. "This will do, Harry. If you will grasp my arm." Braced this time
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2005	them, Harry could see a village, undoubtedly Little Hangleton, nestled between two steep hills, its <b>church</b> and graveyard clearly visible. Across the valley, set on the opposite hillside, was a handsome manor
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	magical families, and this accounts, no doubt, for the stories of hauntings that have dogged the little <b>church</b> beside it for many centuries. "You and your parents aren't mentioned," Hermione said, closing
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	observed by a windblown Christmas tree. There were several shops, a post office, a pub, and a little <b>church</b> whose stained-glass windows were glowing jewel-bright across the square. The snow here had
			become
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	and pop music as the pub door opened and closed; then they heard a carol start up inside the little <b>church</b> . "Harry, I think it's Christmas Eve!" said Hermione. "Is it?" He had lost track of the date:
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	date: they had not seen a newspaper for weeks. "I'm sure it is," said Hermione, her eyes upon the <b>church</b> . "They... they'll be in there, won't they? Your mum and dad? I can see the graveyard behind it."
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	his forehead... "C'mon," said Harry, when he had looked his fill, and they turned again toward the <b>church</b> . As they crossed the road, he glanced over his shoulder: the statue had turned back into the war
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	war memorial. The singing grew louder as they approached the <b>church</b> . It made Harry's throat constrict, it reminded him so forcefully of Hogwarts, of Peeves bellowing rude versions of carols from inside
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	open as quietly as possible and they edged through it. On either side of the slippery path to the <b>church</b> doors, the snow lay deep and untouched. They moved off through the snow, carving deep trenches
			behind
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	they walked around the building, keeping to the shadows beneath the brilliant windows. Behind the <b>church</b> , row upon row of snowy tombstones protruded from a blanket of pale blue that was flecked with
			dazzling
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	of churchgoers were fading away as they made their way back into the square. Somebody inside the <b>church</b> had just turned off the lights. Then Hermione's voice came out of the blackness for the third
Joanne Rowling	Without title	2007	time and without even looking back, she knew that she had found the church and the end of the Christmas story. At the little church house.

1 to 20 of 21 &lt; &gt; Page 1 of 2 &gt;

Figure 4. The word *church* in context.

## 5.2. Results: *Christmas*

In addition to these words, I explored the word *Christmas*. Again, I compared the results of *AVOBMAT* and *Voyant Tools*. Both tools show that the word appears 209 times in the corpus and is present in each of the HP novels: *Philosopher's Stone* (25), *Chamber of Secrets* (15), *Prisoner of Azkaban* (31), *Goblet of Fire* (30), *Order of the Phoenix* (51), *Half-Blood Prince* (32), *Deathly Hallows* (25). Graphs are normalised; *AVOBMAT* shows relative frequencies per year and *Voyant Tools* per book (Figures 5 and 6). In all cases, the word *Christmas* has a temporal meaning. It appears as a festival or a school break. There is no explicit description of a religious rite or ritual involved in the celebration of Christmas. The relationship with the Christian religious tradition is pushed to the background and given in a symbolic form related to decorations and singing.

- "I'm warning you now, boy — any funny business, anything at all — and you'll be in that cupboard from now until Christmas" (Rowling 1998, 24).
- "Harry had. Mrs. Weasley had sent him a scarlet sweater with the Gryffindor lion knitted on the front; also a dozen home-baked mince pies, some Christmas cake, and a box of nut brittle" (Rowling 1999b, 222).
- "You told me at the Yule Ball a house-elf called Dobby had given you a Christmas present" (Rowling 2000, 677).
- "'Well, we know what to get you next Christmas,' said Hermione brightly" (Rowling 2000, 546).



- “Now you’ve got to buy me a Christmas present, ha!” (Rowling 2000, 105).

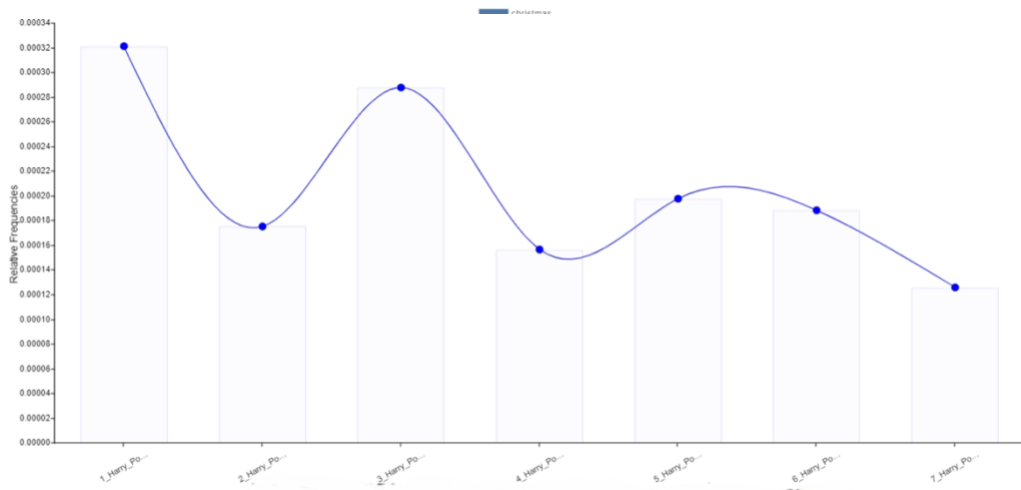


Figure 5. *AVOBMAT* (relative frequencies per year).

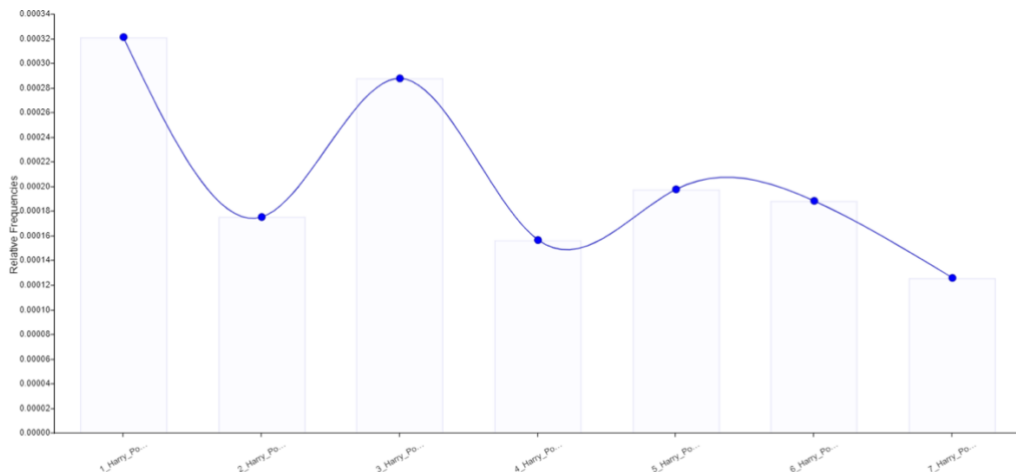


Figure 6. *Voyant Tools* (relative frequencies per book).

## 6. Harry Potter re-enchanting the world

I argue that pushing religion to the background made it possible for readers around the world to engage with HP novels and feel that they belong to the HP universe. This argument, however, should not be confused with the claim that religion is absent in the HP novels. As a low fantasy, the world of HP contains all religions, ethnicities and nationalities present in the real world. We encounter elements of Christian religious tradition like a celebration of Christmas, quotes from the Bible, resurrection parables and others. However, these do not play a

significant role in the plot. Moreover, a reader who misses noticing them will not have problems understanding the storyline.

I am also aware of the scholarship that understands the HP universe in relation to the Christian religious tradition and points out Christian allegories, allusions, parables and symbolism. In arguing for universalism, I do not reject their findings. However, the fact that these allusions are not apparent and that they need to be identified and argued for, only strengthens my argument that religion is pushed to the background of the HP universe. In most of the examples that are elicited by advocates of Christian interpretation of the HP novels, Christian elements are given in a symbolic and allegorical manner (Granger 2006; Groves 2017; Strand 2019).

The example that is often evoked by those who argue that Christianity plays an important role in the HP series is the scene in *Deathly Hallows* when Harry and Hermione visit Godric's Hollow to find the grave of Harry's parents. There are many elements from the Christian tradition in that scene: Christmas, carols, church, churchyard and two quotes from the New Testament inscribed in tombstones (Rowling 2007, 328). But what is Harry's and Hermione's reaction to this setting? If not for carols, they would even forget that it is Christmas (Rowling 2007, 328). Upon reading the inscription on the tomb of his parents: "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death," Harry's first impression is: "Isn't that a Death Eater idea? Why is that there?" (328). It is Hermione who recognises that these words refer to a life after death. But this idea provides no comfort for Harry: "But they were not living, thought Harry: They were gone. The empty words could not disguise the fact that his parents' moldering remains lay beneath snow and stone, indifferent, unknowing" (328).

Groves (2017, 61) interprets this scene differently. She only comments on Hermione's understanding of the quote, omitting Harry's comments. Instead of an argument, she relies on the *argumentum ab auctoritate*: "Rowling has placed great emphasis on these two quotations (which are the only direct biblical quotations in Harry Potter) saying that 'they almost epitomise the whole series' (2007g)." However, the emphasis that an author places on the quotation is of no importance when interpreting her works. Moreover, Groves completely neglects the fact that Rowling said that they are the only biblical quotations in seven volumes. Is it uncommon to find a quotation from the Bible on a tombstone, or people singing carols and going to church during Christmas in England, I wonder?

In the opening of her chapter, to support her claims, Groves (2017, 60) notes that Christianity is an important aspect of Rowling's life and that she openly stated that HP novels are full of Christian parallels, falling once more into authority fallacy. The religiosity of an author or his or her opinion about the novel is of little importance and does not replace an argument. In her interpretation of the two epigrams to the *Deathly Hallows*, Groves (61) focuses her attention on the quotations written by William Penn, a Christian religious thinker, but completely omits the ancient Greek one, written by Aeschylus. If a conclusion is to be drawn from these quotations it should be the one related to universal human truths that stem from different cultures and religions, and not one religion in particular.

It is important, however, to say that I do not reject the Christian interpretation of the HP series. British culture, which is to say architecture, literature, morality

and art, reflects many intertextual relationships with Christian spirituality. In that sense, an interesting view on HP novels is offered by Strand (2019, 12):

As in Tolkien's Middle-earth, there is no mention of God or religion in the series. But there is a transcendent power that hovers over characters and events, giving them meaning and motive for doing good. That power is love. Magic in Harry Potter is at its best and most powerful when it is at the service of love, for Christians know that 'God is love, and whoever remains in love remains in God and God in him' (1 John 4:16).

Strand's perspective is informed by works of John Granger, who at the turn of the century argued for understanding the HP universe in relation to Christian spirituality. Granger (2006, 9) asserts that because HP books challenge a materialistic worldview, they are not advocating occult practices, but a spiritual life. By understanding HP novels in relation to the culture and tradition that it is rooted in, Granger (13) argues against the exclusively secular view of the books and interprets HP novels as a part of the Christian spiritual tradition of England.

My argument, however, does not support exclusively Christian nor exclusively secular reading of HP novels. What I am concerned with is not the question if religion is present in the HP universe or not, but what the function of words that come from religious tradition in HP novels is. And so, the results of my research show that searched words do not refer to a specific religious practice; their function is only to paint the real-world backdrop of the United Kingdom in which the plot is set. Based on this finding, I argue that this made it easy for children and adults from around the world to connect with novels and to develop a feeling of belonging to this magical world.

Pushing religion in the background of the HP novels and especially movies, I argue, is related to the process of re-enchantment. Stark and Bainbridge (1985, 1-2) posit that secularization is not a single event like Weber (2004) considered it, but a recurring process through which established religions become 'thisworldly' and thus cannot satisfy the needs of their followers for 'otherworldliness.' In this way, secularisation inspires new forms of religiosity. Drawing on Stark and Bainbridge, Partridge (2004, 45) argues that modernity brings about a cultural shift characterised by the return of the magical culture, not just as a form of counterculture but also as part of the mainstream. A similar, albeit Foucauldian, perspective on the process of secularisation, secularisation as disenchantment and re-enchantment, is offered by Jason Jopherson-Smith (2017, 303-304), who deconstructs modernity as a "distinct and original tradition" by undermining one of its main pillars—disenchantment. He argues that scholars have often completely overlooked very rich and vibrant traditions of spiritualist and magical movements in Europe to produce what he calls the "myth of disenchantment."

The results of my research are in line with the above-mentioned considerations of secularisation as a change in modes of religiosity. While (institutionalised) religion is pushed into the background of the Harry Potter novels, magic is presented as a natural force that heroes practice on a daily basis in order to be able to defeat the villain. Young wizards and witches go to school, where they learn how to use spells, make potions and interact with fantastic beasts.

McAvan (2012) shows how many aspects of popular culture, movies, novels and series like *Matrix*, *Da Vinci Code*, *Buffy*, *Lord of the Rings* and *Harry Potter* facilitate a type of spirituality on the boundary between sacred and profane, which she dubs as “the postmodern sacred.” Stemming from the New Age milieu, although produced mostly for entertainment, these movies, novels and video games are loaded with spiritual signifiers from various myths and religious traditions (6).<sup>4</sup> Her findings are important as they point out that in postmodern art, the boundary between spirituality, magic and religion is blurred. Even in Granger’s and Strand’s Christian interpretations of HP novels, magic is spirituality, and God is love (Granger 2006, 13; Strand 2019, 12).

## 7. Conclusion

In this paper, I showed how Blake’s thesis on how Harry’s Englishness played a key role in the global popularity of HP books only partially explains the HP lure (Blake 2002, 90-91). Moreover, I argued that universalism is another factor that we need to consider when answering the question of what made HP books attractive and translatable to various cultures. I presented the research results of Joel Hunter (2012) to show that universalism can be analyzed even on the structural level of the HP stories. To tackle universalism on the level of the style of writing, I hypothesised that in the HP universe, words with religious, ethnic and national connotations appear only to paint the ‘real-world’ of Britain at the turn of the century. However, the nationality, ethnicity, and religiosity of characters do not significantly impact the plot of the HP novels.

To test the part of my thesis related to religion, I used the digital tools *AVOBMAT* and *Voyant Tools*. I claimed that the function of words that have religious origins in HP novels is not to express the religiosity of characters. The words I examined are *pray*, *church*, *God*, *religion*, *Jesus* and *Christmas*. Two of those, *Jesus* and *religion*, do not appear even once. Other searched words appear throughout the novels, but not in relation to a religious practice. Their most common functions are:

- spatial (*church*), a place, an object (e.g., “Behind the church”).
- temporal (*Christmas*), time, a period in the year (e.g., “We must finish it before Christmas”).
- expressive (*God*), an expression of emotion (e.g., “Oh my God!”).
- synonym (*pray*), synonymous with *hope* (e.g., “Pray he does not find you”).

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<sup>4</sup> The New Age (New Age Religion, New Age Spirituality, Alternative Spirituality, Alternative Religion, etc.) is an umbrella term that serves as a denominator for various beliefs and practices. For Hanegraaff (1997) and Heelas (1996), these include Neo-Paganism, channeling, and healing, esoteric aspects of religions, Druidism, Mayan and Native Indian traditions, Wicca, Shamanism and various forms of positive thinking, meditation, healing, positive thinking, mind-body-spirit techniques, interest in a horoscope and crystals (Hanegraaff 1997, 103; Heelas 1996, 1). Sutcliffe (2003, 208) argues that there was never any group that would fit into the “New Age” category. It is a “hopelessly vague” category, to cite Matthew Wood (2007, 70).

In other words, a church is a building like any other. And although there are people going to church, the characters that we follow throughout the seven novels never do so. Not even once, despite all the troubles, do we find someone going to church to pray. They do not call on God. The name of Jesus is never mentioned.

I defined religion in a narrow sense, as an institution, a tradition or a denomination. As the plot of the story is set in the United Kingdom, where the majority is Christian, I have searched for words that come from the Christian religious tradition. What I found is that when words that have origins in religious traditions appear, their function is not to describe religion or denomination, their beliefs, rites or rituals. A reader, therefore, encounters religion only in an allegorical and intertextual manner if s/he looks for Christian symbolism, which is a part of the cultural heritage of the United Kingdom. Universalism in HP novels and movies made it possible for readers around the world from various ethnic, national and religious backgrounds to 'translate' features of the HP world to their cultural code to effortlessly understand it, relate to it and develop a sense of belonging.

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## Reviews

Baelo-Allué, Sonia and Mónica Calvo-Pascual, eds. *Transhumanism and Posthumanism in Twenty-First Century Narrative: Perspectives on the Non-Human in Literature and Culture*. New York and London: Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group, 2021.

236 pp. €129.52 ISBN: 978-0-367-65513-6; ISBN: Ebook, 978-1-003-12981-3.

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This book pertains to a wider interdisciplinary field of transhumanism and posthumanism studies, more specifically, perspectives on the non-human in literature and culture in twenty-first century narrative. Let us consider the possible answers to the question posed in the relevant literature, “Why do narratives matter?” (Schwab and Malleret 2022, i), a question to which the obvious answer would probably be “[a]s human beings and social animals, we are storytelling creatures, and the stories we tell (the narratives) are our fundamental tool of communication and transmission. Narratives are how we make sense of life; they provide us with a context, thanks to which we can better interpret, understand and respond to the facts we observe” (i). Particularly illuminating is that these narratives reach towards a wide audience, and whilst observing “profound shifts across all industries” (Schwab 2016, 7), we may optimistically detect that “[i]nteractions and collaborations are needed to create positive, common and hope-filled *narratives*, enabling individuals and groups from all parts of the world to participate in, and benefit from, the ongoing transformations” (9; emphasis added). It has unequivocally been established that narratives contribute to our behaviour. More precisely, one of the highlighted characteristics “pertinent to the Great Reset” refers to our human actions and reactions which “are not rooted in statistical data but are determined instead by emotions and sentiments—[this may be the reason why] narratives drive our behaviour” (Schwab and Malleret 2020, 99). Even though narratives typically pick out one aspect of “[t]he devices, strategies and conventions governing the organization of a story (fictional or factual) into sequence” (O’Sullivan et al. 1983, 149) as a starting point for their description, they might be on the whole insightful applications of *narrative strategies*, i.e., “structures and well-established forms in which we can render ourselves and our lives as narratives (stories)” (150). Although one immediate impression is that more often than not narrative discourse “models the passage of time in some world by building up a time line demarcated by discrete moments at which instantaneous occurrences are reported to take place” (Polanyi 1989, 16), narratives need not be “necessarily linguistically encoded” (16).

Since a theoretical-methodological cohesion and coherence are reflected in the manners in which the authors in this book approach the objects of their investigation regardless of geographic borders, it seems reasonable to highlight that “[t]he intensified pace of globalization due to advances in technology is the most significant factor in the weakening influence of the state. Fast transportation links and the speedy flow of information have negated the relevance of geographic borders” (Schwab 2008, 108). Word by word, structure by structure, examining and arranging the data like pieces of an ICT jigsaw puzzle, the globalization has become a concerned, responsible and caring giant that is susceptible to inclusion of transhumanism and posthumanism. Couched in a *networked readiness* framework, general consensus has been reached regarding its role at the globalized levels, or, more specifically, “[t]he importance of Networked Readiness, at the regional and national levels, has gained prominence on the public policy agenda alongside the realization that the tools provided by ICTs can help countries fulfill their national potential and enable a better quality of life for their citizens” (Schwab 2002, ix). Having mentioned computers and ICT, another important transhumanism ingredient to be observed seems to be the interconnectedness between computer-motivated transhumanism and anthropology, which can be traced back to the research heavily relying on computers. More specifically, this computer-dependent anthropological approach is reflected in the following anthropological observations: “The use of such sophisticated statistical tests to measure associations and co-variation as multiple regression and factor analysis has only recently been possible because of the availability of high-speed data-processing equipment. In a very real sense, the computer revolution has affected American archaeology” (Longacre 1972, 62). Another reference to computers and anthropology has been made in the context of the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the role of Alan Turing. Namely, “[a]fter [Turing], ‘computer’ entirely lost its anthropological meaning and of course became synonymous with a general-purpose, programmable machine, what we now call a Turing machine” (Floridi 2014, 93). Irrespective of the lost anthropological meaning, it has unequivocally been established that “[a]fter Turing’s groundbreaking work, computer science and the related ICTs have exercised both an extrovert and an introvert influence on our understanding” (93). One immediate impression might be that this noble narrative makes up the fabric of globalized world cultural heritage and may be said to form the core of our common identity and humanity. For the purpose of this review, and bearing in mind its spatial limitations, I have confined myself only to indicating the possible (and necessary) paths for further research into this inexhaustible subject of globalization, transhumanism, posthumanism, computers, ICT and narratives (all of which have become culturally-laden concepts) before embarking on reviewing the text itself.

The book here reviewed brings together fifteen scholars from five different countries whose task has been to explore, more generally, the diverse aspects of the posthuman in contemporary culture, and more specifically, key narratives decoding the second decade of the twenty-first century. Pointing out “a time of change, of technological development, and exponential growth—a quantum leap in human progress” (1) and aiming at “[s]haring this overall concern with environmental exploitation and dwelling on the ethics of human-nonhuman

relations" (8), the editors (and authors, for that matter) set about exploring the relationship between transhumanism and posthumanism from a novel anthropocentric perspective drawing extensively on posthumanism and transhumanism twenty-first century narrative. Additionally, the editors propose "studying the contradictions that emerge out of the transhumanist and critical posthumanist approaches to the changing concept of the human in the context of the fourth industrial revolution as seen in key novels written in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century" (13).

The book opens with a preface, "(Trans/Post)Humanity and Representation in the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the Anthropocene: An Introduction" (1-19), which sets the scene. The editors briefly and concisely state their objectives and methodology, and then subsequently, sketch out the Fourth Industrial Revolution (1-5). Then they introduce the concepts and questions relevant for the study of transhumanism and posthumanism that are reflected in the subheadings: "Transhumanism, Posthumanism, Critical Posthumanism" (5-9); "On the Anthropocene" (9-11); "Literary Fiction and the Posthuman" (11-12); "Posthumanism and Transhumanism in Twenty-First Century Narrative" (12-19). The book includes: List of Figures (vii), List of Contributors (viii-xii) and Acknowledgment (xiii). The book ends with an Index (228-236). The book is organized into three sections, each consisting of three to five articles, and a general conclusion, amounting to fourteen contributions in all.

Section I includes the following articles: "Before Humanity, Or, Posthumanism Between Ancestrality and Becoming Inhuman" (20-32) by Stefan Herbrechter; "From Utilitarianism to Transhumanism: A Critical Approach" (33-47) by Maite Escudero-Alías; "Posthuman Modes of Reading Literature Online" (48-64) by Alexandra Glavanakova.

Section II is comprised of the following contributions: "Vigilance to Wonder: Human Enhancement in TED Talks" (65-78) by Loredana Filip; "Patterns of Posthuman Numbness in Shirley & Gibson's 'The Belonging Kind' and Eggers's *The Circle*" (79-93) by Francisco Collado-Rodríguez; "Subjects of the 'Modem' World: Writing U. in Tom McCarthy's *Satin Island*" (94-109) by Margalida Massanet Andreu; "The Paradoxical Anti-Humanism of Tom McCarthy's *C*: Traumatic Secrets and the Waning of Affects in the Technological Society" (110-125) by Susana Onega; "Don DeLillo's *Zero K* (2016): Transhumanism, Trauma, and the Ethics of Premature Cryopreservation" (126-141) by Carmen Laguarda-Bueno; "A Dystopian Vision of Transhuman Enhancement: Speciesist and Political Issues Intersecting Trauma and Disability in M. Night Shyamalan's *Split*" (142-160) by Miriam Fernández-Santiago.

Section III comprises the following articles: "The Call of the Anthropocene: Resituating the Human through Trans- & Posthumanism. Notes of Otherness in Works of Jeff VanderMeer and Cixin Liu" (161-177) by Justus Poetzsch; "'Am I a person?': Biotech Animals and Posthumanist Empathy in Jeff VanderMeer's *Borne*" (178-193) by Monica Sousa; "Posthuman Cure: Biological and Cultural Motherhood in Margaret Atwood's *MaddAddam*" (194-209) by Esther Muñoz-González; "Posthuman Transformation in Helen Marshall's *The Migration*" (210-223) by Sherryl Vint.

The last part, "Conclusion: Towards a Post-Pandemic, (Post)Human World" (224-227) written by the book editors, Sonia Baelo-Allué and Mónica Calvo-

Pascual, helps to delimit the message conveyed by the book presenting us with a comprehensive review of the existing body of work on the investigated topic with particular reference to post-pandemic and post-human world. Not surprisingly, the book structure reflects the ways in which transhumanism particularly is organized, bearing in mind that “[transhumanism] promotes an interdisciplinary approach to understanding and evaluating the opportunities for enhancing the human condition and the human organism opened up by the advancement of technology” (Bostrom 2005, 3).

In his contribution “Before Humanity, or, Posthumanism Between Ancestrality and Becoming Inhuman” (20-32), Stefan Herbrechter traces the gradual restoration of harmony before humanity up to posthumanist futurism and techno-utopianism (21), after which more attention is paid to ancestrality and the concept of ‘after finitude’ (22-25). Subsequently, the author of this contribution lists important considerations in linking ‘becoming in/human’ (25-31) to the idea of ‘before humanity’ (23).

The next contribution, entitled “From Utilitarianism to Transhumanism: A Critical Approach” (33-47) opens with a descriptive account of Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), the father of Utilitarianism, who “coined the ethical and philosophical doctrine of “the greatest happiness for the greatest number” (33). Due importance is given to critical Utilitarianism and the mechanization of society (37-41) and to the relevance of re-visiting ecology and posthuman ethics (41-44). Even though, “the field of medical humanities is gaining a relevant presence not only in medicine degrees but also in STEM—i.e., Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics—programmes,” definite conclusions are apparently difficult to draw. Yet, Maite Escudero-Alías sums up the ways of tackling the challenge: “As literary critics and teachers of literature, most of us should also ponder about the consequences of promoting the use of cutting-edge technologies in our courses” (44).

The chapter entitled “Posthuman Modes of Reading Literature Online” (48-64) looks at “[t]he transformations in reading both on paper and on screen” (48) and examines the collective reading of print texts (55-57). We are shown how social reading and collective online reading as a social practice may cut across distinctions of feelings made on the basis of pleasure, comfort and security (59). Alexandra Glavanakova concludes that “[t]raditional methodologies for close reading used in the humanities certainly play a significant part in developing deep attention” (60).

“Vigilance to Wonder: Human Enhancement in TED Talks” (65-78) is a well-constructed paper with solid and well-chosen examples and a fair exposition of human enhancement and transhumanism (65-67). Loredana Filip provides a useful review of bioethical debates on human enhancement (67-70) focussing on traction across diverse media ranging from scientific journals to popular magazines. More specifically, the author offers an interesting view on TED talks and human enhancement (70-75). The author’s TED talk sampling methodology is adequately explained. One of the conclusions reached in this study is that “[t]he ubiquity of transhumanist ideas and ideals needs to be investigated by using different approaches and texts, rather than leaving the debate in the hands of a few philosophers” (75).

In his contribution, entitled “Patterns of Posthuman Numbness in Shirley & Gibson’s “The Belonging Kind” and Eggers’s *The Circle*” (79-93), Francisco Collado-Rodríguez explicates “[t]he Future, the Posthuman, the Transhuman” and then proceeds to peel off the layers of the symbols of the circle (79-81). The author rightly emphasizes the ‘forge of posthuman numbness’ before and beyond ‘the crossing of the Millennium’ (81-83). Interesting and illuminating data and examples are offered from various authors and diverse sources in the section of this paper in which the concept of ‘the Pre-Millennium Community’ looms large in ‘belonging nowhere and everywhere’ (83-87). ‘The Circle of Knowledge or the Implosion of the Human’ is also reported on, and this section provides a detailed account of circle of consumerism (87) and fluid modernity (89).

The chapter entitled “Subjects of the ‘Modem’ World: Writing U. in Tom McCarthy’s *Satin Island*” (94-109) shows us “the pungent dichotomies resulting from the widespread of techno-scientific developments in a (dis)connected world” (94) highlighting the role of “a metafictional reflection on the importance of writing in a Networked present” (95). Furthermore, Margalida Massanet Andreu establishes ‘buffer zones’ by juxtaposing excerpts from *Satin Island*. The subheadings of her article might be said to be stylistically consistent: Introduction: “Me? Call Me U.” (94-96); About U.(s): Contemporary Subjects (96-101); Buffer Zones: Hack or Sacked (101-105); U.topia: Writing YoU (105-107); Conclusion: Back to YoU (107).

The author of the next chapter, entitled “The Paradoxical Anti-Humanism of Tom McCarthy’s C: Traumatic Secrets and the Waning of Affects in the Technological Society” (110-125), Susana Onega is not a newcomer to the field, having previously published such contributions as *Form and Meaning in the Novels of John Fowles* (Onega 1989) and *Metafiction and Myth in the Novels of Peter Ackroyd* (Onega 1999), to name but a few titles. Her contribution may be divided into two blocks: ‘The Birth of the Technological Society and the Waning of Affects’ (112-116) and ‘Traumatic Secrets and the Derealisation of the World’ (116-123). Onega has successfully fused two sharp contrasts asserting that “[w]hile we are shocked and moved by the traumatic experiences that led teenage Sophie to commit suicide, our response to Serge’s nihilistic task to derealise the world provokes awe and admiration” (124), thereby reconciling the illuminating opposing examples from the consulted pertinent literature.

After reminding us that there are certain possibilities “of reversing aging and, ultimately, overcoming death” (126), Carmen Laguarda-Bueno enumerates a whole lot of “the most widely discussed subjects in transhumanist circles” (126) and a series of strategies for approaching ageing as ‘deadly pandemic disease’ in her contribution, entitled “Don DeLillo’s *Zero K* (2016): Transhumanism, Trauma, and the Ethics of Premature Cryopreservation” (126-141). More specifically, she supports her arguments by providing examples illustrating a constant state of flux in the struggle against ageing, citing the British biomedical gerontologist Aubrey de Grey, who “has described ageing as a “deadly pandemic disease” (126) (de Grey and Rae 2007, 78). In this article, one can find again the concepts of ‘narratives’ and ‘narrative strategies,’ when the author quite rightly insists on the importance of DeLillo re-enacting “the workings of the autodiegetic narrator’s traumatized mind” (138) in *Zero K* (DeLillo 2016) whilst pointing out



the role of “a series of narrative strategies that are typical of the narratives of trauma” (138).

With reference to a dystopian vision of transhuman enhancement, Miriam Fernández-Santiago mentions the tendency for the analyzed discourse type to have recourse to speciesist and political issues. By elaborating on the transhumanist promise (142-143), the author provides a very useful detailed example of intersecting transhumanism and disability (143-144) in her contribution, entitled “A Dystopian Vision of Transhuman Enhancement: Speciesist and Political Issues Intersecting Trauma and Disability in M. Night Shyamalan’s *Split*” (142-160). Then, the author begins with an examination of political analogies followed by socio-political implications (p144-150). She masterfully describes how Shyamalan’s *Split* “renders a dystopian vision of transhumanity that results from inflicting mental disability on a human identity that is pathologized as fragmentary and dysfunctional” (150) and concludes that “dystopian accounts of transhumanism propound a self-reflective vision of the humanist project that questions the perpetuation of some of its premises in the transhumanist paradigm” (157).

Justus Poetzsch undertakes a painstaking, assiduous and meticulous analysis of the Anthropocene through new relations between man and world in his contribution, entitled “The Call of the Anthropocene: Resituating the Human through Trans- & Posthumanism. Notes of Otherness in Works of Jeff VanderMeer and Cixin Liu” (161-177), pointing out that “[t]he beginning of the third millennium was not only the highly anticipated and sometimes anxiously expected start of a new chronological chapter [...] but also marked the emergence of a new time concept relating to the geological timeline of the planet” (161). While explaining the position of the human being in the state of dissolution, i.e., in the context of transhumanism and posthumanism, the author concentrates on “redefinitions of the human” whilst “loosely following the two different tendencies of interpreting the Anthropocene” (164). Ultimately, the opposing transhuman and posthuman visions in the works of Cixin Liu and Jeff VanderMeer receive full coverage (166-175). The former is inspected through *Cixin Liu’s Transhuman Triad*, whilst the latter is elucidated in terms of *Jeff VanderMeer’s posthuman Area X*, respectively (see Liu 2014, 2016, 2017; VanderMeer 2014).

The contribution entitled ““Am I a Person?": Biotech Animals and Posthumanist Empathy in Jeff VanderMeer’s *Borne*” (178-193) by author Monica Sousa is a reappraisal of Cartesian perspectives towards animals and biotechnology, particularly bearing in mind that “stories that depict the connections between animals and technology continue to arise” (178). Monica Sousa shows with ample evidence that animals have already had a history of being perceived more machine-like than organism-like, even prior to biotechnology. These ideas are supported by Descartes’ views about animals. Namely, Descartes regarded animals as ‘automata’ and ‘void of reason’ (Descartes 2000, 2006). Subsequently, she explores the facets of touch, symbiosis and symphysis (186-188), only to arrive at the central question: “Am I a Person?” (188). Sousa welcomes diverse approaches to personhood without disqualifying any of them via formal or some other reasons. One of the conclusions reached in this contribution is that “the novel is an effective tool in capturing posthumanist empathy” (192).



The penultimate contribution, entitled “Posthuman Cure: Biological and Cultural Motherhood in Margaret Atwood’s *MaddAddam*” (194-209), investigates the concept of ‘the posthuman body’ taking as a starting point some concrete literary examples. The contributor Esther Muñoz-González compares and contrasts human voice (198-202) with posthuman voice (202-204). Ultimately, she concludes that the novel *MaddAddam* might suggest sort of circularity and arriving back at its palindrome-title (204).

Sherryl Vint rounds off this section with her contribution, entitled “Posthuman Transformation in Helen Marshall’s *The Migration*” (210-223), a study that examines, as its title implies, Helen Marshall’s story *The Migration* (2019). The contributor’s observations are exhaustively discussed from different angles, revealing that the story in question reflects multiple and intersecting crises “that are overdetermined in the Althusserian sense of this word” (210). In other words, each story element in the totality producing social reality has been mutually determined by all the other elements, “and none can be understood in isolation as the single or prime cause” (210) but rather in the context of contradiction and overdetermination (Althusser 2005; Speer 2018). Vint upholds the philosophy of the epigenetic changes prompted by climate change and explains this view by way of illustration (220). Hers is the neat work of analysis, which leads to one tentative, but solid, conclusion that “[t]he novel demonstrates the importance of speculative fiction to the project of affirmative posthumanism, to enable us to see in new ways through the framework provided by the story” (222).

The final chapter, true to its title “Conclusion: Towards a Post-Pandemic, (Post)Human World” (224-227), is a stimulating and refreshing reminder of the main ideas presented in the book. Sonia Baelo-Allué and Mónica Calvo-Pascual remind us of a dystopia produced by a pandemic of COVID-19, and then move on to explain that “[c]ritical posthumanism might give us the tools to navigate this changing world that can bring out the best and the worst in us” (227), indicating, without fail, directions for further study in transhumanism and posthumanism the narrative of our century.

To sum up, all the contributions in this book have been meticulously and carefully investigated and amply supported with extensive bibliographical references, and their quality is exactly what we would expect from a selection made by Sonia Baelo-Allué and Mónica Calvo-Pascual whose more than excellent editing has created a strong emotional impact of the selection of contributions on the potential readers (and the writer of this review, for that matter). One immediate impression is not solely that of cohesion and coherence of topics within the sections, but also a theoretical-methodological cohesion and coherence which is exhibited by the contributors whilst dealing with their respective topics. Moreover, the obvious merit of the book is to be found in its immaculate, consistent and meticulous organization of three sections and thirteen chapters within, which flow smoothly according to the algorithm provided in the introductory remarks. Equally praiseworthy is the contributors’ treatment of the affluent and well-supplied terminology pertaining to the domains of transhumanism and posthumanism, which additionally whets the appetite for further study of the implications and repercussions of transhumanism and posthumanism in the world immersed in technology. The concepts promoted by

the editors, i.e., ‘transhumanism,’ ‘posthumanism’ and ‘critical posthumanism,’ are thoroughly observed and illuminated by means of fusing literary fiction and the posthuman.

To conclude, this book entitled *Transhumanism and Posthumanism in Twenty-First Century Narrative* fits admirably into the Routledge’s family of books that are engaged in transhumanism and posthumanism and the Routledge’s realm of titles working in the premises of interdisciplinarity, multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary. Consequently, this book will be warmly welcomed by interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary researchers of different profiles around the world. Further broadening of the topic of transhumanism and posthumanism still remains to be done, particularly in the domain of the Great Reset that we are witnessing these days, but this book is definitely a well-balanced start for any interdisciplinary undertaking of the same or similar profile.

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The pioneering book of Andreas Fischer, *James Joyce in Zurich: A Guide*, remains crucial to our wider understanding of James Joyce (1882-1941) and Zurich in depth. Fischer, in his comprehensive biography of Joyce, devoted a substantial section to Zurich when Joyce was there, and what it meant for Joyce as it seems to be a psychic space in which “he [was] a refugee during the [Great] War 1914-1918” (Fischer 2020, 20) in part I. Also, Fischer in his chapter “Zurich after Joyce” (57-62) in Part I, draws a distinction between “the start of journals, the [...] James Joyce Symposia, Fritz Senn [...] as an ambassador for Joyce” and “how important Joyce was for Zurich” after his death (59). Part II is a more substantial approach to the longer-term significance of 60 alphabetically ordered articles for Joyce on phenomena, institutions, places and people in the field of the biography of Joyce and his literary stance. To better understand Joyce, Fischer classifies Part III into two distinct sections: a chronology and a map, demonstrating Joyce’s Zurich.

The book is mainly for Joyce readers and researchers, literature and history scholars, academicians and students, “Joyceans at all levels” (4), so it can be traced in the key categories of modernism, the chronology and the life of a novelist in Zurich in the twentieth century, Zurich and literature, war and literature, and Joyce’s effect on literature and art. The book’s title leads directly to the implied promise of a guide to James Joyce’s life and his connections in Zurich. There is an extended taxonomy of literary circles of the twentieth century, such as Tom Stoppard and Stephen Zweig, of psychiatrists such as Carl Gustav Jung, of restaurants and places and many more in the second part of the book. The sense of place emblematic of Zurich and emotionally displaced characters in literary and art circles are diverse as the variety of articles in each part suggests. The space in this book is presented as originary for Joyce and his family and it reflects imaginative forces together with realistic ones for Joyce to write *Ulysses*.

The book is “biographical” (4) and Fischer makes an interesting contribution about the impact of “how Joyce was received in the German-speaking world and how he was translated into German” (4). Part I of the book covers introduction and acknowledgments, chapters entitled: “Joyce in Zurich” (9-32), “Zurich in Joyce” (33-56) and “Zurich after Joyce” (57-62). In “Joyce in Zurich,” Joyce seeks a chance to leave Ireland with his family, so he was looking for posts, a possible vacancy in the Berlitz school, in Zurich in 1904, but upon his arrival, he learns that there is no post there, so he moves to Trieste (9). Having faced “internment as an enemy alien” in Trieste in 1915 (10), he moved to Zurich and stayed there with his family in June of that year until 1919 (10). He and his daughter had some health problems in Zurich; nevertheless, he did some translations for a journal, staying away from English people (12). However, due to “lawsuits” with Henry

Carr, one of the actors, he withdrew from his “theatre company” in 1918 (13). Joyce preferred investing conventions “with concentrated meaning” so he was not interested in the Dada movement (13). *Exiles*, his play (1918), received Stephen Zweig’s help for its German performance (Fischer 2020, 13).

Joyce also wrote three poems related to Zurich, one of which is about a street called Bahnhofstrasse, elucidating his experience of “metropolitan smartness aloneness” (37). He also wrote “a major part of *Ulysses*” in Zurich (37). Its composition and serial publication can be observed in a table that includes the episodes, manuscripts, typescripts and the date of publication chronologically in “Zurich in Joyce” (39). Although written “after his time in Zurich” (45), *Finnegans Wake* has “the name Zurich [...] three times” (45) and two rivers running through Zurich (46).

Part two demonstrates the space and the spatiality as full, including “human passions” (Wegner 2002, 179) that are mobile, as people like Joyce come and go, so it is more than a stage. Moreover, Zurich is depicted with its “cultural flows” including “social production of social space” (181). Thus, the chapters are about Joyce’s neighbours, open spaces and streets like Bahnhofstrasse, his students, his friends, hotels, his death mask, professors, his affair with Martha Fleischmann and his first grave in Fluntern Cemetery. They all illustrate space where the body entails “power relations” (183). Therefore, there are also lawyers, critics, painters, a guesthouse, the James Joyce Pub, a composer, Carl Gustav Jung, a theatre, novelists, a newspaper, a restaurant, Lenin—an exile in Zurich like Joyce, expositors, libraries, cafés, rivers, publishers in chapters where a “conflicted and contradictory process” takes place and people “intervene as agents” (183). The chapters about a bank employee, models for his characters in *Ulysses*, rituals, Fritz Senn, a sculptor, expatriates, concert halls, *Travesties* by Tom Stoppard (1974), a conceptual artist, his doctor Alfred Vogt, his translator, Zurich James Joyce Foundation, Joyce’s personal library, effects, paintings letters, manuscripts (Fischer 2020, 269), all mark a spatial orientation and a “spatial scope” navigating in a global space (Wegner 2002, 193).

Fischer’s “concretization” of Joyce’s work of art aims at “an understanding, based on direct experience, of the nature of the ontic connection among the aesthetically valuable qualities appearing in concretization” (Ingarden 1988, 76). In other words, James Joyce in Zurich becomes a guide “within a pattern of harmony” and an “ontic connection” (76) between the reader’s aesthetic value and “aesthetically valuable” aspects such as Joyce’s poem “Bahnhofstrasse” (1918), evoking “the signs that mock” (Joyce 1992, 38) and “twining stars” (38) as “value bearing factors of the object” (Ingarden 1988, 76) referring “to a deeply personal experience” of Joyce’s sense of “transitoriness of life” and his declining health (Fischer 2020, 36).

The second part of Fischer’s book has a chapter entitled “*Travesties* by Tom Stoppard” (Fischer 2020, 241). Stoppard’s seminal play remains crucial to our wider understanding of the notions of revolution and exile as its characters are “the Irishman James Joyce, [...] the Romanian Tristan Tzara, one of the founders of the Dada movement, and the Russian Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov [...] Lenin, who would lead the Bolshevik revolution in Russia” (240). These three people are of great significance as they “lived in Zurich in 1916/17” (240) though they did not meet. In the play Joyce and Tzara are “artists” presenting various “ideas of the

function of art” (242). For Tzara, Joyce approaches literature like religion; nevertheless, Tzara sees art “as dead” in wartime. Lenin, on the other hand, “is a cultural conservative” enjoying traditional art (243) in the play.

The chapter entitled “Zurich James Joyce Foundation” (265-268) in the second part of the book exacerbates the contribution to bring about how Joyceans came together. Starting with a coincidence, “a Zurich banker and a self-taught Joycean met in the process of the bank’s setting up” (265) in James Joyce Pub in Zurich. Fritz Senn, also the proofreader of Fischer’s book, built up a private library of “Joyceana” (265). Raising funds, Fritz Senn founded the James Joyce Foundation in 1985; the decision was taken by the Director General of the bank, Dr Robert Holzach and Senn (265). The foundation aimed to keep Joyce’s memory and his work. A prominent example of support for studies is the “annual August Workshop,” emphasizing discussion and interaction with “monologue performances” (266). There are also guided tours and Fritz Senn teaches university courses and attends reading groups (266), programmed in the James Joyce Foundation Zurich.

In this well-designed and robust study, Fischer examined data (dates) from *A James Joyce Chronology* (Norburn 2004) in the most essential part of his book, Part III. Hence, a tourist can make use of the chronology and the map of Zurich in Part III to build up the perspective of James Joyce’s mind’s eye in a passage to Zurich. For instance, between April 1-14, 1930, Joyce stayed at Hotel St Gotthard in Switzerland, according to the chronology in Part III (Fischer 2020, 279). Also, the place of Odeon Café is illustrated in the map of Joyce’s Zurich (281). The reader of the book could sense the effect of history and the spatial phantasmagoria of Zurich through several people’s lives in connection with an artist and novelist like Joyce as one can sense the spatial literary circle of the city.

By way of conclusion, Andreas Fischer’s *James Joyce in Zurich: A Guide* auspiciously amalgamates space, time and the author, allocating the importance of Zurich in Joyce’s life and his influence on his environment by providing a new understanding of his biography through photographs, paintings, postcards and a map. The bibliography, at the end of the book, adds to the resourceful future studies that may produce new projects on James Joyce. The index further demonstrates new means to find in Fischer’s guide. The key strength of this book is the in-depth investigation of the known places and people by Joyce that connect each one like a web to James Joyce.

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“That life has to do with narration has always been known and said,” argues Paul Ricoeur and adds that the plot “has the power to make a single story out of the multiple incidents” (1991, 426). However, narrating one’s life becomes problematic when “the impossibility of knowing” (Caruth 1995, 10) weighs down on the victim of a traumatic event. In those cases, “the coherence of the life narrative is shattered—the traumatised person has “lost the plot, and a void enters the structure of the narrative” (Viljoen and Van der Merwe 2007, 1). It seems that narrating trauma is “the paradox of telling what cannot be told” (Schwab 2010, 48), and it is precisely this paradox that the authors of *Arts of Healing: Cultural Narratives of Trauma* ventured to observe. Drawing from the experiences of the 2016 conference of the same name, eleven academics from nine different universities from Canada through Europe to China worked on studies to bring together diverse approaches and responses to trauma. As a result of the well-thought-out concept and meticulous editorial work of Arleen Ionescu and Maria Margaroni, the individual contributions matured into a volume in 2020.

In the same way as the conference, the book takes a “revisionist approach” to trauma: instead of focusing on the “unrepresentability of the traumatic event” (as listed on *Arts of Healing’s* conference website, November 30, 2022) as classical trauma studies does, it maps the current state of approaches and points to undiscovered paths. It includes timely themes not usually discussed next to each other, such as the Holocaust trauma and the Israeli-Palestine conflict, psychosis and autofiction, queer trauma and forgiveness or fragmented memory and the suitability of humour in narrating the Shoah. In her 1995 book *Trauma. Explorations in Memory*, a milestone in trauma studies, Caruth clarifies that the idea behind publishing essays from different fields and disciplines is that “the irreducible specificity of traumatic stories requires in its turn the varied responses” (Caruth 1995, ix). In the more than twenty-five years since the publication of *Trauma*, the field has grown and witnessed shifts in its focus and approaches. The editors of *Arts of Healing*, Ionescu and Margaroni, have kept Caruth’s approach of “varied responses” to traumatic events but have also taken a step forward: from the questions of truth and memory they progressed to examine the diverse relationships among trauma, art and healing.

As a collection of eleven essays, the book comprises three parts discussing three significant subtopics: the Holocaust, reactions to mass trauma and cases of individual suffering. All three parts approach their topics in dialogue with the concept of healing through art. Contemplating “the ambivalence of healing” through “irreverent takes” (Ionescu and Margaroni 2020, 1) regarding the

Holocaust is the primary concern of the first three essays. Ivan Callus' "Unfamiliar Healing: Reconsidering the Fragment in Narratives of Holocaust Trauma" suggests that healing from trauma might be similar to how Rod Mengham (2018) characterises "the movement of thought" in connection with Montaigne's essays "an 'attempt' [...] to compose something out of scattered materials" (Ionescu and Margaroni 2020, 4). The chapter repeatedly returns to the notion of the "fragmentary," leading the reader gradually to understand why and how it is the most suitable form of communication concerning Holocaust trauma. As Callus explains, "the form of the book chapter can feel sclerotic and inapt to the Holocaust" (4); consequently, what we need is "a different essaying [...] the risk of fragmentary writing" (4). The unusual form of the study distances the topic from what is familiar to the reader and its provocative structure operates not primarily through well-structured arguments but through its fragmentary nature. This way, the reader experiences not only the confusion of the traumatised person attempting to recollect their painful memories but also the confusion of the listener trying to make sense of the victim's story. Uncertainty is further enhanced by the visual breaks in the text and the fact that there are no page references after the block quotes. In Callus's words, including "page references [...] would have felt counter to the shape and spirit of what is being essayed" (24). Consequently, the essay 'becomes' an example of how the mind works itself through traumatic memories and shows that "healing [...] can be helped by [...] little devices to living [...] [as a way to] recover a little every day, off fragments read in fragments of time" (5).

Ionescu's "Forgiving as Self-Healing?" starts with a reflection on "What is forgiveness?" (27), discussing Jankélévitch's 1967 book, *Forgiveness*, which differentiates between 'similiforgiveness' and 'pure forgiveness' (27). The former denotes "traditions meant to end a critical situation [...] and bring acceptance or reconciliation" (27) as a result of "the fulfilment of several conditions on the part of the perpetrator" (28). The latter is "akin to a divine act, [a] 'gracious gift'" (28). Keeping a strong focus on the nature and types of forgiveness, the essay aligns Arendt's (1958, 1979, 1994, 2003), Levinas' (1969) and Derrida's (2005) views on the matter (29-32).

Ionescu approaches forgiveness from a specific angle, analysing the Auschwitz survivor and twin-experiment victim Eva Mozes Kor's words of forgiveness as uttered in the film *Forgiving Doctor Mengele* (2006) "through the lens of John Austin's theories on 'performative utterance'" (36). She raises two questions: "whether her [Mozes Kor's] gesture can be actually called forgiveness" (32) and if her "forgiveness can be regarded as an operative speech act" (33). Ionescu finds that Mozes Kor's words fail to meet four of Austin's six conditions and are also "incorrect, incomplete, and, thus, inoperative" (36) as a speech act. The essay concludes "that after Mozes Kor's death, the time for pure, unconditional forgiveness with its supreme healing effects has not yet come" (42). 'Pure forgiveness' "has perhaps never been granted in the concrete acts of forgiveness," claims Looney (2015, 10); an argument that Ionescu also cites at the beginning of her study (27). Following the closing statement, however, the chapter does not question the feasibility of the notion with regards to resolving Holocaust trauma.

As the centrepiece of the book's first part, displaying 'irreverent,' that is, disrespectful approaches, Ionescu's chapter leaves the "observation point" from

which Auschwitz can be seen “as a metonym for the unforgivable” (28). However, it does so not to observe the healing effects of forgiveness on the victim, which, as the study suggests, could be one way of interpreting Mozes Kor’s words (37). Instead, it takes leave of the taboo of forgiving Auschwitz to examine a survivor’s speech act. The strictly linguistic analysis of the forger’s statement foregrounds factors that do not concern the act of forgiveness as the ultimate achievement a victim can reach. Thus, the study prompts the reader to turn inward and contemplate whether understanding victims is at all possible, whether the mere fact of their existence and trying anything can truly be appreciated by outsiders. In this respect, the study engages the reader not only rationally but also emotionally in an innovative way.

The third study of Part I, Lucia Ispas’s “(Mis)Representing Trauma through Humour? Roberto Benigni’s *La vita è bella*” revisions the use of humour while narrating the Holocaust. Starting with a deliberation on the suitable representations of the Shoah, Ispas argues to prove “the irrationality of several of the arguments put forward by Benigni’s detractors” (53). They claim that the film’s use of humour softens the wickedness of the deeds and misrepresents the immensity of trauma to an extent which equals “Holocaust denial” (53). Ispas explains that the movie is the product of a different kind of thinking, following in the footsteps of Jewish jokes best described in the writings of Henry Eilbert and Justin Geldzahler by “a common Yiddish phrase [...] ‘laughing with the lizards’” (55), meaning “laughing through the tears” (55). In Ispas’s understanding, humour in Benigni’s film is a defence mechanism, a tool supporting the victim in keeping his sane mind. It is not something that presents the horrors in a light-hearted way but rather a mother’s womb, protecting and embracing the foetus’s body. Alternatively, as the book’s editors point out, humour in Ispas’s argument “resembles Perseus’s shield, which enables spectators to face the traumatic event while protecting them and future generations from the petrifying effects of its horror” (23). Being performative to varying degrees, the first three chapters are brave and unusual undertakings exerting their effect in unexpected ways. Their strengths lie not solely in their meticulously built-up arguments but in their capacity to evoke feelings of uncertainty, anger or fear in the reader through their refreshingly unusual takes on a known topic.

Part II opens the door to the wider perspective of cultural and mass trauma. Its four essays consider non-literary representations of trauma as a solution to the difficulty of recalling and narrating traumatic memories. With an editorial feat, Ionescu and Margaroni place Mieke Bal’s “Improving Public Space: Trauma Art and Retrospective-Futuristic Healing” as the opening essay. Bal starts her analysis with the description of an early modern internment experience reminiscent of the Shoah victims, arguing that the only way to understand them is through ‘imagination.’ In an era when healing is mainly associated with medical doctors and psychologists, Bal asks the crucial question of “What can art do?” (73) for those suffering from trauma. She reflects on the question in three acts by examining the works of Nalini Malani Indian and Doris Salcedo, Colombian visual artists to finally suggest her unique audio-visual project she created with Mathieu Montanier. In her view, the key to healing and “improving public space” (73) is ‘moving.’ Malani’s videos show moving images that are capable of moving the spectators’ emotions. Bal points out that “art is able to provide visions, including

knowledge that other forms of knowledge production have difficulty achieving” (77). This idea brings the reader back to Callus’ essay which, instead of explaining, *performs* and makes the reader perceive the fear and unease caused by fragmentary narration. Salcedo’s *Palimpsest*, a dialoguing visual art, is dedicated to the memory of people who, pursuing a better life, drowned in the Mediterranean Sea or the Atlantic. With its “grainy surface of extremely fine pebbles” (82), the artwork displays names that are engraved or written in sand. In an interplay with water, the names appear and disappear, shine and tremble, making the viewer contemplate the importance of names in the context of life, death and memory.

In the section “Act 3: From Classical Literature to Contemporary Art,” Bal returns to the early modern slavery victim of her opening lines, who proves to be Cervantes, the author of *Don Quijote* (1605). Considering the work for its “traumatic texture” (89), Bal focuses on a traumatised character, Cardenio, who seeks healing through telling his life story. Cardenio suffers not primarily from the unspeakability of his trauma but from being repeatedly interrupted by others and, consequently, from being unheard. This problem, the lack of compassionate listening, was what inspired Bal and the artist Mathieu Montanier to base their audio-visual project on *Don Quijote*. They argue that “a well-thought-through video project can explore and transgress the limits of what can be seen, shown, narrated and witnessed” (91). Bal explains that by moving narration outside the boundaries of literature, they built their project on the famous closing lines of Wittgenstein’s *Tractatus* (2001), which Bal quotes in her own words as “of what one cannot speak, one must keep silent” (Bal 2020, 85). She points out that the philosopher later modified the sentence into “Of what one cannot speak, one can still show” (91). As the ultimate source of this modified sentence Bal references Maurice O’Drury’s *Conversations avec Ludwig Wittgenstein* (2002, 159, 170, 173), a work mentioned in a note by Davoine and Gaudillière (2013, 17, 51-52). Starting from the second version, Montanier and Bal hoped to “to explore the importance of showing as a ‘silent,’ non-interruptive way of enabling witnessing [...] against the indifference of the world” (Bal 2020, 91). In their approach, *showing* is the way to overcome impatience which interrupts narration and leads to indifference; a phenomenon observed also in Margaroni’s closing chapter of *Arts of Healing* as one of the most urgent problems of our time.

Continuing eastward in imagination, in the centre of Ernst van Alphen’s “Transforming Trauma into Memory” lies the installation *Destroyed House Gaza* by the Dutch artist Marjan Teeuwen. This 2017 installation is part of Teeuwen’s long-running project, in which her artworks are named after the locality where the houses destined to be demolished stand. Van Alphen’s purpose in analysing these works is to observe visually Michael Rothberg’s theory that in the “confrontation of different histories, memories are borrowed and cross-referenced” (Rothberg 2009, 99), implying that “memories are not owned by groups, nor are groups owned by memories” (van Alphen 2020, 99). Teeuwen “breaks away floors or walls” (102), “creates sculptures out of debris” (102) and arranges the objects “on the basis of materials and colours” (102), aiming to tell visually how the mind tries to organise memory images. The overall effect is that of an “obsessive practice of ordering and structuring” (102), showing possible ways of moving from the zero point of being paralysed by trauma. The significance

of making ‘the house’ as both the raw material and the central image in her works is highlighted by van Alphen’s elaborate explanation of the word’s symbolic meaning, especially in the given geographical area under study, which is, “family and its roots” (101). ‘The house’ as such gains significance as a sign of being rooted in the land in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Van Alphen points out that in Teeuwen’s house in Gaza, the rearrangements do not only show visually how the mind processes traumatic memories, but the project also displays “the symbolical significance of the house [...] [as] a site of memory” (108).

Continuing the reflections on visual representations of remembering and “the healing politics of place” (Ionescu and Margaroni 2020, 71), Radhika Mohanram’s “Textures of Indian Memory” addresses an intriguing situation in which what is seemingly created to be a site of memory, the city of Chandigarh, is in fact a realisation of another, the real purpose: forgetting. In other words, what Mohanram claims is that the city does not answer the question “What must we not forget?” (Assmann 2011, 16), the key dilemma in Jan Assmann’s concept of cultural memory, but on the contrary: it conceals what people should remember. Mohanram argues that the modernist design of the Capitol Complex, foreign to the land and its past makes Chandigarh “a place without memories of the wretched past of a colonised India or the anguish of the partition” (Mohanram 2020, 120). In this sense, the city is a visual sign of forgetfulness and serves as a place for forgetting the haunted and violent past. *The Martyr’s Monument* is the only construction in the modern city which “signifies the absence of the past and memories [...] of the trauma of the 1947 partition” (121). However, as Mohanram points out, even this artwork, with its dominantly Hindu symbolism, fails to show “Sikh or Muslim grief in the losses of partition” (123).

The phenomenon that Mohanram describes is reminiscent of Bal’s argument in the previous chapter that “Salcedo’s work addresses cultural memory in its negativity” (Bal 2020, 87) and focuses on “dis-remembering” (87) which, together with “mis-remembering” (87), represents “devastating, wasteful missed opportunities for the present and future” (87). In Bal’s view the artist’s task is to make the viewer perplexed to sensitize his “viewing attitude” (82) and to make it “permeable to the multiple effects and encounters with people who have been hurt” (82). Mohanram points out that in the Martyr’s Memorial “it is not that memory resurfaces from forgetting but rather the reverse - it is forgetting that resurfaces” (Mohanram 2020, 128) in the form of the monument.

A group may face similar difficulties as individuals when recalling a high-impact traumatic event. Through its silent, yet, telling images, art can address mass trauma and express what would otherwise be unspeakable. In the last essay of Part II, “How Do We Mourn? A Look at Makeshift Memorials,” Irene Scicluna takes under scrutiny visual representations of grief created by everyday mourners. Her focus is on how “individual feelings of mourning [are expressed] on the public stage” (Scicluna 2020, 133). Starting by describing an iconic snapshot taken on the coast of Normandy in 1944, showing a helmet “set atop a rifle gun,” the study points out that the improvised memorial for a dead soldier has “all the qualities that our sprawling contemporary memorials do” (134). Scicluna meticulously looks at several examples of public, sudden deaths in Great Britain between 1936 and 2017 to observe changes in mourning practices. She shows how the “modern banishment of death [...] is linked with the nullifying of



places related to death” (135). Makeshift memorials are the results of a “cultural shift from silence to expression” (137). They are “volatile and unpredictable” (137) and carry a “potential for connectedness” (137). In Scicluna’s view, they are witnessing trauma and loss not with “the silence of gravestones” (142) but by exposing it to public awareness. Risking to be “a threat to the authoritative narrative” (147), their real strength lies in the fact that they follow “a bottom-up rather than a top-down process” (147). Scicluna’s study is a pioneering work calling attention to various layers of meaning behind simple-looking everyday practices connected to tragedies.

Classical trauma studies emphasises the difficulty of representing and recounting a traumatic event and, to a certain extent, questions the idea of successfully recovering from trauma. Contributors to the 2013 book *Mending Wounds? Healing, Working through, or Staying in Trauma* point to “wounds and scars” (Masterson and Williams 2013, 2) as tangible signs of trauma that place the experience “to a sphere non-identical to consciousness and memory” (Masterson and Williams 2013, 2). This approach allows a different understanding than classical trauma theory and concludes that trauma studies were too hasty in judging the “efficacy of working through traumas” (Ionescu and Margaroni 2020, 2). This inefficiency in healing is at the heart of the Algerian-French author Chloe Delaume’s autofiction discussed by Laurent Milesi in “Literature between Antidote and Black Magic: The Autofiction of Chloe Delaume.” The opening chapter of the third part of the book is dedicated to individual trauma. The study focuses on the *fictional I* in several of Delaume’s autofiction novels, in which the author recreates herself through narration to use her writings as a script for her life.

Delaume’s works are intertwined with her personal life, especially her early childhood trauma. As a ten-year-old girl named Nathalie-Anne Abdallah, she witnessed her father shooting her mother and then committing suicide. As a grown-up, she coined the name *Chloe Delaume* to distance herself from her traumatic past. “Autofiction for Delaume,” argues Milesi, is “the self-analysis and postmodern (autopsie) of an ego damaged by parental deaths” (160). A crucial factor in Delaume’s vision is the rejection of writing as a healing tool. As she points out in *Dans ma maison sous terre*: “My body is the abode of the dead of my family [...] I won’t heal” (Delaume 2009, 169). Milesi discusses how writing is “a performative empowerment of the self” (Milesi 2020, 160) but empowerment has to be understood as revenge through writing (163), as rewriting the Self as a form of “inversion of divine incarnation” (168). Milesi argues that this feature makes Delaume’s writing “more than mere magic, a kind of black magic” (168). By directing the spotlight on the oeuvre of an author who denies healing through art, whose writings perform repeated re-creations of the Self, while the author’s original Self remains dead, killed by family trauma, Milesi breaks down the readers’ presuppositions rooted in psychoanalytic writings declaring the healing power of art. This groundbreaking approach reflects on the fragility of the human mind and the possibility or impossibility of healing from trauma which mysteriously involves art and the artist in various ways.

With another editorial masterstroke, Ionescu and Margaroni arrange Milesi’s essay to be followed by a study arriving at an alternative conclusion concerning art and healing, Olga Michael’s “Queer Trauma, Paternal Loss and Graphic



Healing in Alison Bechdel's *Fun Home: A Family Tragicomic*." Michael's describes how Bechdel was able to process her painful memories about her late, repressed homosexual father through the process of writing a graphic memoir. One of the essay's novelties is that instead of focusing on the problems of the closeted homosexual person, it describes the difficulties of those around him, affected by his repressed identity. When the writer, Bechdel was a child, her father's, Bruce, hidden secret created a rigid parenting style, not without violent outbursts, which caused fear and uncertainty in his children. Michael shows that in her novel Bechdel attempts to understand her late father by finding analogues between him and Oscar Wilde, his favourite author. Michael argues that through the Gothic style *Fun Home* expresses "the child's perspective on Bruce" (192). As a result, the house with "its 'artificiality' and exaggerated ornamentation, transforms into Bruce's 'autotopography'" (203). In *Fun Home*, "as the narrative unfolds, Bechdel alters her perspective, distancing herself from her child self's view of Bruce and reconfiguring the meaning of the house" (195).

As Bal, van Alphen and Mohanram, Michael also emphasises the significance of visual representation in expressing trauma, as a way to express what words cannot. In a graphic novel, text and pictures narrate the story in a joint venture. Reflecting on "testimonial (life) writing" (188), "literary autobiographies" (188) and "scriptotherapy" (188), Michael points out that the difficulty of expressing trauma comes from difficulties with language and memory but visual representations can convey with the immediacy of images what would otherwise be difficult to explain.

Likewise focusing on the artistic representation of painful individual trauma, in the third essay of the part "Intimate Healing," Nicholas Chare reflects on Teresa Margolles' 2016 installation commemorating the murder of a Mexican transgender woman, Karla, the previous year. While keeping its focus on themes of violence, expectations and judgement connected to unorthodox sexuality, Chare's "Concrete Loss: Attesting to Trauma in Teresa Margolles' *Karla, Hilario Reyes Gallego*" touches on problems appearing in other chapters as well: the influence of economic issues on the individual and the effect of the individual's sexuality on her integration into society. The first half of the study contemplates the nature of crime, sex and mourning through a pun highlighted by the section's title. 'Concrete' has various meanings, which connect to the artwork at different points. The installation includes a piece of concrete from the scene of the crime, "a visual synecdoche for the crime scene" (211). But concrete as a material is present in the artwork also in the form of a big block behind a "nearly life-size photograph of Karla—[which] gives it [...] the appearance of a shrine" (213). Concrete is a "signature material" (214) of the artist and it also links *Karla* (the artwork) to Margolles' other installations. As a "material associated with modernity" (213) it is connected to economic exploitation and social abjection, both of which severely affect Mexican sex workers. Similarly to Bal, who suggests that artworks have the potential to sensitise the visitor to feel more empathy and solidarity, Chare argues that although "Margolles offers no relief in relation to traumas" (225), she creates the possibility to have "encounters that are potentially transformational" (225) and through which "the beholder is potentially subject to change" (225).

The closing chapter of the book, Maria Margaroni's "The Monstrosity of the New Wounded: Thinking Trauma, Survival and Resistance with Catherine Malabou and Julia Kristeva" approaches the problem of healing from a rare angle, focusing not only on survival but on the possibility of living a quality life after severe trauma. Margaroni argues that while becoming less sensitive to one's surroundings might be a natural reaction to trauma and can also serve as a useful tool for survival, living in what could be called a survival mode can become a habit of the victim, preventing the person from truly living. Margaroni points out Malabou's a priori reasoning that trauma in all cases causes brain damage (241) and that contrary to Freud's concept of the neurotic, the latest findings of neuroscience identify "emotional indifference" as the main byproduct of trauma. This damage "leads to the production of a new type of patient, one characterised by 'cool indifference'" (234).

With her concept of the new wounded, Malabou proposes "new pathological paradigms" (234). While Freud is concerned with "the internal conflict that gets revived and remobilised through the action of the external event" (Margaroni 2020, 234), Malabou claims that in what she calls the new type of patient, the problem lies exactly in the fact that the traumatic event is meaningless, and the person finds no connection to it. Margaroni also calls attention to the fact that this new approach to trauma victims needs to go hand-in-hand with acknowledging the social contexts of terrorism and "aggressive global capitalism which drains its accomplices of all effect" (235). If "cool indifference" characterises the survivor's reaction to the world around them, "destructive plasticity" (234) goes a step forward and describes a situation in which "both suffering and making suffer [...] share the same death-like face of emotional apathy" (237). Discussing Kristeva's "extended metaphors of 'holding'" (248), Margaroni also argues that in Kristeva's view it is the "principle of the hold" (248) that can make life passionate again, and it is this principle that forms the core of Duras' script, *Hiroshima mon amour*.

*Arts of Healing* integrates the findings of various fields, looking at trauma from the points of view of "critical and cultural theory, psychoanalysis, philosophy, neurology, literature, the visual arts, film studies and gender and queer studies" (ixx). Ionescu and Margaroni point out that trauma studies has proceeded "from a Holocaust-centric reflection to the increasingly terror-haunted world" (x). Therefore, their aim with the book has been "to address urgent questions within the field" and "to contribute fruitfully to ongoing debates" (x). The themes that the book discusses concern all of us, connected to other people, living in globalised societies, experiencing the imperfection of the world. In some of the essays, artworks represent a person's reaction to trauma through their structure (Callus, van Alphen, Scicluna). In contrast, in others, it is the process of creating art which appears to be therapeutic (Michael, Ispas). An artwork can stand for the impossibility of healing and go toward creating a new self from the ashes (Milesi), or it can collect individual responses and compose them into a whole (Scicluna). *Arts of Healing* summarises and points forward. The book does not only reflect on works by artists from different fields but makes it its mission to include what is curious or counts as an exception.

The order in which the essays follow each other is well thought-out: there are no repetitions of any argument or topic; all studies come fresh and exciting,

keeping the reader intrigued. All studies point to the direction of the main topic, but they help the reader to simultaneously reflect on other chapters by giving different answers to previously asked questions. This allows a deeper understanding of the connections between art, healing and trauma. Despite the various, sometimes opposing viewpoints, the eleven essays together provide a sense of wholeness, as a guided highlights tour in a museum does, making the visitor feel that s/he has gained an overall view of the collection. The most outstanding achievement of the volume is that its essays not only bring novelties in terms of themes but also in terms of viewpoints and interpretations. Its contributors clearly *tell us something we do not know*.

*Arts of Healing* is a book about the difficulty and (sometimes) the impossibility of narrating one's suffering coherently. However, it is also a book about understanding and imagining, healing people and places through increasing compassion and "laughing with the lizards" (55). The book includes old and new traumas and invites the reader to face themes freed from taboos while observing the familiar with new eyes. Having started by causing bewilderment by displaying a study composed from fragments, the book ends in a hopeful and forward-looking tone, citing Duras' script: "the protagonists part, but they offer each other all they have: namely, their survival [...] through them, all of Hiroshima was in love with all of Nevers" (250).

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