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‘Myth vs Reality’

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Cover Image

Pedro Linares

'Alebrije' paper mache sculpture

The Children's Museum of Indianapolis

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Contents

Editors' Introduction

The articles in this year's edition of *Emergence* were all based on the theme of 'Myth vs Reality', following on from the annual Humanities Postgraduate Conference, organised by the University of Southampton's Humanities Graduate School Network (GradNet) on 27 March 2017.

The first three articles all reflect on language acquisition processes. Gonzalo Pérez explores teachers' beliefs about the global spread of English in a Chilean English Language Teaching (ELT) programme. The article explores how teacher trainers in one ELT programme in Chile rationalise the English that they speak, the English that they teach, and the English that is promoted in their programmes. The beliefs that these teachers hold in relation to the spread of English reveals how ELT programmes, and their developers, understand and respond to this phenomenon, especially in contexts where English has no official status or colonial history.

Hiroko Tsujino then discusses Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in Japan. The article examines both the realities and the myths of ALTs in Japan who work in elementary and/or secondary schools from qualitative narrative approach, utilising metaphors to investigate the ALT's self-perceptions about their profession. Tsujino goes on to shed light on the gaps between the stereotypical images and the actual practices of ALTs as a way of investigating how language teachers' form their identity and negotiate those gaps as they learn and achieve professional development.

Graciela Arizmendi Gonzalez explores the topic of listening through a genre based approach using narrative texts. She argues that whilst listening is a crucial skill in second language learning, those learning often struggle and are less proficient when listening to the second language. In that respect, genre based instruction goes beyond cognitive perspectives and links the language used to social and contextual conventions.

We then have two articles from within English studies. Islam El-Naggar discusses the sites of memory and loss in Radwa Ashour's *Granada*. The works of both Ashour and the theorist Edward Said represent life-long appeals to the responsibility of the individual subjects in the making of their history. This paper examines the potency of individualist endeavours against a more collective

judgement. More specifically, it questions and limits the interpretative agency of political subjects when faced with seminal historical events.

Next, Sophie Smith examines representations of the Holocaust in John Boyne's *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*. The essay asks whether Boyne's use of fairy tale and fable tropes marks a sophisticated medium that facilitates Holocaust education or, conversely, whether inexpert use instead create damaging misrepresentations. It, thus, contributes to larger debates about how children should be educated about the Holocaust.

We then have an article from Oonagh Pennington-Wilson, which explores the concept of the 'trickster' both historically and with reference to modern political comedy. Research into the fictional or mythic characters who have become known as 'tricksters' has proliferated since the late nineteenth century. These ambiguous figures function at the boundaries of society, often breaking and/or reasserting an existing social order in the course of their exploits. This essay suggests a number of connections between these traditional tricksters and representations of 'cunning' in modern political comedy.

Next are two articles from within Film Studies, which both, in their own way, examine the theme of 'Myth vs Reality' within documentaries. Adam Vaughan analyses cinematic representations in the documentary *Stories We Tell* (Sarah Polley, 2012). This essay argues that many contemporary documentaries are 'performative', in the sense that their subject matter is only given meaning as they are filmed and then viewed. This is followed by a close textual analysis of the film that uncovers how performative strategies are used to create a complex dialogue between filmmaker and film viewer that blurs truth and fiction in the construction of identity.

Solomiia Kratsylo then examines the influence of the documentary *Zolotyi Veresen. Chronicles of Galicia 1939-41* in shaping modern Ukrainian national identity. Her essay examines how the film explores collective memory and the extent to which it is a deliberate attempt to shape national identity through a selective representation of the Galician occupation.

The final article comes from researcher within History. Abaigh McKee discusses 'Collaboration and Resistance at the Paris Opéra', through the use of ballet music during the Nazi Occupation of Paris (1940-44). Her essay uses primary source

materials, including personal and bureaucratic correspondence, musical scores and performance programmes to understand the ballet company's activities during the Occupation from a musicological, historical, political and cultural perspective. McKee thus contributed to scholarship surrounding cultural life during the Occupation and offers another way of understanding the reality of this period.

We would like to thank everyone who has been involved in producing this year's edition of *Emergence*, particularly the authors and the editorial team.

Lewis Brennen, PhD Candidate, History, University of Southampton

Yael Gordon, PhD Candidate, Film, University of Southampton

(Editors, *Emergence*, 2017)

Foreword

It gives me great pleasure to write the Foreword to this the 9th edition of *Emergence.* This edition draws much of its content from the 10th annual conference of the Humanities Graduate School Student Network (GradNet), a conference which has now become a regular highlight of the academic year in Humanities. Six of the nine articles in this volume come from the conference, the theme of which was Myth vs Reality. The conference itself featured 21 papers, plus a selection of posters, with 20 presenters from the University of Southampton, as well as from Leeds Trinity University, University of Sheffield, University of Birmingham, and University College London. The GradNet conference provides an important forum for postgraduate researchers to exchange ideas and approaches, as well as an opportunity to share experiences across institutions and disciplinary boundaries.

The journal brings together contributions from a wide range of disciplines: Classics, English, Film, History, and Modern Languages. The diversity and complexity of the subjects tackled mirrors the breadth and depth of postgraduate research in the Faculty of Humanities.

On behalf of the Faculty, I would like to thank all of those involved in GradNet, not only for organising the Myth vs Reality Conference and editing and producing this journal but also for their activities throughout the year. GradNet plays a vital role in stimulating the exchange of ideas through reading groups and seminars, as well as fostering a sense of community amongst postgraduate researchers in the Faculty of Humanities. I would also like to thank and congratulate all of the contributors to this latest edition of *Emergence* whose work will further enhance the journal's already excellent reputation.

Dr James Minney
Interim Director, Graduate School
Faculty of Humanities

Humanities Graduate School Student Network

The Humanities Graduate School Student Network (GradNet) is an inclusive, student-led community for all postgraduates in the Faculty of Humanities. It strives to create an atmosphere in which students are able to connect, both as individuals and as developing professionals.

We aim to:

- Build and maintain a vibrant postgraduate community for the students, by the students.
- Cultivate identities as academic researchers, both individually and collectively.
- Engage in current academic debate.
- Nurture the acquisition and development of transferable skills for future careers.
- Provide opportunities for social interaction

In order to achieve these aims, we:

- Offer discussion-based, peer reviewed seminars led by current students.
- Organise social and cultural events.
- Organize an annual conference.
- Produce an annual journal, *Emergence*.

Emergence

Our most recent conference was held on 27 March 2017. *Emergence* is a peer-reviewed journal that builds upon the achievements of this conference, as several of the articles are drawn from papers published on the day. This year, as it was last year, the Call for Papers was sent out nationwide. This has led to a broad, insightful journal that showcases the research possibilities of the Humanities. The journal helps postgraduate scholars to develop their skills as academic researches and writers, thus building their academic profiles for the future.

Get Involved

If you are interested in participating in any of the GradNet activities, you can join our mailing list, Facebook page or follow us on Twitter. There is no joining fee, and you are welcome to attend as many or as few of the events as you wish. Alternatively, if you wish to join the GradNet Committee and become involved with organising our next event, conference or journal edition, please email us: Gradnet@soton.ac.uk.

Humanities Graduate School Student Network

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Mike Warner

PhD Candidate, History

Chair of GradNet Committee (2017)

An exploration of teachers' beliefs about the global spread of English in a Chilean ELT programme

Gonzalo Pérez

University of Southampton

The current status of English as an international language is opening up the debate about what we understand as 'subject matter English'. Traditional constructs in the English Language Teaching (ELT) profession such as the native speaker, standard English, and the culture of English are currently being questioned due to the growing number of users of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) who use English for intercultural communication mainly among non-native speakers. Research on Global Englishes has highlighted the need to abandon the current English as a Foreign Language (EFL) paradigm, which considers standard English and the native speaker as the norm, and adopt a global perspective of English that embraces the linguistic and cultural diversity of English instead.

This article explores how teacher trainers in one ELT programme in Chile rationalise the English that they speak, the English that they teach, and the English that is promoted in their programmes. The beliefs that these teachers hold in relation to the spread of English will reveal how curriculum developers for ELT programmes understand and respond to this phenomenon, especially in contexts where English has no official status or colonial history. Here, I present part of a multiple case study that comprises qualitative data gathered at three Chilean universities, using a variety of data collection methods.

Owing to space limitations, this article presents findings obtained only through interviews carried out in one of the three institutions. The findings reveal that teachers in this programme respond to the global dimension of English by rejecting traditional normative approaches to English, such as RP pronunciation, and also by promoting the acquisition of 'Chilean English' among their students. Further analysis of the results obtained through the other data collection methods will

eventually help to reveal how widespread the notion of 'Chilean English' is, as a form of English in its own right, among and within ELT programmes.

Introduction

The growing number of users of English as an additional language and the variety of contexts in which English is used as a lingua franca around the world, have significant implications for the teaching of English. The cultural and linguistic diversity of English has brought into question the validity of the traditional model of the native speaker (NS) as the only legitimate linguistic target in English Language Teaching (ELT), especially in contexts where English does not have a colonial history or official status. ELT publishers and researchers have, to some extent, started to acknowledge the need for a paradigm shift that challenges the current normative approach to ELT in the classroom. However, there is little evidence of change in the beliefs and practices of ELT practitioners or implementation of alternative approaches to English as subject matter in ELT programmes.[1] Considering this reality, this article explores the beliefs that teacher trainers at an ELT programme in Chile hold in relation to the English that is promoted in the training of future teachers, as well as their self-image as users of the language.

ELT and the global spread of English

Traditionally, the teaching of English in what Kachru calls 'Expanding Circle' contexts – territories where English does not have an official status or colonial history – has followed an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) model.[2] That is, English is learnt primarily for communication with its native speakers and, therefore, the teaching of English in these contexts has largely focused on the mastery of standard forms, placing special emphasis on correctness and accuracy in the acquisition of British or American English. However, as Dewey points out, this traditional view of language is 'in conflict with the sociolinguistic realities of most English language learning, teaching, and using contexts' as it ignores the current global dimension of English by

[1] Martin Dewey, 'Time to Wake up Some Dogs! Shifting the Culture of Language in Elt', in *Current Perspective on the Pedagogy of English as a Lingua Franca,* ed. by Yasemin Bayyurt and Sumru Akcan (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2014), pp. 121-34.

[2] Braj B Kachru, 'Teaching World Englishes', in *The Other Tongue: English across Cultures,* ed. by Braj B Kachru (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

reinforcing a monolithic and fixed form of the language which differs from the reality of language use in intercultural communication.[3] In response to this view of ELT, research on Global Englishes, and especially on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), has stressed the importance of adopting an alternative perspective to ELT that embraces the cultural and linguistic diversity of the language and the need to challenge long-standing beliefs about the nature of language as a set of rules rather than as a dynamic means of communication.

Even though it is possible to see a few examples of attempts to incorporate a Global Englishes perspective in mainstream ELT literature and teacher training courses, 'arguments being put forward from an ELF perspective have tended in ELT to be greeted with scepticism, if not open hostility'.[4] For example, Jenkins's study on attitudes towards ELF revealed a range of conflicting views among teachers in the Expanding Circle.[5] In line with Jenkins's findings, Young and Walsh studied how non-native teachers conceptualised the English they learned and taught, and they concluded that the teachers in their study had adopted 'a need to believe in a "standard" form of the language', even when acknowledging that such a standard does not correspond to the actual reality of English.[6] These views about language appear to be widespread in the ELT profession in general, as they seem to be commonly shared by teachers from different contexts. In light of this phenomenon, I draw attention to the formation of ELT practitioners at pre-service level, especially from the perspective of teacher educators in ELT programmes, since their views about language are likely to have a considerable effect on the beliefs about English of future teachers.

EFL teachers' beliefs

[3] Dewey, 'Time to Wake up Some Dogs', p. 121.
[4] Alessia Cogo and Martin Dewey, *Analysing English as a Lingua Franca: A Corpus-Driven Investigation* (London and New York: Continuum, 2012), p. 171.
[5] Jennifer Jenkins, *English as a Lingua Franca: Attitude and Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[6] Tony Johnstone Young and Steve Walsh, 'Which English? Whose English? An Investigation of "Non-Native" Teachers' Beliefs About Target Varieties', *Language, Culture and Curriculum,* 23:2 (2010), 123-137 (p. 135).

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the beliefs that teachers hold in relation to different aspects of their professional formation and practice, because of the role that these beliefs play in what teachers do in the classroom. Although researchers have traditionally approached the complexity of teachers' mental lives from a variety of perspectives – such as studying beliefs, attitudes, values and knowledge as separate constructs – differentiating them in empirical research is problematic because they lack clear-cut theoretical boundaries.[7] Therefore, I understand teachers' beliefs as an umbrella term that brings together all these complex cognitive processes that influence a teacher's views, decision-making and practices.

Research on teachers' beliefs has identified core characteristics based on three key agreed assumptions.[8] Firstly, it is argued that beliefs must be inferred, as they may not be directly observed or measured, which results in researchers having to elicit them using a variety of methods. Fives and Buehl point out that teachers may not be fully aware of their own beliefs because some of them can be unconsciously held.[9] Secondly, as Pajares argues, 'the earlier a belief is incorporated into a belief structure, the more difficult it is to alter, for these beliefs subsequently affect perception and strongly influence the processing of new information'.[10] As some beliefs are more resistant to change, teachers are likely to justify their positions even in the presence of contradictory evidence or can even go against logical reasoning.[11] And third, it has been largely documented that teachers' own experiences as learners shape their beliefs as teachers. This is a phenomenon commonly referred to as 'the apprenticeship of observation', which stresses the fact that before teachers join initial teacher education programmes, they spend a large

[7] Simon Borg, *Teacher Cognition and Language Education* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).
[8] Hongying Zheng, 'A Review of Research on Efl/Esl Pre-Service Teachers' Beliefs and Practices', *Journal of Cambridge Studies,* 4:1 (2009), 73-81.
[9] Helenrose Fives and Michelle M. Buehl, 'Spring Cleaning for the "Messy" Construct of Teachers' Beliefs: What Are They? Which Have Been Examined? What Can They Tell Us?', in *Apa Educational Psychology Handbook: Vol 2. Individual Differences and Contextual Factors,* ed. by Karen R. Harris, Steve Grahan, and Tim Urdan (Washington, D.C: American Psychological Association, 2012), pp. 471-99.
[10] M. Frank Pajares, 'Teachers' Beliefs and Educational Research: Cleaning up a Messy Construct', *Review of educational research,* 62:3 (1992), 307-332 (p. 317).
[11] Balasubramanian Kumaravadivelu, *Language Teacher Education for a Global Society: A Modular Model for Knowing, Analyzing, Recognizing, Doing, and Seeing* (London: Routledge, 2012).

number of hours observing how other teachers behave and perform in the classroom.[12] In the case of ELT, teachers 'enter the profession with largely unarticulated, yet deeply ingrained, notions about what language is, how it is learned and how it should be taught'.[13]

Context and Methodology

This study is part of a multiple case study that intends to reveal the language ideologies that operate in Chilean ELT programmes by exploring the beliefs about English that teacher educators in three initial teacher education programmes hold. Using semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, and document analysis, this case study aims to explore how teachers in these ELT programmes respond to the global spread of English in their curricula and practices, and the views that teacher educators at these programmes held in relation to the idea of English that is promoted in Chile. In this article, I present the results obtained in only one of the cases (henceforth Programme A) through two sets of semi-structured interviews.

In order to become a teacher of English in Chile, students enrol in university programmes that range from 4 to 5 years in length. Applicants are not required to demonstrate a specific proficiency in English, as they learn the language alongside other subjects. At the end of their initial teacher education course, students are expected to achieve a C1 level in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages CEFR,[14] although as yet this is not a compulsory requirement to become a qualified teacher. Courses on phonetics and grammar dominate the curriculum of most of ELT programmes in Chile since, as Barahona observes, 'there is an understanding that to be a teacher of English it is necessary to master English at a native-like proficiency level, and that RP English is the best accent for a non-native teacher of English'.[15]

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[12] Dan C. Lortie, *School Teacher: A Sociological Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).
[13] Karen E. Johnson and Paula R. Golombek, 'A Sociocultural Theoretical Perspective on Teacher Professional Development', in *Research on Second Language Teacher Education: A Sociocultural Perspective on Professional Development,* ed. by KE Johnson and PR Golombek (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 1-12. (p.1)
[14] Ministerio de Educación, 'Estándares Orientadores Para Carreras De Pedagogía En Inglés', ed. by Ministerio de Educación (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 2014).
[15] Malba Barahona, *English Language Teacher Education in Chile: A Cultural Historical Activity Theory Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 49.

The selection of programmes for this case study followed a purposive sampling selection, which is a non-probability sample technique that 'lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth'.[16] Programme A was considered of particular interest because of its participation in setting up the Chilean Ministry of Education's standards for ELT published in 2014. In addition, this programme implemented a curriculum innovation that aimed at integrating subjects that are traditionally treated as separate modules in Chilean ELT programmes. That is, courses on English phonetics and grammar are incorporated in the language skills modules instead of running in isolation. It is important to mention here that students in this programme are expected to pass the British Council's APTIS test by the end of their course as proof of C1 proficiency. Eight teachers from the ELT staff at this higher education institution agreed to participate in the study.

Findings

The interviews were transcribed using the transcription conventions included in Appendix 1. Later, they were analysed using thematic analysis by coding the data and creating categories through establishing relationships among emerging codes.[17] Due to space limitations, this article focuses primarily on findings related to how these teacher educators conceptualise the English that is promoted by the programme in the training of future teachers of English.

Most of the teachers in Programme A showed a strong resentment against the emphasis on accuracy that they experienced during their own training. In addition, they expressed the need to differentiate their practices from those that are perceived as common in what they call 'traditional programmes', which are Chilean ELT university programmes that normally incorporate up to six courses on phonetics and grammar. In Extract 1 below, Javier, a teacher educator at Programme A refers to how his own experience as a trainee under an intense normative approach differs from his current view of English. In addition, he points out that his students

[16] Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, 3rd edn (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 230 (emphasis in original).
[17] Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 3:2 (2006), 77-101.

experience ‘shock’ when they are told that they are not expected to sound like a native speaker.

Extract 1:

Javier: as teachers we were all trained under the RP NORM so: **there was no choice**, I mean, those who had little interest in American English, FORGET IT, I mean, **this is RP and that’s it** [...] but apparently after the shock [my students] seem very RELIEVED, they’re like ‘you know what? I don’t need to worry about an accent, I mean, because I already have one (1) **what I need to do is communicate and be intelligible**’

Not only does Javier distance himself from the traditional view of training pre-service teachers of English, but also shows resistance to the imposition of a native-speaker based form of English by stating that his students ‘already have an accent’ as Chilean speakers of English. Variations from a standard norm, in his view, are considered to be acceptable and even encouraged for effective communication. This perspective is shared and promoted by other teachers from the programme. For example, in Extract 2 below Cristina reflects on how features of British English are noticeable in her speech because of her training, but also evidences an appropriation of English as her own language by incorporating features of Chilean Spanish in her use of English to suit her own communication style:

Extract 2:

Cristina: Once someone said ‘but you have a British accent’ – NO (.) I don’t have it (.) no, not at all (.) but MAYBE there are some things that you can perceive, maybe because of the training but I think that **if I had to define my English I would say that it's Chilean English** because (.) as the time has passed by I have incorporated some Chilean expressions, so actually in my classes I say **MOVE *PO***

When talking about her own English in the extract above, Cristina describes it as 'Chilean English' because of the inclusion of expressions of Chilean Spanish such as 'po', which is a non-standard intensifier commonly used at the end of a sentence. As there is not a direct translation for *po* in English, users like Cristina find it useful to employ it in front of an audience that understands its meaning (e.g. her students, her colleagues, a Chilean researcher). The data collected at Programme A appears to suggest that the teachers in this programme share the belief that the promotion of 'Chilean English' – as a form of reinforcement of the trainees' own identity as Chilean teachers – may act as a response to the traditional native-speaker model that most of them followed during their own training. Further support for this claim lies in the views of Silvia, an experienced teacher from this programme, who also validates the idea of acquisition of 'Chilean English' among Chilean teachers of English, as Extract 3 below shows.

Extract 3:

Silvia: [as regards Spanish] where are you going to study in Chile or in Spain or Colombia or Mexico? which accent do you like more? it DOESN'T MATTER (.) you can have a mix, you can speak with your own accent and it will not make any difference **as long as you speak accurately, clearly and fluently**, and you use that language as a tool, whatever language you're trying to teach […] so what difference does it make if you speak South African English or, I don't know, New Zealand English? (.) or **CHILEAN ENGLISH** (.) **but dignified Chilean English**

Even though Silvia's view seems to be in line with the beliefs of her colleagues presented in Extracts 1 and 2 above in relation to the validation and promotion of a teacher's own form of English, she raises a few issues related to an 'accurate' use of the language that are not explicitly discussed by her peers. She suggests that users of English, more specifically teachers, should be allowed to mix between different varieties of English, and use their own L1-influenced pronunciation, provided that they 'speak accurately, clearly and fluently'. This view is

reinforced by her comment referring to a 'dignified' version of 'Chilean English' as an acceptable form of English. The findings presented here reveal that teachers at Institution A share the belief that it is not necessary to adopt a specific variety of English in order to become a successful user or a teacher of English. What is more, they openly promote, and in some cases, admit using, a localised form of English. However, tensions still exist when it comes to describing what is and is not acceptable in the use of English.

The analysis of the interview data also evidenced a strong influence of experiences in countries where English is a national language on their beliefs about English. In most cases, teachers reported a mismatch between the English that they learnt as trainees and the reality of English. Two of these teachers made explicit reference to communication problems that they experienced because their English was 'so bookish' due to their pre-service training, while at the same time reporting how being exposed to a multicultural community helped them develop an awareness of how English is used in intercultural communication. Extract 4 below presents Cristina's view of the influence of her training on her communication in English in an English-speaking country.

Extract 4:

Cristina: **I learnt lots of rules** but as I told you **I realised that I wasn't fluent at all** so I think that it was full of rules so you have to respect this and that (.) but at the moment that I was there and had to communicate **my English was so bookish**

These findings tend to challenge theoretical assumptions about teachers' beliefs. The emphasis on linguistic accuracy that these teachers experienced in their training is generally rejected in their espoused beliefs. However, it is necessary to explore their beliefs in practice in order to understand whether and how these views about English are promoted in the classroom, and the way in which long-standing normative views about language learning and teaching are dealt with. What is more, a further exploration can also reveal how widespread the notion of 'Chilean English' is – and perhaps how widely encouraged it is – in the ELT profession in Chile.

Conclusions

Research on ELT has tended to state that there is little uptake of the implications that the global spread of English has had for the teaching of English in Expanding Circle contexts. Although teacher education programmes in Chile have traditionally followed an approach that places the native-speaker as the norm in terms of linguistic proficiency, this study reveals that the beliefs of teacher educators in Chile have started to change in favour of a more inclusive perspective, which places emphasis on effective communication over accuracy. However, it is important to be cautious in these claims, since contradictions and inconsistencies may occur in practice, such as the implementation of Native-speaker based testing systems, and ideas of what constitutes acceptable communication in English.

The results presented here are not expected to be taken as a generalisation of ELT training in Chile: on the contrary, they are most likely to be regarded as an exception, considering the programme's implementation of curriculum innovation in recent years. What is more, a comparison between the beliefs and practices found in this programme and in other initial teacher education programmes in Chile could contribute to a better understanding of the views about English that are promoted or challenged in the training of English teachers in this context.

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Transcription conventions

(.)	Pause of less than a second
(2)	Approximate pause length in seconds
CAPS	Strong emphasis
[author's commentary]	Author's commentary
/Italics/	Words and phrases in a language other than English
?	Rising intonation (questions)
"	Quotations
[…]	Gap between the sections of the transcription that were not included

‘Novice but Expert?’: A study of Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in Japan

Hiroko Tsujino

University of Southampton

In recent years, more and more English speakers, mainly from the West, teach English in non-English-speaking countries and they are typically labeled as ‘native’ English-speaking teachers (NESTs). It is sometimes claimed that one of the reasons behind the language education policy which attempts to employ NESTs is based on the ‘native speaker as expert’ myth, or native-speakerism.[1] Those foreign teachers are usually called Native English Teachers (NETs) or Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in Japan, teaching English in all levels of the education system: from nursery school to university level, and in the private sector such as language schools for adults. Many of them are believed to have no or little experience of teacher education, but they tend to be treated as experts in the workplace since they are native speakers of the language. Conversely, it is also true that non-experienced ALTs can act as skillful teachers because of their own language learning experiences and their personality.[2]

This paper explores both the realities and the myths of ALTs in Japan who work at elementary and/or secondary schools from a qualitative narrative approach, utilizing metaphors to investigate the ALTs’ self-perceptions about their profession. Exploring the gaps between the stereotypical images and the actual practices of ALTs is a way of investigating the process of language teachers’ identity formation and how they act as ‘experts’ even though many of them are novices. In delineating the process of teacher learning, the notion of ‘investment’ and both sociocultural and

[1] Jack C Richards, 'Second Language Teacher Education Today', *RELC journal,* 39 (2008), 158-77; Adrian Holliday, *The Struggle to Teach English as an International Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[2] Hiroko Tsujino, ‘Teacher Learning in Communities of Practice’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Southampton, forthcoming).

sociotemporal factors need to be considered.[3] This study has possibilities not only to promote the further understanding of the realities of the ALTs in Japan, but to contribute to the professional development of language teachers in wider contexts.

Introduction

As Fiona Copland, Monika Davis, Sue Garton, and Steve Mann reported, there are several different schemes to employ native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) around the world.[4] They are widely utilised to promote English language education in various contexts and to give learners opportunities to communicate in the target language. Nowadays, however, there is much debate over whether NESTs are really needed in language education and how we can judge the 'nativeness' of the language. We should be aware of the conflicting views on NESTs such as 'native speaker fallacy' and 'native-speakerism,' which stand on the belief that 'the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker'.[5] Sometimes it can cause a serious social justice problem as Houghton and Rivers demonstrate:

> 'Native-speakerism is prejudice, stereotyping and/or discrimination, typically by or against foreign language teachers, on the basis of either being or not being perceived and categorized as a native speaker of a particular language, which can form part of a larger complex of interconnected prejudices including ethnocentrism, racism, and sexism. Its endorsement positions individuals from certain language groups as being innately superior to individuals from other language groups. Therefore native-speakerist policies and practices represent a fundamental breach of one's basic human rights.'[6]

[3] Ron Darvin and Bonny Norton, 'Identity and a Model of Investment in Applied Linguistics', *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35 (2015), 36-56.
[4] Fiona Copland, Monika Davis, Sue Garton, and Steve Mann, *Investigating NEST Schemes around the World: Supporting NEST/LET Collaborative Practices* (London: British Council, 2016).
[5] Robert Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); George Braine, *Nonnative Speaker English Teachers* (London: Routledge, 2010), p.3.
[6] Stephanie Ann Houghton, and Damian J Rivers, *Native-Speakerism in Japan: Intergroup Dynamics in Foreign Language Education* (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2013), p.14.

Additionally, the 'native-speaker as expert' syndrome can be observed in various contexts since 'untrained native-speakers teaching EFL overseas are sometimes credited with an identity they are not really entitled to… finding that they have a status and credibility which they would not normally achieve in their own country'.[7] Because of that, NESTs often miss the opportunities of reasonable teacher training for their professional development. In most cases, they tend to rely on apprenticeship models of learning and even novice NESTs must fit in the individual settings by themselves.[8]

In this article, I explore the self-perceptions of ALTs, who are a type of NESTs, through the metaphoric expressions in the questionnaire answers to investigate their actual status and positions at school education in Japan, revealing the conceptual gaps between the myths and realities of ALTs that are still under-researched.

Research Background

English is taught as a foreign language in Japan, like many other countries. The status of English is extremely high and it is usually considered to have a function as a gate-keeping device both in academic settings and business sectors.[9] In general, a 'foreign language' is a synonym of 'English' in Japan and it seems that no one would doubt the status of English as the most important lingua franca to gain competitiveness in the globalised world.[10] English might be considered a multilingua franca at some institutions and it is one of the most important subjects in school education.[11] Nevertheless, most people use Japanese for daily communication and some may say there is no urgent necessity to use English in Japan. Even though Japanese people use numerous loanwords from English, some people say that they are 'allergic' to English.[12] Indeed, as an English teacher at a public senior high school, I sometimes

[7] Richards, 'Second Language Teacher Education', p.168.
[8] Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[9] David Graddol, *English Next* (London: British Council, 2006).
[10] Ryuko Kubota, 'The Impact of Globalization on Language Teaching in Japan', in *Globalization and Language Teaching*, ed. by David Block and Deborah Cameron (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 13-28.
[11] Jennifer Jenkins, 'Repositioning English and Multilingualism in English as a Lingua Franca', *Englishes in Practice*, 2 (2015), 49-85.
[12] Ryuko Kubota, 'Ideologies of English in Japan', *World Englishes*, 17 (1998), 295-306.

encountered students who suggested that they do not need English because they are happy to live in their island country without having contacts with the outside world, a phenomenon sometimes referred to as 'galapagosization'.[13] Of course, others are eager to use English as a useful communication tool to broaden their views, so there are conflicting perceptions about English, such as globalisation versus galapagosization.[14]

Under these mixed realities in English language education, the ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology (MEXT) released the 'English education reform plan corresponding to globalization' in 2014, and it showed intentions of making efforts to expand placement of ALTs, promote utilization of community members (formulate guidelines for such external staff use, etc.), and strengthen and enrich ALT training programs. From my own experience as an English teacher, I came across many issues ALTs are facing, for instance, the problematic status of ALTs as 'just assistants', the various kinds of employment systems from the government-sponsored well-paid full-time position to a part-time despatched contract which needs to be renewed annually, and limited or impractical teacher training opportunities.[15]

In relation to the notion of native-speakerism, which is defined as 'a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that "native-speaker" teachers represent a "Western culture" from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology', there seems to be a tendency for many of the ALTs to come from 'the English-speaking West' as Table 1 shows.[16]

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[13] Akira Suehiro and Shigeto Sonoda, 'Galapagosization of Japanese Society: 日本社会のガラパゴス化を考える', *学術の動向Gakujutsu no Doukou*, 17 (2012), 60-65.

[14] Yukiko Miyazaki, 'Foreign Language Education in Japan in the globalised world: 国際化・グローバル化社会における日本の外国語教育についての考察', *日本英語英文学 Nihon Eigo Eibungaku*, 24 (2014), 45-71.

[15] MEXT, *Five Proposals and Specific Measures for Developing Proficiency in English for International Communication* [Provisional Translation], (2011) <http://www.mext.go.jp/component/english/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2012/07/09/1319707_1.pdf> [Accessed: 29/05/2017].

[16] Holliday, *The Struggle to Teach English*, p.6.

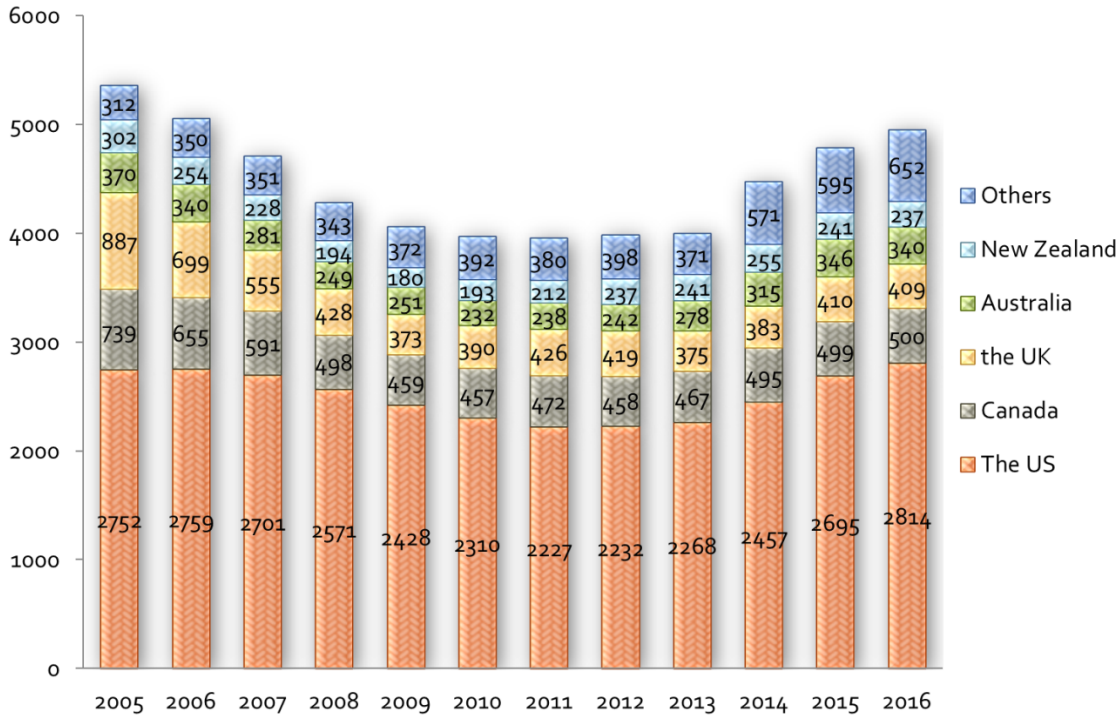

Table 1: The number of JET ALTs by country (CLAIR)[17]

From the students' perspective, sometimes they show a preference for white teachers and there is a belief that 'the idealized non-Japanese EFL teacher is a "native speaker" of English from the U.S. etc.'[18] On the other hand, however, some students see that both local English teachers and NESTs are equally-equipped in terms of their teaching.[19]

Looking closely at the ALTs in Japan, how they perceive themselves in the school context is still largely unknown. Therefore, I invited ALTs in different employment systems to investigate the real pictures of ALTs through metaphor analysis.

Method: Metaphor analysis

[17] The Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR) < http://jetprogramme.org/en/ > [Accessed: 09/09/2017].
[18] Damian J. Rivers and Andrew S. Ross, 'Idealized English Teachers: The Implicit Influence of Race in Japan', *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 12 (2013), 321-39 (p.336).
[19] Masataka Kasai, Jeong-Ah Lee, and Soonhyang Kim, 'Secondary EFL Students' Perceptions of Native and Nonnative English-Speaking Teachers in Japan and Korea', *Asian EFL Journal*, 13 (2011), 272-300.

The focus is put on the metaphors provided by the ALTs because they can be seen as a useful way to understand how ALTs 'construct representations of themselves and their experience'.[20] To explore ALTs' self-perceptions through conceptual metaphors explained by metaphoric linguistic expressions, a questionnaire survey was conducted, following snowball sampling. I prepared an online survey with questions about biographical information, educational background, teaching and teacher training experiences, and the respondent's perceptions about the job as an ALT and language education in Japan, with respondents able to take as much time as they want to complete. I set an open-ended question at the very end, asking them to think about a metaphor and complete the sentence: 'An ALT is… because….'. Thirty-two people (16 male and 16 female, 20 of them are in their 20s) from the US (14), Australia (7), New Zealand (4), Canada (3), the UK (3), and South Africa (1) who had work experience as an ALT in Japan participated in the Internet-based survey in 2014.[21] All the data, including eight semi-structured follow-up interviews via Skype, were closely examined to supplement the reliability of the findings.[22]

According to Gerard Steen, metaphors have three basic functions: linguistic, conceptual, and communicative.[23] Metaphors can be used to fill lexical gaps in the language system by naming, they offer conceptual frameworks for mutual understanding by framing, and produce an alternative perspective on a particular topic in a message by changing. The ALTs' 'underlying attitudes and beliefs about both what they teach (the subject) and about stable, characterising features of institutional learning environments (e.g. teacher, learner, classroom, lesson, book) can be inferred from their use of metaphorical language'.[24] My experience as a local

[20] Claire Kramsch, 'Metaphor and the Subjective Construction of Beliefs', in *Beliefs about SLA*, ed. by Paula Kalaja and Ana Maria Ferreira Barcelos (Springer, 2003), pp. 109-28 (p.125).

[21] Hiroko Tsujino, 'Assistant Language Teachers in Japanese Schools: Issues of Language and Professional Identity' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Southampton, 2014).

[22] Sonya L Armstrong, Hope Smith Davis, and Eric J Paulson, 'The Subjectivity Problem: Improving Triangulation Approaches in Metaphor Analysis Studies', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 10 (2011), 151-63.

[23] Gerard Steen, 'The Paradox of Metaphor: Why We Need a Three-Dimensional Model of Metaphor', *Metaphor and Symbol*, 23 (2008), 213-41.

[24] Ian McGrath, 'Using Insights from Teachers' Metaphors', *Journal of education for teaching*, 32 (2006), 303-17 (p.306).

English teacher and familiarity with the Japanese ELT community helped me interpret the answers provided by ALTs.

In this article, I put the metaphoric explanations in three categories (modified from Lynn Thomas and Catherine Beauchamp) based on how ALTs conceptualised themselves through their work as an ALT: 1) positive, 2) negative, and 3) neutral self-perceptions.[25] Actual voices from ALTs through conceptual metaphors were interpreted to address both existing and potential problems of ALT system and to promote better understandings of the realities of ALTs in Japan.

Results and discussion: ALTs' self-perceptions through metaphors

Several patterns can be observed in the self-declared metaphors by ALTs such as animals (bird, tortoise), objects (clay, canvas, torch, tape recorder, CDs), foods (beer, chocolate, salt/seasonings), places (point of cultural interest, oasis), resources (book, Wikipedia), and other persons (student, child, comedian). Table 2 shows the summary of the results, putting the metaphors provided by the respondents in each category.

Among the 28 metaphoric expressions, 13 positive, 7 negative, and 8 emotionally neutral metaphors were observed. Here, 'neutral' means that the metaphor can be interpreted in both positive and negative ways, depending on the situation. Interestingly, the percentage of using metaphors of non-living objects (75%) is higher than that of living things such as animals and other persons (25%). The following lists are the answers put on the questionnaire.

[25] Lynn Thomas and Catherine Beauchamp, 'Understanding New Teachers' Professional Identities through Metaphor', *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 27 (2011), 762-69.

"An ALT is …"	**Positive +** (multiple responses)	**Negative –** (multiple responses)	**Neutral ±**
Animals	• a tortoise	• native bird chosen by a cuckoo • a bird in a cage	
Foods	• salt/seasonings		• the sprinkles on a cupcake • a glass of beer • a box of chocolates
Objects	• a torch along a dark path • incredibly useful and necessary tool (2) • a door to the world • living artefact	• a tape recorder (2) • a fresh coat of paint on a broken down car	• a blank canvas • your favourite band's CD • clay • a book with a generic cover
Places	• a point of cultural interest • an oasis		
Resources	• resource for authentic English pronunciation, conversation practice, and communication experience (2)		• Wikipedia
Other persons	• a student • a guide	• a child in a police uniform • a comedian	

Table 2: ALTs' self-perceptions expressed in metaphors

[Neutral expressions]

- An ALT is *the sprinkles on a cupcake* because we do not get enough time to dig into the content of English but we do make the curriculum pretty!
- *A glass of beer* although you don't actually *need* one, it's great to have one.
- Being an ALT is like *a box of chocolates* because you never know what you're going to get.

- *A blank canvas*... They work with so many people who all try to create a different painting.
- An ALT is *a book with a generic cover*, it looks like the same as any other book, but those who are willing to open it up and engage with it, will find that it is unique, filled with depth, and a valuable resource from which to learn.
- An ALT is *your favorite band's CD* because sometimes they are good or sometimes they are bad. But they are an OK substitute for the real thing.
- An ALT is *clay* because a school can make an ALT into many things. However, what type of things the ALT can be also depends on the skill level of the individual ALT.
- An ALT is like *Wikipedia*, because they know many things about different subjects regarding culture and language, but they aren't necessarily an authority on the subject.

Examining these neutral expressions, we see that they connote both positive and negative aspects. Some interesting metaphors referring to a kind of edible item imply that sometimes we can enjoy them, but not always. A common conception can be seen here: that the existence of ALTs at schools are something additional and they can be utilised in a flexible way according to the local teachers' and students' needs. Moreover, not only the external factors, but the ALTs' personal qualities as teachers or the motivational factors of different stakeholders can influence the dynamics of each setting.

[Positive perceptions]

- An ALT is *an oasis* because he or she can create educational activities which breathe life into studying and defy the monotonous trudging pace of conventional English classes.
- An ALT is like *a tortoise*, slow but important movements and very lucky

- An ALT is like *salt/seasonings*, because their presence in the dish is attempting to balance the ingredients and make the dish recognizable for what it is.
- *A student* because reciprocal learning constantly takes place inside and outside the classroom. I learn so much from my students. I teach and in the process I am being taught.
- An ALT is *a torch along a dark path*. We light the way, but we need to be used in order to be effective.
- An ALT is *a living artifact* because each one can provide a wellspring of information about his or her native country, and there always exists the opportunity for live, meaningful interaction.
- An ALT is *an incredibly useful and necessary tool* to aid Japanese students in learning English because of the uneven quality of English education in Japan without us.
- An ALT is *a door to the world* because they teach students to not fear what is outside of the box.

Nearly half of the respondents express that ALTs can benefit students by guiding them and providing useful resources to learn English. According to their answers, it is possible to say that they understand the position of ALTs as creators of the contact zone, where students can experience the realisations of diverse values and things from the outside world. Interestingly, they show a range of ideas in numerous categories from symbolic explanations to the practical ones. More noteworthy is the fact that there is one ALT who perceives herself as both a student and a teacher. This reciprocal learning environment would be the ideal situation to achieve more productive development not only for ALTs but for other teachers and students.

[Negative perceptions]

- An ALT is *that naive bird chosen by the cuckoo*, for it nurtures to the same degree as other protectors and yet receives not, the rewards given to the others.
- An ALT is *a bird in a cage* because we rarely get to "fly" i.e. actually teach English as we came here to do. Too often we have to play second fiddle to JTEs who sometimes have an inadequate understanding of English and teaching methodologies, and due to the constraints of the ridiculous testing system we do not have so many classes because teachers must focus on cramming endless amounts of useless vocabulary and grammar patterns into the students.
- An ALT is also like *a child in a police uniform*, because he/she is not taken seriously and is not necessarily a qualified professional.
- Like *a tape recorder* because most of the time we just repeat things
- An ALT is *live tape recorder* because students sometimes don't [take] us seriously as teachers.
- *A fresh coat of paint on a broken down car* because at the end of the day the engine won't run (no one REALLY teaches English), the brakes are useless (students end up being way over their head), and it's just a trick to convince people to buy (look at us, we're INTERNATIONAL!).
- An ALT must be *a comedian* because this job is certainly a joke.

Turning to the negative conceptualisations, those metaphors represent the limitations of the work as an ALT. Some of them expressed the dilemma of not having enough rights and authority to make decisions to teach in the way they would like to. One of the reasons of this might be because of the ALTs' status as a 'newcomer' and the difficulties of getting legitimated participation in the communities of practice which may prevent them from taking inward trajectories for

professional development.[26] Sometimes they end up having the status of just an 'edutainer', not an educator.[27]

As we can see, it is possible to say that ALTs' self-perceptions would fit in the whole range from a 'human tape-recorder' to 'useful resources' or a fully responsible teacher. Even when they are still novice, some ALTs are confident enough to take responsibilities to teach students as an expert based on their own language learning experiences observing teachers' work as a student, a phenomenon known as the 'apprenticeship of observation'.[28]

Furthermore, the 'native speaker as expert myth' might work in a positive way because many of the students may support this view since 'students' perceptions of the teachers' instruction may be highly situational. In other words, students' perceptions may depend on the contextual and personal particularities of both the environment and the teacher, such as types of instruction, curriculum goals, relationships between teacher and student, and idiosyncrasies or quirks and other individual characteristics of the teacher in a particular school context'.[29]

As many of the participants mentioned, 'every situation is different' and it is not that uncommon for novice ALTs to work as experts in school settings. The working environment and the ALTs' mode of participation in school communities seem to make a difference in their self-perceptions about their job.

Conclusion

As noted above, metaphor is a useful tool to explore language teachers' identities and the ways in which they conceptualise themselves in an educational setting.[30] In

[26] Lave and Wenger, *Situated Learning*; Etienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*, *Learning in Doing: Social, Cognitive, and Computational Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[27] Laura Taylor, 'The Personal and Professional Development of Novice English Teachers Working in South Korea', in *Faces of English Language Education: Teachers, Students, Pedagogy.*, ed. by L. L. C. Wong, and Ken Hyland, (London: Routledge, 2017), pp.245-259.

[28] Dan C Lortie, *School Teacher: A Sociological Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

[29] Kasai, Lee, and Kim, 'Students' Perceptions of Native and Nonnative English-Speaking Teachers', p.292.

[30] Rebecca L Oxford et al, 'Clashing Metaphors About Classroom Teachers: Toward a Systematic Typology for the Language Teaching Field', *System,* 26 (1998), 3-50; Martin Cortazzi and Lixian Jin, 'Bridges to Learning: Metaphors of Teaching, Learning and Language', in *Researching and Applying Metaphor*, ed. by Lynne Cameron and Graham Low (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 149-76.

this study, I tried to investigate the diverse characterising features of ALTs in various contexts and their self-perceptions especially about their actual status and their realities in the classroom. One of the participant ALTs said, '[a]n ALT is a resource for students and teachers in teaching and learning another language because [in] their role of being an assistant, ALTs should be knowledgeable of the target language. However, because ALTs are assistants, they should not be expected to have as much credential [*sic*] as a teacher to take on the main teaching role within the Teacher-Assistant relationship'. The narrative suggests an unfortunate reality, that the potential of this particular ALT cannot fully utilised.

Needless to say, personal investment would be necessary to gain expertise in teaching.[31] However, we need to step forward to create mediational space for more productive teacher learning. There are many obstacles to overcome, including legal issues about the teacher qualification system, but we can start by fostering camaraderie among ALTs and local teachers by offering ALTs legitimate participation in communities of practice around them. I personally believe that the ALT system can be improved when the government and the local teachers change their mind-set and invite ALTs to participate as 'teaching partners' or 'co-teachers'.[32] To do so, further research studies need to be done to examine each stakeholder from different angles.

[31] Ron Darvin, and Bonny Norton, 'Identity and a Model of Investment in Applied Linguistics', *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics,* 35 (2015), 36-56; Amy Tsui, 'Distinctive Qualities of Expert Teachers', *Teachers and Teaching,* 15 (2009), 421-39.
[32] Copland, Davis, Garton and Mann, *Investigating NEST Schemes.*

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Listening through a Genre-Based Approach Using Narrative Texts

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More listening research integrating cognitive and social dimensions is necessary and so this study investigated learners' listening in a Mexican university context to discover how learners' listening occurs after having received genre-based instruction. Two groups, a control and an experimental one, participated in this quasi-experimental design. Data was gathered through a listening task followed by stimulated recalls at two different times, before and after the instruction. The analysis was iterative via open and axial coding. Findings revealed how learners' listening went beyond cognitive processes by incorporating sociocontextual elements while listening. Moreover, genre-based instruction had a positive impact on learners' listening performance although results should be considered with caution due to the small sample size.

Introduction

Listening is an abstract and difficult skill to research and to teach in a second language learning context.[1] Its abstract quality lies in its ephemeral nature because it occurs in time rather than in space.[2] Listeners cannot go back and verify what was said, as is possible in reading.[3] In the classroom, teachers assume that learners absorb the second language similar to the way they acquire their first language, without any help or instruction about how to listen.[4] Thus, listening in this context is either taken for granted, limited and/or neglected.[5] Listening exercises are used to introduce a grammar point, to perform, or develop other learning skills.

[1] Joseph Siegel, 'Exploring L2 Listening Instruction: Examinations of Practice', *ELT Journal*, 68:1 (2014), 22-40.
[2] Michael Yeldham, 'Techniques for Researching L2 Listeners', *System*, 66 (2017), 13-26.
[3] Amber Bloomfield et al., 'What Makes Listening Difficult? Factors Affecting Second Language Listening Comprehension,' *Center for Advanced Studies of Languages* (2010).
[4] Nobuko Osada, 'Listening Comprehension Research: A brief Review of the Past Thirty Years', *Dialogue*, 3 (2004), 53-66.
[5] Larry Vandergrift and Christine C. M. Goh, *Teaching and Learning Second Language Listening: Metacognition in Action* (UK: Routledge Taylor and Francis, 2012), p. 6; Gao Liping, 'An Exploration of

The presence of listening activities is not always with the aim of learning how to listen or how to develop learners' listening skills.[6] Learners often have difficulties, cannot completely understand the message received, and often feel stressed, anxious and demotivated.[7] For all those features and issues, listening has captured the attention of researchers who acknowledge that to help learners become better listeners, it is necessary to understand their listening skills.[8] Then, teachers can give learners adequate assistance by teaching strategies that help them manage their comprehension problems.[9] Thus, the following section presents different pedagogies which have been proposed to help learners develop their listening skills for effective listening. At the end of the section, I remark that listening research and pedagogy have not shown conclusive findings from a cognitive dimension and that research integrating the cognitive and social dimensions can show new insights.

Literature review

The most common and current pedagogy is teaching individual strategies in an explicit way.[10] Strategy training has a method to teach 'how to' listen and has shown positive effects on learners' listening skills.[11] However, listening strategies taught are not always useful for all learners, activities or contexts and situations where learners are exposed to listening.

Other scholars suggest that learners learn how to listen through metacognitive instruction (MI) centred on the learner.[12] These scholars think that MI is a better approach for learners' listening comprehension rather than teaching individual listening strategies. In MI, learners are guided to raise awareness of how to listen and know the strategies that are useful according to their needs. Later,

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L2 Listening Problems and Their Causes' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2014), p. 5.

[6] Vandergrift and Goh, *Teaching and Learning*, p. 9.

[7] Suzzane Graham, 'Self-efficacy and Academic Listening', *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 10:2 (2011), 113-117.

[8] Yeldham, 'Techniques', p. 13.

[9] Abbas Pourhosein Gilakjani and Narjes Banou Sabouri, 'Learners' Listening Comprehension Difficulties in English Language Learning: a Literature Review', *English Language Teaching*, 9:6 (2016), 123-133.

[10] Larry Vandergrift and Marzieh H. Tafaghodtari, 'Teaching L2 Learners How to Listen Does Make a Difference: An Empirical Study,' *Language Learning*, 60:2 (2010), 470-497.

[11] Joseph Siegel, 'Thoughts on L2 Listening Pedagogy,' *ELT Journal*, 65:3 (2011), 318-321.

[12] Vandergrift and Tafaghodtari, 'Teaching L2 Learners', p. 471.

learners become strategic and transfer or apply strategies in other real life contexts and situations.[13] However, listening MI is in its infancy.[14] Current research has focused on investigating the effectiveness of the metacognitive instruction *per se* rather than on discovering the learners' procedures used while listening.

Another current pedagogy suggests that learners receive much exposure to a great variety of different comprehensible and enjoyable texts, i.e. extensive listening.[15] However, this pedagogy of extensive exposure or practice is not sufficient for many learners.[16] The length of time of exposure a learner has in an L2 context is not at all comparable to the number of hours a native speaker has in the L1 context.[17] Learners may fossilize misunderstandings.[18] Teachers could be regarded only as text providers rather than teaching learners how to listen.[19]

Furthermore, in extensive listening, learners do not learn what and how they should practice or which texts features to listen to in and beyond the classroom, especially in modern times, when access to listening materials is spread through different means of mass communication such as TV and the internet.[20] Texts are diverse with many different characteristics such as language used, structures and purposes according to the context. We cannot guarantee that learners know 'how to' listen when they are engaged in listening to those texts.

Other scholars incorporate the social aspect by suggesting the teaching of structural and functional features of texts.[21] They say that learners who know the texts structural features would be able to anticipate incoming information and use

[13] Ibid, p. 472.
[14] Christine Goh, 'Metacognitive Instruction for Second Language Listening Development: Theory, Practice and Research Implications', *RELC*, 39:2 (2008), 188-213; Jeremy Cross, 'Metacognition in L2 Listening: Clarifying Instructional Theory and Practice,' *Tesol Quarterly*, 49:4 (2015), 883-892.
[15] Willy A. Renandya and Thomas S.C. Farrell, '" Teacher, The Tape is Too Fast!" Extensive Listening in ELT', *ELT Journal,* 65:1 (2011), 52-59.
[16] Yeldham, 'Techniques', p.13.
[17] Owen G. Mordaunt and Daniel W. Olson, 'Listen, Listen, Listen and Listen: Building a Comprehension Corpus and Making it Comprehensible,' *Educational Studies*, 36:3 (2010), 249-258.
[18] Siegel, 'L2 Listening Pedagogy', pp.318-319.
[19] Ibid, p. 319.
[20] Ibid, 318.
[21] Elvis Wagner and Paul D. Toth, 'Teaching and Testing L2 Spanish Listening Using Scripted vs. Unscripted Texts', *Foreign Language Annals*, 47:3 (2014), 404-422.

meaningful skills.[22] Besides, Ridgway considers that teaching from texts is a better pedagogy than strategy instruction.[23]

Learning from texts is a genre-based pedagogy (GBP) that emerged in writing skills and goes beyond cognitive perspectives. GBP has not only been used for teaching writing abilities, but also for reading and speaking.[24] Furthermore, it could also be used for listening skills.[25] Text or GBP centres on texts' or genres' features and from three different schools: (a) English for Specific Purposes, (b) Systemic Functional Linguistics and (c) The New Rhetoric.

Genre theory

In English for Specific Purposes (ESP), students learn the structure of and language used in written texts that they will need to perform effectively in academic contexts. In Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), students not only learn the structure of the texts and the purpose they convey, but also the linguistic functions and reasons why people speak as they do in other contexts and situations. In SFL, learners learn the text's features through a pedagogical cycle involving five stages: (a) setting the context, (b) deconstructing a text (c) constructing a text collaboratively, (d) constructing a text independently, and then (e) linking related texts. The instruction is scaffolded going from collaborative to independent learning in a gradual and explicit way. For example, (a) teachers contextualize the text situation by asking learners a series of questions such as who the writers are and what the purpose of the text is; (b) learners analyse the written language used, the purpose conveyed and the way language is organized or structured; (c) learners together construct a

[22] Vandergrift & Goh, *Teaching and Learning*, p. 409.
[23] Tony Ridgway, 'Listening Strategies— I Beg Your Pardon?', *ELT Journal*, 54:2 (2000), 179-185.
[24] Malahat Shabani Minaabad and Farhang Fallahe Khoshkholgh, 'Investigating the Effect of Genre-Based Pedagogy on English for Specific Purpose Learners' Reading Comprehension', *World Applied Sciences Journal*, 18:2 (2012), 251-60; Jarunthawatchai Wisut, 'A Process-Genre Approach to Teaching Second Langage Writing: Theoretical Perspective and Implementation in a Thai University Setting' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 2010); Jose David Herazo Rivera, 'Using a Genre-Based Approach To Promote Oral Communication in The Colombian English Classroom', *Colombia Applied Linguistics*, 14:2 (2012), 109-126.
[25] Min Zhou, 'Suitability of Genre Approach in China: How Effective is it in Terms of SLA for Chinese University Students to Improve their Listening Skills?', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 3:6 (2014), 57-63.
[25] Ken Hyland, 'Genre Pedagogy: Language, Literacy and L2 Writing Instruction', *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 16 (2007), 148-164 (pp. 154-159).

text based on its features; (d) learners can construct another text independently. Finally, (e) learners link gained knowledge to other texts and contexts.[26]

In the New Rhetoric, also known as the Compositional School in the USA, learning or teaching a language is not its main interest, instead it is the rhetoric used to persuade people such as in politics. However, scholars from this perspective argue that teaching from texts is unnecessary.[27] For example, regarding 'narratives', learners expose themselves to narrations in everyday life especially in the learners' first language and so it is assumed learners are familiar with the narrative features. However, these scholars do not consider that acquiring features of texts/genre in an L1 is different from learning the texts' features in a second language. We cannot assume that learners know the narrative text features, why texts are produced as they are and some of their variations. There is no guarantee that learners know that text variations depend on the context and situation where they were produced and to whom texts are directed.

Due to the considerations that (a) there is not a definite consensus on how learners can become more effective listeners; (b) positive results from genre instruction have been found in writing and reading research at university level in the UK and Australia; and research about listening from texts is scarce, I investigate listening from a genre-based perspective.[28]

The investigation aims to discover learners' behaviours while listening and the impact of genre instruction on learners' listening skills. To that end, the research questions under investigation are:

(1) How do L2 learners at university level listen after having received instruction from texts?
(2) What is the impact of the instruction on learners' listening skills?

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[27] Adelia Carstens, 'The Effectiveness of Genre-Based Approaches in Teaching Academic Writing Subject-Specific Versus Cross-Disciplinary Emphases' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pretoria, 2009), p. 6.

[28] Bahador Sadeghi, Mohammed Taghi Hassani, and Hessam Noory, 'The Effect of Teaching Different Genres on Listening Comprehension Performance of Iranian EFL Students', *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 5:3 (2014), 517-523 (p. 517); The present author (Graciela Arizmendi) is a current PhD student in Modern Languages at the University of Southampton. Email gag2g13@soton.ac.uk.

Methods and design

In listening, most studies have investigated learners' cognitive processes and strategies using questionnaires and tests. Although these techniques are useful to have estimations of listeners' progress, to test hypothesis and to generalize results to populations, they do not show us the individual learner's accounts of the internal procedures used while listening. To date, little qualitative research exists on understanding learners' listening skills. Hence, the significance of this study lies in providing a broader picture of the listening ability by integrating learners' listening performance and listening skills after the implementation of genre based pedagogy. The study is an untreated Control Group design containing dependent pre- and post-test data. This type of design is also known as the non-equivalent comparison group design.[29] This type of design involves two groups.

Groups, materials and genre-based instruction

An Experimental (EG) and a Control Group (CG) of Mexican students participated. They were registered in the fourth semester learning English at intermediate level as part of their language bachelor degree. The CG received exposure to its regular class hours. The EG received genre-based instruction during six thirty-minute sessions. The texts were narrated film plots created in audio form as model texts for the intervention. They included four parts:

(1) orientation (introduction): defined as the context where the actions happened and the characters are described.
(2) problem: the complications and struggles within the text.
(3) resolution: the solutions to the problems.
(4) evaluation: the importance of the story for the narrator, (an opinion).

The SFL pedagogical cycle was adapted for listening purposes as follows:

(1) setting the context through a series of questions

[29] William R. Shadish, Thomas D. Cook, and Donald T. Campbell, *Experimental and Quasi Experimental Designs for Generalized Causal Inference* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002), p. 136.

(2) analysis of the oral language listened, structure, and sociocontextual features
(3) analysis of oral text variations
(4) the individual (re)construction of oral texts in the classroom.

As we cannot take for granted learners' genre knowledge from language to language, a listening task using a narrative genre was designed, applied and completed in two language versions as follows:

(1) English and (2) Spanish in the EG
(1) Spanish and (2) English in the CG.

Data collection and analysis

The tasks were used as a stimulus to ask learners what they were thinking when listening to the text so that I could have access to their thoughts via the qualitative technique called stimulated recall (SR). SR is adequate to discover and explore mental processes and strategies inaccessible through observation.[30] Learners had at their disposal the text, the task and the recorder which they could manipulate as they needed and when they remembered what occurred in their minds or what they did while listening.

The qualitative data was recorded, transcribed, uploaded to NVivo 11, a Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS),[31] to organize it and conduct the analysis. NVivo was useful to code data in categories and then in themes. The analysis was iterative in an abductive way; i.e. inductive codes emerged from recurrent topics and deductive ones based on existing listening processes, strategies and genre features. The qualitative data gathered from the EG learners was compared to the CG's data before and after the experiment. Due to word limit in this article, I will present findings in relation to some participants from the EG.

Findings

How does a L2 learner listen after the genre-based instruction?

[30] Yeldham, 'Techniques', p. 18.
[31] Cristina Silver and Ann Lewins, *Using Software in Qualitative Research: A Step-by-Step Guide* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2014), p.1.

First, before the experiment, it is a reality that for some learners' genre knowledge, regarding the structure of the text, was unknown although they did understand its content in Spanish.

Samuel: […] When I heard the other one [Spanish version], I understood it obviously hundred per cent and although I did not know how to organize it I did know what he was saying.

After the intervention, 'Raymond', 'Jose', and 'Samuel' used strategies related to texts' features to construct the text in a sequential way. They listened to the language used and identified whether it was an introduction, a problem, a solution, or an explanation to the problem. Moreover, Raymond helped himself using a table to organize these parts. He identified the setting and the explanation about the context and then the other parts or the consequences or what would come next. (see extracts below).

Raymond: at that point, I heard 'eventually the mother said', he was trying to give an explanation as to why the mother was hiding herself, then I took it as if it was the solution or the explanation to a problem, and I put it inside these two squares five and six […]

Jose: at the beginning, what I heard was, when the problems began it was the 'one day', I think […] I don't remember more, but yes, with the 'one day' it was the one that guided my answers most.

Samuel: […] There, it was only the introduction and then, I only heard […] 'The movie that I want to talk about' […] Then at that point, […] I knew that it was the introduction.

This indicates that genre-based approach contributed to learners' listening strategy performance by causing them to focus on specific narrative texts features (e.g. language, structure and function) which for them was useful.

Samuel: the thing is to pay more attention to the specific details to know how to organize what you are asked.

Samuel: if you know what the structure is, it is easier.

What is the impact of the genre-based instruction on learners' listening skills?

Before the intervention, the narrator's particular natural speech features used and the organization of the text content impacted on the listening skills of most learners who found it difficult to understand the features of the listening text and task. After genre instruction, Raymond's listening performance improved more than Samuel's and Jose's who both still seemed to have some problems regarding everyday English. However, they all were concentrating on text structure by identifying signal words and the function.

Genre-based approach using everyday English texts had a positive impact on learners' listening engagement and learners' critical skills. For example, Raymond appreciated the native language standards and so when he listened to everyday English in the language classroom, he undervalued it. Raymond considered that it is not justifiable to have that type of natural or everyday speech in both written and in designed listening texts. Consequently, he tried to identify the situation and was engaged in it simultaneously.

Raymond: […] It's not normal that someone did that kind of mistake like 'ahh she is the mother, the mother of the main character, not the daughter, but the main character ahh I mean the daughter of the mother' for me is not normal to say that in a book […]

Raymond: […] It was a revelation for me because I was thinking first that it was a story fragment from a book, and then when she said that, I knew oh oh my God! it was a narration, she is talking about a story not reading it so ahmm, it was interesting!

Findings revealed other learners' reflections. For instance, they perceive British English as good English for listening, but it is difficult to understand or

decipher, as beyond the classroom they are usually exposed to the American accent through the media. In contrast, in the classroom, they usually listen to systematic oral texts.

Samuel: […] It was very difficult for me because it was a British accent, and I am very used to seeing films on TV, all that I see regularly […] Is that American accent, […] Sometimes I say why British people use the 'Have got' which confuses me, but they are variations and at the end of the day you have to learn them if you want to understand […]

Raymond: […] The genre activity is an authentic one because the audios are not so systematic like the ones we have in the textbook which do not have pauses and everything is just right.

Overall, before the instruction, evidence showed learners' weak knowledge of how to organize the narrative text in Spanish and in English. Afterwards, learners were concentrating on texts' structure, purpose conveyed and gave comments about language variations according to context. Learners' reflections indicate that listening to everyday English is not common in the texts they usually listen to in the classroom. These findings mean that genre-based instruction impacted on learners' listening skills and that teaching through narrative texts with everyday English is necessary and valuable.

Limitations

The intervention was short. The task was designed for the specific purposes of this study. The texts were model texts created and recorded in an informal context with everyday English. Thus, more studies should be conducted in other contexts using different types of formal and informal texts and their features.

Conclusions

Teaching listening from model texts was useful so learners reflected on other texts' structural and natural speech features as in the case of spontaneous face-to-face conversations. The speaker's speech is not totally planned and structural patterns

change or evolve in a dynamic way by repeating, clarifying and making pauses and hesitations that learners cannot always anticipate and that they are not frequently exposed to in the classroom.

GB instruction is useful to teach learners and make them aware of the many texts' variations and natural speech features speakers have in everyday English conversations and academic discourse. Knowledge of these two types of discourse features can prepare them to listen and understand effectively and contextualize. Otherwise, they will be experiencing decontextualization in English listening contexts.

Teaching listening from texts enabled learners to use structure, listen purposefully and develop reflective skills. The processes and strategies involved showed that learners' listening is not only a cognitive process, but it is indeed an interactive process between the different internal learners' processes, strategies and other external factors such as the different texts' features, all working as a whole.

It is my hope that learners transfer that knowledge gained to analyse other oral texts that help them become effective listeners not only in academic environments, but in other real life situations and contexts.

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(Mis)representation and Liberation: Sites of Memory and Loss in Radwa Ashour's *Granada*

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This paper is inspired by two literary figures whose works represent life-long appeals to the responsibility of the individual subjects in the making of their history: theorist Edward Said (1935-2003) and novelist Radwa Ashour (1946-2014). The paper examines the potency of individualist endeavours in opposition to a collective judgement. More specifically, it questions and puts limits on the possibilities of a humanist interpretative agency of political subjects when faced with seminal historical events. The novel constructs a version of Granada's cultural loss across two cultural systems—that of the old certainties of the Islamic traditions and the cultural legacy known as 'turath', and a new social order imposed by Catholicism. On the one hand, the novel's focalized characters tend to evaluate the reality of their loss at a micro-level of local constructivism represented by the displacement of worshipping spaces. On the other hand, staying in the same city of birth stands as a macro-level of cultural constructivism. The paper argues that some of Ashour's characters embark on a 'secular' tracing of their cultural roots, in order to create a unique form of knowledge and national-religious discourse. Rather than living through an absolute cultural loss, this fiction attests to the possibility of living 'between worlds'. This secular interpretation of the ongoing act of political dispossession practised by the Castilian forces against the people of Granada gives an oppositional voice to those old certainties which suggest that Islam as a religion does have a fixed essence in relation to understanding time and space.

Introduction

Radwa Ashour's assessment of the meaning of the Catholic reconquest of Granada in 1492 in her eponymous historical novel offers an interesting example of what Edward Said has called a 'lost cause', a cause in which one continues to believe even

in the face of a military defeat, occupation, or setback.[1] The novel centres on Abu Jaafar's extended family and exemplifies the dawning realisation of the fall of Granada as a loss of a 'cultural cause'.[2] The idea of cultural loss in particular becomes a slow and a painful process, which unravels in time and space. As Abu Jaafar tells his grandson Hasan, 'Granada has fallen, Hasan, but who knows, some day it may return to you, even by way of your own sword, or perhaps you will write its story and record its glories for all time'.[3] The family's understanding of the secular time, which also stands for the colonial time in the novel, has its impact on the historical consciousness building upon the varied political visions of Abu Jaafar's family members. After the death of the grandfather, some members come to terms with the colonial time and its impact on the spatial dislocations that occur in public and private spheres. Other members continue to believe in the myth of the continuity of Al-Andalus, which in itself embodies nostalgic appeals to an idealised myth of a glorious Islamic past, and a future that is pre-ordained by the will of God.

Understanding the Secular Time and the possibility of living 'between worlds'

In the genealogical structure of *Granada*, the voice of Abu Jaafar provides the subsequent generations of his family with the 'collective memory of their race, religion, community, and family a past that is entirely their own, secure from the ravages of history and a turbulent time'.[4] After the death of Abu Jaafar, his progeny are not able to identify with the ongoing cultural loss, in part because of their ability to reconfigure the Islamic cultural legacy in the context of the new Catholic imperial order. Some of the family members such as Hasan and his wife think of the family's conversion into Christianity as if they were carrying a different 'label' that does not influence the essence of their Islamic religion.[5] In contrast to this idealistic vision, the new Catholic political order exacerbates the divisions between an idealised view of

[1] Edward Said, 'On Lost Causes', in *Reflections on Exile and Other Literary and Cultural Essays* (London: Granta Books, 2001), pp. 527-553.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Radwa Ashour, *Granada: A Novel*, trans. by William Granara (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003), pp. 34-45.
[4] Edward Said, 'Invention, Memory, and Place', *Critical Inquiry*, 26:2 (2000), p. 177. Said criticizes the Arabs' reactive response to 'the rapid social transformations in history' by reducing it to a mere search for their 'roots' when they were 'secure from the ravages of history and a turbulent time.'
[5] Throughout his critical corpus, Said consistently refers to nationalism and religion as 'labels'.

Granada's Muslim past and the experiences of dispossession and the very real threat of persecution in the present. Ashour's narrator cites the legal language of the Catholic decrees that restricted freedom of expression, religious worship, and socio-religious habits among the Muslims of Granada:

> It wasn't the simple matter of a name on a piece of paper replacing another name […] but a whole new life of accusations and mortal sins: the circumcision of young boys, contracting marriages according to Islamic law, celebrating the wedding feast with drums and songs, waiting for the new moon before and after Ramadan, chanting the prayers on the holy night of Laylat al-Qadr, the five daily prayers, Ramadan fasting, keeping Friday a holy day, using henna to dye young girls' palms and older women's hair [….] It all seemed like the wheel of Satan rolling along and the soul unable to keep pace with its terrifying speed.[6]

By citing the language of the Catholic decrees, Ashour makes clear how the Catholic monarchy launched a systematic campaign to eradicate all the socio-religious practices of the Arab Muslims in Granada: they burn their books, close the bathhouses where they wash their bodies and celebrate their wedding ceremonies, prohibit Arabic songs and the wearing of traditional Arabic clothing. What's more, the ruling Christian monarchy forces the Muslims of Granada to assume Christian names to guarantee further control and supremacy over them.

The possibility of living 'between worlds': the public sphere vs the private sphere

The process of cultural debate between Islam and Catholicism is staged in the spaces of Ashour's *Granada*. The persistent struggle of Abu Jaafar's family to maintain the social and cultural practices of Muslim Granada before the reconquest is constantly expressed in spatial terms. Both the daily narratives or the critical debate and the socio-political construction of space within Abu Jaafar's house might suggest a shift in perspective from their father's religious views on loss and victory. And yet, despite the new mode of secularism, which the Muslims of Granada are forced to endure in order to survive under the new regime of Catholic hegemony, the continued practice

[6] Radwa Ashour, *Granada*, p. 114.

of Muslim social and religious practices in the private sphere hints at the historical possibility of restoring their past.

After the revocation of the Granada treaty, many of the family members unreservedly agree with Maryama's suggestion to remain in Granada.[7] Yet their emotional reactions suggest different political positions. Hasan approves of Maryama's proposal that they try to maintain their past lives and cultural practices, but in a clandestine manner. Similarly, Umm Jaafar, the grandmother, decides not to leave, but out of a different motive: owing to her age rather than any sense of political conviction. The narrator clarifies that there is no hidden political motive behind her decision: 'since she did not have much longer to live. She told them "I'll never leave my house nor will I leave Abu Jaafar alone to wait for me in vain. I want to stay and lay green leafy branches by his grave until God permits me to join him."'[8]

For Granada's Muslim population, the new restrictions imposed by the Catholic authorities severely curtail the possibilities of cultural resistance and struggle. Against this historical consciousness of the secular time, the daily life within this family is still guided through religious terms. Although Abu Jaafar's family members view time as 'linear and secular', their 'sense of time' also seems cyclical.[9] The novel suggests something rather different in its evocation of the destructive effects of the new imperial decrees on the lives and cultural traditions of Abu Jaafar's family. Indeed, the day-to-day narratives in this Granadan family do not address the shifting relations of power. Instead, they reflect an absolute reliance on the transcendental power of God's providence.

Hasan and his wife Maryama in particular show represent an idealistic view that it will still be possible to live as Muslims in Granada under the new Catholic imperial order. In contrast with this optimistic vision, Hasan's sister, Saleema and her husband Saad, prove a different position since they believe that their past has

[7] Also known as the Capitulation of Granada, the treaty provided a short truce, followed by the relinquishment in January 1492 of the sovereignty of the Moorish Emirate of Granada (founded five centuries earlier) to the Catholic monarchs of Spain. The treaty guaranteed a set of rights to the Moors (Muslims), including religious tolerance and fair treatment in return for their surrender and capitulation.

[8] Radwa Ashour, *Granada*, p. 113.

[9] See the 'Introduction' in Denis Walder, *Postcolonial Nostalgias: Writing, Representation and Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 1-21.

already gone through a fatal rupture and an imminent cultural decline. Both views draw upon a secular understanding of the colonial time, yet Hasan, his wife and his mother prove a remarkable reliance on a religious conviction when compared with his sister and his brother-in-law.

The Myth of Cultural Continuity: A religious vs a critical Cultural Debate

Hasan's ethos of family protection is deeply grounded in a nostalgic desire to re-live the Islamic traditions of his ancestors in the relative safety of the domestic sphere, but Saad seeks another path by using force to terminate the current conditions of political oppression. Hasan reproaches Saad in the following way: 'I can't stop you from taking *the road* you chose for yourself, but I'm responsible for the safety of my family and I'll do anything to *protect* them.'[10] Both Hasan and his wife Maryama regard their desire to protect their family and to preserve a sense of cultural continuity as synonymous. Such a commitment has the force of 'a religious conviction' which emulated 'the ideas of an old established social class that feels rooted in the continuity of a long tradition and sees this continuity threatened only by supernatural intervention, not by upheavals immanent in history.'[11] To legitimate his position, Hasan draws authority from a fatwa issued by an eminent Maghrebi jurist who permits Moriscos, or converted Muslims, to use concealment and dissimulation to protect themselves and their children. He also justifies his clandestine religious rituals and pedagogical practices of teaching the Arabic language by providing a Qur'anic reference: 'But God wishes ease for us and not hardship, as the Quran tell us.'[12] Despite these claims, Saad views Hasan's arguments as self-defeating, and questions Hasan's claims to offer protection by continuing to practice one's religion and culture in secret: 'It's not protection you're giving, Hasan [….] If every one of us shut the door of his house and only cared for the safety of his

[10] Radwa Ashour, *Granada*, p. 132 (emphasis is mine).

[11] Patricia Tobin, *Time and the Novel: The Genealogical Imperative* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), P. 14. The medieval catholic Christian was more inclined to submit himself to God's will: God had preserved all creation in an abiding community of things in harmony, and He was guiding them all toward a completed perfection that would conform to His unknown design; therefore, medieval man was prepared not to resist; Theodor Schieder, 'The Role of Historical Consciousness in Political Action', *History and Theory*, 17:4 (1978), 1-18 (pp. 9-10).

[12] The reference is to Quran 2 (The Cow) "as God wishes ease and not hardship for you."

family, we would all perish, once and for all.'[13] Saad's dispute with Hasan turns on the different meanings of 'protection'. While Hasan is primarily interested in taking care of his own family, Saad understands protection as a collective political process, which includes but is not restricted to the interests of any one individual or family.

The Family's new Spatial Poetics under the Spanish Conquest

In Ashour's *Granada*, the spatial history of the reconquest is registered mainly through the spaces of the family house and the public mosques. The space of the house demarcates the boundaries between the residual cultural formations of Al-Andalus and the dominant Catholic order after the reconquest. Before the reconquest of Granada, rituals such as praying, celebrating religious feasts, wedding ceremonies, and burial rituals took place in the public sphere especially in the public mosques; after the reconquest and the proscription of these rituals, these practices were performed secretly in the domestic sphere, beyond the gaze of the Catholic authorities. The family did not only turn to the private space to perform all these rituals clandestinely, however; they were also forced to practice the rituals of their new Catholic creed in the public sphere. In this respect, they can be seen to live through a double displacement.[14] For instance, in one spatial move, the whole family went to pray in the church on Sundays, a move which also required that they had to cancel their weekly excursions to the mosque on Fridays. Instead, these rituals are performed secretly at home. Hasan managed to force all the members of his family—except for Saleema—to go to church on Sundays to escape the surveillance of the Inquisition Offices. Similarly, they tended to speak the Arabic language inside home and the Castilian language in the public sphere.

Hasan works to preserve the Arabic language from inside the home. In this sense, Hasan can be understood as a custodian, who tries to preserve the cultural heritage of Al-Andalus against the threat of extinction by the Catholic authorities.

[13] Radwa Ashour, *Granada*, p. 132.

[14] Richard Fletcher, 'Nasrid Granada' in *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), p. 167. Fletcher in his explanation of the practice of *taqqiya* indicated that 'These "New Christians" of sixteenth-century Spain outwardly conformed to the requirements of the church which they had been compelled to join while secretly maintaining allegiance to the Islamic faith of their ancestors.'

For Hasan, the Arabic language is a central medium for the preservation of the embattled culture, but this language can only be spoken within the home. The third-person narrator of the novel clearly conveys the spatial constraints placed on the family's daily routine in the following quoted extract: 'At home they spoke Arabic and they lived their daily lives as their ancestors had lived. But on the street and in school they spoke Spanish, and they conducted themselves in the manner prescribed by the authorities and the Office of Inquisition.'[15] Whereas Hasan attempts to preserve Muslim society and culture against the threat of persecution by performing religious rites in the domestic sphere, Saad tries to gather people together in the public sphere in an attempt to change the public consciousness. In so doing, he also expands the spatial field of resistance to the public sphere and even to the mountains.

In this way, the daily narratives among the later generations that witnessed the Spanish Reconquest of Granada reflect a more nuanced understanding of the new poetics of the colonial cultural space; however, they also speak to the nostalgic-yet-utopian dimensions of such narratives. Such narratives work together to identify the location of Islam in this new textual world.

Andalusia as Animated Space: the myth of cultural continuity

In his account of Andalusia's Muslim past, Said implies without explicitly stating that the streets and buildings of Andalusia function as crucial sites of memory. Yet, he gives a tantalising account of Andalusian historical sites as progressive, 'animated spaces'.[16] Said's essay on Andalusia does serve to challenge the predominant myth of Al-Andalus as a 'stable terrain' or a static space in time in predominant Arab-Muslim narratives of medieval Spain.[17]

The way Abu Jaafar's family members interpret the new borders of their city and their house as discussed above contributes to an understanding of the spatial politics of dispossession that parallels Said's reading of *La Mezquita,* Alhambra palace, the mosque-cum-cathedral of Cordova or *La Mezquita*, Seville's Alcázar, and

[15] Radwa Ashour, *Granada*, p. 145.
[16] Edward Said, 'Andalusia's Journey', *Travel + Leisure* (Dec. 2009) <http://www.travelandleisure.com/articles/andalusias-journey>.
[17] Ibid.

Madinat al-Zahra (among others). The family's affective attachment to a particular understanding of Granada's spatial borders draws on an imaginary ideal of the Islamic community. Such an imaginary ideal is hinted at in Said's response to the spatial history of the Andalusian site especially, *La Mezquita*. This paper takes *La Mezquita* as an example of the impossibility of cultural continuity of a specific cultural edifice while embarking on its meaning as single and fixed. Rather than being 'the greatest and most impressive religious structure on earth', Said described *La Mezquita* as a 'cultural statement' by its founder, Abd ar Rahman II, in a new world.[18] By reading *La Mezquita* as a 'cultural statement', Said suggests that the building simultaneously declares and enacts a tradition of Islamic architecture. Yet if *La Mezquita* is a 'cultural statement', it is also a political statement about the space it occupies and the boundaries it demarcates.

Said's reflections on the history of Andalusian architecture are crucial to my analysis of the shifting borders and centres evoked in Ashour's *Granada*. In Said's account, *La Mezquita* evokes this sense of 'almost imperceptible changes in perspective from one space to the next'—the same mode of recognition that the spatial dislocations and transfigurations in *Granada* incarnates. Yet, Said also describes *La Mezquita* as a symbol of 'inclusive sanctity and magnanimity of purpose' and a 'unity in multiplicity'.[19] This reading of *La Mezquita* as a rich and layered historical site is also profoundly ambivalent: it could stand either as a symbol of a fallen empire or as a sign of future political possibilities of cultural continuity.

If the Andalusian space such as Alhambra palace and *la Mezquita* or the mosque-cum-cathedral of Cordova are chronotopic in the sense that these medieval spaces tell another story about the past, the symbolic meaning of such buildings is ambivalent. On the one hand, they could be taken to represent the resilience of an oppressed people; yet, on the other hand these buildings also bespeak a profound sense of loss. The structures and spaces that once heralded the rise of Muslim Andalusia in the eighth century are the very same spaces that announce its decadence, decline, and defeat a few centuries later.

[18] Ibid, '[…] the mosque that Abd ar Rahman II began in 785. Erected on the site of a Christian church, it was an attempt to assert his identity as an Umayyad prince fleeing Damascus, to make a cultural statement as a Muslim exiled to a place literally across the world from where he had come.'
[19] Ibid

As a historical novel, much of Ashour's *Granada* is preoccupied with the historical experience of the proscription of Islamic rituals and the razing of Muslim Andalusia from the standpoint of Granada's Muslim population. For this reason, it is perhaps rather difficult to see how the novel could imagine the ways in which the motifs of Islamic culture "linger" for centuries after the Catholic Reconquest.[20] Yet, the novel's reflections on the architectural ruins of Muslim Spain from the historical perspective of the early twenty-first century suggest that something of this historical experience remains.

Conclusion

If the cultural critical debate, a process that Ashour deploys in *Granada,* explains and anticipates how a Muslim family interprets and understands the impact of the Reconquista on their daily lives in different ways as part of a shared history of loss, the space is also of high importance in the same interpretive process, but in a rather relative vein. By attending to Edward Said's reflections on some of the most iconic architectural sites in Muslim Spain or Andalusia and their place in Arab collective memories of Al-Andalus, one can begin to trace the significance of the textual ruins of Al-Andalus in Ashour's *Granada*.

[20] Ibid

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Fairy Tale, Fable and the Reality of Evil: Representing the Holocaust in John Boyne's *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*

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The paper will focus on the representation of fantasy and reality in Children's Literature, analysing the presentation of the Holocaust in John Boyne's The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*, in relation to its subtitle 'a fable'. Though traditionally moralistic, the paper will argue how presentation as a fable, as well as the use of fairy tale language and tropes in the text, complicates the reception and clarity of the intended moral, by complicating and softening the representation of the evils of reality.*

In doing so, the paper will discuss the appropriateness and success of the fairy tale form as a vehicle for representing evil and trauma in Children's Literature; it questions how far this mode makes the Holocaust accessible, contrasted against the negative impact of creating myths and modern fairy tales about the extent of suffering, persecution and awareness of the genocide which re-write the Holocaust and gives fuel to deniers.

The main aim then, is to illustrate how far the text negatively impacts upon Holocaust education when experienced by readers with limited or no prior knowledge, building upon the case study by Michael Grey, who suggests that evil is conspicuous only in awareness of the significance of gaps and absences in the narrative. In ineptly handling the style, Boyne's use of fairy tale and fable subverts his own moralistic purpose, which instead renders the Holocaust itself a fairy tale, remote and potentially unbelievable.

Introduction

Over seventy years on, the horror and fascination with which we meet the Holocaust is as potent as ever. From page to screen, images of the Holocaust created by films like *Schindler's List* have become culturally ingrained in the public imagination. In their depictions of suffering, such representations are important tools which highlight the atrocity to a global audience and keep its memory very much alive: for descendants of survivors and scholars alike, it is vital that we never forget. But just how much of what we think we know about the Holocaust is actually true?

Whilst eyewitness accounts such as the *Diary of Ann Frank* or Elie Wiesel's *Night* offer first-hand accounts of personal experience, many popular Holocaust narratives like John Boyne's *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* are entirely fictional, and

are consequently problematic in their representations as they take 'a step away from reality.'[1] If one of the core aims in representing the Holocaust is to educate, as critics such as Adrienne Kertzer and Michael Gray argue, the need to adhere closely to fact becomes paramount in order to counteract the influence of the text's fictionality. However, in the case of Boyne, his decision to place stylistic choices and artistic license above the need for realism threatens any such educational aims. As we shall see, Boyne's decision to present the story as a fable creates a number of damaging false impressions about the Holocaust. From the freedom given to Shmuel to Bruno's ignorance of Nazi ideology, Boyne's attempts to create a morally instructive fable undercuts his educational agenda, complicating the narrative so that its emphasis on fictionality renders it not only morally ambiguous, but threatens to re-write the horrifying reality.

Horrifying Reality and the Child Reader

On first consideration, Boyne's decision to stylise the story as a fable is a logical one. As Boyne himself has noted, given the brutality and horror of the subject matter and the age of the audience, it is essential to be 'sensitive' in order not to 'frighten' the reader, and this is something the distancing from reality of the fable form provides.[2] As Kenneth Kidd has argued, the fantasy elements of child-centred literary forms provide the appropriate means of exploring darker themes by creating a psychologically distant and safe space. [3] For hundreds of years, the fable and fairy tale have been used to teach children about the darker realities of life. The fable itself has been particularly employed, as we have seen with Aesop's Fables, in providing not only cautionary tales, but moral instruction.

Unlike other Holocaust novels for children, such as Ian Serraillier's *The Silver Sword*, which is predominantly a bucolic adventure story of life without parental restraints, Boyne's use of the fable's trope of showing suffering because of personal choices allows him to demonstrate the harsher reality of the Holocaust. In the

[1] Agnew, Trevor, 'John Boyne Interview', *Agnew Reading* < http://agnewreading.blogspot.co.uk/2008/05/john-boyne-interview.html> (2008) [accessed 16 May 2016].
[2] Ibid.
[3] Kenneth Kidd, '"A" Is for Auschwitz: Psychoanalysis, Trauma Theory, and the "Children's Literature of Atrocity"', *Children's Literature*, 33 (2005), 120–49 (p. 120).

closing chapters of the novel, the Commandant's son Bruno is inadvertently gassed alongside Shmuel and the other Jewish inmates of the camp after sneaking under the fence. Following the boys right into the heart of the gas chamber, Boyne creates a significant engagement with the realities of death during war time, and at the same time actively subverts what Kertzer identifies as the 'fantasy where nearly all plots end in survival'.[4] The downfall of the protagonist, which we see in many of Aesop's tales like 'The Tortoise and the Hare', is aided by the fable form, but also reinforces one of the text's ultimate lessons. In killing Bruno and failing to provide the expected stereotypical 'happily ever after', Boyne shatters the illusion that children are protected by their innocence and confronts the child reader with the reality of the Holocaust as a mass tragedy.

But, though presenting a horrifying event, the text is not so graphic it alienates the child reader. In his use of fairy tale and fable language, Boyne lessens the severity of the emotional impact whilst still maintaining it. For instance, in suggesting that Bruno has simply 'vanished off the face of the earth' after being accidentally trapped in the gas chamber, Boyne demonstrates how such language may be implemented to create silences and informational gaps which can be more affective on an emotional level than a book which attempts to provide all relevant background.[5] In the shock of his sudden disappearance, readers are not only forced to conclude his death, but to also question the naivety of the world view constructed by Bruno throughout the text based on the assumptions of safety and familiarity created by his proximity to 'good soldiers' like his father.[6] These gaps are also significant when considering the final lines: 'nothing like that could ever happen again. Not in this day and age.'[7] Though this seems to be deterministic on the surface, and creates an ambiguous sense of reassurance in the immediate aftermath of Bruno and Shmuel's deaths to assuage the potential trauma of the ending, by mimicking the child-like conviction of Bruno, the phrase becomes coloured by fresh doubt in the legitimacy of Bruno's world view, so that the tone questions the

[4] Adrienne Kertzer, *My Mother's Voice: Children, Literature, And The Holocaust* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1999), p. 324.
[5] John Boyne, *The Boy In The Striped Pyjamas: A Fable* (Great Britain: RHCP Digital, 2014), p. 213; Lydia Kokkola, *Representing the Holocaust in Children's Literature* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2002), p. 25.
[6] Boyne, *Pyjamas*, p. 140.
[7] Ibid. p. 216.

legitimacy of the statement in the pregnant final pause, and renders the ending of the novel ambiguous. In this way, the construction of the text highlights its function as what Jill P. May terms a 'modern fable'.[8] Suggesting that the fable can function as an allegory, May's notion illustrates how fables may be utilised in order for a child to explore their own social and political context, using the examples of history to determine their own place in the world.[9] This then suggests that the mode of fable used here is more effective as, though moralising, it removes accusations of preaching, and allows for an autonomous means of learning that builds upon self-expansion of Holocaust knowledge.

So, if we take Boyne's work as such, the ambiguously ironic ending statement attempts to encourage a self-sufficient means of education, in which children are able to find 'their own lessons' and 'educate themselves on the subject and learn about it' rather than take things at face value.[10] However, given the ambiguity within the final paragraph, Boyne contradicts Bruno Bettelheim's notion that the fable always explicitly states a moral truth, where 'there is no hidden meaning, nothing is left to our imagination'.[11] Boyne's use of ambiguity here in questioning whether their deaths are an isolated event risks the reception of the moral message as the irony may only be clear to certain readers. In using contradictions and gaps within the final lines to provoke inquiry, the effectiveness of Boyne's stylisation is dependent upon the reader approaching the text with a certain degree of knowledge, both about the Holocaust and other atrocities and political conflicts. As such, this more nuanced approach to the moral lesson may risk its full understanding by younger readers, suggesting that his narrative techniques are perhaps more appropriate to older, young adult readers, or even adults themselves. Without the clarity of the moral as in traditional fables like 'The Tortoise and the Hare', Boyne risks alienating his message from younger readers, which he reinforces in blurring

[8] Jill P. May, *Children's Literature and Critical Theory: Reading and Writing for Understanding* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.199.
[9] Ibid., p.199.
[10] [Alexis Burling and John Boyne], 'Author Interview [with John Boyne]', *TeenReads* < https://www.teenreads.com/authors/john-boyne/news/interview-090906> (September 2006) [accessed 16 Mat 2016].
[11] Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (New York: Vintage Books, 2010), pp.42-43

the line between fable and fairy tale in his choice of language. By emphasising that this 'story' all 'happened a long time ago', Boyne's use of language further reinforces the fictionality of the work, which questions not only the factual elements within the story, but the reality of the Holocaust itself.[12]

Artistic License vs Factual Representation

Intriguingly, Boyne has stated that he deliberately chose to move away from 'reality' to allow himself greater artistic licence with which to construct his intended effect.[13] In its fable form, Boyne argues that the function of the text is to impart a clear moral message, rather than 'absolute, definitive facts.'[14] Yet, in being more concerned with the message over facts, Boyne is at risk of undercutting and compromising his aims in 'putting the lessons of history before the knowledge of the history itself.'[15] Unlike the fables of Aesop, facts and reality are still significant to the morality of Boyne's fable, as his artistic license creates and perpetuates a number of damaging misconceptions about the reality of the Holocaust. We see this most glaringly in how Boyne significantly reduces the level of suffering he depicts. Though Boyne does include references to the physical effects of the camp on Shmuel, stressing how he grew 'smaller and smaller each week' the implicit message of starvation is overridden somewhat by Boyne's presentation of a reduced level of physical persecution and surveillance within the camp.[16] To facilitate the narrative, Boyne presents Shmuel's ability to continuously meet Bruno 'every afternoon' at an unguarded and non-electrified fence, as well as his ability to access additional clothing, which is not only difficult to believe, but creates an illusion of inactivity, autonomy and surplus resources. When coupled with the images of 'crowds of people sitting together in groups' Boyne's text excludes and belies the harsh reality of the slave labour inmates suffered.[17]

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[12] Boyne, *Pyjamas,* p. 215
[13] [Burling and Boyne], 'Author Interview'.
[14] Agnew, 'John Boyne Interview'.
[15] Monique Eckmann, 'Exploring the Relevance of Holocaust Education for Human Rights Education', *PROSPECTS*, 40 (2010), 7–16 (p. 10).
[16] Boyne*, Pyjamas,* p. 142.
[17] Ibid., p. 177., p. 206. See *Topography of Terror: A Documentation*, trans. by Pamela Selwyn, (Eberl Print: Immenstadt, 2008).

In doing so, Boyne creates an imaginary version of concentration camp life which minimises the suffering, especially in lessening the levels of control and the abuse meted out by the soldiers. Though he does not remove images of persecution completely, in presenting them 'laughing and looking down the barrels of their guns' and 'shouting at' men on 'their knees…with their hands on their heads' he obscures the worst sign of their inhumanity in the very fact of Shmuel's existence.[18] As we know from eyewitness accounts such as Wiesel's *Night,* which graphically describes the murder of children and babies, children were far more likely to be executed than adults.[19] So, in presenting Shmuel's continued survival along with crowds of other 'small boys' and 'big boys', Boyne creates an illusion of relative safety where children at least are not persecuted, omitting the true level of the atrocity and granting the guards a greater sense of humanity. Indeed, Boyne's narrative even implies that the murder of Shmuel and Bruno is entirely accidental. By suggesting that they were 'swept along' and 'held together in the centre' of a group of adults, Boyne's narrative again deflects the true extent of culpability in implying that the soldiers were not deliberately targeting children, so that their deaths appear as a tragic misfortune, as opposed to a systematic extermination of those least useful to abuse.[20] Whilst some editing of the historical facts might be expected in order to protect a child reader from the full extent of the horror, Boyne's attempts to remove the worst aspects of the brutalisation create not only a false impression of conditions, but also confuse his own intended moral message. By denying the direct persecution of children, the tragic loss of innocence loses any pretentions to martyrdom and Holocaust piety, so that the force of Nazi corruption, and the central moral of universal equality, becomes contaminated by images of accident and mischance which strip much of the emotional resonance.

Heroes or Villains?

Boyne's use of artistic license also complicates the moral message of the fable in its presentations of choice and culpability. Given that the fable places a great emphasis

[18] Boyne, *Pyjamas*, p. 207.
[19] Elie Wiesel, *Night* (London: Penguin, 2008), pp. x-xiv, 15-18.
[20] Boyne, *Pyjamas*, pp. 209-210.

on personal decisions and actions, such as the boy's repetitive false cry of wolf, morality is inextricably linked to an individual's choices. However, choice becomes ambiguous within *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*: as Bruno's mother consistently states, personal and moral responsibility becomes easily deflected as the supremacy of the father and the Fury (Bruno's misinterpretation of Fuhrer) means that they 'don't have the luxury of thinking' as 'some people make all the decisions for us.'[21] By stating that 'there are things we need to do in life that we don't have a choice in' the text implies a level of coercion and inevitably that distorts images of active choice and negates individual culpability in performing the atrocities.[22] Reinforcing the idea of forced action, the father's callousness and evident careerism in pursuing the promotion becomes transmuted, an action of fear to avoid 'being taken away', another facet of the cultural necessity of keeping one's 'mouth shut' and following 'orders.' [23] By suggesting his actions result not from personal desire, but from a sense of danger and obligation, Boyne strips the Commandant of agency and renders him more sympathetic, giving his behaviour a sense of moral justification to a child reader.

Interestingly, the text appears to reinforce the necessity of following orders in creating a parallel between the father's situation and the constant demands for obedience from Bruno. Much like traditional fables such as 'The Boy who Cried Wolf', misfortune, in this case Bruno's death, comes from refusing to obey authority. Had Bruno respected the wisdom of his parents, and conformed to the rules that he was 'not allowed anywhere near the fence or the camp' because 'exploration was banned', he would have survived.[24] The very structure of the fable, then, significantly subverts Boyne's moral message about the need to question divisions, and instead ties blind obedience to authority as a means of survival. As David Cesarani notes, this achieves an entirely different moral message, in suggesting not tolerance, but the necessity of carefully instilling discipline and obedience into children.[25]

[21] Ibid., pp. 13-14.
[22] Ibid., p. 48.
[23] Ibid., pp. 49, 124.
[24] Ibid., p. 103.
[25] David Cesarani, 'Striped Pyjamas', *Literary Review* <https://literaryreview.co.uk/striped-pyjamas> (October 2008) [accessed 17 May 2016].

Though Boyne attempts to be educationally beneficial here, in evoking the relativity of morality in his depiction of a 'good man' forced to do bad things, it is only partially successful.[26] Despite highlighting the psychological and emotional complexities that lead ordinary people to become monstrous in monstrous circumstances, Boyne's use of Bruno's perspective is highly detrimental in its evocation of sympathy. In order to make Bruno an intended sacrificial lamb to promote his moral, Boyne disassociates Bruno entirely from Nazi ideology. As Michael Gray notes, based on historical considerations, the story is entirely preposterous.[27] In presenting Bruno as entirely ignorant of who Hitler is, and having no idea of the meaning of the word 'Jew', despite being the son of a Nazi commandant, Boyne creates a damaging image of moral innocence which become a parable for the excuse of wider German cultural ignorance. Most significantly, his depiction counteracts the central role of the indoctrination process he seeks to expose, by removing Bruno from his undoubted position as a member of the Hitler Youth. Again, Boyne indicates that this is a deliberate artistic choice, as he believes it to be both 'appropriate to the times' and able to stress the level of intentional ignorance the society employed through the metaphor of Bruno's naivety.[28] However, though he attempts to symbolically moralise here, by intentionally denying the historical fact of enforced educational anti-Semitism, Boyne substantially reduces the extent of its scope. Bigotry within the text becomes reserved for a fractional part of the population, on a purely need to know basis, rather than a prevalent attitude across much of Europe at the time. In offering only a marginal promotion of anti-racism, Boyne categorically fails to achieve the aims of Holocaust education in demonstrating how actions are culturally determined and highlight the perils of turning a blind eye to evil.[29]

Instead, the fictionality of his work threatens to re-write the Holocaust, blurring and obscuring fact with artistic license, which is startlingly clear in the text's

[26] Boyne, *Pyjamas,* p. 59.
[27] Michael Gray, 'The Boy In The Striped Pyjamas: A Blessing Or Curse For Holocaust Education?', *Holocaust Studies*, 20 (2014), 109-136 (p. 122).
[28] [Burling and Boyne], 'Author Interview'.
[29] Gray, 'Boy in the Striped Pyjamas' p. 123.

fairy tale like ability to transform the murderers into victims.[30] In presenting the text as a 'story about Bruno and his family' it reinforces the supremacy of the Germans, giving their voice and experience precedence over the experience of Jewish suffering.[31] Though motivated by an attempt at cultural sensitivity, in feeling unable to legitimately evoke Jewish experience, Boyne's narrative choice foregrounds the German Bruno as a hero to such an extent that it marginalises the voice of the Jewish Shmuel. In doing so, Shmuel's place in the narrative becomes so much reduced that, when both boys are gassed, feeling is reserved almost entirely for the loss of Bruno and the grief of his family. As such, Bruno's role as hero, to the almost exclusion of Shmuel, reinforces the significance of perpetrator narratives, as another instance of 'victim abuse.'[32]

Therefore, Boyne's stylistic choices significantly compromise his intention to 'address innocence and evil' in a way that lets readers find 'their own lessons' and 'educate themselves' by obscuring the depth of evil present.[33] In desiring to create a sheltering distance, Boyne's narrative style is undone by his own deliberate ambiguity and the ambiguity of Bruno's naïve perspective. Though he does raise challenges to Nazi ideology and culpability, the nuances of his approach necessitate the presence of an adult or a particularly well-informed, young adult reader, to successfully pick up on the insinuations which deliver his desired moral.

Modern Myths and Educational Implications

Given the complications created by the nuances of the text and its fable form, the need for an older or more informed reader to engage with the ambiguity is essential for the text to be effective. Without a deeper understanding, Boyne's use of artistic licence and the fictionality of his tone causes his narrative choices to inadvertently create and perpetuate myths which misinterpret fact or cause children to believe the Holocaust itself to be fictitious. Whilst total adherence is obviously unwise considering the particular audience, the 'sheer implausibility of the story in the first

[30] Ibid., p. 125.
[31] Boyne, *Pyjamas,* p. 214.
[32] Lydia Kokkola, *Representing The Holocaust In Children's Literature* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2002), p. 18.
[33] [Burling and Boyne], 'Author Interview'.

place', presents the potential for a detrimental impact on Holocaust education.[34] As the 2009 study by the London Jewish Cultural Centre suggests, *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* is being utilised, albeit wrongly, as a major tool for contemporary Holocaust education, over more legitimate examples of witness testimony like the *Diary of Anne Frank*.[35] With over 75% of the sample having been exposed to it, many respondents who were aware of the original event believed they had learnt 'a lot about concentration camps' as a direct result of this exposure, and that the novel was 'based on a true story.'[36] Worryingly, many students believed that it was the tragic death of Bruno which brought about the end of concentration camps.[37] So, where the text is perceived as a legitimate and factual source, it consequently demonstrates the dangers of misrepresenting facts which later may prove difficult to unlearn. As so much of Holocaust education now comes through the medium of film and literature, it is all the more important to maintain a base level of historical accuracy, in order to avoid trivialisation, or worse, providing false information regarding the level of abuse and culpability. Failure to do so threatens to re-write the Holocaust and give credence to deniers and apologists. As such, Boyne's stylisation undermines the very thing it seeks to teach; his use of the fable fictionalises the events of the Holocaust to such a point that they lose any educational meaning, so that his text becomes not a fable, but a fairy tale vision of the Holocaust, which questions its very reality.

[34] Gray, 'Boy in the Striped Pyjamas', p.121.
[35] Ibid., p. 115.
[36] Ibid., p. 115.
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The Cunning Comedian: the mythic trickster and modern satirical comedy

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Since the late nineteenth century, some mythic or fictional characters have come to be known as tricksters. These ambiguous figures function at the boundaries of society, often breaking and/ or reasserting an existing social order in the course of their exploits. This paper suggests connections between these traditional tricksters and representatives of 'cunning' in modern global culture, in particular to political satirical comedy.

This paper begins with Prometheus, an iconic trickster figure in classical antiquity, and places him in the context of scholarly definitions of the trickster. It then focuses on a modern case study, the comedian John Oliver and his show Last Week Tonight with John Oliver.[2] It will consider three themes: the paradoxical nature of humour; the comedian's manipulation of an audience; and the potential risk incurred by the performer (such as risk to reputation). This paper argues that Oliver, a comic who operates on the boundaries of cultural acceptability, can be seen as a global descendant of the mythic trickster.

In Hesiod's *Theogony*, the ritual practice of sacrifice is explained by the story of Prometheus and his attempts to deceive Zeus.[3] In this text, both deities decide how ritual sacrifice should be shared between humans and the gods. Prometheus separates an ox into two parts, the meat and the bones. Zeus in turn allocates one part to humanity and the other to the gods. In an attempt to gain humanity, the better deal, Prometheus disguises the animal meat in the unpleasant casing of a stomach. He then covers the animal bones in a casing of fat, hoping this it will tempt

[1] Thanks must be given to Dr. Niall Livingstone, Dr. Elena Theodorakopoulos, Victoria Schuppert and Lauren Wainwright for their assistance in the editing of this paper.
[2] *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*, HBO, 2014- on-going.
[3] Hesiod, *Theogony*, in *Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia,* trans. by Glenn W. Most (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 535-68.

Zeus. Even though Zeus knows he is being tricked, he allows humanity to have the meat; however, he punishes them by taking away fire. Prometheus steals the fire back, resulting in the creation of the first woman Pandora (meaning 'all gift'), an instrument of punishment who unleashes evils on to humanity (she is given this name in Hesiod's *Works and Days*).[4] While Prometheus is also punished, chained to a rock for eternity with an eagle eating his liver every day. [5]

Prometheus' cunning typifies trickster behaviour. This paper's model for the term trickster is someone who establishes or manipulates boundaries, meaning they have the potential to create, alter or reinforce social constructs of order. For example, Prometheus is the catalyst that establishes the Ancient Greek boundaries of sacrifice. While Prometheus is not the one to make the final decisions in this myth (this right is reserved for Zeus), it is his behaviour that sets the wheels of society in motion. The myth's fire is later perceived as technological wisdom and the creation of Pandora brings various evils into the lives of humanity − but also the prospect of hope/anticipation.[6] While the motivations of Prometheus are ambiguous (whether it was to help humanity or simply to challenge the Olympian Zeus in cunning intelligence), Prometheus appears successful in the moment by getting humanity the animal meat and returning fire.[7] These are then established in society. This does not remain a positive outcome however, as humanity must rely on food for subsistence and the fire is not the divine fire as before, but an unruly one that must be managed.[8] Prometheus' own punishment is also typical of trickster behaviour, as the trickster is often the victim of his/her own trick.[9] Tricksters such as Prometheus transcend cultural boundaries, creating a new social order (such as technological fire) or reinforcing the old social hierarchy (such as Zeus' authority over humans and gods). This paper will later observe how the mythic trickster (like Prometheus)

[4] Ibid., pp. 568-613; Hesiod, *Works and Days*, in *Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia,* trans. by Glenn W. Most (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 80-1.
[5] Hesiod, *Theogony*, pp. 521-525, 613-7.
[6] Estelle Strazdins, 'Transforming Fire: The Effect of Technology on Humanity in Hesiod's Prometheus Myth and the Watcher Myth of Enoch', *Comparative Critical Studies*, 2 (2005), 285-296 (p.288); Hesiod, *Works and Days*, pp. 90-106.
[7] Strazdins, 'Transforming Fire', p. 289.
[8] Ibid., pp. 289-90, 292.
[9] Mac Linscott Ricketts, 'The North American Indian Trickster', *History of Religions*, 5:2 (1966), 327-350 (p.327).

parallels with the twenty-first century comedian John Oliver. Both attempt to influence society, and yet it is those with power (Zeus/Politicians) who implement social outcomes.

The study of the trickster originates in discussions of First Nation American stories.[10] It has since been applied to other cultures, including Ancient Greece. These First Nation American tricksters include the Tsimshian Raven who steals sunlight from heaven to end the darkness of the world, or the Maidu Coyote who tells the first lie, and the Winnebago 'Trickster', who seeks to remove obstacles on the earth for humanity.[11] These individuals have a complex nature, which is fundamental to trickster behaviour; they may be culture heroes who directly affect the world in which humanity functions, but they are often perceived as gluttonous, promiscuous and at times foolish.[12] Ricketts suggests that trickster figures prove a problem because they combine multiple roles within one individual. Using the term 'trickster-fixer' (or the longer term 'trickster- transformer- culture hero'), Ricketts illustrates that the trickster can transform culture, while having multiple roles.[13]

First Nation American mythic characters such as those above paved the way for research into the notion of the trickster, for example, Franz Boas argued that the trickster is a degenerate figure, and an early form of the 'culture hero'.[14] Later scholars, such as Radin, catalogue examples of tricksters from various First Nation American cultures, and provides context to the Winnebago 'Trickster' and how he is perceived in that culture. Radin points out that the trickster can be found beyond First Nation America, in cultures across the globe.[15] Carl Jung identifies the trickster as one of his archetypal figures, which are definite forms within the collective

[10] The first scholar to use the term in this sense is disputed: see for example 7n in L. Hyde, *Trickster Makes this World: How Disruptive Imagination Creates Culture* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2008), p. 355.

[11] Ibid., pp. 46-7; D. Leeming, *The Oxford Companion to World Mythology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.83; P. Radin, *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* (New York: Schocken Books, 1973), p.52. It needs to be noted that discussions of the trickster in North America represent an earlier stage of ethnology and anthropology in which some scholarship examines First Nation American culture through the lens of colonialism.

[12] Michael Carroll, 'The Trickster as Selfish-Buffoon and Culture Hero', *Ethos*, 12:2 (1984), 105-131 (p.106).

[13] Ricketts, 'North American Indian Trickster', pp. 327-30.

[14] Anne Doueihi, 'TRICKSTER: On Inhabiting the Space between Discourse and Story', *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 67 (1984), 283-311 (p.285).

[15] Radin, *The Trickster*, p.xxiii.

unconscious that manifest everywhere.[16] By making the Trickster a psychological concept, it can represent particular features of the human condition, for example the practical intelligence, which is important to survival and progression. There will always be those who have more physical power; cunning intelligence opens up opportunities otherwise lost.[17] For example, Zeus is more powerful, but Prometheus uses cunning to steal fire.

Prometheus highlights how trickster behaviour also manifests in Ancient Greece and how mythic tricksters can create order out of disorder. They change the world for humanity, whether it is their intention, or an indirect result of something they do for self-gratification. This ambiguity in the character's motivations may create unease. The cunning used in trickster behaviour requires a lack of honesty to be successful, and as a result tricksters cease to be trustworthy. This conflicting relationship between humanity and the trickster reflects a complex anxiety about the relationship between practical intelligence and what it is to be human. Ricketts argues that the 'trickster- fixer' embodies mythic anxieties of humanity's place in the cosmos.[18] With this in mind, this paper will now consider how trickster behaviour (found in mythical characters like Prometheus) can manifest outside of myth and within contemporary society, in particular the modern political satirical performance of John Oliver.

The tricksters examined so far are not real people, but imaginary figures who represent the human disposition to seek opportunity and control. This is not to say however, that we cannot see trickster behaviour outside myth. Trickster behaviour manifests itself in various ways in the twenty-first century, however, due to the limited scope of this paper, only one example can be examined here, this being the comic performances of John Oliver. The reason for choosing John Oliver lies in his recent rise in popularity in the U.S, as well as being a fitting example within the current political climate. Oliver's performance is also chosen for the striking ways in

[16] Carl Jung, *Collected Works of Carl Jung: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, trans. by R. F. C. Hull, vol. 9.1 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), p. 42.
[17] Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, trans. by Janet Lloyd (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1978), p. 12.
[18] Ricketts, 'North American Trickster', p. 336.

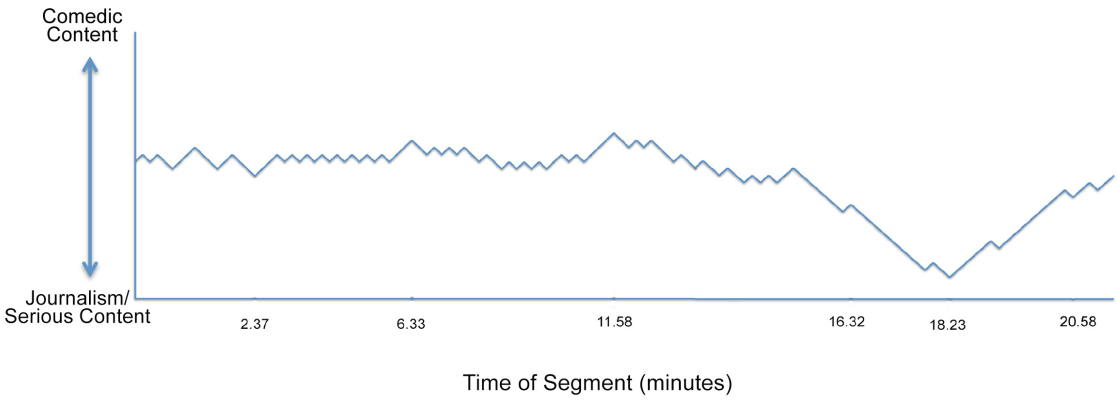
which he mixes comedy with journalism in order to make his audience laugh and think simultaneously.

John Oliver is a British political satirist, currently working in the United States of America on the HBO topical show *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver.*[19] A twenty-two minute segment from this show (performed on 28th February 2016) will be the case study of this paper. In this performance, Oliver tackles the suitability of the then-Republican candidate Donald Trump.[20] This paper will focus on examples within this performance, where Oliver uses mechanisms such as paradoxical comedy, self-deprecation and serious journalism to influence his audience to his desired effect.

The segment begins with John Oliver sitting behind a desk, wearing a suit, with a visual autocue positioned above him. This gives an impression of a newsroom, which is the first example here of comic deception.[21] Oliver's opening statement, 'our main story tonight and I cannot believe I am saying this, is Donald Trump', is designed to set Donald Trump up as a ridiculous individual, whose sudden rise in political influence is a surprise to everyone including Oliver himself.[22] Oliver's performance quickly shifts to a serious tone when he says that his show has mostly ignored Donald Trump until now, but Trump has since won three states, is endorsed by Chris Christie and is leading in polls to win most 'Super Tuesday' states.[23] Oliver says that this is a 'big deal' and reminds his audience that since 1988 every candidate who won the most 'Super Tuesday' states went on to win their party's nomination.[24] This sobering piece of information, designed to alarm his audience, is then neutralised by Oliver's comparison of Trump's growing influence to a back mole that can no longer be ignored. Like Prometheus, Oliver uses disguise as a tool for his trick. Prometheus disguises sacrificial meat in a stomach, while Oliver conveys serious political journalism behind a veil of comedy.

[19] *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*, HBO, 2014-on-going.
[20] 'Episode Three: Season Three', *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*, HBO, 28th February 2016.
[21] Oliver has inherited this device from a long line of satirical television shows. Such as: *The Daily Show*, Comedy Central, 1996-ongoing. Also much earlier influences like *That Was the Week That Was*, BBC, 1962-3.
[22] 'Episode Three: Season Three', *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*, HBO, 28th February 2016.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

Table Showing the Fluctuation Between Comedic Content and Journalism/ Serious Content in John Oliver's Segment on Donald Trump (28th February 2016)



This graph illustrates how Oliver's performance zigzags between comedy and serious journalism.[25] He takes his audience out of the dry world of politics into an alternative 'space' (controlled by Oliver) where Trump becomes a buffoon worthy of laughter. Oliver then returns his audience to the reality of Trump's growing influence, making them question the validity of their social order (one that would allow Trump political power). By comparing Trump to a back mole, Oliver quickly takes the audience back to his alternative realm of comedy. This comparison also has a reverse effect, through paradoxical humour. A paradox recognises an inherent truth behind a veil of absurdity. Here Oliver likens the anxiety felt in discovering a growth (a back mole), to concerns about Trump's growing political influence. This analogy further implies that the necessary action is to take notice of Trump, as one should take notice of a potential dangerous medical condition (because something apparently trivial may turn out to be serious). The audience are left with a lasting impression and are forced to move continually between these two realms of journalism and comedy. Oliver also uses a mixture of verbal and visual material to catch his audience off guard and return them to his comical realm. For example, the visual image of a person with a large back mole and an expression of exaggerated concern creates a powerful comic effect. In the Greek myth above, Prometheus attempts to control what Zeus perceives. Similarly, Oliver guides his audience

[25] Ibid.

through these controlled 'spaces'. Further analysis between Oliver and Prometheus will be made later in this paper.

Oliver goes on to challenge Trump's honesty by revealing that Trump claimed to have been invited to appear as a guest on Oliver's show. Oliver says that this is not the case, in a comically self-deprecating way. The audience is shown news footage of Trump being interviewed on this topic, stating that he had been invited 'four or five times' to the show, that he barely knows who Oliver is and that he does not know what he looks like.[26] The audience's immediate reaction is to laugh at this new focus on John Oliver. Oliver counteracts this by stating 'I look like a near sighted parrot who works at a bank'.[27] This is done in an attempt to deny Trump (or Trump's supporters) the chance to undermine him by getting in there first. This self-deprecation pre-empts potential risk (such as risk to his professional reputation) and maintains Oliver's control of the dialogue. Even if Trump was to retaliate to Oliver's performance, the audience knows that Oliver has already anticipated this and reacted accordingly.

This self-deprecation continues when Oliver says that he had to check that no one had 'accidently invited him', following this with 'of course they hadn't'.[28] This comedic exchange once again brings the audience back to reality, reminding them that Trump has potentially lied with little thought of the consequences. This section of the performance is also quite personal to the performer. Oliver establishes that there is a relationship between himself and Trump, which in turn places Oliver between the audience and Trump as a politician. Oliver's continued manipulation of his audience also has its own risks of backfiring. Like Prometheus (who's trick resulted in his punishment) the comedian is not untouchable. By challenging Trump, Oliver inevitably risks exposure to scrutiny and potentially harm to his career. He attempts to counteract this risk through self-deprecation.

John Oliver then tackles a number of other elements of Trump's public image, such as funding his own campaign, being strong-willed, and being a good businessman. Focusing on each one, Oliver breaks them down and attempts to show

[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.

how Trump lacks these qualities. Following this, Oliver suddenly drags his audience to a crashing reality. This is achieved through a number of powerful statements. Oliver first shows a clip where Trump appears to avoid condemning the former-leader of the Ku Klux Klan. Oliver states that Trump is either racist or pretending to be and eventually there is no difference. This is a message calculated to produce a powerful and lasting impression on his audience. Soon after this statement, Oliver does this again by showing a clip of Trump calling for terrorists' families to be killed. It is at this point we see one of Oliver's most powerful responses: 'that is the front runner for the Republican nomination advocating a war crime'.[29] So far in Oliver's performance the audience have only paddled in the realm of reality: it is at this point that that they are plunged into it. They are forced to confront Trump's possibly troubling amorality, and just as Prometheus protects the interests of humanity, Oliver becomes the voice of reason (to potential changes that Trump may make to current social norms). Here Oliver's performance embodies trickster behaviour through his attempts to maintain social boundaries when he considers them in jeopardy. The fact that Oliver is a British comedian also places him at a distance from his American audience, and thus perhaps makes it easier for him, rather like the Titan Prometheus helping humanity, to make these uncomfortable observations. Nevertheless, Oliver does eventually return his audience to his comedic realm, when he jokes that on the day of Trump's inauguration, time travellers will attempt to stop the whole thing from happening.[30] This takes the edge off Oliver's political message by bringing his audience back to comedy and allowing them the release of laughter.

Oliver's performance echoes the trickster behaviour seen in the mythic examples discussed earlier, when Oliver establishes and manipulates ideas of social boundaries. He creates a new comedic realm, which his audience experience under his control. This control is strengthened through the mechanism of paradoxical comedy. Oliver introduces his audience to an alternative reality. Like Prometheus, Oliver achieves this by splitting his trick into two. Prometheus does this by separating the sacrificial ox, while Oliver targets Trump by simultaneously zigzags his audience, between serious and comedic realms. We see an additional similarity

[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

between John Oliver and Prometheus in that neither can change society themselves (that is a role for those in power, e.g. Zeus, or modern politicians); instead they place an idea in the minds of their audience, which they can either ignore or act upon. In the case of Oliver, this might be persuading his audience to vote differently, or giving them ammunition to use in a political campaign. Moreover, both Prometheus and Oliver are characterised by the ambiguity of the change they effect (does it really make a positive difference?) and the unknowability of their underlying motives. Oliver is after all a professional comedian and he must find ways to make his audience laugh.

In both cases, the lasting impact does not necessarily correspond to the initial moment of cunning. Donald Trump was, of course, adopted as candidate for the Republican Party and elected president in November 2016, and to this extent Oliver's performance could be seen as unsuccessful. On the other hand, if Oliver's goal was to reveal Trump's instability as a politician, he did perhaps succeed. His performance was well received in the press (for example the *Time* magazine article 'John Oliver Takes on Donald Trump'), and audiences still tune in to his weekly show to see his regular mockery of the now President Donald Trump.[31] Finally, this paper observes that Oliver draws attention to the risk to himself by performing this material. He is potentially revealing his own political convictions, and his persuasive tactics could backfire. True to the meaning of the name Prometheus – 'forethought' – Oliver anticipates potential risk and attempts to neutralise it through comic self-deprecation. John Oliver is not, of course, a mythic trickster like Prometheus. Instead, Oliver embodies trickster behaviour, revealing faults that he sees within American society. Unlike Prometheus, the results of his intervention are not yet fully known: they continue to unravel over time, through the varying and unpredictable reactions of his audience.

This paper set out to demonstrate how trickster behaviour manifests itself beyond myth, in contemporary society and in comedy in particular. In Greek myth, the Titan Prometheus is a trickster figure that creates, alters and strengthens

[31] Melissa Locker, 'John Oliver Takes on Donald Trump on Last Week Tonight', *TIME* (29th February 2016) <http://time.com/4240734/john-oliver-donald-trump-last-week-tonight/> [accessed 24th May 2017].

boundaries through his attempt to trick Olympian Zeus. He is thus a cross-cultural comparison of the tricksters identified by scholars in First Nation America stories. Tricksters can be both culture heroes and selfish beings; they represent human anxieties about survival and ambitions for prosperity and success.

As has been seen, this 'trickster' pattern is not confined to myth but manifests itself also in contemporary popular culture. The case study of John Oliver's segment on Donald Trump shows him adopting behaviours like those found in First Nation America and the Greece Prometheus. Oliver does this through paradoxical comedy, self-deprecation, and zigzagging between comedy and reality. Oliver creates his own temporary universe, one that manipulates his audience and has potential to alter or reinforce concepts of social order. Like the trickster, Oliver resists being pinned down to a particular motivation or agenda, but challenges his audience by offering them tantalising glimpses of alternate realities.

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Performing Truth and Myth in *Stories We Tell*

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If our aim as researchers is to explore the truth or reality of things, then documentary film could be considered a principle visual means to this 'myth-busting'. However, since this film form first emerged, documentary's definition as an objective way to capture the 'real world' has been disputed, with critics arguing that camera angles, editing and subject choices demonstrate the subjective intervention (and invention) of the filmmakers.

This paper will explore some of these issues by arguing that, in accordance with Stella Bruzzi's argument, many contemporary documentaries are 'performative' in the way their subject matter is only given meaning as they are filmed and then viewed. This is followed by a close textual analysis of Stories We Tell (Sarah Polley, 2012), which will uncover how performative strategies are used to create a complex dialogue between filmmaker and film spectator that blurs truth and fiction in the construction of identity.

Performative Documentary

One of the first popular uses of the term 'performative' came from English philosopher J.L. Austin as detailed in his *Philosophical Papers*.[1] Writing on linguistics, Austin explains the 'performative utterance' as a phrase which both describes an action and performs that action. This is the opposite of what he terms the 'constative' which just describes an action. The distinction here is that rather than lending itself to being evaluated as either a true or false utterance – if it is 'performed' in that way - the 'performative' makes active that which it describes. Examples include the bride and groom saying 'I do' at a wedding, or 'I name this ship

[1] J.L. Austin, *Philosophical Papers*, ed. by J.O. Urmson and G.J. Warnock, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

the Queen Elizabeth' as a bottle of champagne is smashed against its side because 'in saying what I do, I actually perform that action'.[2]

Stella Bruzzi has applied this definition of the 'performative' to documentary film. For Bruzzi, all documentaries are 'performative acts, inherently fluid and unstable and informed by issues of performance and performativity.'[3] They are performative because their specific 'truths' are only expressed at 'the moment of filming'.[4] So, referring back to Austin's examples, the documentary image becomes the 'I do' of a marriage ceremony. Additionally, she argues that performative documentary techniques contribute to the complex interaction between filmmaker, text and spectator and that the latter is confronted by the difficulties at representing the world in a documentary because of these performative techniques.[5] The effect created by using these techniques, Bruzzi argues, is to demonstrate the impossibility of a completely truthful representation of the world and distance the spectator from straightforward identification with the film text.[6] In doing so, these documentaries demonstrate an awareness of the truth/fiction dialectic that has dominated the history of documentary criticism.

However, I contend that performative documentaries generally (and Polley's film specifically) highlight a social truth of contemporary culture; that our identities are performatively constructed. *Stories We Tell* is a distinctive example of how identity is formed as Polley introduces playful use of reconstruction and layers of performance to create, what I call, a plurality of selves in the film.

A Plurality of Selves in *Stories We Tell*

In autobiographical documentary, the representation of the filmmaker's 'self' is central to the process and necessitates a meditation on the director's own interpretation of their personal identity as well as positioning the spectator to create a social identity for this person. As we shall see in *Stories We Tell*, this might also involve the spectator considering their own identity as part of the viewing process.

[2] Austin, p. 235.
[3] Stella Bruzzi, *New Documentary: Second Edition* (Routledge, 2006), p. 1.
[4] Ibid., p. 10.
[5] Ibid., p. 7.
[6] Ibid., pp. 185-6.

Stories We Tell is engaged in answering one of the fundamental questions of autobiography, that of origins – 'Where do I come from?' Polley does this by gathering family members and close friends of her mother Diane. Diane died from cancer when Sarah was eleven years old and she was subsequently brought up by her father Michael in a family environment which included her elder brother and sister and half-siblings from Diane's previous marriage.

It was during this time that Sarah became the punch line to a family joke; namely, that she did not look anything like Michael. This clearly stayed with Sarah as she grew up, in the meantime becoming a respected actress and filmmaker. She begins to investigate her mother's life before she was born and learns that while out of town acting in a play, Diane began an affair with Canadian film producer, Harry Gulkin, who is revealed to be her biological father. What ensues is a treatise on memory based around Polley's fascination with 'storytelling and the way we construct stories' such that people will hold a particular version of an event that might differ from what 'actually' happened and from another person's recollections.[7] Therefore, multiplicity is built into the narrative framework of Polley's documentary. However, is it evident in the film's structure and aesthetics?

The pre-credits sequence of *Stories We Tell* establishes the plurality that is the film's content and stylistic approach. The film opens with Michael Polley reading an excerpt from Margaret Atwood's *Alias Grace*: 'When you're in the middle of a story it isn't a story at all but only a confusion, a dark roaring, a blindness … it's only afterwards that it becomes anything like a story at all, when you're telling it to yourself or to someone else.' This is played over images from super eight home movies, some of which are authentic and the others staged, which will be shown again at various points in the film's story. Leah Anderst attributes this mixing of audio and visuals from a variety of different sources to the film's 'dialogic' character which is further heightened by Polley's 'choral' approach in organising an assortment of interviewees giving 'equal weight to each piece of information and opinion, to each version of the story, and to each kind of telling' but which remains 'her own

[7] Richard Porton, 'Family Viewing: An Interview with Sarah Polley', *Cinetaste*, 38:3 (2013), 36-40.

very personal and very intimate history.'[8] The way Sarah 'orchestrates' her 'chorus' of voices is evident at various points in *Stories We Tell*.

For example, Polley places conflicting testimonies next to each other to create a pluralised interpretation of a person. At one point Michael says he thought he was a good husband which is followed by his daughter, Joanna, saying that her Mum did all the cooking and cleaning. Later on Sarah cuts between her interviewees when she is investigating who first mentioned that Sarah did not look like Michael with various testimonies pointing the proverbial 'finger' at a different person. Following Diane's death, Harry says that he hugged Michael at her funeral but Michael has forgotten that Harry was even there. Of course, this narrative 'sleuthing' is necessitated by the fact that Diane, who presumably would have had the most accurate version of the story, is not alive to tell it. Critic Sarah Ward explains the role of Diane in *Stories We Tell* as a catalyst from which the multiple versions of Sarah's story emerge, noting that this is an 'idealised version' which 'refuses to ground itself in only one interpretation of her existence.'[9]

Polley reflects on how the self, and the memories a person collects, is always in fact plural when describing the process of interviewing her siblings. She likens the act of remembering to 'a game of broken telephone' where what you remember of an event is not the actual memory itself but rather 'your last memory of it'.[10] Memory according to Polley, therefore, is understood as unreliable and subject to change depending on when and where the individual is remembering. As a result, Polley's film democratises the autobiographical process and enlists a number of other voices in this memory process.

Stories We Tell is a documentary which positions the interpretations of people other than the filmmaker in the telling of the director's life story. The construction of Sarah Polley's identity is performed in conjunction with 'talking head' interviews with family members, archive home movies, staged home movies with actors playing roles, and re-enactments involving the participants 'playing

[8] Leah Anderst, 'Memory's Chorus: *Stories We Tell* and Sarah Polley's Theory of Autobiography', *Senses of Cinema*, 69 (2013) <http://sensesofcinema.com/2013/feature-articles/memorys-chorus-stories-we-tell-and-sarah-polleys-theory-of-autobiography/> [Accessed on: 15/11/2017].
[9] Sarah Ward, 'Telling More than Stories', *Metro*, 178 (Spring 2013), pp. 52-55.
[10] Porton, 'Interview with Sarah Polley'.

themselves'. Furthermore, Sarah's identity outside of the filmmaking process has changed irrevocably. She now knows her 'true' father and must 'restructure her life-narrative' accordingly.[11]

The performances in *Stories We Tell* are numerous: Sarah is seen performing in staged scenes with Harry and Michael; performing the act of making the film itself when she is heard questioning interviewees off-camera and pictured filming with a camera by another camera; the various interviewees; the 'real' family members in the home movie shots; and the actors portraying the 'real' people in staged home movies.

It is perhaps unsurprising that *Stories We Tell* displays so many layers of performance considering that the Polleys are a family of actors. Michael and Diane met when they were both performing in a play. In fact, Michael states during the film that he believes Diane fell in love with the gregarious and masculine character he was playing and could have been encouraged to begin her affair with Gulkin because he did not live up to that performance. Sarah started acting in film and television at a young age and has gone on to receive plaudits and awards for films such as *The Sweet Hereafter* (Atom Egoyan, 1997) and *The Secret Life of Words* (Isabel Coixet, 2005).

Figure 1: Still from *Stories We Tell*

[11] Laurence Raw, '*Stories We Tell* (Review)', *Film & History: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Film and Television Studies*, 44: 1 (2014), 15-17 (pp.16-17).

They are also a family of filmmakers. Sarah was nominated for an Academy Award for her adapted screenplay of debut film *Away from Her* (2006), which she followed up with *Take This Waltz* (2011). Harry is a respected Canadian film producer whose first film, *Lies My Father Told Me* (Ján Kadár, 1975), was Oscar-nominated for 'Original Screenplay' and won the Golden Globe for 'Best Foreign Film'. And Michael is seen during *Stories We Tell* vociferously recording his and Diane's family holidays, displaying a curious cinematic 'tic' where he tilts the camera up whenever a group of people appear in the frame. Sarah pays a subtle tribute to him at the end of the documentary while she films Michael alone in his flat. Sarah's half-brother John Buchan, who is interviewed in *Stories We Tell,* is a casting director who cast the actors to play his and Sarah's family in the staged scenes. Therefore, we can see that as well as being a family of actors, performers and filmmakers, this is a family of storytellers, which influences the formal properties of the film as well as the way a spectator will watch the film. The film's style is 'performative' because of the reflexive use of staged scenes which places the viewer in an investigative role - along with Sarah - attempting to identify what is 'real' and what is 'performed'/staged.

An example where Polley's pluralised process comes to the fore is in the sequences where she recruits the 'real' participants to re-enact a scene that has already happened. Two are central regarding the way they are filmed and how they contribute to the theme of multiple identities. The first instance is a re-enactment of the first time Sarah and Harry meet in a local café. Sarah has travelled to Montreal to interview Harry in an attempt to find out what he knew of Diane's affair. During their conversation, which lasts for hours, the pair discover that they like similar things and have similar political allegiances. This confirms Harry's suspicions that he is her biological father. Later, in a key scene from Sarah's life story, Sarah and Michael re-enact the moment when she tells him that he is not her father. The scene begins with Michael acting out theatrical traditions of drunkenness before noticing that Sarah's mind is elsewhere. After she reveals her true parentage, Michael explains that, for him at least, nothing has changed and they are still father and daughter in his mind.

Both scenes feature performance in reflexive ways. The film stock imitates super eight home movies, which therefore blends with the other 'home movie'

footage we see throughout the film. They are silent, we do not hear diegetic speech from the scene itself, but both are narrated by their participants taken from the interviews Sarah is conducting with them. As a result, Michael, Harry and Sarah are each 'playing themselves' in these sequences. At some points, the speech by Michael and Sarah is made to sync with their re-enacting 'selves' miming of the same line. These scenes become 'partial "simulacrum,"' and once again 'attest to Polley's theory of a choral, plural autobiography where she involves her participants in the creation of her visual stories, but, because she is still the film's director, they also make evident her own control.'[12]

Stories We Tell…to a Spectator

I have demonstrated that Polley's film represents multiple 'selves' to the film spectator and that the very structure and formal strategies found within *Stories We Tell* are determined by this plurality of identity. But what does this mean for the film spectator? Robert Ezra Park explains how the origins of the words 'person', 'persona', 'personality', etc. are derived from 'mask' and therefore connect to how individuals conduct themselves in everyday social interactions. Furthermore:

> In a sense, and in so far as this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves – the role we are striving to live up to – this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be. In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character, and become persons.[13]

As such, for a spectator watching a film like *Stories We Tell*, the range of 'selves' offered by the filmmaker should not only be understood as logical because of the fact that all of us are 'performing' in one way or another, but also necessary because 'it is in these roles that we know ourselves'. For the determined autobiographer, this is often the *modus operandi* of the filmed undertaking. However, the opposite can also be true, where the filmmaker/autobiographer seeks to intentionally complicate or muddy the representational waters by using these various roles. Erving Goffman demonstrates this by contrasting his definition of 'biography' with the presentation

[12] Anderst, 'Memory's Chorus', p. 29.
[13] Robert Ezra Park, *Race and Culture* (Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press, 1950), pp. 249-50.

of the individual in society. He begins by identifying that we assume a person can only have one biography which contains 'everything an individual has done and can actually do'.[14] This, for Goffman, is *a priori* true regardless of how false, incoherent or manipulative the individual's life is. However, Goffman notes that this definition of biography 'is in sharp contrast to the multiplicity of selves one finds in the individual in looking at him from the perspective of social role, where, if role and audience segregation are well-managed, he can quite handily sustain different selves and can to a degree claim to be no longer something he was.'[15] *Stories We Tell* is one such text whose performative representational strategies invite the spectator to consider the stories we recount about our own families.

If the autobiographical confessional act has existed since Augustine's writing in the fourth century then, '[a]t least since the Greeks, art has been judged capable of yielding "cathartic" effects for artist and audience alike through the public disclosure of concealed impulses and secret wishes, secondarily revised'.[16] For Sarah Polley, this 'cleansing' through art was a process which revealed a hidden heritage masked by multiple narratives and internalised memories and thoughts. And it was an exercise which she hoped would prompt the film's audience to consider what was 'real' or not in her documentary and their own family lives.[17] Central to this process is the act of storytelling which is a process that includes internal/external and private/public spaces.

As has been previously demonstrated, *Stories We Tell* is inextricably linked to storytelling (interviewees, Sarah filming, acting heritage, etc.). This is the internal made external, filtered through either the physical body (mouth) or an exterior surrogate apparatus (pen, camera). However, the documentary 'works', according to this dialectic, in other ways at the narrative and aesthetic level.

Firstly, the story content of *Stories We Tell*, the fact that Sarah learns of her paternal origins, is a source of tension centred on the desire to be true about oneself and the pain the revelation of this story could cause to those involved. Polley did not

[14] Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes of the Management of Spoiled Identity* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1968), p. 81.
[15] Ibid., p. 81.
[16] Michael Renov, *The Subject of Documentary* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), p. 195.
[17] Porton, 'Interview with Sarah Polley'.

tell Michael of her discovery until nearly a year after finding out and, as is detailed in the film, she sought to retain ownership of the story for a further five years by trying to convince journalists not to reveal it in the press.[18] Sarah's wish to manage who knows about her family secret becomes the source of a certain degree of strain between her and Harry, who believes that it is he who holds the most reliable information.

Harry plans to write a memoir and subsequently publish it. In the film, we hear a sequence of fraught email exchanges between Gulkin and Sarah where she explains that the story needs to be told as a combination of all those involved. Harry says that this would distort the 'truth', and that the inclusion of the main 'players' (Harry, Diane) and then their relatives, close friends and acquaintances would be like a web opening out and becoming larger until the 'truth' becomes distorted and elusive. It is implied in the film that Harry's plan to publish his version of the story prompts Sarah to begin her documentary project which includes this very complex 'web' when the above exchange cuts to shots of Sarah preparing to film.

The aesthetic choice to include staged home movies appears consistent with the rest of the film's style and is significant considering the internal/external dichotomy. To begin with, some of these 'mock-home movies' are conspicuous regarding either their difficulty to have been filmed (Diane's funeral for instance), or implausibility that a camera would be present to record (such as the sequences at a bar in Montreal when Harry and Diane meet for the first time). Therefore, through some interviewee testimony but predominantly her own imagination, Sarah creates these scenes. Indeed, Sarah would not have been alive for some of them. Memory of her childhood home living with Michael and Diane could have influenced her décor design and she cast actors who bear a striking resemblance to their real-life counterparts. The impression that these movies are authentic and indistinguishable from the other archive home-movie footage Polley intersperses into the film is enhanced by the faux super eight film stock treatment of the images. Furthermore, the soundtrack contributes to this *mise-en-abyme* structure which plays excerpts from *Play Me a Movie*, a 1971 recording for the Smithsonian by Abraham Lass based

[18] Brian D. Johnson, 'This Documentary Needs a Spoiler Alert (Review)', *Maclean's*, 125:40 (2012).

on his experience as a neighbourhood movie pianist in the 1920s.[19] The tinkling piano melodies that accompany the silent home-movie footage in *Stories We Tell* aurally transport the spectator back to early film and create the impression that we are watching a 'phantom paradigmatic film from our memories'.[20]

I recently screened *Stories We Tell* for a second year documentary film module at the University of Southampton. In a number of cases, it was only when we came to discuss the film in seminars that some students discovered some of this footage had been 'faked'. Polley herself has been surprised by just how many spectators of the film have been taken in by these scenes.[21] The subsequent revelation that large sections of *Stories We Tell* have been created from the director's imagination has a direct impact on how the spectator watches the rest of the film, considers what they have viewed before the realisation, or how they will analyse the film upon a second viewing. Consequently, the fact that viewers have been 'duped' by the recreations makes sense in a film which addresses the multifaceted nature of everyday performance.

Conclusion

According to art historian Ellen Handler Spitz, '[If] artistic creativity consists in structuring the bewildering chaos of external stimuli, then we must acknowledge that it draws on and likewise reveals the ordering of inner turbulence, of fantasy, and dream.'[22] Psychoanalytic theorist Fred Busch, commenting on Polley's films, elaborates on Handler Spitz's comments when he writes that 'what is of particular interest to us as psychoanalysts is how successful the creative process is in representing personal experience so that the representations are of interest [to] or affect a wider audience.'[23] Therefore, Polley's playful negotiation of 'real' and staged archive footage can be read as an attempt to engage with her audience as much as

[19] Sophie Mayer, '*Stories We Tell* (Review)', *Sight & Sound*, 23:7 (July 2013), p. 87.
[20] Ibid., p. 87.
[21] Porton, 'Interview with Sarah Polley'.
[22] Ellen Handler Spitz (1988) quoted in Fred Busch, 'Working through Sarah Polley's *Stories We Tell* (and the issue of creative expression)', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 96:2 (2015), 477-491
[23] Ibid.

her own memories and identity construction so that they might consider their own family history and that sometimes truth can be stranger than fiction.

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‘Zolotyi Veresen (*Golden September*). Chronicles of Galicia 1939-1941’ and the formation of Ukrainian national identity

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The first Ukrainian documentary about the Soviet occupation of western Ukraine (1939-1941), Golden September, was released in 2010. The documentary has enjoyed great popularity in Ukraine, especially in its western part, yet has seen little, if any, critique. This paper will begin to rectify this shortfall. It will examine how the documentary film apposes individual memories in narrating/creating collective memory and the extent to which Golden September is a deliberate attempt to shape modern Ukrainian collective identity through a selective representation of the Galician occupation. This documentary fits into the nationalisation of historical memory and externalisation of the communist past, which in post-Soviet and former Soviet satellite states serves the purpose of symbolic distancing from the communist past and reinvention of these countries as European.[1] In order to critically assess Golden September, it will be necessary to consider the extent to which this documentary is a self-conscious attempt to provide a Ukrainian counterweight to more commonplace Jewish and Polish perspectives of WWII events.[2] Firstly, I will introduce a historical context, then will consider the issue of collective memory construction and credulity of oral history on which the documentary heavily relies. Next, I will move on to the role of documentaries in contributing to the construction of collective identity and will discuss whether Golden September sets out to fight existing myths and create new ones.

[1] Tatiana Zhurzhenko, ‘The Geopolitics of Memory’, *Eurozine* (May 2007) <www.eurozine.com/thegeopolitics-of-memory/> [Accessed: 04/05/2017].

[2] For a Jewish narrative see Dieter Pohl, ‘Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Western Ukraine - A Research Agenda’, in *Shared History - Divided Memory: Jews and Others in Soviet-Occupied Poland, 1939–1941*, ed. by Eleazar Barkan, Elizabeth A. Cole, and Kai Struve (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007), pp.305-313; for a Polish narrative see, Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad* (Princeton: *Princeton* University Press, 1988); for both Jewish and Polish narratives see, Ben Cion Pinchuk, ‘Facing Hitler and Stalin: On the Subject of Jewish “Collaboration” in Soviet-Occupied Eastern Poland, 1939–1941’, in *Contested Memories: Poles and Jews During the Holocaust and Its Aftermath*, ed. by Joshua D. Zimmerman (New Brunswick, N.J., 2003), pp. 61-68.

To start, it is worth contextualising the events of the documentary. Halychyna, or as it is now known in foreign sources, Galicia, is a territory, the eastern part of which is located within modern Ukraine. Its name comes from the city of Halych, the capital of the Halych-Volyn Kingdom, which reached its height in the 13th century.[3] From the 14th century Halychyna became part of the Polish Kingdom. It was around that time that the Latinised version of *Halychyna* appeared, which is *Galicia*. Following the division of Poland in 1772, Halychyna was absorbed by the Austrian Empire, then in 1918 Ukraine proclaimed independence and Halychyna (Galicia) was united with the lands of Greater Ukraine with its capital in Kyiv. In 1920, following the defeat in the Polish-Ukrainian war, Halychyna again came under Polish rule until the beginning of the Second World War in September 1939.[4]

Galicia in 1939 was a very complex part of Europe. As in central Lviv, in 1939 you were more likely to hear Polish or Yiddish than Ukrainian, however since the reconfiguration of Europe of 1945 Lviv has been part of modern Ukraine and today overwhelmingly self-identifies as Ukrainian.[5] Importantly, most Western historiography of the aftermath of the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement sees Galicia as little different from any other part of Poland.[6] *Golden September*, however, whilst acknowledging elements of Polish and Jewish culture, frames the events of 1939 to 1941 firmly within Ukrainian identity and while Galician identity was very fluid, the film crystallises it into a mainly Ukrainian identity.

Among the modern population of Ukraine there is no commonly shared view on the Soviet attack of Poland of 1939. While western regions of contemporary

[3] Natalia Yakovenko, *Z naidavnishykh chasiv do kintsia 18 stolittia* [From the Earliest Times until the End of the 18th Century] <http://history.franko.lviv.ua/yak_content.htm> [Accessed: 11/01/2017] [in Ukrainian].
[4] Yaroslav Hrytsak, *Narys Istoriyi Ukrainy* [Essays in Ukrainian History: Making of Modern Ukrainian Nation] (Kyiv: Heneza, 1996) <http://history.franko.lviv.ua/gryc_content.htm> [Accessed: 12/01/2017] [in Ukrainian].
[5] Piotr Eberhardt and Jan Owsinski, *Ethnic groups and population changes in twentieth-century central-eastern Europe: History, data, and analysis* (New Brunswick, NJ, United States: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), p.123; Timothy Snyder, *The reconstruction of nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus: 1569-1999* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).
[6] See, *Marek Wierzbicki, Polacy i Zydzi w zaborze sowieckim II Rzeczypospolitej* (*1939-1941*) [*Poles and Jews* in the *Soviet-Annexed* Zone. Polish-Jewish relations in the North-eastern lands of the Second Republic under Soviet Occupation 1939-1941] (Warsaw, 2001) [in Polish]; Dov Levin, *The Lesser of Two Evils: Eastern European Jewry Under Soviet Rule, 1939–1941* (Philadelphia, 1995).

Ukraine see 1939 as the Soviet invasion and the beginning of World War II, for other parts of the country it was not until 1941 that the war started with Nazi Germany as they had been absorbed by the Soviet Union back in 1922.[7] According to international law, it was an outspoken aggression that violated a number of international agreements.[8] The Soviet propaganda tried to create a collective memory of this event starting with the school textbooks; this was rather successful as it was a technique the Soviet Union excelled at. The prevailing propaganda thesis argued that 'Consanguenious Ukrainians and Belorussians, who live on the territory of Poland have been abandoned and left defenceless'.[9]According to the myth, the Red Army was welcomed in western Ukraine, therefore this September attack in the Soviet literature got a metaphoric name Zolotyi Veresen (Golden September). Later, the rhetoric changed and the commonly constructed narrative held that regardless of the Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact, this event should be positively perceived by Ukrainians as they were finally united in one state, which survived the Communist times and became independent.[10] The current narrative is that the tremendous loss that Ukraine went through cannot be justified.

While the last decades of the twentieth century in Western Europe and North America have been described as a 'memory boom', in Ukraine attention to memory only began to emerge in the twenty-first century.[11] Even though Ukraine became an independent state in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the discourse on unified nation did not emerge as the country set off as a polarised society with 'pro-Western' western Ukraine and 'pro-Russian' eastern Ukraine.[12] It was not until the Orange Revolution of 2004 that an open nationwide discussion of the contested Soviet past began, marking an anti-communist national narrative shift after decades

[7] Alexandr Osipian, 'Historical Myths, Enemy Images, and Regional Identity in the Donbas Insurgency', *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society*, 1:1 (2015), 109-140.
[8] Including The German–Polish Non-Aggression Pact of January 26, 1934.
[9] Tetiana Humenyuk, 'Problema "vozzyednannia Zakhidnoyi Ukrainy z Ukrainskoyu RSR u suchasniy istoriohrafiyi' [Modern historiography and the problem of "reunification" of West Ukraine with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], *Istoriya Ukrainy, Malovidomi imena, podiyi, fakty* [History of Ukraine. Little-known names, events and facts], 26 (2004), 41–53 (p.44) [in Ukrainian].
[10] M. Lytvyn, O. Lutskyi, K. Naumenko, *1939: Zakhidni zemli Ukrainy* [Western Regions of Ukraine in 1939] (Lviv: Insytut ukrainoznavstva, 1999), p. 122 [in Ukrainian].
[11] Dirk Uffelmann, 'Theory as Memory Practice', in *Memory and Theory in Eastern Europe ed. by* Uilleam Blacker, Alexandr Etkind and Julie Fedor *(New York: Palgrave Macmillan),* pp. 103–124 (p.1).
[12] Oxana Shevel 'The Politics of Memory in a Divided Society: A Comparison of Post-Franco Spain and Post-Soviet Ukraine', *Slavic Review,* 70:1 (2011), 137-164.

of suppression of historical facts. Light and Young argue that such shift leads to the process of 'othering' of the ideology of Communism.[13]

Studying historical memory in Europe, historian Charles S. Maier contrasted the memories of fascist and communist crimes and noted that there is a difference between the intensity with which both are remembered. Hence, he introduced the term 'hot' memory to describe the unfading persistence of Nazi crimes in collective memory and 'cold' memory for diminished remembrance of Stalinist crimes, where 'horror abates and memory becomes dispassionate'.[14] Aligned with the official state memory policy, *Golden September* attempts to bring to these Stalinist crimes to the fore.

The earliest sociological study of memory is attributed to Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945), a French sociologist who collaborated with Durkheim.[15] Eli Zaretsky ventures to differentiate between two different concepts of memory that have their roots in different disciplines: the first in neuroscience and academic psychology, which are concerned with remembering an event; the second originated within psychoanalysis and is preoccupied with situating an event in a narrative.[16] Furthermore, memory falls into the distinct yet related categories of individual and collective. To remember is 'to be tied to collective frameworks of social reference points that allow memories to be coordinated in time and space. Not only are memories acquired through society, they are recalled, recognized, and located socially. Memory also orders the experience and ensures the continuity of collectivities'.[17] *Golden September* can be seen as an attempt to 'help' individuals either to recollect or construct the past of which they either have fading memories or no memories at all.

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[13] Craig Young and Duncan Light, 'Place, National Identity and Post-Socialist Transformations: An Introduction', *Political Geography*, 20:8 (2001), 941-955 (p.946).

[14] Charles S. Maier, 'Heißes und kaltes Gedächtnis. Über die politische Halbwertszeit von Nazismus und Kommunismus' [Hot Memory Cold Memory: On the Political Half-Life of Fascist and Communist Memory], *Transit: Europeische Revue*, 22 (2002), 153-165 [in German], available online in English at <www.iwm.at/transit/transit-online/hot-memory-cold-memory-on-the-political-half-life-of-fascist-and-communist-memory/> [Accessed: 05/06/2017].

[15] Suzanne Vromen, 'Review: Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory. by Lewis A. Coser', *American Journal of Sociology*, 99:2 (1993), pp. 510–512 (p.510).

[16] Eli Zaretsky, 'Collective memory and narrative: A response to Etkind', *Constellations*, 16:1 (2009), 201–204, p.201.

[17] Maurice Halbwachs, 'The reconstruction of the past', in *On Collective Memory*, trans. by and ed. by M. Halbwachs and L.A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 46-51 (p.47).

The way that societies remember the past is related to the present. The present influences the way we perceive the past and new discoveries and doctrines change the common perception. Indeed, as Halbwachs observed, nations looking back at the past tend to be in a crisis because when it becomes difficult to think about the future, we think about the past.[18] In the Ukrainian context Zhurzhenko notes that memory politics in Ukraine is not as much about the past as it is about the future and it constructs 'the *geopolitics of memory*' as well as advantageous positioning of the country on the European arena.[19] Communism being long gone, its memories re-emerge often fragmented, manipulated and disputable.[20]

Both Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora suggest that the 'collective memory' of any group is actually a manipulated construction by those who maintain the power and status to define those memories.[21] Since there are as many collective memories as there are groups, the exploration of these memories can be an access point to discovering the nature of these groups. The narrative of society, shaped by collective memory, builds an 'imagined community' identity. Modern nation-states, being an invention of modernity, are not 'firmly rooted in the nature of things'.[22] To ensure their existence, one of the main functions of nation-states as "imagined communities" has been to create a collective memory, drawing upon common ideas and beliefs of people within national boundaries and, in case of the absence of such ideas, to invent myths and strongly impose them on citizens while eliminating 'potentially undermining' ones.[23] Celebrations of victories, commemorations and events create and reinforce collective identity.

The Soviet authorities employed the same strategies to create a supranational state. For this reason, several myths were created and promoted to 'glue' mentally, culturally and linguistically diverse peoples. Among such strong and

[18] Halbwachs, 'reconstruction of the past'.
[19] Zhurzhenko, 'Geopolitics of memory'
[20] Michael Gentile, 'Geopolitical fault-line cities', in *Migration and the Ukraine Crisis: A Two-Country Perspective*, ed. by A. Pikulicka-Wilczewska and G. Uehling (Bristol: E-International Relations, 2017), pp. 6-24 (p.14).
[21] Daryl Britton, *Elegies of darkness: Commemorations of the bombing of Pan Am 103* (Syracuse University, 2008), p. 9.
[22] Amanda Machin, *Nations and Democracy: New Theoretical Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 30.
[23] *Benedict* Anderson, cited in Ross Poole, *Nation and identity (ideas)* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1999), p. 10.

most powerful myths aimed on creating a homogenous space was the myth of the 'Great Victory' in the 'Great Patriotic War' which the Putin regime has refurbished and continues to use to legitimise itself.[24]

Within the current political framework, Russian-backed guerrillas in Eastern Ukraine actively rely on the Soviet cultural legacy (especially the memory of World War Two) for legitimisation of their actions. For example, the separatist tanks have markings that read, 'Onward to Kyiv!' echoing the Red Army's slogan, 'Onward to Berlin!' Likewise, the 'parade' of Ukrainian prisoners of war in Donetsk, held by the separatists, imitated the 'parade' of German POWs in Moscow in 1944.[25] The distance of the events of the Second World War further creates the feeling of nostalgia for the 'great march' to the West. It has been proven that nostalgia is not limited to social history as it has been observed that the longer politicians are out of office, the more highly people rate them. This phenomenon has been characterized as the 'law of rising recollections'.[26]

Documentary, 'usually a reconstruction a re-enactment of another time or place for a different audience', is a 'graphing of history, in and through the cinematic image and taped sound, onto the present'.[27] Documentary film aims to educate and edify; in the words of Bill Nichols, it is one of the 'discourses of sobriety' that include science, economics, politics, and history-discourses that claim to describe the 'real', to tell the truth.[28]

Documentary cinema is intimately tied to historical memory. Not only does it seek to reconstruct historical narrative, but it often functions as an historical document itself. Moreover, the connection between the rhetoric of documentary film and historical truth lends the documentary to overt political alignments which

[24] Zhurzhenko ('Geopolitics of memory') has also noted that it was not the revolution of August 1991 that has become the founding myth of the new Russia, but the victory in World War II, which has also legitimised the EU.
[25] Georgiy Kasianov, 'How History Goes Wrong: Historical Politics and its Outcomes', *Cultural Anthropology* (October 2014) <www.culanth.org/fieldsights/611-how-history-goes-wronghistorical-politics-and-its-outcomes> [Accessed: 07/02/2017].
[26] Ronald Steel, 'Harry of Sunnybrook Farm', *The New Republic*, 207 (August 1992), pp. 34-48.
[27] Paula Rabinowitz, 'Wreckage upon Wreckage: History, Documentary and the Ruins of Memory', *History and Theory,* 32:2 (1993), 119-137 (pp. 119-120).
[28] Ann-Louise Shapiro and Jill Godmilow, 'How Real is the Reality in Documentary Film?', *History and Theory,* 36:4 (1997), 80-101 (p. 80).

influence its audience.[29] The notion of history, according to Bill Nichols, is often exploited in documentary rhetoric, it resembles a flickering and evasive sunbeam, 'Always referred to but never captured … history, as excess, rebukes those laws set to contain it; it contests, qualifies, resists, and refuses them'.[30]

The documentary film differentiates itself from narrative cinema by claiming its status as a truth-telling mode, it poses truth as a moral imperative, which by definition should endow it with credulity and objectivity.[31] The documentary then is meant to instruct, through evidence. Yet documentary film, in more obvious ways than does history, draws on and blurs the categories of fact and fiction, art and document, entertainment and knowledge, which both expands possibilities and puts constrains upon documentary films in terms of representing history.[32] Applying various cinematic devices such as voice-over, montage, intertitles and long takes, documentary has the potential to stimulate audiences to new understandings 'about social, economic, political, and cultural differences and struggles'.[33] Even though documentary in fact started as pure shooting of real people or events, Robert Flaherty, known as the father of documentary, relied on re-enactment and restaging to achieve full coherence.[34]

Many scholars however take issue with documentaries, because they seem not to fit the generally accepted scholarly framework, i.e., they lack footnotes or bibliographies. Also, the producers of documentaries rarely explain their methodologies for determining their selection of what was included and what was not in the final production, therefore offering 'little means of verification or corroboration to written sources'.[35]

To meet this criticism, documentary makers turn to the Internet and establish interactive websites. For instance, the website for Golden September comes in

[29] Rabinowitz, 'Wreckage upon Wreckage', p. 119.
[30] Bill Nichols, *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary*, 5th edn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 142.
[31] Rabinowitz, 'Wreckage upon Wreckage', p. 119-120.
[32] Shapiro and Godmilow, 'How Real', p. 80
[33] Rabinowitz, 'Wreckage upon Wreckage', p. 119.
[34] John Grierson, 'Unsigned review of Moana', *New York Sun* (February 1926). Reprinted in Lewis Jacobs, *The Documentary Tradition*, 2nd edn (New York, 1979), p. 25.
[35] Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History* (New York, NY: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994), p. 149-150.

Ukrainian and English versions, which makes it available for a wider audience and has a preview, full-length documentary, several backstage photos and additional information on eight interviewees with their old family photos and biographies. However, it would be helpful to have transcripts of interviews and additional interview segments, as well as additional links and background text. Jarmo Valkola has emphasised that visual interpretation deals with both the eyes and the brain and both films and memory can trigger and evoke images. In other words, 'What we know or have experienced in the past and how we have made sense of these experiences and tracked them in our memory moderate what is understood'. Based on this view, memory can produce images of the past, and films can produce flashbacks. Perception can unite what is apparently disparate.[36] This puts documentaries into a very powerful position as potential tools for constructing or deconstructing 'desired' collective memory.

As I suggested above, the way individuals and societies remember is closely related to the present context. Similarly, a documentary filmmaker makes a film 'within the historical present, even as it evokes the historical past.[37] As well as educating, documentaries are set against the policy of forgetting. They often fix transient people and happenings in time before these are gone and for future reference, lest we forget.

Nowadays interviews, especially video interviews, which fall into the realm of oral history, are perceived as giving extra credence to documentaries. I hold that oral history, which has at its core a dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee, reconstructs the context, fitting the historic events into a 'living history' canvass. Perhaps surprisingly, well into the late nineteenth century oral sources were consulted as well as written ones. However, the German school of scientific history discredited oral sources as less 'objective' not considering that whatever became 'reliable' written history, once had been written by a 'subjective' mind who might have recorded the information narrated by yet another not so obviously objective mind.[38]

[36] Jarmo Valkola, *Thoughts on Images. A Philosophical Evaluation* (Bucharest: Zeta Books, 2012), p. 28.
[37] Rabinowitz, 'Wreckage upon Wreckage', p. 119.
[38] Ritchie, *Doing oral history*, p. 20.

It was not until the mid-twentieth century that history became reconciled with oral history and the latter embraced interviewing. Much media and public attention, and, indeed, controversy about the topic was centred on Joseph Gould, a bohemian eccentric interested in ordinary people's lives who falsely claimed to have written the longest oral history book ever. Significant shift to further embrace oral testimonials as valid historical sources spawned after the publication of Joseph Mitchell's 1942 profile in *The New Yorker*, which proclaimed, 'What people say is history … What we used to think was history – kings and queens, treaties, inventions, big battles, beheadings, Caesar, Napoleon, Pontius Pilate, Columbus … is only formal history and largely false. I'll put down the informal history of the shirt-sleeved multitude – what they had to say about their jobs … and sorrows – or I'll perish in the attempt'.[39]

Dean Albertson, a propagator of oral history, made an appreciative comment on the introduction of oral history interviews into the documentary: 'a snappy narrative against a background of contemporaneous pop music would be provided, and voila, a history film' while oral histories have made documentaries 'more intimate, more compelling and more complex'.[40] The value of interviews is that they will be available for further research even after interviewee's death.

Nevertheless, there are challenges gathering and presenting oral data. Passage of time might negatively influence the ability to retrieve past accurately. Also, recalling is subject to 'reconstructive memory' – conscious and unconscious attempts on personal interpretation of events, where each time during the process of recalling, the events are not 'retrieved' from memory, but constructed anew.[41] Another issue to be reckoned with is that people tend to say what they think is important, which might be impertinent to the topic of the interview. This makes oral historians interested not just in what people remember, but also in what they forget or are unwilling to relate. That said, while oral testimonies have their flaws and

[39] Joseph Mitchell, 'Profile: Professor Sea Gull', *The New Yorker* (December 1942) <http://archives.newyorker.com/?i=1942-12-12#folio=CV1> [Accessed: 17/01/2017].
[40] Dean Albertson, cited in Ritchie, *Doing oral history*, p. 149; Ritchie, *Doing oral history,* p. 149.
[41] Paul Gladston, 'Interviews and documentary sources in Chinese contemporary art research: Towards the critical use of polylogues', *Art Libraries Journal*, 39:2 (2014), 20–26, p. 23.

limitations, they definitely help create a larger picture when critically assessed and properly integrated into a respective historical context.[42]

Compared to the late nineteenth century when the importance of oral history became almost nullified, now certain directors have reached another extreme by minimising the role of the narrator and extending that of the interviewees on the supposition that solely those who 'were there' have full rights to speak for history.[43] Since I hold that oral history is not any more or less reliable source of information than any other one, these testimonies should be perceived as veritable as written or other sources. In terms of techniques and means used for exploring the subject, *Golden September* reminds us of a mini-lecture, with use of interviews with survivors, stock footage, re-enactment, interviews with historians, intertitles and maps.

To ensure that multiple stories and multiple voices are heard, the film crew interviewed Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish survivors, with Ukrainians the majority. These testimonials present us with in-depth accounts showing mixed views on the arrival of the Soviet Armed Forces in September 1939. Interviewed Ukrainian and Jewish men at first had high hopes concerning the new authorities: Oleksandr Hrynko recollected, 'We were congratulated on the liberation, they told us to take power in our hands...'; Boris Plowman recalled, 'They promised that there would be a paradise, happy life, and *all* believed in that...'.[44] The second quotation contains a clear overstatement as not all believed in and welcomed the new authority. However, 'we' could also imply either his family or his community, which we are left to guess. Following interviewees express concern about the Soviet Army arrival. Darius Polyuha said, 'We were anxious of their arrival… because we knew who the Bolsheviks were ... that they neither believed in God nor recognized any religion...'; and Olga Popadyn reiterated, 'We know the history, we know how they treated and murdered Ukrainians in east Ukraine, so we were expecting it all here...'.[45] Through

[42] Omer Bartov provides valuable reflections on this topic regarding his project on the history of Buczacz, see, Omer Bartov, 'From the Holocaust in Galicia to Contemporary Genocide: Common Ground–Historical Differences', Joseph and Rebecca Meyerhoff Annual Lecture, 17 Dec. 2002, United Stated Memorial Holocaust Museum, Washington.
[43] Ritchie, *Doing oral history,* p. 149.
[44] Golden September, dir. by Taras Khymych (Invert Pictures, 2010); Ibid., my emphasis.
[45] Ibid.

the above quotes it becomes clear that there was an ambivalence at the outset of the Soviet rule, which later changed into fear and desperation as illustrated later on in the film through various means including testimonials. For instance, Bohuslava Bryla recalled the following: 'The communists coined a slogan: "The coloniser is the Ukraine's fiercest enemy", and then they began to deport Polish and Ukrainian landowners and even those who moved from villages to live in hamlets'.[46]

In his quest for the truth surrounding the events, Taras Khymych, the director of the documentary, invited renowned historians to comment on the historical events that the film explores. Importantly, apart from Ukrainian historians, the events are commented by Tarik Cyril Amar, Assistant Professor of History at Columbia University, which I argue was meant to add more credibility to the documentary and to bring Ukrainian discourse to the international agenda. The documentary would however have even more balanced view if it also interviewed NKVD perpetrators.

Music and visual images are used to support the primary narrative. Lyubomyr Solomchenko, the composer, matched the propagandistic scenes of a parade and torture scenes with sinister music that evokes horror and outbursts of emotion in depictions of terror. Also, aiming to re-create the mid-twentieth-century atmosphere, period songs (in Ukrainian) performed by popular contemporary Ukrainian singers and bands were fitted into the film. The use of maps and stock footage of early war videos as well as interlines are used to give location, date and information on these distant events. The documentary also contains scripted drama – performances by professional actors. Here, 'the other', namely the imbrication of the Soviet, Russian and NKVD figures is nevertheless used to construct the notion of the other suggesting a bipolarity where Galician survivors are presented in sharp contrast to Russian perpetrators. Greta *Uehling* has noted that that essentialisation of the Other is prevalent where 'the past has never been fully mourned or put away'.[47]

[46] Ibid.
[47] Greta Uehling, 'A Hybrid Deportation: Internally Displaced from Crimea in Ukraine', in *Migration and the Ukraine Crisis. A Two-Country Perspective*, ed. by Agnieszka Pikulicka-Wilczewska and Greta Uehling (Bristol: E-International Relations Publishing, 2017), pp. 62-77 (p. 72).

A historical documentary not only informs us about the past, but prompts us to act in relation to it. Taras Khymych admitted that his shooting crew had a pre-set agenda for *Golden September*, which lay in creating an antithesis of Soviet propaganda 'Stirring ethnic-based animosity was by no means the objective of our documentary… We wanted to show the Soviet Union not as a state, but as a dictatorship regime, devoid of any particular national features … We should realise its killing nature and prevent it from happening again … the film targets the totalitarian system, not Russians. The Soviets came here not only represented by one nation, there were also Kyrgyz and Ukrainians from Eastern Ukraine'.[48]

Indeed, the film fills in a blank space on the map of contemporary readily available information on this dark period of history, leaving the audience aware about the present and better informed to act and make choices. I believe we should not simply remember and commemorate, but contextualise and situate the Soviet history in a meaningful narrative, while 'commemoration runs the risk of being self-congratulatory whereas a narrative includes historical self-understanding about the present'.[49]

If, as Halbwachs suggested, '[the] mind reconstructs its memories under the pressure of society', then creating collective narratives, including documentaries, could also shape individual narrative.[50] I contend that this documentary is a self-conscious attempt to provide a counterweight to the more commonplace Jewish and Polish perspectives and is a counter-narrative to the myth of 'Fascist-Banderite' threat continuously projected upon western Ukraine and show this area and Ukrainians as victims of Soviet atrocities.[51] Indeed, it is possible to say that Polish

[48] *Pikkardiyska Tertsiya ozvuchyla film Zolotyi Veresen* [Pikkardiyska Tertsiya signs for the premiere of Golden September] (ZiK,1 July 2010) <http://zik.ua/news/2010/07/01/pikardiyska_tertsiya_ozvuchyla_film_zolotyy_veresen_ta_yogo_premieru_235251> [Accessed: 06/01/2017] [in Ukrainian].

[49] Zaretsky, *Collective memory and narrative*, p. 203.

[50] Halbwachs, *The reconstruction of the past,* p. 51.

[51] The common noun 'Banderivtsi' ('Banderites') emerged in the 1950s from the name of the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera to designate not only Ukrainian nationalists, but also western Ukrainians or even anyone who spoke Ukrainian. Today, the term 'Banderivtsi' is not neutral in public debate and is used either pejoratively or proudly, see: Andriy Portnov, 'Bandera mythologies and their traps for Ukraine', *Open Democracy* (June 2016) <www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/andrii-portnov/bandera-mythologies-and-their-traps-for-ukraine> [Accessed: 20/05/2017]. In the struggle for Ukrainian independence, Bandera initially allied with Germany's Third Reich to be shortly imprisoned in Sachsenhausen as an independent Ukrainian

and Jewish narratives are underrepresented in this documentary, but sometimes in order to tell one story, we have to forget about the other one.

Documentaries like this serve as a transitional step into the 'working through of loss' from 'indulgence in sweet sadness'.[52] The Revolution of Dignity in 2014-2015 has brought the solidification of Ukrainian national identity and the sense of political agency, which is the next step after mourning and victimisation.[53]

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state was not aligned with the Nazi agenda, yet this led to the labelling of Bandera, his followers and even Ukrainians and 'fascists', see, Anthony Faiola, 'Nazi collaborator or Ukrainian hero, a historical figure emerges as icon of crisis', *Washington Post* <www.washingtonpost.com/world/a-ghost-of-world-war-ii-history-haunts-ukraines-standoff-with-russia/2014/03/25/18d4b1e0-a503-4f73-aaa7-5dd5d6a1c665_story.html?utm_term=.920689e898ca> [Accessed: 07/05/2017]; Marco Siddi, 'The Ukraine crisis and European memory politics of the Second World War', *European Politics and Society* (2016) <www.researchgate.net/publication/310795272_The_Ukraine_crisis_and_European_memory_politics_of_the_Second_World_War> [Accessed 05/02/2017]; Alexandr Osipian, 'Historical Myths, Enemy Images, and Regional Identity in the Donbas Insurgency (2014)', *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society*, 1:1 (2015), 109-140.

[52] Maier, 'Heißes und kaltes Gedächtnis'.

[53] The civil revolution in Ukraine, also known as the Euromaidan Revolution, for more details see Yuriy Shveda and Park Ho Joung, 'Ukraine's Revolution of Dignity: The Dynamics of Euromaidan', *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 7:1 (2016), 85–91.

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Collaboration and Resistance at the Paris Opéra: Nationalism and resistance in the first Occupation ballet premiere, 2 July 1941

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The Occupation of France during the Second World War is a complicated and controversial period of history. While many suffered the hardship of life under Nazi rule, one area flourished: the Occupation is one of the most productive periods in Paris' artistic history. Existing literature examines cultural life during the Occupation but there is little that looks at the Paris Opéra and the new ballets created by the company, despite their success during the period. In fact, the Paris Opéra is mostly defined by the claims made by its artistic director, Serge Lifar, a Russian choreographer who spent the war socialising with the German forces (and claimed to have met Hitler). His fabrications, combined with the lack of scholarship, make it difficult to separate myth from reality. The Occupation was a fortuitous time for the Paris Opéra, but this success came at a cost, as members of the company were later tried for collaboration. This paper uses primary source material including personal and bureaucratic correspondence, musical scores and performance programmes to understand the ballet company's first ballet premiere during the Occupation from a musicological, historical, political and cultural perspective. Examination of repertoire performed by the ballet company and case studies of two Occupation ballets, La Princesse au jardin *(Grovlez) and* Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle *(Gaubert), both 1941, demonstrates that the company accommodated the Nazis whilst simultaneously asserting French nationalism and interacting with the Resistance, offsetting Goebbels' cultural propaganda. Through the discussion of these long-forgotten but culturally and politically significant ballets, this paper contributes to scholarship concerning cultural life during the Occupation, and offers another way of understanding the reality of this period.*

Introduction

On 14 June 1940 the German Wehrmacht marched into Paris unchallenged and within weeks more than half the country was under Nazi Occupation. The French composer Francis Poulenc, who had been called up by the French Army, was demobilised in the south of France where he began sketching his new ballet based on the fables of La Fontaine. *Les Animaux modèles,* which contains a musical quotation from an anti-German resistance song, was performed for the first time at the Palais Garnier, home of the Paris Opéra Ballet, on 8 August 1942 to an audience of German Wehrmacht officers and Parisian socialites. 'Each time the trumpet hammered out the theme,' said Poulenc ten years later, 'I could not stop myself smiling.'[1] His message, which was understood by members of the orchestra and the French audience—but not by the Germans—was one of defiance; an unwillingness to be defeated. 'You could Germanize our land,' proclaims the song, 'but you will never have our hearts.'[2] This article demonstrates the ways in which French nationalism was promoted at the Paris Opéra in music and ballet a year before Poulenc's public act of cultural resistance. Two little-known Occupation ballets which were premiered at the Palais Garnier on 2 July 1941, *La Princesse au jardin* and *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, will be discussed. These ballets were used as vehicles for political meaning early in the Occupation before larger, more violent displays of resistance in wider society, demonstrating the Paris Opéra's commitment to the promotion of French culture.

The arrival of the German army caused thousands of people to flee the city, amongst them many of the world's leading artists and intellectuals, thus symbolising the end of Paris' reign as the cultural capital of the world.[3] The arrival of the Wehrmacht, which was often described as a feeling of having been raped—*un sentiment de viol*—put an end to the creative freedom that had defined Paris for one hundred years. Theatres, museums, schools, offices and factories closed as four fifths of the capital's population temporarily fled south to the unoccupied zone. And yet, though the Nazis had taken the land, they had not conquered the creative and

[1] Francis Poulenc, *Entretiens avec Claude Rostand* (Paris: Julliard, 1954), p. 58.
[2] Nigel Simeone, 'Making Music in Occupied Paris', *The Musical Times*, 147 (2006), 25-30. See also Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (USA: University of California Press, 2013), p. 1-4.
[3] See Patrice Higonnet, *Paris, Capitale du Monde: Des Lumières au Surréalisme* (Paris: Tallandier, 2005).

intellectual minds that continued to work and produce during four years of Occupation.

The Paris Opéra remained open for most of this period, entertaining both the Germans and the French with its resident opera and ballet companies. At times draped in Nazi flags with Wehrmacht officers occupying the best seats, the Palais Garnier housed a network of machinists and engineers active in the Resistance whilst the artistic director and choreographer, Serge Lifar, attended parties at the German Institute and visited Hitler in Berlin (activities which would later lead to accusations of collaboration). This complex situation in many ways embodies the contradictions in French society during the Occupation, with difficult choices being made in everyday life, occupier and occupied, collaborator and resister living alongside one another. Acts of resistance were subtle, and *résistants* tried to appeal to their French counterparts whilst going undetected by the Germans. Cultural association was one way of striking this balance, hence Poulenc's inclusion of a resistance song in his ballet.

Much of the information about the Paris Opéra Ballet during the Occupation comes from Serge Lifar's own writing, which is problematic as he is a renowned embellisher and self-aggrandiser.[4] The myths surrounding this period play down Lifar's fraternisation with the Germans, though we know he went above and beyond what was necessary in his accommodation of the Occupiers.[5]

Whilst Poulenc's *Les Animaux modèles* is the most well-known work to have been premiered at the Paris Opéra during the Occupation, it was not the only ballet to be created during this time nor was it the only ballet to convey a subtle political message. Nevertheless, it is the only work that has been discussed at length in academic scholarship, as Poulenc is the best-known of the Occupation ballet composers. In fact, four further ballets were created and performed by the Paris Opéra ballet company during the Occupation—all danced to music by French composers. *Joan de Zarissa*, by the German composer Werner Egk, was re-

[4] See Serge Lifar, *Ma Vie: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1970); Serge Lifar, *Les Mémoires d'Icare* (Paris: Éditions Sauret, 1993).

[5] For a discussion of Lifar's activities during the Occupation, see Mark Franko, 'Serge Lifar et la question de la collaboration avec les autorités allemandes sous l'Occupation (1940–1949)', *Vingtième Siècle: Revue d'histoire*, 132 (Oct.– Dec. 2016), 27-41.

choreographed by Lifar and presented in 1942 as a symbol of French and German co-operation. The musical, historical and political significance of these works has yet to be explored, though the ballets themselves—and their reception in Occupied Paris—tell us important information about cultural life in Occupied Paris.

Ballet repertoire at the Paris Opéra, 1937-1947

Following the implementation of Nazi censorship laws in the Occupied zone, theatres were required to submit their proposed repertoire to the Propaganda-Abteilung for approval. There were restrictions on the performance of music by German composers (non-German companies were not allowed to perform Wagner, for example), and the performance of works by Jewish composers was strictly forbidden, though there are frequent contradictions and exceptions to these rules.[6] Analysis of programmes from the Palais Garnier reveals that ballet was performed more frequently during the Occupation than ever before.[7] Productions of new ballets also flourished during the Occupation with ballets produced each year both to original music and to existing compositions.

The number of overall performance evenings at the Palais Garnier increased steadily from 1937 to 1947, from 206 evenings in 1937 to 244 evenings in 1947, though there was significant irregularity in the number of performances during this time: a direct result of the practicalities of war and Occupation. The Palais Garnier briefly closed after the outbreak of war and again after the Armistice in June 1940, but by the end of the year normal performance programmes had resumed—though with a much higher percentage of all-ballet evenings in the last four months of 1940 than before the war. The number of opera performances declined from 61% of performance evenings before the Occupation to 51% at the end of 1940, while all-ballet performances rose from 12% to 30% during the same time. Mixed programmes (where a short ballet provided a *divertissement* to a longer opera) declined from 28% before the Occupation to 19% of performances at the end of the

[6] Sprout, *Musical Legacy of Wartime France*, p. 16.

[7] Analysis was carried out through a database of performances at the Paris Opéra created by the author using programmes from the Bibliothèque Musée de l'Opéra at the BnF, France; the Archives de la Ville de Lausanne (Fonds Lifar), Switzerland; and the website *Chronopéra*, (2009) <www.chronopera.free.fr> (May-September 2016).

1940. The higher percentage of ballet programming continued throughout the Occupation: from 1940-1944 ballet programmes account for nearly a third of performances (29%), while the number of operas declined from 61% to 54%, and mixed programmes decline from 28% to 13%. The most influential factor in this is likely that the German censorship laws forbade performances of certain repertoire, which had a greater effect on opera than it did ballet, as many operas in the company's repertoire were written by German composers. The cheaper cost of staging ballet, and Serge Lifar's increase in celebrity during the Occupation may also have contributed to the decision to stage more ballet. These factors encouraged ballet's prominence during the Occupation, increasing its impact and influence on cultural life.

During the Occupation thirteen new ballets by the Paris Opéra Ballet premiered—all but one choreographed by Lifar. Five of these were created to original music: the aforementioned *La Princesse au jardin*, *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle* and *Les Animaux modèles*; as well as *Guignol et Pandore* (1943) and *Les Mirages* (1944). Many classical ballets remained in the repertoire and acts from nineteenth-century ballets *Coppélia* and *Giselle* were among the most regularly performed, along with Ballets Russes spectacles such as *Le Spectre de la rose* and *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune.* In contrast, much of the opera repertoire during the same period consisted of nineteenth-century favourites such as *Faust*, *Rigoletto* and *Fidelio.* There were no new operas during the Occupation, though there were five newly-staged productions of older works.

Aside from the frequency of performance, the ballet programmes from the Palais Garnier during the Occupation demonstrate important links between Lifar, the Opéra ballet and the German Embassy and Institute. There are two programmes for performances that took place at the German Embassy in Paris, one of which was on 4 September 1940, only weeks after the Fall of France. Lifar and the *corps de ballet* also appeared in an evening of music and ballet at the German Embassy on 20 March 1941 with popular singer Charles Trenet (who would later be tried for collaboration).[8] Yet, as the musical quote from Poulenc's *Les Animaux modèles*

[8] 'Deutsche Botschaft Paris, 20. März 1941', Fonds Lifar, Archives de la Ville de Lausanne (AVL).

demonstrates, the Paris Opéra was also interacting with the Resistance (of which Poulenc was a member, along with conductor Roger Désormière and other Paris Opéra staff members), appealing to a different side of French society.[9] At a time when performance repertoire was restricted by the German authorities, and Goebbels' cultural propaganda strove to enforce German culture on the Occupied territories, the repertoire choices at the Paris Opéra allowed for a small French triumph: French music could be celebrated and enjoyed.

First Occupation ballet premiere, 1941: *La Princesse au jardin* and *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*

The Occupation precipitated the production of two new ballets, *La Princesse au jardin* and *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, both premiered in a Gala evening at the Paris Opéra on 2 July 1941.[10] This was the first performance of new works there since the Fall of France, and the choice of music demonstrated the Opéra's commitment to French music and culture. The evening was described in a review by Arthur Honegger as 'one of the most striking' evenings that had taken place at the Paris Opéra, though *Le Chevalier* was the outstanding success.[11] The libretti (story) of both ballets can be read as political allegories, and the ballets' settings and music were a deliberate assertion of French nationalism created in response to the Fall of France and the Occupation.

La Princesse au jardin is a one-act ballet by the composer Gabriel Grovlez with choreography by Serge Lifar and sets and costumes by Paul Bony. The choreography has not survived, the score has never been recorded and the ballet has not received any scholarly attention despite its significance as the first Occupation ballet premiere and its politically evocative scenario. It had originally been conceived as a ballet in 1914, but was not performed until its premiere in 1941, when it was chosen by Opéra and Opéra-Comique manager, Jacques Rouché, as the first Occupation ballet premiere. *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, Philippe Gaubert's final and most successful composition, premiered on the same evening. As the

[9] See Hervy, G. and others, *Quand l'Opéra entre en Résistance: les personnels de la Réunion des Théâtres Lyriques Nationaux sous Vichy et l'Occupation* (Paris: L'Œil d'Or, 2007).
[10] Programme, 2/7/1941. Carton 2238, BnF Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra (BMO).
[11] Arthur Honegger, 'Grande Première à l'Opéra' *Comœdia* 5/7/1941. BnF.

Germans had approached Paris in the summer of 1940 Gaubert, who was conductor and musical director at the Paris Opéra, had fled to Cahors and began to work on his new ballet. The choreography was by Lifar, and artist Cassandre designed the sets and costumes. Just six days after the premiere of *Le Chevalier* Gaubert died of a stroke. He was patriotic and was deeply disturbed by the German invasion of France; his family have argued that the distress of seeing his beloved Paris under Nazi Occupation both motivated the ballet's creation and eventually brought on his premature death.[12] The ballet was unanimously well-received by critics and was performed more than 40 times during the Occupation, remaining in the Opéra's repertoire until 1957.

The libretto of *La Princesse au jardin* was adapted from a poem by Ferdinand Freiligrath, a German poet and friend of Karl Marx who expressed his radical politics through his poetry. Although there are no references to the exact poem that inspired the ballet, 'Der Blumen Rache' (The Flowers' Revenge), closely matches the libretto of *La Princesse au jardin*. Though the use of a German poem could have been viewed as demonstrative of collaboration between French and German culture, in his lifetime Freiligrath had fled Germany for England to avoid persecution for his liberal politics, returning to Germany after the German Revolution in 1848.

In both 'Der Blumen Rache' and *La Princesse au jardin*, a bunch of flowers come to life. Their leader, the Iris, guides them into battle, taking revenge against a beautiful princess as punishment for picking them from the garden. The libretto can be read as an allegory for the Occupation of France: the flowers rise against the princess, fooling her with their beauty and their dancing before joining together and defeating her. This interpretation is hinted at in the scenario printed in the ballet score: the flowers are described as 'résistantes,' the word choice deliberately allying the flowers as resisters against the princess who invades and occupies the garden, helping herself to its most valuable produce.[13] At the end of the ballet the princess' corpse remains onstage, showing that the enemy has been avenged.

The political allegory is further supported by the symbolic use of the Iris, who is portrayed as a knight, gathering the flowers and organising their attack. The Iris

[12] Yvette Poiré-Gaubert, *Philippe Gaubert* (France: S.I, 2001), p. 98.
[13] Émile Vuillermoz, scenario for *La Princesse au jardin* (Paris: Éditions Max Eschig, 1942) BnF BMO.

has been associated with France since the twelfth century when it was adopted by King Louis VII. The knight as an Iris—the symbol of France—uniting the flowers and resisting the princess' occupation and destruction of the garden, could have been observed by members of the audience as a political message, and may explain why it was chosen as the first Occupation ballet premiere.

Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle similarly communicates French nationalism through its setting. Set in the Middle Ages in French Burgundy, the libretto is based on a twelfth-century lai (Medieval lyric poem) by Marie de France. It is a classic courtly love story involving princesses, knights and jousting tournaments. The setting is reflected in the score. It is generally Late Romantic in style but frequently nods to perceived 'Medieval' style music through polyphony, modal writing and Renaissance harmony such as parallel fifths (though a modern audience would recognise these techniques to be Renaissance rather than Medieval). Though the score does not go so far as to employ period instruments, Gaubert makes use of the oboe, flute and trumpet to evoke the Middle Ages. At other points the music is Romantic in style with long, lyrical melodies; changing time signatures and tempos; and rich, colourful orchestration.

The use of Medieval and Renaissance musical techniques asserts French nationalism in the same way as the setting of the ballet in French Burgundy. Burgundy was the musical centre of Europe during the early Renaissance and it was the Burgundian composers who developed many characteristic styles of music of this era such as the use of polyphony and the invention of the *chanson*. Gaubert's music for the ballet references a time when France was the centre of culture and celebrates the eminence of French music during that time.

Though the musical score of *La Princesse au jardin* similarly exemplifies French music, Grovlez's Impressionist ballet contrasts with Gaubert's Romanticism. Much of the ballet is told by the dancers through mime, and though the ballet has distinct sections it is written as one continuous piece of music. The princess is represented harmonically by clashing seconds, ninths and elevenths, and melodically by long, soloistic chromatic lines, and dotted or complex rhythms (e.g. quintuplets and sextuplets). In contrast, the flowers' melodies are stricter, employing regular

rhythmic patterns and simpler harmony. The descending perfect fourth and tritone is an ominous motif throughout the ballet, signifying the wrath of the princess.

Grovlez also uses harmonic techniques and clashing chords to reflect the characters onstage: the princess' speech mimicry is harmonised in seconds, while the flowers' dances are harmonised more consonantly. In ballet it is unusual to have a princess as an antagonist but Grovlez's dissonant harmonisation of the princess' themes help the audience to see her as a villain: by representing the princess through harmony rather than melody, Grovlez is not aligning her with more popular ballet heroines such as Giselle, Coppélia, Aurora or Odette. Similarly, the Iris's dance is not at all romantic in style. This music reassures the audience that the Iris is trying to seduce the princess under false pretences, not through real love. The princess does not turn into a flower at the end of the ballet as she does in Freiligrath's poem, which is significant for the ballet's allegorical resistance subtext. The princess is avenged and there is victory for the Iris (the national symbol of France); there is no compromise.

Conclusion

In presenting the premieres of *La Princesse au jardin* and *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle* on the same evening in a special programme, the Opéra received much press attention. Unfortunately, it did bring about inevitable comparison between the two ballets which resulted in *La Princesse* being somewhat forgotten about, disappearing from the repertoire after July 1943. The press coverage demonstrates that the premiere evening of these ballets was an important event in Parisian cultural life, and the appearance of these particular ballets in the first year of the Occupation was no coincidence. Rouché selected *La Princesse au jardin* in October 1941, having never previously been performed. Grovlez's French Impressionist music, as well as the themes contained in the ballet's libretto and the symbolism of the Iris, could be interpreted by audience members as a symbol for French independence. On the other hand, the setting of Freiligrath's poem, 'The Flowers' Revenge,' was emblematic of political liberalism, and the promotion of a poet who defied the German government. In contrast, Gaubert's music for *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, composed after he fled Paris following the German invasion, uses

Medieval and Renaissance musical techniques to evoke pastoral Medieval French Burgundy. His use of French courtly dances in his setting of a text by Marie de France subtly asserts French nationalism. These ballets demonstrated French culture to the Germans, and enabled French audiences to celebrate their culture despite the restrictions placed by the Nazis on cultural life.

After the war, Jean Cocteau wrote that France had the 'duty […] to defy the oppressor, and to say, "You are taking everything away, but I still have it all."'[14] The restrictions placed on music and performance in Occupied Paris increased the performance of ballet productions at the Paris Opéra, and new ballets were more successful than new operas. The case studies of the first Occupation premiere evening at the Paris Opéra show the ways in which new ballets demonstrated subtle acts of Resistance through music and setting, and were used as vehicles for political meaning. During the Occupation, individuals negotiated a highly-charged political environment and art and culture was a part of this; a method of subtly demonstrating what would otherwise have been censored. Three further ballet premieres at the Paris Opéra similarly used French music to promote French culture, and the discussion and analysis of the Occupation ballets allows us to draw wider conclusions about the function of ballet and music during the Occupation and, by extension, the purpose and importance of cultural activity during wartime.

[14] Jean Cocteau, *Journal, 1942-1945* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), p. 557.

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