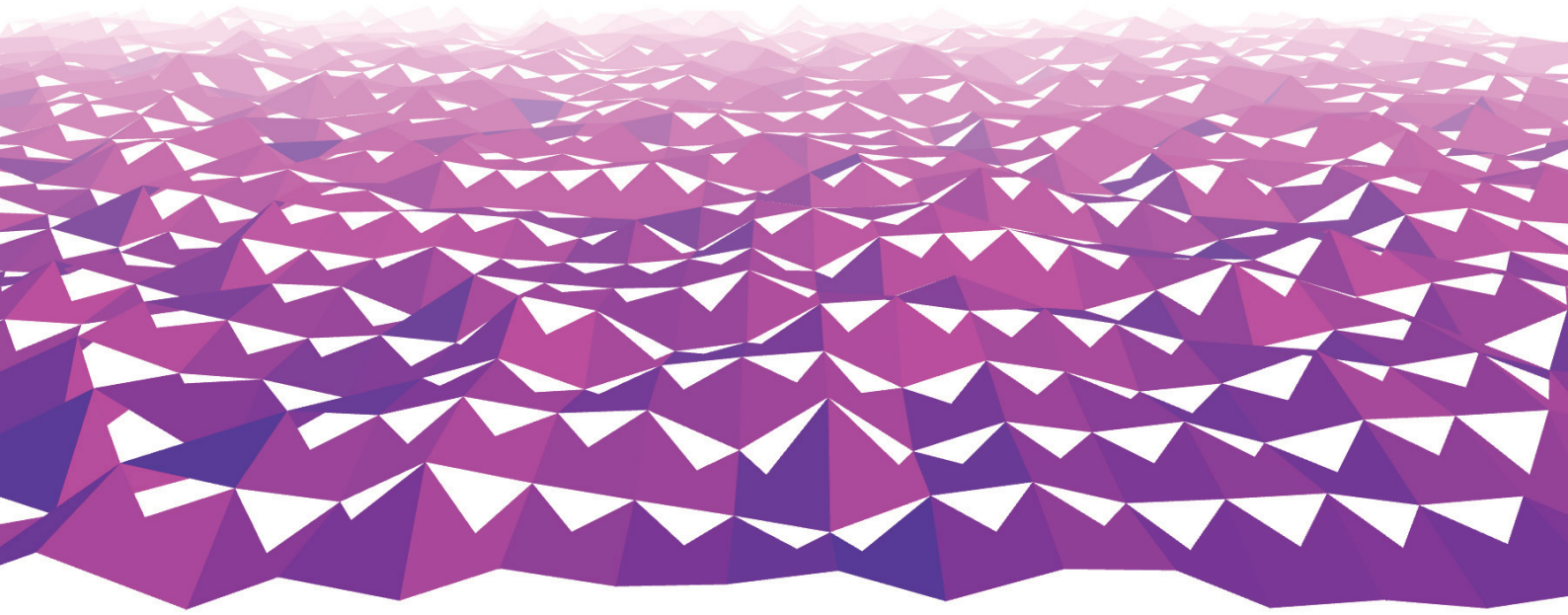
OPEN ACCESS

colloquium: new philologies



ALPEN-ADRIA UNIVERSITÄT
KLAGENFURT | WIEN | GRAZ

Volume 2 Issue 1
June 2017

Colloquium: New Philologies is edited by the Alpen-Adria-Universiät Klagenfurt.

World Wide Web
Visit Colloquium online at http://colloquium.aau.at

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.23963/cnp.2017.2.1
ISSN 2520-3355

Table of Contents

Colloquium: New Philologies · Vol 2, No 1 (2017)

Literature and Culture: Results

Didactics and Methodology: Results

Discourses

colloquium: new philologies

doi:10.23963/cnp.2017.2.1.1

Engel des Vergessens – Regionalität und Universalität der kärntnerslowenischen Lebenserfahrung

Nina Kompein*

Abstract

Durch den Vergleich des Romans *Engel des Vergessens* (2011) der Kärntner Slowenin Maja Haderlap mit anderen Werken der slowenischen und nichtslowenischen Literatur, die sich mit der Lebenserfahrung im Kontext einer Minderheit beschäftigen, werden Unterschiede, vor allem aber Ähnlichkeiten sichtbar. Das offenbart sich bezüglich der wichtigsten sinnhaft vergleichbaren Elemente, mit denen sich Haderlap und die anderen Autoren auseinandersetzen. In ihren Romanen beschäftigen sie sich mit der jeweiligen Minderheit, der sie angehören, mit der persönlichen und kollektiven Identität der Hauptpersonen und mit den Traumata und deren Folgen, denen die Heldin und die Helden gegenübertreten. Insbesondere in Bezug auf die Komponente der Identität finden sich Parallelen, ist doch für alle Protagonisten das Schaffen wichtig. Mit Ausnahme eines Charakters befassen sich alle mit dem politischen Aspekt ihres Lebens und hinsichtlich der Lagererfahrung erkunden alle (in)direkt auch die Anonymisierung der persönlichen Identität.

Key words: Maja Haderlap, Engel des Vergessens, nationale Minderheit, Identität, Trauma, Schaffen, politischer Aspekt, Anonymisierung, Vergessen

* nina.kompein@gmx.net

Für einen Auszug aus ihrem autobiographischen Roman *Engel des Vergessens* (2011) erhielt Maja Haderlap im Jahr 2011 den Ingeborg-Bachmann-Preis und zog somit Aufmerksamkeit nicht nur auf ihren Text, sondern auch auf die Thematik der Kärntner Slowenen und Sloweninnen in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus und den darauffolgenden Jahren bis hin zur Gegenwart. Anhand der Lebensgeschichte der Ich-Erzählerin und den Darlegungen ihrer Großmutter sowie ihres Vaters werden das Verhältnis zwischen einer bestimmten Umgebung und einer Einzelperson, die Verwobenheit von Vergangenem und Gegenwärtigem in Bezug auf die Persönlichkeitsbildung und die Auswirkungen von Geschichten und Erfahrungen auf ein Individuum geschildert. Da dies gemeinhin auch auf die literarischen Werke *Atemschaukel* (2009) von Herta Müller, *Villa am See* (1955) von Boris Pahor und *Stichwort: Liebe* (1986) von David Grossman zutrifft, werden diese Texte im Folgenden mit dem Roman *Engel des Vergessens* verglichen. Wie die Kärntner Slowenin Haderlap entstammen die übrigen Autoren ebenso einer Minderheit oder ehemaligen Minderheit: Herta Müller ist der deutschen Volksgruppe in Rumänien zugehörig, Boris Pahor ist Angehöriger der slowenischen Volksgruppe in Italien und der israelische Autor David Grossman ist jüdischer Abstammung. Dies kommt in den angeführten Publikationen auch zum Ausdruck. Mittels eines Vergleichs der vier Romane kommen Unterschiede zum Vorschein, vor allem aber Ähnlichkeiten hinsichtlich der Auseinandersetzung mit der jeweiligen Minderheit, der die Autoren und Autorinnen angehören, mit der persönlichen und kollektiven Identität der Hauptpersonen und mit den Traumata und deren Folgen, denen die Heldin und die Helden gegenübertreten.

1 Minderheit

Bezüglich der Darstellung des Heranwachsens beziehungsweise Lebens im Rahmen einer nationalen Minderheit oder Volksgruppe im *Engel des Vergessens* und den Romanen *Atemschaukel*, *Villa am See* und *Stichwort: Liebe* scheinen drei Faktoren eine wesentliche Rolle zu spielen. Eine offensichtliche Besonderheit solch eines Daseins ist das Anderssein, welches sich in diesem Zusammenhang in zweierlei Hinsicht manifestiert. Die Minderheit unterscheidet sich von der Mehrheit und zusätzlich dazu ist jedes individuelle Mitglied einer Minderheit aufgrund eines Merkmals wie etwa der Sprache oder des jeweils einzigartigen kollektiven Gedächtnisses der Volksgruppe zugehörig und somit divergent zu Angehörigen der Mehrheit. Diese Divergenz wird aber oft nicht als bloße faktische Unterschiedlichkeit wahrgenommen, sondern fungiert als der Ausgangspunkt eines Stigmas in negativem Sinne. Daher hat es zusätzlich zur Gegebenheit des Andersseins den Anschein, als ob das Leben innerhalb einer Volksgruppe intrinsisch und untrennbar mit dem Umstand der Diskriminierung verbunden ist. Das Ähnliche oder Gleiche gibt Sicherheit, Zugehörigkeit zu einem Personenkreis, vor allem zu einer zahlenmäßig überlegenen Gruppe, wirkt beruhigend (Ottomeyer 1984, 19; Praprotnik 1999, 61). Da das Andersartige, Andere, Fremde, Heterogene bedrohlich anmutet,

nicht verstanden wird und innerhalb eines ethnozentrisch-nationalistischen Weltbildes die Harmonie der Gesellschaft stört, tritt man ihm mit oft auf Vorurteilen basierender, irrationaler Angst entgegen (Ottomeyer 1984, 19; Zavratnik Zimic 1998, 19–20). Stigmatisierung und Diskriminierung sind die Folge.[1] Derartige Zurückweisung ist für Angehörige einer Minderheit, also die vermeintlich Anderen und Schwächeren, oft Teil ihrer Lebenserfahrung und reicht von verbaler Anpöbelung bis hin zur Internierung in Konzentrationslager. Ein dritter Aspekt, der sich in Bezug auf Volksgruppen bewahrheitet, ist die Tatsache, dass eine nationale Minderheit ein sich wandelndes Gebilde ist, das aber dennoch (wie jede andere Gemeinschaft dieser Art) stark auf die mutmaßliche Kontinuität und vermeintlich lange und gewisse Historie des eigenen Bestehens angewiesen ist (Južnič in Zavratnik Zimic 1998, 20). Hierbei spielt das kollektive Gedächtnis, das mithilfe mündlicher Geschichte und dem gesamten Komplex der für die jeweilige Gemeinschaft konstitutiven Mythen, Erfahrungen und Werte aufrechterhalten wird, eine wichtige Rolle (Wodak et al. 1998, 34–37). Als dynamische Einheiten (Zavratnik Zimic 1998, 24), die unter dem Einfluss der geschichtlichen Ereignisse und der Handlungen und Reaktionen der eigenen Angehörigen stehen, können Minderheiten sich in verschiedene Richtungen, also regressiv oder progressiv, entwickeln und bieten den Volksgruppenangehörigen dadurch verschiedene Realitäten in denen es für jeden Einzelnen und jede Einzelne gilt zu bestehen.

Die Ich-Erzählerin im Engel des Vergessens, die ihr Vater manchmal Mic nennt, wächst in einem aus ihrer kleinkindlichen Perspektive zunächst behüteten Umfeld in Lepena/Leppen nahe der slowenischen Grenze auf, das von ihrer Mutter, ihrem Vater, vor allem aber von ihrer Großmutter geprägt ist, und ahnt noch nichts vom prätentiösen Unterschied zwischen Leuten, die der deutschsprachigen Mehrheit der Bevölkerung im Lande angehören, und denjenigen, die Teil der slowenischen Volksgruppe sind. Die Lagererfahrungen der Großmutter, die als politische Gefangene in Ravensbrück interniert war, saugt sie in der von ihr regierten Küche praktisch mit der Flasche auf, erklärt sich diese aber mithilfe ihrer kindlichen Wahrnehmungskraft auf eigene Weise. Auch aus den Gesprächen zwischen Großmutter und Vater und während der Besuche von Bekannten erfährt sie schon als Kind vieles über die ‚eigenen' Leute und deren Schwierigkeiten. Auf Ausflügen ins nahegelegene Eisenkappel merkt sie, dass man als Kärntner Slowenin oder Kärntner Slowene nicht überall willkommen und auch der slowenische Sprachgebrauch nicht allerseits erwünscht ist (Haderlap 2012, 38–39). In Zeiten der Minderheitenfeststellung entscheidet sie sich als Gymnasiastin für das Slowenische, das Verpönte, „das öffentlich Geringgeschätzte, weil es in meinen Augen und in den Augen der Menschen, mit denen ich lebe, eine Bedeutung hat und weil ich das erste Mal begreife, was mit dem Wort Zugehörigkeit gemeint sein könnte" (143). Auch wird ihr da erstmals be-

[1] Derartige Weltanschauungen können in beiden Fraktionen auftreten, d.h. unter Mitgliedern der Mehrheit, aber auch innerhalb der Minderheit. Verstärkt werden solche Positionen, wie es scheint, in politisch prekären und finanziell schwierigen Situationen eingenommen.

wusst, dass sie eben wegen ihrer Zugehörigkeit zur Minderheit ‚anders' und deshalb unerwünscht ist. Derartige Unerwünschtheit und die daraus folgende Diskriminierung widerfährt auch Mirko in Pahors *Villa am See* und Leo in Müllers Atemschaukel, die man, anders als Mic im *Engel des Vergessens* und Momik in Grossmans Roman, nicht als Kinder, sondern als Erwachsene kennenlernt. Angesichts der veränderten Situation, in der sein Volk sich nach der Gründung Israels im Jahr 1948 befindet, ist Momik der einzige Charakter, der sich infolge seiner Zugehörigkeit zu einer vormals geachteten Gemeinschaft nicht als ‚anders' wahrnimmt beziehungsweise wahrzunehmen gezwungen ist. Während Mic und er aber mit den Traumata der eigenen Minderheit indirekt über verbale beziehungsweise materielle Indizien oder Erzählungen von Erwachsenen bekannt werden, erleben Mirko und Leo die Lagerrealität und den daraus hervorgehenden Überlebenskampf aufgrund ihres Andersseins, ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu einer Minderheit, an eigener Haut.

Infolge ihrer Nonkonformität im Sinne einer Divergenz zur Norm der Mehrheit erleiden demnach nahezu alle Romanfiguren Diskriminierung unterschiedlicher Art. Die Großmutter von Mic ist wegen ihrer Volksgruppenzugehörigkeit ins KZ gekommen und nimmt die deutsche Sprache seither hauptsächlich als Lagersprache wahr (Haderlap 2012, 42), ihr Vater war bei den Partisanen und wird als solcher noch Jahre nach Ende des Nationalsozialismus geringgeschätzt und teilweise von seinen Mitmenschen verachtet (170). Zu den Ereignissen, die Mic' Leben mitbestimmen, gehört unter anderem der deutschnationale Ortstafelsturm in den siebziger Jahren. So wie Großmutter haben auch einige von Momiks Verwandten und Vorfahren in *Stichwort: Liebe* das Lager überlebt, versuchen jedoch das Erlebte zu vergessen und erschweren Momik somit die im Zuge des Holocaust erfahrenen Verbrechen und Grausamkeiten zu begreifen. Somit fehlen ihm Informationen zu seiner Abstammung, was ihn dazu zwingt, die Vergangenheit auf detektivische Art zu rekonstruieren. Dabei entwickelt er oft falsche Annahmen, die zum Teil humorvolle Leichtigkeit in die Erzählung bringen. Mirko in Pahors *Villa am See* leidet ebenfalls an seinem in der Vergangenheit liegenden Dasein als Gefangener im Konzentrationslager und kämpft auch nach dem Krieg noch mit vor allem von den Faschisten verbreiteten Vorurteilen gegenüber seiner Volksgruppe. So verärgert ihn zum Beispiel die Annahme seiner italienischen Landsleute, die slowenische Minderheit sei ein barbarisches Volk (Pahor 1993, 29). Leo in Müllers *Atemschaukel* wird am Anfang des Romans als einzige hier ergründete Figur erst gegen Ende des zweiten Weltkriegs deportiert. Als Angehöriger der deutschen Minderheit in Rumänien, die allgemein als Hitlerdeutschland zugeneigt galt, wird er in ein sowjetisches Lager gebracht. Zu Beginn seiner Gefangenschaft noch nicht volljährig, durchlebt er die sinnlose Internierung und findet nach seiner Rückkehr nur mehr schlecht in den Alltag zurück. In allen Fällen werden oder wurden die Romanfiguren nicht aufgrund ihrer Persönlichkeit oder gar eines Vergehens geächtet und gequält, sondern ausschließlich wegen ihrer Herkunft und Zugehörigkeit zu einer unterdrückten und bekämpften Minderheit.

Aus Haderlaps *Engel des Versessens* und Grossmans *Stichwort: Liebe* wird zudem ersichtlich, wie sehr die Geschichten, die die Erwachsenen erzählen oder andeuten, auch auf deren Kinder und Enkel Einfluss nehmen. Während Mic und Momik mit Unterstützung beziehungsweise auf sich allein gestellt die Vergangenheit ihrer Nächsten kennenlernen, lernen sie auch Teile der Geschichte ihres Volkes kennen. So wird neben dem Sammeln und Zusammensetzen von Indizien vor allem mündliche Überlieferung zur wichtigen Quelle, um die historische und jeweils aktuelle Realität der Volksgruppe und die eigene Zugehörigkeit zu dieser zu ergründen. Wann immer Großmutter Mic ihre Erfahrungen und ihr Wissen weitergibt, fließen auch Informationen zur slowenischen Volksgruppe in Kärnten in die Erzählungen mit ein. Nichtsdestotrotz schafft sie es, Mic zu vermitteln, dass im Krieg außer den Kärntner Slowenen auch Angehörige von anderen Minderheiten viel Schlimmes erlebt haben. Dabei sorgt sie, wie es scheint, intuitiv für eine möglichst gänzliche Einsicht ihrer Enkelin, indem sie sich materieller Zeugen der Vergangenheit bedient. So macht sie Mic beispielsweise auf die tätowierten Zahlen an den Unterarmen ehemaliger Internierter aufmerksam (Haderlap 2012, 36) oder führt sie an geschichtsträchtige Orte (56–59). Wo Momiks Enthüllung der verflossenen Zeit wegen des als Schutz gemeinten Schweigens seiner Familie vollkommen dekontextualisiert geschieht und kindlich phantastische Interpretationen zulässt, hat Mic die Möglichkeit, die jüngst vergangene Geschichte ihrer Großmutter, ihrer Familie und ihrer Volksgruppe allmählich wie ein Mosaik zusammenzusetzen. Sie lernt somit durch die Geschichten über ihre Familie, Nachbarn und Bekannten auch die Geschichte der Kärntner Slowenen kennen. So bekommen historisch relevante Entitäten wie der Wald, der zum einen für manche die Hölle war, zum anderen jedoch vielen als Zufluchtsort diente (75–76), symbolische Bedeutungen, die Außenstehenden unbekannt bleiben. Die Zeugnisse der Erwachsenen stellen demnach ein bedeutendes Segment im Heranwachsen der jungen Volksgruppenangehörigen dar, da sie auch zur Schaffung eines gemeinsamen, kollektiven Gedächtnisses und einer ganzheitlichen Gemeinschafts- beziehungsweise Minderheitenidentität beitragen, die nicht zuletzt für die Erhaltung und Entfaltung der Minderheit von Belang ist.

2 Identität

Die Frage nach der Identität einer Person ist heutzutage etwas Selbstverständliches, jedoch wurde sie erst durch die Destabilisierung der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung und Hierarchie in der jüngeren Neuzeit wichtig (Južnič in Praprotnik 1999, 30). In der heutigen ‚westlichen' Gesellschaft wird die Identität von Einzelpersonen keineswegs als vorgeformt und unveränderbar betrachtet, daher kann sie auch beeinflusst werden. Jeder und jede Einzelne hat mehrere Identitäten (Zavratnik Zimic 1998, 16), die sich aus der Zugehörigkeit zu und der Identifikation mit bestimmten Kollektiven, wie etwa einem Verein, einer Sportmannschaft, einer Nation oder Ähnlichem ergeben. Für die Existenz der

Identität einer Einzelperson ist daher das Gleiche beziehungsweise das Selbst, mit dem sich diese Person identifiziert, von wesentlicher Bedeutung. Für eine solche Identifizierung mit dem Gleichen ist aber auch das Andere, Andersartige notwendig, von dem man sich einerseits abgrenzen kann, das man aber durch internalisierte Werte und Vorstellungen im Zuge der Sozialisierung paradoxerweise auch verinnerlicht (Wodak 1998, 56). Daraus folgt, dass Identität etwas Dynamisches ist, das immerfort neu kontextualisiert und redefiniert werden muss, und dass man sich selbst dauernd in eine Geschichte zur ‚eigenen' Identität einordnen muss (Praprotnik 1999, 153). Der Mensch ist oder wird also erst durch die diskursive (persönliche und/oder gesellschaftliche) Konstruktion der Identität zu jemandem, was vom diskursiven Charakter der Identität zeugt. Identitäten werden zudem nicht neu erfunden, vielmehr füllt man schon bestehende Muster (66–70). Solch ein Muster ist zum Beispiel ‚Kärntner Slowene'. In dem Moment, in dem man sich als Kärntner Slowene oder Slowenin erkennt, wird man zu dem, als das man sich erkannt hat. Zeitgleich mit diesem performativen, inversen Prozess der Identifikation kommt es auch zur Distanzierung und Abgrenzung von Anderen, da erst dadurch eine Verbundenheit zur auserwählten Gemeinschaft entstehen kann (73). In Bezug auf die Romane von Haderlap, Müller, Pahor und Grossman haben in diesem Zusammenhang drei Elemente Gewicht, nämlich das (künstlerische) Schaffen, das politisierte Leben und die Entmenschlichung.

Das kreative Schaffen ist die wahrscheinlich bedeutendste Parallele zwischen Haderlaps *Engel des Vergessens* und den drei anderen Romanen. Alle vier Hauptpersonen sind genau wie die Autoren und Autorinnen dieser Werke Angehörige von Minderheiten und gleichzeitig auch Künstler beziehungsweise schöpferisch Tätige. Für alle außer für Mirko in Pahors Villa am See, der als Architekt Pläne zur Erschaffung von Lebensräumen erstellt, ist das Hauptmedium ihres Ausdrucks das Schreiben. Beide Charaktere, die den zweiten Weltkrieg nicht selbst miterlebten, davon aber durch die Schilderungen der Erwachsenen durchaus betroffen sind, wenden sich als Jugendliche beziehungsweise Erwachsener der Literatur zu. In Leos Fall dagegen scheint das stenographische Notieren von Erinnerungen eine ausschließlich therapeutische Funktion zu haben, aber auch Mirkos Zeichnungen trotzen in erster Linie dem Tod, den er während des Kriegs so intim kennenlernte, da er genau in dem Gebiet, in dem die feindlich Gesinnten seiner Volkgruppe nach dem Leben getrachtet haben, Heime für freie Menschen schaffen möchte (Pahor 1993, 23). Außerdem versteht er seine Pläne als Bestandteil des trotzigen und beharrlichen Glaubens seiner Volksgruppe an ihr Bestehen (116). Hier offenbart sich auch die wichtigste Funktion des kreativen Schaffens: durch das Schreiben beziehungsweise Zeichnen erhalten die Protagonisten ihre Identität, die Minderheit, der sie angehören, und das für sie konstitutive kollektive Gedächtnis am Leben, oder versuchen es zumindest. Eine Ausnahme stellt dabei Leo dar, der sich der deutschen Volksgruppe angesichts ihrer Zuneigung zum Nationalsozialismus und dessen Idealen nicht wirklich zugehörig fühlt (Müller 2012, 10–11). Gleichwohl leugnet er seine Herkunft nicht (44), lebt überdies, sich der Gefahr bewusst, seine zu der damaligen Zeit in Rumäni-

en kriminalisierte Homosexualität aus und bleibt sich und seiner Identität somit treu. Daher scheint es nichtsdestotrotz gerechtfertigt, alle vier Hauptpersonen im Rahmen der Minderheitenliteratur und ungeachtet möglicher Makel als wahre Romanheldin und -helden zu bezeichnen. So soll auch Mic' erster Lyrikband „das Verschwinden der slowenischen Sprache in Kärnten [verhindern oder zumindest] hinauszögern, denke ich enthusiastisch, die Illusion erwecken, dass diese Sprache noch immer eine Funktion habe" (Haderlap 2012, 186). Das *kreative* Schaffen erneuert und erhält die Identität und alles mit ihr Verbundene aber nicht nur aufrecht, sondern *kreiert* sie, gestaltet sie (auch auf Metaebene) mit. Die schreibenden Ich-Erzähler erschreiben in diesem Sinne sich selbst. Insbesondere im *Engel des Vergessens*, der unter den vier untersuchten Romanen der einzige weitgehend autobiographische ist, schafft die Autorin mit ihrem unaufhörlichen Einordnen und Positionieren ihrer selbst in die Geschichte der eigenen Identität ihr eigenes Ich.

Das ‚Minderheiten-Ich' stößt aber immerzu an Grenzen und wird dadurch zwangsläufig in ein politisches und politisiertes Leben gedrängt.

> Seit ich denken kann, bewege ich mich im Kraftfeld dieser Grenze. Die Menschen sollen die Grenze hochhalten, wenn sie sich in Sicherheit wähnen wollen, heißt es. Sie sollen nicht den alten Geschichten nachtrauern, denn diese wären imstande, den Frieden zu gefährden. Aber ist der Friede in dieser Gegend überhaupt heimisch geworden oder tragen die hier gesprochenen Sprachen immer noch Uniform? Ist der Friede sichtbar geworden? Kann ein slowenischer Ortsname neben einem deutschen Ortsnamen stehen, mehrdeutiger als eine Friedenstaube, ein Regenbogen, ein Monument?
>
> Der Grenze wegen, die in den Augen der Mehrheit in unserem Lande nur eine nationale und sprachliche Grenze sein kann, muss ich mich erklären und ausweisen. Wer ich bin, zu wem ich gehöre, warum ich Slowenisch schreibe oder Deutsch spreche? Solche Bekenntnisse haben einen Schattenhof, in dem Gespenster herumstehen mit den Namen Treue und Verrat, Besitztum und Territorium, Mein und Dein. Das Überschreiten der Grenze ist hier kein natürlicher Vorgang, es ist ein politischer Akt. (Haderlap 2012, 219–220)

Im Kontext des Lebens als Teil einer Minderheit ist also jeder Entscheidung, jeder Wahl, kurzum allem der Stempel des Politischen aufgedrückt. Solch ein a priori politisches und politisiertes Leben ist nicht zuletzt, wie aus dem Zitat ersichtlich, durch Ethnozentrismus bedingt. Ethnozentrismus und damit verbunden Xenophobie erfordern einen klaren und unmissverständlichen Ausdruck der eigenen Identität und dulden keine Zwischenpositionierung oder Heterogenität. Daher können Volksgruppenangehörige nicht frei und nach eigenem Belieben zwischen den ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden Sprachen wählen. Sogar wenn es von ihnen selbst nicht so empfunden wird, kann die Entscheidung für die eine oder andere Option sie in den Augen ihrer Mitmenschen zu Verrätern

der Minderheit oder zu Angehörigen der als minderwertig angesehenen Gemeinschaft machen. So oder so muss das Überwinden des Grabens zwischen den angebotenen Identitätsmustern von jedem und jeder Einzelnen alleine gemeistert werden. Mirkos Identität erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang schablonenhafter, nie zweifelt er an den Mechanismen, die die Dynamik zwischen der slowenischen Minderheit und der italienischen Mehrheit bestimmen. Zwar akzeptiert er seine italienische Staatsbürgerschaft, positioniert sich dank seines stark ausgeprägten slowenischen Nationalbewusstseins mit dem wiederkehrenden ‚Wir' jedoch klar gegenüber dem italienischen ‚Ihr'. So sieht er sich im Alltag gezwungen, seine Volksgruppe entgegen den Vorurteilen, mit denen er konfrontiert wird, als nicht unterentwickelte und zivilisierte Gemeinschaft darzustellen (Pahor 1993, 28–29). Leo, der seinen sächsischen Landsleuten nicht ‚nur' infolge seiner Internierung als Volksgruppenangehöriger, sondern auch aufgrund seiner Überzeugung, seiner Erfahrungen und seiner im ungeschützten Alltag nicht zu enthüllenden Homosexualität kritisch gegenübersteht, kehrt in letzter Konsequenz dem Land, das ihm wegen seiner Abstammung, also aus politischen Gründen, das Leben zerstörte, den Rücken (Müller 2012, 9–11). Das Minderheiten-Ich wird also durch politische Gegebenheiten beeinflusst, determiniert und zu ebenso als politisch wahrnehmbaren Reaktionen gezwungen.

Nebst derartigen Schwierigkeiten in Bezug auf die Konstitution einer für die Protagonisten annehmbaren Volksgruppenidentität, wird in allen vier Romanen auch die Vernichtung von Identität thematisiert. Sie alle beinhalten Schilderungen der Lagererfahrung beziehungsweise deren Folgen und rücken somit die Anonymisierung und Entmenschlichung der Gefangenen in den Fokus. Schon in ihrer frühen Kindheit wurden Mic und Momik vom Anblick und der für sie spürbar bestürzenden Bedeutung der auf Unterarme tätowierten Zahlen erschüttert. So folgert der erwachsene Momik, das Schlimmste an der Schoah sei die Auslöschung der menschlichen Individualität (Grossman 2010, 211). In Lagern wurden nicht ‚bloß' Leben vernichtet, sondern Identitäten als solche. Erst die Anonymisierung und Entmenschlichung ermöglichten das Funktionieren der Lager und der darin perfektionierten industrialisierten Massentötungen; erst dies erlaubte es den Unterstützern des Nationalsozialismus Juden und andere Opfergruppen trotz des oft bestehenden persönlichen Kontakts als Nicht-Menschen wahrzunehmen. Durch die Anonymisierung und Dämonisierung von Minderheitenangehörigen und sonstigen Verachteten konnte der Hass geschürt werden, der es zuließ, die Tötung von ‚Minderwertigen' als moralisch hochwertige Tat zu begreifen (326–327). Einer der Älteren, mit denen Momik Zeit verbringt, um mehr über den Holocaust zu erfahren, hat während seiner Gefangenschaft sein Gedächtnis verloren und erkundigt sich fortlaufend danach, wer er ist. Dieser amnesische Alte ist ein eindringliches Beispiel für das Funktionieren der Lager auch im Hinblick auf überlebende Leidtragende, da er, seiner Erinnerung und seiner Identität beraubt, zugleich körperlich lebendig und geistig tot ist. Auch Mirko ist von der Anonymisierung gezeichnet und bringt sich selbst in Situationen, in denen er diese schmerzliche Erfahrung neuerlich durchlebt. Während Mic' Großmutter ähnlich wie Mirko gelernt hat, mit ihrer Erfahrung zu leben, leidet Leo

stark unter seinem Schicksal. Seine Geschichte verdeutlicht, dass außer der Entmenschlichung durch die Auslöschung des Namens und die Vergabe von Zahlen auch das Aushungern der Gefangenen von zentraler Bedeutung war. Der ständige Hunger gleicht die Internierten einander an, beraubt sie aller körperlichen Unterscheidungsmerkmale, entsexualisiert sie (Müller 2012, 96, 159) und treibt sie dazu, animalische Verhaltensmuster anzunehmen (112) und emotional und mental völlig abzustumpfen (148–149, 249). Der Hunger diktierte auch Großmutters Phantasien im Lager und Vaters Zeit bei den Partisanen. So erklärt sein Cousin, dass sie im Krieg „die Hasen [waren] und der Hunger war unser Kommandant" (Haderlap 2012, 93). Der fortlaufende Kontakt mit Kommentaren und Darlegungen dieser Art prägt Mic und so setzt sie sich wie Momik schließlich mit ihren eigenen wie den ‚geerbten' Traumata auseinander.

3 Trauma

Ein Trauma bezeichnet eine psychische Verletzung, die aus Erlebnissen hervorgeht, die die psychische Integrität bedrohen und außerhalb der üblichen Vorstellungskraft liegen, indem sie das Sicherheitsempfinden und Urvertrauen in die Welt massiv erschüttern (Jurić Pahor 2011, 166) und es dem Individuum erschweren oder unmöglich machen mit bestimmten Situationen oder Alltäglichem zurechtzukommen. Vor allem bei Extremtraumatisierten kann die Überlebensschuld die Akzeptanz des Erlebten aber auch des gegenwärtig Positiv(er)en beeinträchtigen (Ottomeyer 1997, 50). Eine traumatische Erfahrung agiert nämlich wie ein Fremdkörper, den man nicht oder nur schwer in sein Ich aufnehmen kann (Jurić Pahor 2011, 167), weil sie „außerhalb des Rahmens menschlicher Verarbeitungsmöglichkeiten" (Amesberger 2006, 59) liegt. Da das Trauma im Bereich des Unbewussten nachwirkt, kann es bei Betroffenen zu unkontrollierbaren Ausbrüchen kommen, die das erschütternde Ereignis ungewollt nacherleben lassen. Der Umgang mit traumatischen Ereignissen ist daher mannigfaltig und reicht von völligem Verdrängen-wollen, über das Streben nach Anerkennung des Leids von außen, bis hin zum vermeintlich unzusammenhängenden, sinnlosen Redefluss (Ottomeyer 1997, 15–16, 70). Während die Thematisierung von Traumatischem eine therapeutische Funktion hat, führt auferlegtes Schweigen zur Ghettoisierung von Betroffenen und zur Bagatellisierung ihrer Erfahrungen (9–11). Gleichzeitig können Traumata, thematisiert oder verschwiegen, eine sekundäre Traumatisierung verursachen (Amesberger 2006, 64) und generationenübergreifend in den Nachkommen und Mitmenschen der Traumatisierten fortbestehen und weiterwirken (Ottomeyer 1997, 14). Im Zusammenhang mit dem Phänomen des Traumas veranschaulichen die vier Romane *Engel des Vergessens*, *Atemschaukel*, *Villa am See* und *Stichwort: Liebe* das ‚geerbte' Trauma, verschiedene Arten vom Umgang mit existentiell bedrohlichen Erfahrungen und das Gefangensein in der Erinnerung sowie die erzwungene Abschiebung ins Vergessen.

Infolge ihres geringen Alters und den dadurch begrenzten, ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden Ressourcen zur Bewältigung von erschütternden Tatsachen wachsen Mic und Momik nicht nur mit den Traumata ihrer Familienangehörigen auf, sondern erben diese sozusagen. Im Falle der Kärntner Slowenin wird darauf geachtet, ihr nichts zu verbergen, damit sie über sich, ihre Familie und ihre Volksgruppe Bescheid weiß. Momiks Verwandte hingegen legen alles daran, ihm zu verschweigen, was sie im Holocaust durchmachen mussten. Großmutters Schilderungen der Lagererfahrung und Vaters teilweise aggressive Ausbrüche, die sich auch gegen die eigene Familie richten, treffen und verletzen Mic so sehr, dass sie von einer ähnlichen Todessehnsucht heimgesucht wird wie die Großmutter selbst (Haderlap 2012, 133). In vergleichbarer Weise quälen Momik die schrecklichen Bilder und ihm unverständlichen Texte über den Holocaust zusammen mit den nicht nachvollziehbaren Angewohnheiten seiner Verwandten. So leidet er schon als Kind unter davon verursachten Alpträumen (Grossman 2010, 101). Sowohl Mic wie auch Momik tragen das Erzählte beziehungsweise Verschwiegene mit sich herum und wenden sich ihm im Erwachsenenalter in reflektierter Form wieder zu. So besucht Mic am Ende des Romans das ehemalige Konzentrationslager, das ihr aus Großmutters Erzählungen so bekannt ist und findet damit einen Weg, sich mit dem Ballast der Vergangenheit, der sie nunmehr in die Gegenwart entlässt ohne vergessen werden zu können, zu versöhnen (Haderlap 2012, 282–287).

Während die Ich-Erzählerin im *Engel des Vergessens* es fertig bringt, sich mit ihren eigenen und den geerbten Traumata auseinanderzusetzen, haben die übrigen Protagonisten der vier Romane größtenteils weniger Erfolg im Umgang mit ihren psychischen Verletzungen und bedienen sich verschiedener Schutzmechanismen, um nicht von ihren beklemmenden Gedanken erdrückt zu werden. Leo kommt mit seiner Last gar nicht zurecht. Noch Jahrzehnte nach der Zeit im Lager kämpft er gegen seine Dämonen und schafft es nicht, den animalischen Trieb seinen Hunger zu stillen abzulegen. Noch immer isst er mit Todesangst gegen das Verhungern (Müller 2012, 25). Momiks für tot gehaltener Großvater Anschel hat aufgrund der Lagererfahrung völlig den Verstand verloren und hat einen unbändigen Redefluss, der seinen Enkel sein gesamtes Leben begleiten sollte. Auch sein Vater kann sich, wie viele andere, nicht von der Vergangenheit lösen, obwohl er versucht, das Erfahrene hauptsächlich zu vergessen, zu verdrängen und dadurch ungeschehen zu machen. Spätestens in seinen Träumen wird er von den Erinnerungen eingeholt (Grossman 2010, 38). Eine andere Art, die Lagererfahrung zunichte zu machen, ohne sie tatsächlich vergessen zu wollen, weist Mirko auf. Durch permanente Suche nach der Bestätigung von Leben in Form von Liebe und mithilfe teils übertrieben wirkender guter Laune verhindert er sein Abtauchen in die Tiefen der Ernsthaftigkeit (Pahor 1993, 22–23, 118). Damit lenkt er seine Aufmerksamkeit bewusst weg vom Tod. Zum Tod hingezogen hingegen scheint Mic' Vater zu sein, der im Gegensatz zu den Protagonisten der anderen Romane kein ehemaliger Lagerinsasse ist, sondern mit seinen Erfahrungen bei den Partisanen hadert. Immer wieder kündigt er seinen Selbstmord an, gefährdet sich selbst und seine Familie, und tut sich dennoch nie tatsächlich

etwas an (Haderlap 2012, 95–98). Es handelt sich um Hilferufe, da er sich nicht von der Schwere der Erinnerungen befreien kann. In Gesellschaft demonstriert er Fröhlichkeit, ist ein gern gesehener Gast, doch daheim kann er diese Maske nicht aufrechterhalten (164). Großmutter sehnt sich einerseits zwar ebenfalls nach dem Tod, hat aber die augenscheinlich gesündeste Beziehung zum erschütterten Teil ihrer Psyche. Sie steht zu sich selbst und gibt ihrem Leben trotz der ehemaligen Todesnähe durch die Weitergabe ihrer Erfahrungen einen Sinn. Wie unterschiedlich auch immer das Verhältnis zu den eigenen Traumata und die Wege sie handzuhaben dargestellt werden, die Romane machen deutlich, wie belastet Minderheitenangehörige und Menschen allgemein auch Jahre nach traumatischen Erlebnissen sind und wie schwierig sich die Auseinandersetzung mit ihnen auch wegen der Annahme gestaltet, in der Gesellschaft ‚funktionieren' und den Tod aus Gründen des (Selbst)Schutzes aus der Realität drängen zu müssen.

Des Weiteren kommt hinzu, dass Extremtraumatisierte in der Geschichte, nämlich dem historisch Vergangenen wie auch ihrer eigenen Lebensgeschichte gefangen sind, zeitgleich aber infolge des gesellschaftlich auferlegten Schweigens nicht darüber reden können. Sowohl Mic wie auch Momik gelangen zu dieser Einsicht (Haderlap 2012, 233; Grossman 2010, 29). Momik will als Erwachsener deshalb seinen Großvater Anschel, der trotz des unaufhörlichen Redeflusses in seiner Welt gefangen war, befreien und ihm durch ihn selbst sein Leben auf fiktiver Ebene zurückgeben. Mic versucht zwar nicht ihren Vater aus seiner Geschichte zu befreien, versteht ihn aber zunehmend besser, erkennt schließlich auch größere Zusammenhänge und ist sich

> sicher, dass es die Haltung der Vergangenheit in diesem Lande mit sich bringt, dass unsere Familiengeschichten so befremdlich erscheinen und sich in solcher Verlassenheit und Isolation vollziehen. Sie stehen in nahezu keiner Verbindung zur Gegenwart. Zwischen der behaupteten und der tatsächlichen Geschichte Österreichs erstreckt sich ein Niemandsland, in dem man verloren gehen kann. Ich sehe mich zwischen einem dunklen, vergessenen Kellerabteil des Hauses Österreich und seinen hellen, reich ausgestatteten Räumlichkeiten hin- und herpendeln. Niemand in den hellen Räumen scheint zu ahnen oder vermag es sich vorzustellen, dass es in diesem Gebäude Menschen gibt, die von der Politik in den Vergangenheitskeller gesperrt worden sind, wo sie von ihren eigenen Erinnerungen attackiert und vergiftet werden. (Haderlap 2012, 185–186)

Damit wirft die Ich-Erzählerin in Haderlaps Roman das Gefangensein in der Geschichte auf und berührt zusätzlich noch einen anderen kritischen Punkt, nämlich die Tatsache, dass vom zweiten Weltkrieg Traumatisierte durch auferlegtes Schweigen ins Vergessen gedrängt werden. Nach dem Krieg erzählten sie (sich) noch ihre Geschichten, wie sie feststellt, jedoch wurde ihnen klar, dass diese als unerwünscht und unbedeutend angesehen wurden. Die Volksgruppenangehörigen wussten, „dass ihre Vergangenheit in den österreichischen Geschichtsbüchern nicht vorkommt, noch weniger in den Kärntner

Geschichtsbüchern [...]. Das wissen die Erzähler und haben gelernt zu schweigen" (236). So wurden sie von der Öffentlichkeit in nationalem Ausmaß zusammen mit ihren Geschichten und ihrer Geschichte vom Rand ins Nichts, ins Vergessen gedrängt. Wie Leo in Müllers Roman könnten auch die Kärntner Slowenen viel erzählen und warten wie er darauf, gefragt zu werden. Dann „brechen die Geschichten nur so hervor." Diese mosaikartigen Geschichten, die sich mit dem überlagern, was Mic aus der Kindheit bekannt ist, lassen erahnen, dass ähnlich wie Leo auch in Kärnten „jeder mit seinem Krieg allein gelassen" wurde, „als ob die Vereinsamung der Zeugen Teil einer Strategie des Vergessens gewesen ist" (237). Ohne allzu zahlreiche metaphorisch-allegorische Schilderungen, die wie in Müllers *Atemschaukel* indes auch eine große Wirkung erzielen können, und viel direkter als Müller, Pahor und Grossmann prangert Haderlap demnach gegen Ende ihres Werks die politische und gesellschaftliche Realität Österreichs an und fordert damit implizit ein Umdenken im Zusammenhang mit der slowenischen Minderheit und deren Geschichte und Geschichten.

4 Regionalität und Universalität

Der Vergleich von Maja Haderlaps *Engel des Vergessens* mit den Romanen *Atemschaukel* von Herta Müller, *Villa am See* von Boris Pahor und *Stichwort: Liebe* von David Grossman führt zu der Erkenntnis, dass die spezifische kärntnerslowenische Lebenserfahrung mit all ihren traumatischen Erfahrungen, ihren Geschichten und ihrer Geschichte zwar im Regionalen ihren Ausgang nimmt, da sie an die konkreten geographisch und historisch bedingten Gegebenheiten gebunden ist, gleichzeitig aber auch universelle Gültigkeit hat. Ungeachtet der Herkunft der Autorinnen und Autoren und trotz der jeweils an einen einzigartigen Kontext gebundenen Erfahrung der Romanheldin und -helden sind in den Romanen trotz all der Unterschiede Parallelen in Bezug auf die Darstellung von Minderheit, Identität und Trauma nachzuweisen. So bringen Spannungen in den Bereichen, in denen Minderheiten und Mehrheiten aufeinandertreffen, einerseits qualitativ hochwertige künstlerische Werke hervor, die sich mit ebendiesen Spannungen auseinandersetzen, und (re)produzieren eben jene desaströsen Verhältnisse, die es gilt in der Literatur und wohl auch in der Gesellschaft aufzuarbeiten.

Literatur

Primärliteratur

Grossman, David. 2010. *Stichwort: Liebe.* Übersetzt von Judith Brüll. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag.

Haderlap, Maja. 2012. *Engel des Vergessens.* Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag.

Müller, Herta. 2012. *Atemschaukel.* Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag.

Pahor, Boris. 1993. *Vila ob jezeru.* Klagenfurt: Mohorjeva založba.

Sekundärliteratur

Amesberger, Helga. 2006. „Die Bedeutung von Trauma im Forschungsprozess." In *Mauthausen und andere Orte. Narben – Wunden – Erinnerungen*, red. Peter Gstettner, 58–67. Innsbruck: Studienverlag.

Jurić Pahor, Marija. 2011. »Narativnost spominjanja: vpogledi v avto/biografsko usmerjeno raziskovanje in v govorico ekstremne travme.« In *Avtobiografski diskurz: teorija in praksa avtobiografije v literarni vedi, humanistiki in družboslovju*, red. Alenka Koron und Andrej Leben, 161–173. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, DZS.

Ottomeyer, Klaus. 1997. *Kriegstrauma, Identität und Vorurteil. Mirzadas Geschichte und Ein Brief an Sieglinde Tschabuschnig.* Klagenfurt: Drava.

Ottomeyer, Klaus. 1984. „Über Identität, Heimat und Ethnozentrismus." In *Zwischen Selbstfindung und Identitätsverlust: Ethnische Minderheiten in Europa*, red. Willibald I. Holzer, 15–25. Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik.

Praprotnik, Tadej. 1999. *Ideološki mehanizmi produkcije identitet. Od identitete k identifikaciji.* Ljubljana: ISH – Fakulteta za podiplomski humanistični študij in ŠOU – Študentska založba.

Wodak, Ruth, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl, Karin Liebhart, Klaus Hofstätter, und Maria Kargl. 1998. „Die Diskursive Konstruktion der nationalen Identität." In *Zur diskursiven Konstruktion nationaler Identität*, 19–40. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Wodak, Ruth. 1998. „Zum Nationsverständnis: Staatsnation – Kulturnation – Nationale Identität." In *Zur diskursiven Konstruktion nationaler Identität*, 41–103. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Zavratnik Zimic, Simona. 1998. *Pogovori s koroškimi Slovenci. O etnični identiteti, slovenščini, dvojezični vzgoji in samopodobi.* Klagenfurt: Mohorjeva založba.

colloquium new philologies

doi:10.23963/cnp.2017.2.1.2

'Fick Dich Südtirol[1]'

Dissatisfaction and Dissent in South Tyrolean Rap Music

Nicole Stuckey*

Abstract

This paper aims at showing how German language rap in South Tyrol, a bilingual region in Northern Italy, expresses dissatisfaction and dissent. Since the region seems to be so utterly different from American inner cities, and research on it is practically inexistent, the author, herself a native to the area, wished to examine if and how South Tyrolean rap music expresses social criticism and frustration. In a qualitative sociolinguistic investigation, selected lyrics from one particular rap crew, Homies 4 Life, are interpreted and analyzed against a theoretical background, South Tyrol's history and bilingual and bicultural reality, focusing on the contents as well as language use. Furthermore, the investigation draws on interviews carried out with several hip-hop artists from the area by the author. The results demonstrate how these artists vocalize social criticism and frustration concerning politics, linguistic and cultural segregation between the language groups as well as racism, in both standard German as well as the local Tyrolean dialect, using humor, vernacular language, offensive language, and dissing and boasting.

Key words: appropriations of rap music, bilingualism, (South Tyrolean) dialect, dissatisfaction and dissent in rap music, German language rap, hip-hop, language and identity, language and resistance, rap, rap music, rap and resistance, (linguistic/cultural) segregation, social criticism, sociolinguistics, South Tyrol, vernacular, resistance

* Eurac Research; Nicole.Stuckey@eurac.edu

[1] Fuck You, South Tyrol

Rap music developed from party music to a discourse of resistance expressed through taboo topics, social criticism, and the use of a resistance vernacular, African American Vernacular English (AAVE) (Smitherman 1997). Although the genre in its origin voices issues of the black inner city experience (Rose 1994), it is no longer merely an African American expression (Hüser 2004), but has become the voice of a global youth subculture (Mitchell 2001). Around the globe, artists are re-interpreting rap to their own needs and appropriate it to their local experiences (Benett 2000; Hüser 2004).

Even in South Tyrol, a bilingual region in the Italian Alps, an area far away from the American inner cities, rap is appropriated and re-defined by local artists to express dissent and social criticism. The following pages form a sociolinguistic investigation that draws on interviews with South Tyrolean rappers combined with a qualitative analysis of local German-language rap lyrics to show how social criticism in the form of dissatisfaction and dissent are expressed through rap in this socio-cultural context via topics and language use.

In a first step, the author discusses South Tyrol against its historical and cultural background. After an overview of hip-hop's history and its development in the USA and Europe, a closer look will be taken at the arrival of hip-hop culture in South Tyrol and its development there. In the Methodolgy section, the author explains the approach used for the analysis and interpretation. At the heart of the paper, songs of local rap crew Homies 4 Life are interpreted and qualitatively analyzed in terms of their content and language to determine how these artists use their art form to express frustration and dissent.

1 Willkommen in Südtirol – Welcome to South Tyrol

In the very north of Italy, bordering with Austria, one finds the bilingual Italian province of South Tyrol, (*Südtirol* in German, *Alto Adige* in Italian), rural and mostly German-speaking. In this area, the Southern Alps, two cultures, languages, and mentalities collide: the Tyrolese and the Italian, forging a bicultural and bilingual reality. This reality has caused considerable dissatisfaction, resistance and protest amongst both 'South Tyroleans' as well as Italians, and the language communities remain mostly segregated (Bachmann 2015; Marchetti 2014; Pruscha 2016; Wolf 2011). In order to comprehend where these conflicts come from, a brief look at the history proves to be helpful.

In 1919, South Tyrol was annexed to Italy after having been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, turning the German- and Ladin-speaking population into a minority (Südtiroler Landtag n.d.). During Fascism, these language communities would encounter hostility and violence. South Tyrol was to become "Italianized", German and Ladin were forbidden in all public spheres of life, people had to change their names to Italian, so Luis became Luigi, place names where Italianized. German was banned from schools and church, traditions were forbidden, and Mussolini urged Southern Italians

to resettle in the region. (Bell 2012; Giuffrida 2015; Marchetti 2012; Zlatevska 2014a, 2014b)

After World War II, linguistic and cultural rights were redeemed in South Tyrol with a Statute of Autonomy regulating that German and Italian be equivalent official languages in all public matters. Today, there are two separate school systems, two news outlets, segregated sports clubs, and many people generally remain within their language communities in most aspects of life (Bell 2012; Marchetti 2012; Zlatevska 2014a, 2014b). And so, the history of South Tyrol is characterized by struggle, violence, and oppression, leaving its mark on the mentality of the people: It all contributed to what one local author described to me as the "longstanding hostility" between the two language groups (Bell 2012).

Many German native speakers have not yet accepted that their region has been part of Italy for decades, they encounter Italians with mistrust. Hence some German voices are calling for independence or a return to Austria, whereas Italians, a minority in the region, often feel at a disadvantage. (Bachmann 2015; Bell 2012; Marchetti 2014; Pruscha 2016; Wolf 2011)

As Brunazzo tells Marchetti (2012): "There's always been a serious identity issue". Many South Tyroleans do not feel Italian at all, neither are they actually Austrian nor German, they are South Tyrolean. (Marchetti 2012; Wolf 2011; Zlatevska 2014 a).

This kind of environment and climate provides an interesting forum for studies in sociolinguistics and music:

> South Tyrol is a peculiar territory and its history has strengthened this peculiarity: there is a great variety of cultural traditions connected with three different official linguistic groups (German -South Tyrol, Italian, Ladin). Such diversities and divisions are likely to be represented also by local music cultures [...]. (Riccioni 2015, 18)

2 How hip-hop came to Europe

With the release of Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's "The Message" in 1982, the first rap song with a meaningful social message, or conscious rap, was born. In the early 1980s, documentaries were made about this new subculture (*Wild Style*, *Beat Street*), and hip-hop along with its battle culture were exported nationally and almost simultaneously internationally (Chang 2007; George 1998; Rose 1994). Rap would finally become the voice of the black man, describing reality without remorse (Verlan 2003; Chang 2007). When embraced and appropriated by other cultures and languages, this function was transported along with hip-hop, to become the voice of the voiceless, rappers functioning as social critics, chroniclers and observers (Bazin 1995; Chang 2007; Verlan 2003).

Hip-hop arrived in Europe as early as the beginning of the 1980s. The main carriers of this cultural exportation and spread were documentaries (*Wild Style*, *Beat Street*), radio stations, MTV and, in France, performances with Afrika Bambaataa and the Rock Steady Crew (Bazin 1995; Cheeseman 1998; Mitchell 2001; Verlan 2003). In France, Bazin (1995) reports the importance of independent radio stations favoring African American music in contributing to the spread of rap music as early as 1981. The first rap song performed in French supposedly appeared in 1982 (Prévos 1996). Then in 1984, "block parties" in the unused construction space along the subway line in Paris were popular (Bazin 1995; Verlan 2003). The first European hip-hop LP was released in France in 1984 (Verlan 2003). Sydney (as cited in Bazin 1995, 21), a crucial figure in the birth of French hip-hop, reports:

> We didn't have landmarks or a basis, what's beautiful about this culture is that it's born from within itself [...] we didn't think about the future, all we knew was there was this new thing, it was like a breeze, it picked you up, sucked you in, and then you were in it. There were no brawls, it all started out from a totally natural and above all positive energy.

The first French rap groups were established around 1987 and 1988 (Bazin 1995). By this time, according to Bazin (1995), no country in Europe was left unaffected by rap. In France, rap was produced in French from the beginning (Bazin 1995; Verlan 2003). Furthermore, Bazin (1995) reports that rap in France would serve as a voice for the youth of the "banlieues" (suburbs) to express their dissatisfaction of being ostracized and excluded from society.

In Germany, hip-hop has always been more influenced by the US due to its linguistic as well as socio-political proximity, and the presence of American GIs in cities. The first hip-hop graffiti appeared around 1979/1980 (Verlan 2003). Unlike in France, the first rap songs in the early 1980s were performed and produced in English and in the 1990s, German rappers started rapping increasingly in German (Verlan 2003). Cheeseman (1998) observes that hip-hop offers the one space where minorities in Germany have successfully achieved integration and access into German culture.

Mitchell (1995) discusses the Italian roots of rap as being the "centri sociali", the mafia, the "cantautori" (bards) of the 1970s, and the linguistic origins of "signifying" and "verbal duelling" in the carnivalesque tradition. He compares the rural Italian South to the US ghettoes in terms of their levels of deprivation, crime and Mafia dominance (Mitchell 2001). In Italy, hip-hop was reportedly born and carried mainly by the *centri sociali* – centres or social spaces leftover from the socialist movement in the 70s, where youth would gather and cultural production took place. Thus, rap was embedded in a socio-political context and productive environment from the beginning. First attempts at rap in Italy were also produced in English, however by the 1990s Europe's rap scenes had begun to establish their own rap identities (Mitchell 1995; 2001; Pacoda 1996; 2000; Scholz 2004).

In Italy, there was a heavy emphasis on regionalism and dialect, where rap makes use of the "substandard" (Scholz 2004, 59). Furthermore, according to Scholz (2004), rap in Italy is mainly produced by young locals, whereas in France and Germany, much of the genre is carried by immigrant youth (Bazin 1995; Verlan 2003). Articles and movie reviews from the Italian newspaper *La Reppublica* describing rap and hip-hop as early as 1984 also speak for a certain amount of attention and attraction to the culture (Castaldo 1984, 1985; Storie di Strada 1984)

3 Tracing the Roots of rap in South Tyrol

How, when, and where rap and hip-hop arrived in South Tyrol has not been recorded yet. Therefore, the history of other European countries outlined above will serve as a framework and background, set against the information provided by local rappers in personal communications with the author. Thus, due to the absence of journalistic as well as academic writings regarding hip-hop in South Tyrol, these sources provide the basis for an understanding of hip-hop's arrival in South Tyrol.

After consulting with local artists Boma, 2DPicche and Chackall the Misfit, it appears hip-hop arrived in Bolzano around the early 1980s. Youths were fascinated with this new exotic thing arriving from overseas and began imitating the dance moves and style they saw in videos and movies (Boma 2012; Chackall 2012; Bazin 1995; Verlan 2003). Chackall (2012, personal interview) reports seeing the first graffiti in Bolzano's Parco Migliore in 1982 and how he would walk through the park, wondering what it was about and where this thing had come from.

All three artists mention that they were amongst the first in their town to listen to rap and eventually participate in hip-hop culture (Boma, Chackall, 2DPicche 2012, personal interviews):

> Well, I heard the first rap songs around 1988 on the radio, [...] Run DMC, the Beastie Boys [...] at the same time there were also the movies, the break-dance movies [...] So, it was like a thing amongst the kids of my neighborhood. I'm from Bolzano Sud, and well, we liked it a lot, and so everyone was trying to dance or they just liked this new American thing that was [...] something a bit different. (Boma 2012)

> I was born in 1973 [...] I started listening to hip-hop with my class mates, I think I was like 14 [...] I liked it right away. [...] I started breaking first, and I remember going to this contest in Florence, and there I saw all these kids, they looked like the kids I had seen in those movies, I was blown away...the ghetto blasters, the clothes, the way they walked and talked. At the time, I couldn't even imagine there were any other break dancers around, and then

> I got there and I felt like in one of those movies, like being in the middle of New York. (Chackall 2012)

2DPicche was in fact also named one of Bolzano's hip-hop pioneers in local newspapers (Conti, 2015; Ducati, 2012). He remembers: "In Italy, the scene was only beginning to develop, the groups were rapping in English not Italian yet. In Bolzano there was no scene. Me and another guy were the first ones to bring rap to our city." (2DPicche 2012)

All three report that they themselves did not start rapping until the 1990s: "After five or six years of only hearing American rap, I heard the first groups rapping in Italian and I loved it and said 'it's doable'. So, in 1993 I decided to try it myself." (2DPicche 2012); "I started [...] like participating in my first jams in the 90s and back then Public Enemy still had a great impact, right. [...] So, well, I started relatively early." (Chackall 2012); "Around 90–91, I started writing my own songs. Because up until then there were no Italian rap songs and nobody knew how to make them." (Boma 2012)

According to Chackall (a.k.a Lo Sciacallo), a rapper from Bolzano who was one of the first in his city to participate in hip-hop (Eva 2011; personal interview with author 2012), political rap was influential when Italians started producing their own rap music. At the time, in the early 1990s, Public Enemy were popular and hence rappers were following their politically oriented music (2012):

> Everyone was writing political stuff. And then there was this argument over well, hip-hop cannot only be political. So, there was this one strand of groups who came from that political background (the Centri Sociali, where it all began in Italy) and then these other groups who were not from the Centri Sociali but went there because it was basically the only place where you could organize stuff. (Chackall 2012)

Boma talks about how the first rap songs in English were, of course, difficult to understand for him, but that it was the sonic force of the music and words that were attractive and that he actually did understand that there was some form of protest in this music:

> I understood very little [...] at the time, obviously I was still in elementary or secondary school and we didn't study English [...] there was no internet and there was nothing in English [...] So, it was very difficult and what I actually liked was really the music, and the sonic power of the rhymes of the words of these people and then, of course, there was this thing that also attracted all the whites around the world, this thing which at the time was just really "cool" and awesome from this black world which was so great [...] we did understand that there was some kind of protest but it was more the playful part, or maybe the sneakers and the clothes, all this was really tight so we saw all this, also the dancing, the singing, the djing and it was just all really cool. (Boma 2012)

He then also makes an observation of the impact that this African American music had, that even though he would not understand all the lyrics, at least he would pick up on not only the meaning but also the message and the force of certain words and lines:

> You would understand at least the title or the refrain or some word or another. In the beginning though, to me, all of this "slang" that they were using was really obscure. And so, it was very difficult, but you did actually understand quite a lot. For example there was this one song that said, "television is the drug of the nation". And there you clearly got the message and then you had the first videos and so also the videos would complement the words. (Boma 2012)

Boma explains that keeping it real, the principle of hip-hop, in itself, will automatically lead to artists being different from the norm, going against the stream and creating a counter current (personal interview, 2012). Hence, one could argue that rap music is inherently a protest music, an art form that expresses dissent and dissatisfaction:

> That was the way I understood [Keepin' it real], and also the first hip-hop lyrics came with more pride in them than the ones now, they tried to tell you that in a way. Just like the song that said that the TV was the drug of the nation, well, it was a pretty powerful message, right? And therefore, it tried to encourage you to see things in a more critical way. [At the time] what was on TV was considered to be true, right? But actually, [hip-hop] tried to make you see things in a different light. (Boma 2012)

So, in South Tyrol, early hip-hop heads were attracted to the newness, the differentness of a cultural movement. They also did not fail to understand, despite language barriers, that hip-hop also embodied protest and social criticism.

4 Methodology

The current study finds its origins in the author's own 2013 thesis, *Keepin' It Real South Tyrolean Style – The African American Vernacular English and the Construction of Rap Identities in South Tyrol* (Stuckey 2013). For this chapter, the field of study was limited to German-language rap of the region for the following reasons:

1. German speakers in Italy are a minority but in their region mostly a majority
2. A recent rise in German dialect rap production in the region was observed
3. The absence of literature and academic work produced about it
4. It is the author's personal linguistic and cultural background

One prominent contemporary rap group was chosen, Homies 4 Life. The crew has produced songs that demonstrate the expression of dissatisfaction and dissent regarding politics, ideology, racism, and economics, attracting considerable attention in local media (see "Homies 4 Life: Südtirol" 2014; "Homies 4 Life sechster Streich" 2014; Röggla 2015). These songs were interpreted and studied in terms of their socio-critical content and in relation to their expression of dissatisfaction and dissent, specifically examining language use, how the rappers appropriate the genre to their needs, and how dissatisfaction and dissent are expressed through language and content. Moreover, personal interviews conducted with the author were also included in the analysis and discussion.

The theoretical framework for this study is provided by previous studies on language and the expression of dissent, such as theories of African American Vernacular English and resistance, slang and street credibility as well as expressivity (Alim and Smitherman 2012; Bazin 1995; Potter 1995; Smitherman 1997; Cutler 2003; Filmer 2003; Stuckey 2013). Furthermore, these sources also provided a framework for dialect and slang use and the inherent relationship between language and identity. Studies on code-switching as an important marker of identity and how it is used in hip-hop were also useful for the analysis (Alim and Smitherman 2012; Garley 2010; Stuckey 2013). In terms of South Tyrol and its issues of segregation, newspaper articles, blogs, and official sources were compared to the lyrics discussed, as well as personal experiences of the author and the interviewees. Excerpts from interviews as well as German and Italian language sources were translated by the author. For the lyrics, the original German as well as the English translation is provided, again the translation was carried out by the author.

4.1 Introducing the artists and their music: Homies 4 Life

Homies 4 Life (H4L), rappers MP, Gesta and Destroya, and DJ Dave, a crew from Collalbo, have produced a number of conscious rap songs that are socially critical and express dissent (Elisabeth 2009; H4L 2007, 2011, 2014, 2016; MP 2010; Röggla 2015). One of their first songs to draw attention was "Fick Dich Südtirol" – "Fuck you, South Tyrol" – in 2007. Originally, the group rapped predominantly in Standard German. However, they eventually shifted to rapping in the local vernacular. They have become South Tyrol's most prominent rappers, using the dialect and rap as a tool to express their views and frustrations towards the society they live in. Prominent themes are racism and segregation between the two language groups in South Tyrol and corrupted politics. They have reached many young people, perhaps even more effectively than local politicians (Elisabeth 2009; "Homies 4 Life: Südtirol" 2014; "Homies 4 Life sechster Streich" 2014; Röggla 2015).

The following analysis will focus on the lyrics of this group in terms of their expression of dissatisfaction and dissent in relation to: racism/segregation, politics/politicians and a general expression of frustration.

4.2 The interviews

Interviews were conducted by the author with local artists in 2013, and are analyzed here in terms of viewing the dissatisfaction and dissent expressed in the lyrics. These communications were conducted face-to-face or via Facebook in the native tongue of the artists based on a general set of interview questions. The interviews were audio-recorded, and subsequently transcribed and translated into English by the author. In Facebook interviews, a set of questions was sent to interviewees who then answered and returned them. A general overview of the interviews can be seen below in Table 1:

Artist interviewed	Time/Place	Language	Interview Type
Boma	June 2012, Bolzano, Base Shop	Italian	Personal interview
Yo!Zepp	June 2012, Innsbruck, Treibhaus	Tyrolean dialect	Personal interview
Destroya & Gesta of H4L	June 2012, Collalbo, H4L's studio	South Tyrolean dialect	Personal interview
Chackall	July 2012, Bolzano, Chackall's studio	South Tyrolean dialect	Personal interview
Fabio 2DPicche	August 2012	Italian	Facebook interview
MP of H4L	February 2013	South Tyrolean dialect	Facebook interview

Table 1: Overview of interviews

5 Data analysis and discussion

The lyrics were analyzed and categorized by thematic content and focus, resulting in the categories of segregation between language communities, society's mentality and local politics. These are common topics in the songs, commented on by the artists in interviews (Chackall 2012; H4L 2013, "Homies 4 Life: Südtirol" 2014), and, given that rap reflects its current environment and is the voice of the 'streets' (JT the Bigga Figga cited in Alim 2014), one may conclude that these are topics concerning youth in South Tyrol. H4L use humor, vernacular language, offensive language, and the oral practices of rap music, dissing and boasting, in order to express their criticism and resistance. Most of the lyrics are delivered in the relevant local dialect, adding to the effect of resistance as well as the possibility of reaching the target audience and being comprehended by them.

5.1 The linguistics of social criticism and dissent

As a resistance culture whose language, imagery and rhetoric are embedded in African American culture, African American Vernacular English (AAVE), and its oral traditions (Alim 2004; Androutsopulous and Scholz 2002; Smitherman 1997), hip-hoppers in the global context will resort to linguistic material able to express dissatisfaction and dissent in their particular environment.

In their work *Articulate While Black* (2012), Alim and Smitherman argue that African Americans in the USA "styleshift", i.e. speak several varieties of one language and codeswitch between these varieties. Styleshifting means to "move in and out of linguistic styles- between varieties of the same language" as learnt and practiced by many African Americans and bilingual and bicultural Americans. Since "racial divisions" still determine social and friendship groups it is necessary to learn how to communicate in different forms of one and the same language (5).

This interpretation and theory can also be applied to South Tyrolean society. Although here the dividend is not race but culture, language, nationality or ethnicity, the experience is the same: social groups are often determined by language, so there is a segregation between Italian and German. Furthermore, German native speakers in South Tyrol speak a local dialect which will differ from area to area. Additionally, the language of public German discourse, education, politics, and the media is Standard German. Hence, as a South Tyrolean German native speaker one most likely will shift between styles and codes depending on the situation and context.

Now, in South Tyrol, German-language rappers are increasingly deferring to their local dialect rather than Standard German. Similarly, they too can usually speak several varieties of German as well as Italian. The use of a vernacular is the most common way of communicating in day to day conversations. Hence, using the vernacular is a matter of identification and may also emphasize resistance and dissent because it is often considered 'inferior' to the standard language. It often evokes images and connotations of the less educated and underprivileged (Alim and Smitherman 2012; Cutler 2003; Filmer 2003; Gooden 2009; Smitherman 1997).

> A dialect is basically a slang [...] To me every dialect is essentially a language with a history, with its own roots and its own character. Nonetheless, dialects are often only used in comical or superficial contexts, to make people laugh, and they are always felt to be the language of those who are not as clever. The lower social classes, so to speak. [...] I wanted to show that our dialect has way more to offer than only weird and ambiguous jokes. (Chackall as in Eva 2011)

Dyson emphasizes that unlike popular belief and prejudice, Black speech and language is articulate and that society must understand the racial and cultural practices behind them (Dyson 2012, xiv). Chackall in the quote above is fundamentally arguing in the same manner, emphasizing the value and legitimacy of dialects, the importance of language as

a constituent of identity – especially for minority communities where a vernacular may inherently carry a message of subtle protest against the standard, and perhaps dominant, society.

Using vernacular in rap also enhances hip-hop's subversive and resistance character (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2003; Bazin 1995). While in South Tyrol the use of dialect can be seen as identity marker, it can also represent resistance to Standard German as being considered the superior language. Furthermore, offensive language of the local vernacular and AAVE are also used in local rap songs that function as social commentary and diss tracks, further emphasizing resistance while serving as identity markers and genre indexes.

Various scholars have stated that dialects along with informal, colloquial, and offensive language may generate greater expressivity, credibility, and realness (Androutsopoulos and Scholz, 2002; Potter 1995; Scholz 2004). This was also observed in the data of the current study. Two artists, Gesta and Destroya, comment on how people would criticize their socio-critical lyrics of being too harsh and pessimistic, feeling the crew would hate their own land:

> Gesta: I mean, if we make a negative song we can't just all of a sudden in the middle of it go and say how good everything is here. A negative song is a negative song.
>
> Destroya: [...] you just want to tell people, look, this is the blatant truth, because if not, then people just go, okay, that' s the way it is, but then they forget about it again, right? But if you make a blatantly harsh point once, then maybe people will actually start thinking about it. (personal interview 2012)

Rap music functioning as a tool for resistance and raising awareness wants to be understood by its audience located within the artists' own community (Templeton 2007). A vernacular or dialect is the most natural and authentic language choice for rappers, reflecting their own linguistic identity, assuring comprehension and closer identification with their target audience (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2003; Mitchell 1995). Consequently, delivering conscious and political rap is most effective in such a vernacular and credibility is most likely achieved through it (Smitherman 1997; Templeton 2007). In the words of late rapper 2DPicche from Bolzano:

> In Italy, when it becomes fundamental to be understood by a certain community and the national language might pose limits, one turns to dialect. The use of dialects reminds very much of the choice of African Americans to rap in their slang rather than English. The motive, of course, remains to make yourself understood as fully as possible by your own community. (personal interview 2012)

Similarly, rappers Gesta and Destroya comment on their own switch from standard German to the use of the local Austrian-German dialect on their album *MundArt*:

> It's easier for people [in South Tyrol] to understand us. So, people who normally don't listen to hip-hop I'd say, well, will identify more with MundArt, right? (personal interview 2012)

Yo!Zepp, a rapper from Innsbruck in Tyrol, Austria, says vernacular or dialect to him is the natural choice, Standard German not being his mother tongue and hence always sounding unnatural and "imposed" (personal interview, 2012). In South Tyrol, German native speakers usually speak more dialect than standard language, hence the use of such a vernacular in rap songs seems natural.

The use of the local German vernacular and its various dialects in South Tyrol may be regarded as having the quality of a resistance vernacular. Forbidden and banned during Fascism, it remains the language of daily communication and operations amongst its speakers, however, not in the media and education. Furthermore, the Tyrolean dialect is met with hostility by some Italians. It is harder to understand than Standard German and, being a minority in the region, the use of the dialect establishes a sense of detachment, distinction, and exclusion, perhaps (Marchetti, 2014; Zlatevska 2014a, 2014b; Wolf 2011).

In fact, the local vernacular distinguishes South Tyroleans from Germans, Austrians, and Italians, giving them a sense of identity and solidarity. Language thus becomes an empowering tool of distinction and gains "symbolic power" (Alim and Smitherman 2012,3). In this particular context it is twofold: one is the distinction between German

Alim and Smitherman maintain that language is an essential factor for establishing racial and ethnic identities as well as their cultural comprehension. They speak of "languaging race" – looking at race through "the lens of language" (2012, 2–4). In the context studied here, this applies of course to ethnicity and culture, "languaging ethnicity and culture" so to speak. Through the local vernacular, identity is established and culture and issues comprehended.

5.2 Adapting Rap to one's environment

As an originally African American phenomenon, rap has been adapted globally into local contexts, producing something "glocal" (Benett 2000; Hüser 2004; Mitchell 2001). This happens via language and style, but also in terms of topics and themes. Rappers engage in telling true stories tied to their local environment. So, to rap about ghettoes, AKs, police brutality, and numbing poverty in South Tyrol would breach rap's laws of authenticity. As rapper Chackall puts it:

> We have other kinds of problems [...] a high suicide rate [...] the youth, all boozed up, binge-drinking themselves into comas every year, that's tough.

> [...] This is sad and these are also themes and topics. (personal interview 2012)

Similarly, 2DPicche said:

> Italy and Bolzano fortunately do not approve of it [gangsta rap]. It would be absurd to rap about ghettoes, gangs, arms in a city as peaceful as ours [...] Rap is like a newspaper, it has to truthfully tell about what it sees and not invent stories that are highly unlikely. (personal interview 2012)

While a majority of mainstream American hip-hop showcases themes such as money, wealth, and women, the local group studied for this paper relies on the more traditional purposes of rap as a resistance music and as social commentary (Elisabeth 2009; Röggla 2015). H4L have reached many people in South Tyrol, stretching beyond their predominantly teenage and adolescent audiences, also attracting the media. In an article published in the local magazine *FF* after H4L's release of the song "Graue Sonne" ("Grey Sun"), the crew was praised for continuing the kind of American rap before the mainstream era of the 2000s, back when "rap was still considered the 'black man's CNN' and the buzzword 'style' did not automatically evoke images of [fat] watches" (Elisabeth 2009, 54). The author also relates to a blog that pronounced rapper MP of the crew as being *the* political rapper of the region. While the album *Der Rapper* (*The Rapper*), released in 2010, featured songs about issues faced by young people in general, such as school and peer pressure, love and drugs – "Krank" ("Sick") "Kein Bock" ("Can't be fucked"), "Alles Gut" ("It's all good") – about hip hop and rap – "Nicht wie wir" ("Not like us"), "Aus Liebe zu Hip Hop" ("Out of love for hip-hop") – it also carries social criticism, voicing concern, opinion and dissent regarding Neo-Nazis, local politics, racism, and society in general – "Graue Sonne" ("Grey Sun"), "Nicht mit Uns" ("Not on our watch"), "Halts Maul" ("Shut the fuck up") (Elisabeth 2009; MP 2010).

5.3 Italian vs. South Tyrolean – Addressing segregation

Südtirol brauch mehr LOVE	South Tyrol needs more love
Und viel wianiger HATE	and a lot less hate
(Homies 4 Life 2014, "Love/Hate")	

H4L's song "Love/Hate" broaches South Tyrol's age-old issue concerning the (absent) conviviality of Italians and Tyroleans (cf. Bachmann 2015; Bell 2012; Marchetti 2014; Pruscha 2016; Wolf 2011). Delivered in the local vernacular it sounds more authentic and has great potential of reaching all age groups in the local community. Code-switching and the use of English items "love" and "hate" perhaps also allude to the idea that it is time for a change, time to move towards more openness and progressive thinking, while keeping some traditions and culture alive. English represents internationalism and the

modern, but South Tyrol is still clinging to the age-old segregation of its language communities (see Garley 2010; Pennycook 2007). Hence, language here becomes a symbolic tool. The general juxtaposition of Italian and German dialect elements reflects the linguistic reality and identity of many South Tyroleans of combining two languages in their everyday speech (see Auer 2005; Gumperz 1982).

The group raps about the characteristics of life in South Tyrol, the differences between Italian and German speakers, and how the two cultures collide. They draw on the identity issue people face here, while emphasizing that all inhabitants are the same, the only difference being that they speak different languages. The three rappers express their frustration and criticism of the fact that these two language communities share a common land, live next to each other, and yet meet with so much antagonism (Bell 2012; Marchetti 2014; Pruscha 2016; Wolf 2011).

While the song generally reflects a humorous attitude, in some instances the MCs sound more aggressive and straightforward, alluding to the pretentious nature of local nationalism (using Italian language but calling for a South Tyrol without Italy):

I bin a Südtiroler, onderscht gsog a Pizza mit Knedl	I'm South Tyrolean, in other words, I'm a pizza with dumpling.
und i verstea net, wo's Problem isch, i kriags net in	I don't understand what the problem is, I just can't
mein Schädl. Ob iatz *crucchi*[2] oder *Walsche*, *Italiener*	grasp it. No matter if "Crucchi" or "Walsche", Italians
oder *Deitsche* – Irgendwia sein mir jo olle lei es gleiche	or Germans – Somehow we are all the same.
Mir sein olle *Südtiroler* oder *Altoatesini*,	We are all "Südtiroler" or "Altoatesini",
Mir sogn *Riffl* und sie sogn holt *bambini*,	We say "Riffl", they say "bambini",
Ober wegn a so an Scheiß gea i in niamend af die Eier.	what's the big deal? That's nothing to make a fuss about.
Mir sein olle Südtiroler, des checken net olle leider.	We're all South Tyroleans, but unfortunately not everybody gets it!
Also schreib i des für olle do draußen,	So I'm writing this for all those out there
De lei Hoss wölln, ober ihr Forst net dorsaufen.	who only want hate, but choke on their "Forst"[3]
In insrer Zukunf solln mor olle leben kennen	In our future, we should all be able to live,
Und es wissen beade Seiten mehr geben kennen.	And both sides know that both sides could make a greater effort.

(Homies 4 Life 2014, "Love/Hate")

In this stanza, rapper MP introduces the image of bicultural and bilingual identity of South Tyroleans sharing characteristics of both the Tyrolean as well as the Italian identity (line 1). Being South Tyrolean means combining aspects of both identities. In line one he presents this bicultural identity via the image of two typical foods which have become very representative for both cultures: the Italian pizza and the Tyrolean

[2] Italian words in italics – not all italicized words are Italian.

[3] Locally brewed beer.

dumpling ("Knedl"), claiming that being South Tyrolean means being both of these things combined. And in fact, the region itself reflects the combination of both cultures and ethnicities as seen in the architecture of Bolzano, the various Italian and Tyrolese restaurants, both flags and both languages (Bell 2012; Giuffrida 2015; Marchetti 2014; Zlatevska 2014a, 2014b). He goes on to play with the linguistic characteristics of South Tyrol, Italian and German, reflecting local language use, emphasizing how absurd the situation seems to him (cf. studies on code-switching and identity: Auer 2005; Gumperz 1982). People using different languages to refer to the same things should not be a reason to hate each other (5–6) since everyone shares a South Tyrolean identity, whether of Italian or Tyrolese origin. In lines three and four he pairs Italian insults used to refer to German speakers of the area ("crucchi") and the German one for Italians ("Walsche") with neutral references, alluding to the fact that however people refer to each other, they are all the same – they are all South Tyroleans. This also sheds light on the fact that there is hate coming from both sides. In the final lines of this excerpt he claims that both communities need to make a greater effort to make conviviality a reality.

To emphasize the hollowness of this hate between the language communities, MP claims that he can by no means conceive where the problem lies, making it seem preposterous (line 2–3). Using dialect and vernacular becomes an important tool here to add more effect and aggressiveness ("Schädl" is the dialect word for "brain"; however, the word in its German origin refers to the skull, hence the word sounds harsh and is often used to communicate hostility and anger rather than understanding and love).

Finally, he claims this song to be dedicated to all those who demand hate but cannot authentically represent it; that is, he plays with the image of toughness here alluded to through the locally-brewed beer "Forst". MP seems to be referring to bullies and hooligans who ask for hate but then are unable to manage it, meaning two things: their hate is unfounded and they are too weak. "Forst" as the local beer is generally the only draft beer available in local, especially rural, bars. Hence, this line also alludes to the fact that a lot of the hostility towards Italians is found in the more rural areas and communities.

The song symbolically and representatively uses Italian items in the form of code-switching, a characteristic of the local German dialects (see Auer 2005; Gumperz 1982), to reflect reality, but also to emphasize the bitter irony of this linguistic reality: while the languages mix, the people do not mingle as much as they actually could:

Wia a holber Sotz af deitsch mit zun Schluss an "dio cane".	Like a half-German sentence with a "dio cane" at the end
Um zu zoagn wer i bin, brauch i sicher koane Fahne,	To show who I am, I certainly don't need a flag
Also scheiß af dein Ausweis und zoag amol in Mensch der du bisch [...]	So, I don't give a fuck what it says in your ID-card, just show the human being that you are
Es geat um mehr als a Sproch, also "chi se ne frega". [...]	There is more to it than just a language, so who gives a fuck? [...]
Und a Fakt isch, um sel zu kennen brauchts a Verstond [...]	And the reality is, to do that, you need some sense [...]
Hermor auf zu streiten und leben besser olle zom,	Let's stop arguing – better we start living together
Weil lei mir mitanond hobm a wunderschians Lond.	Because only then do we have a beautiful land.
(Gesta in "Love/Hate")	

Rapper Gesta emphasizes that it does not matter what one's ID says, in the end everyone is only one thing – human. Italian IDs are issued in red and in Italian only, while IDs issued in South Tyrol are green and bilingual (Marchetti, 2014). He alludes to the fact that German-speaking South Tyroleans use Italian words, that they code-switch. Often this is done in the form of swear words at the end of a sentence, such as "dio cane" ("God dog"), a strong Italian swear word widely used by German dialect speakers. In fact, it is often said that Italian native speakers themselves actually do not use this as profusely as local German speakers due to its highly offensive content. The phrase "chi se ne frega" is again an often-used Italian colloquial expression, meaning "who gives a shit?" Again, vernacular, informal, and offensive language are used to enhance the feeling of frustration and criticism while also reflecting natural local language use. Simultaneously, these phrases are so common and embedded in local German vernacular, hardly anybody questions their use.

"It's about more than just language" seems an important statement here. Language is an important identity marker, and in South Tyrol many people experience linguistic discrimination or antagonism. For instance, one may encounter hostility towards the German language from the Italian side, since many believe that technically being in Italy everyone should be required to speak Italian only. Whereas on the other hand, native German speakers may refuse to speak Italian due to deep- seated historical pain and anger (Marchetti 2015; Wolf 2011).

Gesta also mentions that flags are not necessary to establish identity. In South Tyrol, there are two flags that play an important role for identity and national pride as well as for separationist feelings: the Italian Tricolore (green, white, red) and the Tyrolean flag (red and white). Most likely, this is also a reference to the *Südtiroler Schützenbund* – the *Federation of Historic South Tyrolean Riflemen* – a pro-separationist movement, who organize traditional marches in their national dress, carrying flags, and demanding a reunification with the rest of Tyrol (cf. Bell 2012).

Italians and South Tyroleans live apart – they are segregated. They attend different schools, have different clubs, and mostly stay in their communities. Italians feel like a minority, Germans do not feel like Italians. The song demands more love between the communities, proposing that it is time to leave the past behind. But it is the past that explains these feelings of antagonism: the break with Austria-Hungary, the Italianization by Mussolini, the option agreement between Hitler and Mussolini, the freedom fighters of the 1970s (Bell 2012; Bachmann 2015; Giuffrida 2015; Marchetti 2014; Pruscha 2016; Wolf 2011; Zlatevska 2014a, 2014b). Mentalities and feelings may take decades to finally change and convert. And the images the three rappers produce in this song relate exactly to this segregation, racism, and hate. Gesta here tries to send a message of unification. In the last line, he suggests that while the region is indeed a beautiful place, geographically, economically, and culturally (Zlatevska 2014a, 2014b; Giuffrida 2015), it can only be experienced in its true beauty if people stop the hating and begin to unite.

In a video interview with the online news portal *Stol* ("Homies 4 Life: Südtirol" 2014), MP claims the song "describes what we South Tyroleans are actually like, how we feel [...] We live in such a beautiful area with so many different cultures, and we could all live together peacefully if we would all just put some effort into it". When asked whether the song had already gotten responses from the public, MP reports they had even received emails from people saying that "this is exactly what we have been thinking for a long time" and "finally a song like this has been released, describing how we South Tyroleans [German, Italian, and Ladins] actually live together" ("Homies 4 Life Südtirol"2014).

Chackall, growing up in Bolzano as a bilingual youth, living on a mostly Italian-speaking street but spending his summers with his grandmother in Haslach, a German speaking part of town, describes how he felt "marginalized", "excluded" in the Italian, as well as the German-speaking community:

> We here always had the German and Italian issue. And I always felt at home in hip-hop, I always identified so much with it, because I always got picked on and beat. On one hand because I could speak Italian well and I hung out with the Italians a lot and so I would get beat by the German speakers, and the same thing with the Italians, who would give me shit because I often ran with the Germans. And so, I kind of made my own little story, and I identified as "marginalized" (personal interview 2012)

5.4 Political dissatisfaction and dissent

H4L's song "Wählt Mi" ("Vote for me") is a humorous approach to local government elections. MP sarcastically constructs a political agenda he promises to implement if people vote for him. The song was well received by South Tyrolean people because it voiced the general disinterest and mistrust in politics and politicians. It reflected how absurd some promises made by politicians sound, and alluded to the many political

lies ("Homies 4 Life: Südtirol" 2014; "Homies 4 Life Sechster Streich" 2014; Röggla 2015). Furthermore, it is concerned with the fact that young people in South Tyrol are disillusioned with local politics and election participation is low. MP here takes on the role of a politician, becoming a representative for the youth they can relate to and trust, speaking to them in their language, which is the local dialect. MP uses satire and sarcasm, making promises – unlikely ones such as replacing a mountain road with a giant slide, or cars with skateboards, and more reasonable ones, like beginning to stop blaming others for one's own problems:

Ausn Flugplotz in Bozen werd a Wosserpark gemocht	The Bozen Airport will be converted into a water park
Weil nor nimmer lei die Politik eppes davon hot	o not only politicians can profit from it
[...] stott in Ausländer die Schuld zu geben kehr i vor dor Haustir	[...] instead of blaming the immigrants I'll start putting our own mess in order
[...] Olle Nazis werden ausgwiesen und sel glei	[...] All the Nazis will be deported, first thing
Weil donn isch Südtirol glei a bissele mehr gschei	because then South Tyrol will become a bit more intelligent

(Homies 4 Life 2013, "Wählt Mi")

MP claims that he will turn the local airport into a water park (line 1). This is a reference only South Tyroleans will understand, as the local airport has been the cause of many political discussions and arguments, dividing the political spectrum and society into a pro-airport faction and those fiercely against it as a public airport (cf. Brûlé 2015). He proposes a solution: remove it and turn it into something ridiculous but fun instead, so not only politicians will profit from it, but everybody. In lines 4–5 he refers to racism and hate against immigrants and foreigners, something common as well, since the region has had a considerable influx of immigrants since the 1990s (cf. Benedikter 2005). MP alludes to a practice in the media and perhaps by certain politicians of scapegoating immigrants for crime and unemployment, a topic familiar to most countries. He would put his own house in order before blaming other people. Finally, all Neo-Nazis shall be deported, which, according to him, would contribute to the region's intellectual state. H4L seem to speak up against Nazism and racism throughout their musical career (cf. Homies 4 Life 2007, 2014, 2016; MP 2010), also mirrored in the "Love Music Hate Racism" slogan on their website and band merchandise (cf. www.h4l.it).

The chorus incorporates straightforward dissatisfaction and dissent. In line 3, MP explicitly states that the region needs a change or else times will look rather dim. The expression "Sem isch der Ski ou", literally translating to "then the ski will be broken", is a local vernacular way of saying that things will collapse, change for the worse. Lines 4–5 reflect the impression that politicians merely lie and make false promises, which basically anyone has the capacity to do, and the region's politicians are incompetent, the state of politics frustrating:

Wenn es no net wisst wem wähln, donn wählt oanfoch mi, yo
Wenn mir net epps ändern donn isch bold dor ski ou
Lei awia bled reden und versprechen konn i a
Weil echte Politik isch in dean Lond schun rar
(Homies 4 Life 2013, "Wählt Mi")

If you don't know whom to vote for, then just vote for me, yo
If we don't change something, then things will be fucked
Bullshitting and making promises- I can do that, too
Real politics are rare in this country, now

5.5 Fuck you, South Tyrol

In 2007, H4L performed "Fick Dich Südtirol" ("Fuck you, South Tyrol"), a song that explicitly expresses the rappers' frustration with the society and the land they live in. The title as well as the refrain reveal a strong feeling of anger and dissent:

Das ist unser Land? Man, dann geb ich einen Fick darauf.
Fick dich Südtirol- wir schalten deine Lichter aus.
Es tut mir leid, doch es tut mir nicht mal leid für dich,
weil du für mich nichts, nichts außer Scheiße bist
(Homies 4 Life 2007, "Fick Dich Südtirol")

This is our land? Well, then I don't give a fuck about it.
Fuck you, South Tyrol – we're shutting down your lights.
I'm sorry, but I'm not even sorry for you,
because to me you are nothing, nothing more than shit.

At the time, the crew was still rapping in Standard German. The rappers, 15–16 years old, express frustration and opposition in a youthful and rebellious manner. In this song, H4L express their frustration and views of South Tyrol's society in general, not balking at the use of explicit and offensive language. With the refrain above, it seems they are not only expressing dissent but also a certain degree of despise and even shame to be part of this region. The song opens in the following way:

Willkommen im Land der Faschisten,
Nationalsozialisten, korrupten Polizisten, dieses Land ist beschissen.
[...] Bullen gehen vor nach rassistischen Methoden.
[...] Das ist die Gesellschaft, man ich will da nicht dazugehören [...]
Auf der Straße bekomm ich nur hasserfüllte Blicke.
Ich hasse das Gefühl, unter dem Hass zu ersticken.
In Italien sind wir die reichste Region, und dazu
sind wir auch noch autonom.
Doch manche Leute hier reden von einem Tirol.
Ich glaub die haben das Gehirn ihrer Schweine gestohlen.
(Homies 4 Life 2007, "Fick Dich Südtirol")

Welcome to the land of fascists,
national socialists, corrupt police officers, this land is shit.
[...] The cops operate with racist methods.
[...] This is society and dude, I don't wanna be part of it [...]
On the streets, all I get are looks filled with hate.
I hate the feeling of suffocating from the hate.
We are the richest province of Italy, and guess what,
we are autonomous.
But some folks here talk about "one Tyrol".
Seems to me that they have stolen the brains of their pigs.

The song describes an extremely unfriendly land, a region actually wealthy and popular with tourists is described here as "shit", a land of "Nazis", "fascists", and a corrupted police. These denominations have historical as well as contemporary weight. South Tyrol suffered from the rulings and dealings of Hitler and Mussolini, the Italian and the Tyrolese language and culture have collided and fought for space ever since. There are actual groups of Neo-Nazis and, of course, also right-winged radicals on the Italian side, which would be the fascists they are referring to. It can be assumed that also right-wing radical politicians on both sides are included in the reference (lines 1–2). The image of and frustration with corrupt police forces is something common in rap music, of course, especially among younger generations and subcultures. In South Tyrol, this gains an extra layer of meaning as often police are Italian native speakers and function as a symbol of fascist attitudes, refusing to speak German (Marchetti 2012). MP mentions the common practice of racial profiling (line 4). But it is not only the law and government that are targets of his frustration. Society in general has left him disappointed. He describes a society hostile to "otherness", judgmental, and prejudiced. He does not feel comfortable in nor wants to be associated with it (line 5–6). In lines 7–8, there is an alliteration with the words "hasserfüllt" (hate-filled), "hasse" (I hate) and "Hass" (the hate). MP speaks of hateful looks on the street, and of how he hates the feeling of drowning in this hate, being suffocated by it, an allusion to a general atmosphere of hate amongst society.

In the last part of this excerpt, MP speaks about the wealth and autonomy of South Tyrol. The region is the wealthiest in Italy, enjoys certain freedoms, and is exempt from Italian governmental rule in certain aspects (cf. Bell 2012; Giuffrida 2015; Marchetti 2014). Yet, so many people are unhappy and demand independence from Italy and a reunification with Tyrol (lines 9–11) (cf. Bell 2012, Giuffrida 2015; Wolf 2011). He ridicules this wish for independence (lines 12–13), suggesting that the separatist movement are rather simple-minded farmers. To MP, it seems irrational that so many are unhappy when they are blessed with a better economic and political reality than the rest of Italy (Bell 2012, Giuffrida, 2015; Marchetti 2014; Wolf 2011). Partially, this may be a generational divide, as a South Tyrolean, interviewed by Zlatevska (2014b) states:

> We younger people see this linguistic richness as a blessing, as a way to have a mixed group of friends and see things from their perspective. Our grandparents, however, are not as open as us, obviously due to history. (Florian)

The "Fuck you" in this song goes to the South Tyrol that refuses to move forward, to compromise, and to welcome change and otherness. It addresses the South Tyrol that is still stuck in the past with its racism, fascism, Nazism, its differences between Italian and Tyrolese, and the age-old identity crisis of the region that is creating a separatist atmosphere and society (Zlatevska 2014; Bell 2012).

6 Outro

German language rap in South Tyrol, originally produced in mostly Standard German, now is seeing a strong pull towards the use of the local German dialect and vernacular. One of the most popular and productive crews, H4L, has been releasing many socio-critical songs in a regionally universally understood dialect which has the power to reach a larger audience within the region, ranging from youths to older generations, allowing people to identify and understand, to relate to the contents and views of the rappers.

Results of the research demonstrate how this crew uses rap music as a tool for expressing their views on society and politics, to voice frustration, criticism and resistance, in a socio-economic context that is comparably wealthy and politically privileged compared to the rest of Italy. Their dissatisfaction and dissent is generated largely by the region's age-old segregation and hate between the language communities, racism and prejudice, the corruption, hypocrisy, and ineffectiveness of politics.

Using the local dialect along with informal, colloquial, and offensive language generates greater expressivity, credibility, and authenticity as well as enhances hip-hop's subversive resistance character. A song featuring some explicit contents, strong language, or metaphors is more likely to successfully reach and touch its audience. The artists cited and studied in this work make use of their own language material, and continue rap's seemingly forgotten purpose of voicing concerns, delivering reports of reality, saying what nobody else wants or dares to say, disturbing the peace. Finally, when rappers in South Tyrol choose to use their dialect, they are adhering to rap's principle of using the "realest" language, the language of the people, the language that distinguishes, that solidifies the "in-group", the language that will disturb the peace, since official issues in South Tyrol, after all, are treated in the Standard language. The fact that hip-hop is being embraced, practiced, and heard in a region so far away and distant from an inner-city context, it almost seems like a fairy tale land, speaks volumes for the expressive power of this culture.

References

Alim, Samy H. 2004. "Hip Hop Nation Language." In *Language in the USA – Themes for Twenty-First Century 2004*, edited by Edward Finegan, and John R. Rickford, 387–409. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Alim, Samy H., and Geneva Smitherman. 2012. *Articulate While Black: Barack Obama, Language, and Race in the US.* Oxford: Oxford UP.

Androutsopoulos, Jannis, and Arno Scholz. 2002. "On the Recontextualization of Hip Hop in European Speech Communities: A Contrastive Analysis of Rap Lyrics." *Philologie im Netz* 19: 1–42, Accessed November 5, 2012, http//web.fu-berlin.de/phin/phin19/p19t1.htm.

Androutsopoulos, Jannis, and Arno Scholz. 2003. "Spaghetti funk: Appropriations of Hip-Hop Culture and Rap Music in Europe." *Popular Music and Society* 26 (4): 463–479, Accessed June 29, 2012 via Academic Search Premier.

Auer, Peter. 2005. "A Postscript: Code-Switching and Social Identity." *Journal of Pragmatics* 37 (3): 403–410.

Bachmann, Barbara. 2015. "Daheim bei Fremden-Das deutschsprachige Südtirol ist so selbstbewusst wie nie zuvor. Und die Italiener? Bestandsaufnahme einer Minderheit in der Minderheit." *Die Zeit*, March 30. http://www.zeit.de/2015/13/italiener-minderheit-deutschsprachiges-suedtirol.

Bazin, Hugo. 1995. *La Culture Hip-Hop.* Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.

Bell, B. 2012. "South Tyrol's Identity Crisis: Italian, German, Austrian...?" *BBC News*, Dec. 8. http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-20633126.

Benedikter, Thomas. 2015. "Immigration in South Tyrol and its Impact on the Protection of the Autochthonous National Minorities." *Szekler National Council*, Sept. 29. http://sznt.sic.hu/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=19:immigration-in-south-tyrol-and-its-impact-on-the-protection-of-the-autochthonous-national-minorities&catid=18:cikkek-tanulmanyok&Itemid=24.

Bennett, Andrew. 2000. *Popular Music and Youth Culture: Music, Identity and Place.* New York: Palgrave.

Brûlé, Tyler. 2015. "The Fast Lane: The Happiest Place on Earth?" *Financial Times*, Dec.30. http://www.ft.com/content/6bee469a-ae1b-11e5-b955-1a1d298b6250.

Castaldo, Gino. 1984. "Protagonista La Vita Dei Neri Del Bronx." *La Repubblica*, Sept. 12, 22. http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/1984/09/12/protagonista-la-vita-dei-neri-del-bronx.html?ref=search.

Castaldo, Gino. 1985. "Benvenuti al Rito di Afrika Bambaata." *La Repubblica*, June 6, 22. http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/1985/06/06/benvenuti-al-rito-di-afrika-bambaata.html?ref=search.

Chang, Jeff. 2007. *Can't Stop, Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation.* U.K.: Ebury Press.

Cheeseman, Tom. 1998. "Polyglot Politics: Hip Hop in Germany." *Debatte: Review of Contemporary German Affairs* 6 (2): 191–212.

Conti, Alan. 2015. "Musica in lutta per Fabio, pionere dell' hip hop." *Alto Adige*, May 5. http://altoadige.gelocal.it/bolzano/cronaca/2015/05/05/news/musica-in-lutto-per-fabio-il-pioniere-dell-hip-hop-1.11365370?ref=search.

Cutler, Cecilia. 2003. "'Keepin' It Real': White Hip-Hoppers' Discourses of Language, Race, and Authenticity." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 13 (2): 211–233.

Danielli, Fabio. 2012. "Fabio Danielli 'Duedipicche': 'vi racconto la scena hip hop bolzanina'." Interview by Thomas Ducato. *Franzmagazine*, March 11. http://franzmagazine.com/2012/03/11/fabio-danielli-duedipicche-vi-racconto-la-scena-hip-hop-bolzanina/.

Dyson, Michael E. 2001. *Holler if You Hear Me: Searching for Tupac Shakur.* New York: Basic Civitas Books.

Elisabeth, P. 2009. "Szene: MP – ‚Der Rapper'." *FF Magazin*, June 25: 54.

Eva. 2011. "General Schakal, Original Vandal." Headliner. *Die neue Südtiroler Tageszeitung*, June 24, 2011: 3.

Filmer, Alice A. 2003. "African American Vernacular English: Ethics, Ideology, and Pedagogy in the Conflict between Identity and Power." *World Englishes* 22 (3): 253–270.

Garley, Matt. 2010. "Realkeepen: Anglicisms in the German Hip-Hop Community." In *Languages of Global Hip-Hop*, Edited by Marina Terkourafi, 277–299. London: Continuum.

George, Nelson. 1998. *Hip Hop America.* New York: Penguin Books.

Giuffrida, Angela. 2015. "Italy's South Tyrol: Where an Identity Crisis Lingers." *The Local Italy*, Sept. 30. https://www.thelocal.it/20150930/south-tyrol-where-italians-still-lack-identity.

Gooden, Philip. 2009. *The Story of English – How the English Language conquered the World.* London: Quercus.

Gumperz, John J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge: UP.

"Homies 4 Life: 'Südtirol braucht mehr Love'." 2014. *Stol.it*, Feb. 7. https://www.stol.it/Media/Videos/Intern/Homies-4-Life-Suedtirol-brauch-mehrLOVE2.

"Homies 4 Life' mit ihrem sechsten Streich." 2014. *Stol.it¸* April 22. https://www.stol.it/Artikel/Panorama-im-Ueberblick/Backstage/Backstage-Homies-4-Life-mit-ihrem sechsten Streich.

Hüser, Dietmar. 2004. "Sex & Crime & Rap Music – Amerika-Bilder und Französisch-Sein in einer Glokalen Weltordnung." In *Rap: More than Words*, edited by Eva Kimminich, 67–96. Frankfurt Main: Peter Lang.

Marchetti, Silvia. 2014. "The South Tyrol Identity Crisis: To Live in Italy, but Feel Austrian." *The Guardian*, May 30. https://www.theguardian.com/education/2014/may/30/south-tyrol-live-in-italy-feel-austrian.

Massey, Douglas. S., and Nancy A. Denton. 1993. *"The Missing Link." American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

Mitchell, Tony. (Ed). 2001. *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP.

Mitchell, Tony. 1995. "Questions of Style: Notes on Italian Hip Hop." *Popular Music* 14 (3): 333–348.

Pacoda, Pierfrancesco. 1996. *Potere alla Parola. Antologia del Rap Italiano.* Milano: Feltrinelli.

Pacoda, Pierfrancesco. 2000. *Hip Hop italiano. La CNN dei poveri.* Torino: Einaudi.

Pennycook, Alastair. 2007. *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows.* Abingdon, NY: Routledge.

Post, Armin. 2013. "Hip Hop Sel wars: Kravatte & Kravalle- Vinschger Hip Hoper und ihr neuer Song. Toll!". *Salto* Community Beitrag, March 26, https://www.salto.bz/de/article/26032013/sel-wars.

Potter, Russel A. 1995. *Spectacular Vernaculars: Hip-Hop and the Politics of Postmodernism.* Albany: State University of NY.

Prévos, André. J. M. 1996. "The Evolution of French Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture in the 1980s and 1990s." *The French Review* 69 (5): 713–725.

Pruscha, Wolfgang. 2016. "Deutsche und Italiener in Südtirol". http://www.reise-nachitalien.de/altoadige.html.

Riccioni, Ilaria. 2015. "The Social Role(s) of Music in a Bilingual Context: Insights and Hypotheses from Field Work in Alto Adige – South Tyrol." In *Sociology of Music and its Cultural Implications – Interdisciplinary Insights from Theoretical Debate and Field Work*, Edited by Ilaria Riccioni, and Paolo Somigli, 15–39. Milan, Italy: FrancoAngeli.

Rose, Tricia. 1994. *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America.* Hanover, NH: UP of New England.

Röggla, Nadja. 2015. "Von Rittner Rutschbahnen und HipHop Klischees: Homies 4 Life im Interview." *Franzmagazin*, May 8. http://franzmagazine.com/2015/05/08/von-rittner-rutschbahnen-und-hiphop-klischees-homies4life-im-interview/.

Scholz, Arno. 2004. "Kulturelle Hybridität und Strategien der Appropriation an Beispielen des romanischen Rap unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Frankreichs." In *Rap: More than Words*, Edited by Eva Kimminich, 47–64. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Smitherman, Geneva. 1997. "'The Chain Remain the Same': Communicative Practices in the Hip Hop Nation." *Journal of Black Studies* 28 (1): 3Rap: More than Words25.

Stemmler, Susanne, and Timo Skrandies. 2007. *Hip-Hop und Rap in romanischen Sprachwelten: Stationen einer globalen Musikkultur.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

"Storie di Strada Storie di 'Breakers'". 1984. *La Repubblica*, May 23, 22 http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/1984/05/23/storie-di-strada-storiedi-breakers.html.

Stuckey, Nicole. 2013. "Keepin' It Real South Tyrolean Style – The African American Vernacular English and the Construction of Rap Identities in South Tyrol." Diploma Thesis, University of Innsbruck.

Südtiroler Landtag. *A Brief Contemporary History of Alto Adige/Südtirol (1918–2002)* [Brochure] http://www.landtagbz.org/de/datenbanken/sammlungen/broschueren.asp.

Templeton, Inez H. 2007. "Was Ist So Deutsch Daran? Kulturelle Identität in der Berliner HipHop Szene." In *Hip Hop Meets Academia: Globale Spuren eines lokalen Kulturphänomens*, edited by Karin Bock, Stefan Meier, and Gunter Süß, 185–213. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Verlan, Sasha. 2003. *French Connection: Hip Hop Dialoge zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland.* Höfen: Hannibal.

Verlan, Sasha. 2012. *Rap-Texte.* Stuttgart: Reclam.

Weissenegger, Kunigunde. 2013. "Ouberhorrte Schweine mit weichem Kern: Kravatte & Kravalle. Das Interview". *Franzmagazine*, April 2. http://franzmagazine.com /2013/04/02/ouberhorrte-schweine-mit-weichem-kern-kravattekravalle-das-interview/.

Wolf, Nadja. 2011. Autonomes Südtirol: "Die verstehen nicht, dass wir keine Italiener sind". *Die Welt*, July 8. http://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/ article13474711/Die-verstehen-nicht-dass-wir-keine-Italiener-sind.html.

Zlatevska, Petra. 2014a. "South Tyrol, Italy – Where Language Shapes Identity." [Blog post] Natives.de, Oct.27. https://www.natives.de/blog.html.

Zlatevska, Petra. 2014b. "South Tyrol, Italy – Where Language Shapes Identity II." [Blog post] Natives.de., Nov.11. https://www.natives.de/blog.html.

Sound

Brothers Records. 2012. *Southrap Mixtape.* [MP3]. Bolzano: Moccioso Records.
Homies 4 Life. 2007. "Fick dich Südtirol".
Homies 4 Life. 2011. *MundArt.* [CD]. Collalbo: H4L Records
Homies 4 Life. 2014. *Augen Au.* [CD]. Collalbo: H4L Records.
Homies 4 Life. 2016. *Mittelmeer.* [MP3]. Collalbo: H4L Records.
MP. 2010. *Der Rapper.* [CD]. Collalbo: H4L Records.

Interviews and Personal Communication with the author

Stuckey, N. 2012, June 5. Interview with Boma [personal interview].
Stuckey, N. 2012, June 28. Interview with Yo!Zepp. [personal Interview.].
Stuckey, N. 2012, June 24. Interview with Destroya & Gesta [personal interview].
Stuckey, N. 2012, July 5. Interview with Chackall. [personal interview].
Stuckey, N. 2012, August 25. Interview with 2DPicche. [Facebook communication].
Stuckey, N. 2013, February 2. lnterview with MP. [Facebook communication].

colloquium: new philologies

doi:10.23963/cnp.2017.2.1.3

Crossing Boundaries in Multi-Sited Ethnography

Translocal Communities and Redefining "Field" in Transnational Migration Research

Xujie Jin*

Abstract

This paper[1] draws upon several transnational theories from Glick Schiller, Wimmer, Faist, and Sassen and analyses the major theoretical and methodological shifts in migration studies. In response to such changes, multi-sited ethnography has been introduced as a main research method; it differs from the traditional way of doing migration research, where spatially-defined ethnic minority communities serve as the primary fieldwork sites; instead, moving between different sites allows researchers to follow individual migrants, whose social networks have become the main focus. Moreover, such a research method also redefines the traditional notion of "field", which is now believed to be with blurred and softening boundaries. Through my research project, I have analysed how translocal communities constitute global diasporic networks; I have also come to the conclusion that transnational migrants themselves are involved in very fluid patterns and complex processes of identification and affiliation; their social networks, which consist of multiple relationships such as familial, economic, social, organisational, and political, are not geographically bounded, but these networks cross over and connect different types of social spaces in a wide variety of cultural, institutional, professional, and other kinds of context.

Key words: transnationalism, multi-sited ethnography, social networks, identity construction, migration

* East China University of Science and Technology; jinxj@ecust.edu.cn

[1] The paper contains sections, which have been published in the author's book *Gender and Diasporic Identities in Transnational Migration*, 2016, Lit Verlag: Zürich.

1 Introduction

In the contemporary world of globalisation and transnational migration, the traditional notion of cultures has been radically challenged. Rather than confined within separate territory or community, cultures are now believed to go beyond national borders, while having blurred boundaries and overlapping with each other. Moreover, individuals may at one time belong to more than one cultural group, so their identities and ways of life may thus nest inside one another. Re-examining the concepts of culture and identity has led to a series of theoretical and methodological shifts in migration studies, which have presented an ongoing tendency to move away from the traditional mode, in which individual migrants were solely positioned in a particular country or in a spatially-defined ethnic community; instead, research attention has now been shifted onto migrants themselves, their life trajectory and social networks.

2 Theoretical development

From a theoretical point of view, scrutinising migration studies up to the 1990s, one may easily realise that many commonly used research practices were in fact quite problematic. One of them assumed the cultural homogeneity and national integration of the host society as given, while completely ignoring the diversity within the society itself. In more concrete terms, researchers used to perceive that people living in Britain, for example, were all British nationals, who would possess British citizenship and have the same ethnic, cultural, and religious background, such as being "white" and Anglican; socially speaking, people living in Britain would be integrated into one system, so that a strong sense of social solidarity would be fostered among them: this entailed that everyone would adopt British national identities such as speaking English as their native language, following British customs, and so on. With such a theoretical orientation, research projects on immigrants in Britain normally aimed at exploring how individuals employ different strategies to achieve integration into the new ways of living in Britain; in detail, research interests would often be centred on the questions such as how immigrants and their children integrate themselves into British society, how they cope with British identities and their native cultural identities, and to what extent they can keep or get rid of their original identities in the process of adopting the new British ones. In the 1990s, researchers started to gain full awareness of the theoretical problems involved in this approach. By closely examining terms such as "British society" and "British identities", scholars such as Calhoun (1997) and McCrone (1998) raise the question of whether there indeed exists one solidary group in a nation, where all people have a common origin and history and share one single national culture, language and identity. Such discourses are clearly problematic, as they have greatly ignored the diversity within the nation itself; therefore, those research questions mentioned before

need to be abandoned, as there exists no such thing as an integrated and culturally homogenous group in British society; for instance, differences are frequently found among people living in England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland in terms of the type of English that they speak and the social customs that they follow. In this case, the cultural homogeneity and national integration of British society are assumed as given, whereas for immigrants, integration is a process that they must undergo.

In the 1990s, such a misconception was fully addressed by the cultural anthropologist Nina Glick Schiller and the sociologist Andreas Wimmer, who refer to it as *"methodological nationalism"*. As explained by Wimmer et al. (2002), this stemmed from a wrong assumption that nation-states are the natural social and political components of the modern world (301). In detail, scholars such as Smith (1998), Guiberneau (1997), and Imhof (1997) point out that researchers in the past failed to address the significance and sources of nationalism in the modern western world; in other words, the assumption that social world was structured according to the principle of nation-states became so banal that it easily made its way into research practices in migration studies. Consequently, as observed by Glick Schiller (1999), Williams (1989), and Wimmer (2002), nations at the time were mistakenly depicted as racially and culturally distinct, with a unified set of national identities emerging to mark the differences between each other.

To sum up, borrowing the notion of container society[2] from Taylor (1996), Glick Schiller et al. (2003) usefully remind people that in migration research at the time, countries were wrongly assumed as separate entities, where isomorphisms between citizenry, sovereign, solidary group, and nation were set up accordingly; these four neatly fitted into the boundaries which exactly defined what pertained to the realm and what fell outside it:

> The translation is almost one to one: the citizenry is mirrored in the concept of a national legal system, the sovereign in the political system, the nation in the cultural system, and the solidary group in the social system, all boundaries being congruent and together defining the skin holding together the body of society (Wimmer et al. 2002, 309)

However, such a theoretical approach cannot describe either societies in the past or the ones in the contemporary age of globalisation and transnational migration, when the isomorphisms between citizenry, sovereign, solidary group, and nation have been most evidently falling apart; for example, the emergence of e-mails, Facebook, and Skype telephone has made it easy for migrants to communicate and remain connected with their family, friends, or contacts at different geographic locations; thanks to the cheap jet liners, migrants are able to physically travel between different countries on a regular basis. As a result, migrants cannot be regarded as being "uprooted" from their home country

[2] Taylor's container society indicates the notion that a society encompasses only one culture, one polity, one economy, and one bounded group.

and "transplanted" into the host country; on the contrary, transnational activities have become an integral part of their social life. As Taylor (2000) and Beck (1999) mention, in order to cope with the realities of contemporary world where trans-boundary dynamics and formations have prominently featured, it is inadequate to use nations as the container category to do analysis in migration studies; or to be more precise, researchers should not narrow their horizons by leaving out the whole area that goes beyond the national borders; thus, there should be an increasing call for transnationalism. Bearing in mind Faist's (1998 and 2000) model of transnational social space, researchers should shift their attention onto individual migrants, as well as their family or social networks, which constitute intricate social relation webs and transnational spaces involving more than two nation-states.

With more and more trans-border connections and processes being recently included into the research scope, scholars such as Kivisto (2001) usefully remind people that the nation-state and its territory are nevertheless important and should still count in today's transnational migration research. Vertovec (2009), for example, explains that despite the increasing degree of transnationalism, migrants' lives are nonetheless bounded "by the policies and practices of territorially-based sending and receiving national states or local communities" (53). In other words, this implies that today's migrants may have various transnational connections to their homeland, but they are still physically living in one place and they are nonetheless bounded by the policies of the receiving country, where the vast majority of their everyday life takes place. Therefore, as what Lal (1990) refers to as the "ethnicity paradox", transnational communities thus not only facilitate connections between migrants and their homeland, but these communities also aim at helping their members adjust and fit into the host society. According to their needs, migrants may give preference to one thing over the other, and they are most likely to focus their energy on the issues which can safeguard their own interests.

Moreover, Kivisto (2001) also suggests that transnationalism should not lead to the end of nation-states; instead, the concept directs people, as argued by Sassen (2003), to re-examine and reconceptualise what has been historically constructed as the local, the national, and the global, as well as to recognise and understand that the latter takes place on multiple scales. In detail, through transnational networks, as Sassen usefully points out, the traditional hierarchical scales of institutional size or territorial scope, which run "from the international, down to the national, the regional, the urban, to the local" (11), have been greatly challenged. Indeed, global business networks, diasporic communities, new cosmopolitan initiatives, and NGOs have created transnational spaces which enable seemingly global transactions to operate at both local and national levels; as a result, the global is now widely believed to be found in any other territorial domains. By contrast, local initiatives, as scholars such as Cleaver (1998) and Mele (1999) point out, can be facilitated by global activist networks in the cyberspace, without losing the focus on specific local struggles. Similarly, worldwide digital networks not only can be "used by political activists for global transactions, but these can also be used for strengthen-

ing local communications inside a city or neighbouring regions" (Sassen 2003, 12). In addition, one of the most developed examples which demonstrate the partial embeddedness of the global in the local or the national is included in the studies of global cities. With the extensive research in cities such as New York, Mexico City, and Sao Paulo, Parnreiter (2002) and Schiffer (2002) investigate the question of how translocal ethnic communities comprise a global diasporic network. If one looks at their works from a different angle, one may realise that their findings also provide useful insights into the question of how the global functions in sub-national places; therefore, this viewpoint offers a valuable theoretical supplement to the popular beliefs that globalisation only works on a global scale, and thus is merely associated with supra-national institutions such as WTO and IMF.

In contemporary states, particular components of the national, as argued above, have been greatly deconstructed as the result of transnationalism and globalisation. However, Stolcke (1997) usefully reminds people that "the power of ideological logic of the nation-state in reality appears to be far from fading away" (77). As a backlash, states have promulgated tighter laws and regulations to secure their territorial authority and protect their borders by controlling the free movement of people, in spite of the more intensely globalised economic transactions. Moreover, the role of states is crucial in determining the existence and the thriving of transnational communities: for example, this has been demonstrated in some specific aspects of immigration laws, particularly with reference to the issues of how freely migrants are able to move and reside, as well as how easily they are able to remain in the country and access full citizenship. In addition, the tolerance of dual citizenship by the states may also play an important role in determining the degree of transnationalism to which migrants are able to reach. On the one hand, the states still tightly control the immigration process and individual's degree of transnationalism from top-down. On the other hand, translocal communities and their networks are nevertheless able to support individual members and facilitate their migration process from bottom-up. Moreover, research conducted by Sassen (1996) demonstrates that the national government may have the power to subvert the legal claims of its people, who now increasingly have the chance to seek direct help in international forums, which serve as a way to bypass and challenge the nation-states.

3 Methodological shift

Ethnic minority communities made their way into mainstream migration studies in the late 1970s and became the main unit of analysis up to the 1990s. With regard to where data were collected in early studies, ethnic minority communities had been the only place for researchers to do this for a long time. Scholars such as Meinhof and Kiwan (2011) remind researchers to be extremely cautious about using such spatially-defined

communities as the entry point for research, as the potential problem is that these communities are clearly defined by boundaries, which sharply distinguish insiders from outsiders. Consequently, it is very likely to mislead people into thinking that immigrants of the same ethnic origin are perceived as a self-defining collective group, and thus a culturally homogenous entity. Furthermore, Glick Schiller and Wimmer point out that such an approach is heavily coloured by methodological nationalism, as it greatly narrows down the research focus by leaving out everything that goes beyond the boundaries of the community. Therefore, it reinforces the dichotomy between immigrants, who live in seemingly isolated and ghettoised communities and native people, who live in mainstream society. Finally, it also mistakenly constructs the notion that immigrants are a group of "displaced, spatially defined, neo-communitarian people whose identities are formed by retention of ethnic ties to their homeland and ethnic concentration at a new place of residence" (Meinhof and Kiwan 2011, 3).

There has been a methodological shift from ethnic minority communities to specific individuals and their social networks in migration studies. As usefully pointed out by Meinhof and Kiwan (2011), this approach employs a "bottom-up" view, which puts an emphasis on the voices and life paths of individual immigrants, and shifts the research focus from "'bi-focal', ethnically and spatially defined communities in receiving countries to the more complex and fluid flows and networking of individuals" (1). Moreover, the other reason why social networks should be the basic units of analysis is given by Portes (1995), who emphasises that "networks are important in economic life because these are the sources for acquiring scarce means, such as capital and information" (8). In more concrete terms, these networks are crucial for individual migrants to find jobs and accommodation, to circulate goods and services, to psychologically support each other, as well as to obtain continuous social and economic information. These scarce means can be extremely valuable to migrants, who normally experience a certain degree of deskilling in the receiving labour market and have a poor command of the language of the host country. Therefore, it is widely believed that social networks play a vital role in directing the flow of migration by channelling migrants into or through specific places and occupations. Moreover, not only is the process of migration shaped by existing social networks, but it also in turn creates new networks and connections which initiate or reinforce social relationships across large geographical distances.

With social networks gradually replacing ethnic minority communities as the main unit of analysis, researchers have begun to develop new models and approaches. In 1995, George E. Marcus introduced "multi-sited ethnography", which has a great resemblance to Clifford's (1992) travelling or route-based way of studying cultures. Similar to Clifford, Marcus greatly challenges the conventional ethnographic notion of "field", i.e. a geographically specific location where ethnographers dwell for a long period of time to collect data. According to Clifford (1992), locking ethnographers in the field tends to marginalise or erase its blurred boundary areas (99); consequently, the field would likely turn into "a container of a particular set of social relations, which could be studied and

possibly compared with the contents of other containers elsewhere" (Falzon 2009, 1). In practice, as Falzon points out, the situation is much more complex, while the traditional ethnographic idea of studying the local through a field site is indeed problematic. To this point, Falzon's (2009) arguments come in line with Sassen's theories, which indicate that the local, as an integral part of the global, should not be kept separated from each other. As a result, Marcus' model, which encourages researchers to study the local by exploring its intricate relationship with the global, places its importance on travelling and following people, connections, associations, and relations across space. Such an approach is thought to be especially geared towards transnational migration research: by means of travelling to various spatially dispersed field sites across large geographical distances and following migrants and their family networks from place to place, ethnographers are able to explore the transnational networks in which individuals are involved.

4 Multi-sited ethnography as a research method

Multi-sited ethnography is now widely applied in migration studies. The cultural anthropologist Karen Fog Olwig, for example, conducted a piece of longitudinal research on three family networks originating in the Caribbean islands; through different migratory moves the family members scattered in various parts of North America, Europe, and the Caribbean. During her five-year research, she spent time with 150 members in Jamaica, Dominica and Nevis, Barbados, the British and the United States Virgin Islands, California, Texas, Florida, New Jersey, New York, Nova Scotia, and England. Fog Olwig visited individual members in their homes or at work, went out with them to restaurants, parties, church, talking with them informally, and interviewed them. She revisited certain members over and over again so as to see how they had changed when time passed. Such worldwide family networks became the actual fieldwork site for her research, which precisely manifests the transnational social networks of today's migrants. To her mind, "interviews and participant observation in quite disparate places shed light on an extensive field of social relations and cultural values of significance to persons living far from one another and under different social and economic circumstances", yet are nonetheless bound up with each other (2003, 796). The model of multi-sited ethnography goes beyond the boundaries of nation and community, and captures the multi-facets of the immigrants' life, which is represented by their worldwide transnational social networks and their close connections with people living in very distant geographic locations.

Another well-known research project was conducted by Meinhof and her colleague Kiwan, who followed a group of Malagasy musicians and explored their transnational networks within African, European, and wider global spaces. In the study, Meinhof and Kiwan show that this group of artists was constantly involved in a cyclic migratory

movement between their country of origin and the countries of settlement; through various contacts and connections in their home country, these migrants were able to acquire valuable musical resources so as to develop their art and performances; more importantly, these new musical elements that they got at home inspired them to come up with the latest trend, so as to support their commercial appeal to different audiences in the countries of settlement (2011, 8-9). Such a kind of valuable cultural and social resource obtained in the home countries, and then utilised by immigrants to achieve success in the receiving countries, is defined by Meinhof and her colleague as transnational capital. On closer inspection, one may realise that transnational capital benefits not only transnational musicians, but also other groups of migrants, for whom going back to homelands is no longer a simple return, but rather it is some spiritual reloading or an economic opportunity, which leads to their success and achievements in their residing countries.

Furthermore, as shown in my research project on a group of mainland Chinese female expatriates in Britain, multi-sited ethnography does not necessarily take the form of those suggested and practised by Fog Olwig and Meinhof; to put it differently, travelling across great geographic distances is not indispensable for doing multi-sited ethnography. Instead, based in one of the major cities in the south of England, I moved between different fieldwork sites and followed individual migrants in various activity groups, so as to explore a wide range of networks in which these individuals are actively involved. The first round of fieldwork and observations made me firmly believe that a unified community which was bonded solely by the ethnicity as Chinese was actually not in existence; in more concrete terms, local Chinese residents tended to distinguish themselves from each other in a more fluid and diversified way, whereas boundary-making was involved in an ongoing and dynamic process. Common genealogies, language, and places of origin, which were believed to be used in the olden days, still remained well-seated in people's mind; these might still play a decisive role when it came to decide whether or not a stranger was an insider. However, there was an ongoing tendency for factors such as class, gender, religion, occupation, and common interests to be actively involved in the boundary-making process. In other words, these factors, which may sometimes replace one's place of origin and language, led to alternative ways of group formation among Chinese migrants in the area: for example, the Chinese Women and Elderly Group, the Chinese Christian Group, the Chinese Arts Club, the Chinese Language School, and so on. Furthermore, not all the groups required physical locations, some translocal communities were virtually constructed in the cyberspace; the Chinese Student and Scholar Association, for example, used social websites such as Renren and mobile communication service like WeChat[3] not only to circulate information, but also

[3] Renren is a China-based social website whose functions are more or less the same as those of Facebook. WeChat, an instant messaging application, can be compared to WhatsApp. Once registered at these sites, people are able to find each other and connect online.

to socialise and establish connection and close ties with others at distinct geographical locations. In addition, cross-boundary activities could be seen on a regular basis. For example, there were cases where middle-class women from different ethnic backgrounds came together for charitable work; in other occasions, immigrants from mainland China or Hong Kong joined forces, in order to fight against racism and claim equal rights.

Bearing in mind the criticism[4] of multi-sited ethnography, I finally chose a group of first generation mainland Chinese female expatriates as my research partners. I first met these individuals at the local Chinese Arts Club; during their weekly training sessions, I first regarded it as an isolated close-knit community group; these female Chinese immigrants came together to practise traditional music instruments and dances every Saturday, when they also exchanged the latest news and gossip in China, talked about Chinese film or TV series that they had recently watched, and discussed issues related to the local Chinese community. However, as research went further, my ethnographic observations started to take place in multiple sites: I had chances to go out with them after the training sessions and to accompany them to various social events where they gave performances, for example, the opening ceremony of the local Confucius Institute, the Chinese New Year's Celebration, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee Celebration, and the local Mela Festival[5]; in addition, I also followed individual members to some fundraising functions, where they collected money for local charity, as well as several protest meetings, where they demonstrated against racial violence and public spending cuts on minority community funds. Moreover, after establishing good personal relationships with some members, I was also allowed to visit them in their homes, in their neighbourhood, and at their workplace.

After looking at these individuals in different sites and from multiple angles, I started to form the view that their social networks did not spin within the container of a displaced, spatially-defined ethnic community. As their lives outside the community gradually became known to me, I started to realise that my field was in fact with blurred and softening boundaries, where identities were unfixed and destabilised, while exchanges, crossings, and mutual entanglements were allowed. As Falzon (2009) usefully points out, in multi-sited ethnography, "site" does not necessarily mean "location" or "place", but also "perspectives" (2). When identifying this group, ethnicity should not be the only important aspect, whereas other factors should also be taken into consideration,

[4] The major criticism of multi-sited ethnography comes from scholars such as Hage (2005) and Candea (2007), who argue that multi-sited research may imply a tacit holism, which results in lack of depth. According to them, "no matter how fluid and contiguous a research "object", it is best studied by focusing on a limited slice of the action" (Falzon 2009, 13)

[5] "Mela" is a Sanskrit word which originally means "gathering" and is used to describe any sort of gatherings or fairs in the Indian subcontinent. As a popular public event in the UK, the festival comprises a series of cultural events, which are held between July and September every year in different towns. Attended not only by ethnic minorities from the Indian subcontinent, but also by members of Chinese, Polish, Romanian, Ukrainian, and Bulgarian communities, the festival is celebrated with minorities' music, dance, food, fashion, and traditional arts and crafts. It is an occasion for promoting cultural diversity, and enhancing exchange and mutual understanding.

such as members' shared passion towards arts and performances, their similar migration experiences, and their common background as affluent middle-class mothers. Therefore, these members were indeed not confined in an isolated close-knit community group, but they were involved in, as Basch et al. (1994) claim, the processes of forging and sustaining multi-stranded social relations in some wider transnational spaces which simultaneously linked them to the host and home societies.

5 Conclusion

This paper draws upon several transnational theories from Glick Schiller, Wimmer, Faist, and Sassen and analyses the major theoretical and methodological shifts in migration studies. Moving away from the traditional way of doing migration research, where spatially-defined ethnic minority communities were the main unit of analysis, researchers nowadays move between different fieldwork sites and follow individual migrants, whose social networks have become the main focus. In addition, such a research method also redefines the traditional notion of "field", which is now believed to be with blurred and softening boundaries. After analysing research conducted by Fog Olwig and Meinhof, I have also presented my research project, in which I have analysed how translocal communities constitute global diasporic networks; applying multi-sited ethnography as a research method, I have also come to the conclusion that transnational migrants themselves are involved in very fluid patterns and complex processes of identification and affiliation; their social networks, which consist of multiple relationships such as familial, economic, social, organisational, and political, are not geographically bounded, but these networks cross over and connect different types of social spaces in a wide variety of cultural, institutional, professional, and other kinds of context.

References

Basch, L., N. Glick Schiller, and C. Szanton Blanc. 1994. *Nations unbound: transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialised nation-states*. Basel, Switzerland: Gordon and Breach publisher.

Beck, U. 1999. "The cosmopolitan perspective: sociology of the second age of modernity." *British Journal of Sociology* 51 (1): 79–105.

Calhoun, C. 1997. *Nationalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Candea, M. 2007. "Arbitrary locations: in defence of the bounded field-site." *Journal of the royal anthropological institute* 13 (1): 167–184.

Cleaver, H. 1998. "The Zapatista effect: the Internet and the rise of an alternative political fabric." *Journal of international affairs* 51 (2): 612–640.

Clifford, J. 1992. "Travelling cultures." In *Cultural studies*, edited by L. Grossberg, et al., 96–116. New York: Routledge.

Faist, T. 1998. "Transnational social spaces out of international migration: evolution, significance, and future prospects." *Arch. Europ. Sociol* XXXIX (2): 213–247.

Faist, T. 2000.*The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational social space*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Falzon, M-A. 2009. "Introduction: multi-sited ethnography: theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research." *Multi-sited ethnography: theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research*, edited by M-A. Falzon, 1–24. Farnham: Ashgate.

Fog Olwig, K. 2003. "Transnational" Socio-Cultural Systems and Ethnographic Research: Views from an Extended Field Site." *International Migration Review* 37 (3): 787–811.

Glick Schiller, N. 1999. "Who are these guys? A transnational perspective on national identities." In *Identities on the Move: transnational processes in North America and the Caribbean Basin*, edited by L. Goldin, 15–44. Houston: University of Texas Press.

Glick Schiller, N and A. Wimmer. 2003. "Methodological nationalism, the social sciences and the study of migration: an essay in historical epistemology." *International migration research* 37 (3): 576–610.

Guiberneau, M. 1997. "Marx and Durkheim on nationalism." In *Rethinking nationalism and ethnicity: the struggle of meaning and order in Europe*, edited by H-R. Wicker, 73–90. Oxford: Berg.

Hage, G. 2005. "A not so multi-sited ethnography of a not so imagined community." *Anthropology theory* 5 (4): 463–475.

Imhof, K. 1997. "Nationalism and the theory of society." In *Rethinking nationalism and ethnicity: the struggle of meaning and order in Europe*, edited by H-R. Wicker, 57–72. Oxford: Berg.

Kivisto, P. 2001. "Theorising transnational immigration: a critical review of current efforts." *Ethnic and racial studies* 24 (4): 549–577.

Lal, B. 1990. *The romance of culture in an urban civilisation: Robert E. Park on race and ethnic relations in cities*. London: Routledge.

Marcus, G. E. 1995. "Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography." *Annual review of anthropology* 24: 95–117.

McCrone, D. 1998. *The sociology of nationalism*. London: Routledge.

Meinhof, U. E. and N. Kiwan. 2011. *Cultural gobalisation and music: African artists in transnational networks*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mele, C. 1999. "Cyberspace and disadvantaged communities: the Internet as a tool for collective action." In *Communities in cyberspace*, edited by M. A. Smith & P. Kollock, 264–289. London: Routledge.

Parnreiter, C. 2002. "The making of a global city: Mexico City." In *Global networks/Linked cities*, edited by S. Sassen, 145–182. New York and London: Routledge.

Portes, A. 1995. "Economic sociology and the sociology of immigration: a conceptual overview." In *The economic sociology of immigration: essay on networks, ethnicity and entrepreneurship*, edited by A. Portes, 1–41. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Sassen, S. 1996. *Losing control? Sovereignty in an age of globalisation*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sassen, S. 2003. "Globalisation or denationalisation?" *Review of international political economy* 10 (1): 1–22.

Schiffer, R. 2002. "Sao Paulo: articulating a cross-border regional economy." In *Global networks/Linked cities*, edited by S. Sassen, 209–236. New York and London: Routledge.

Smith, A. D. 1998. *Nationalism and modernism: a critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*. London: Routledge.

Stolcke, V. 1997. "The nature of nationality." In *Citizenship and exclusion*, edited by V. Bader, 61–80. London: Macmillan Press.

Taylor, P. J. 1996. "Embedded statism and the social sciences: opening up to new spaces." *Environment and planning* 28: 1917–1928.

Taylor, P. J. 2000. "World cities and territorial states under conditions of contemporary globalization II: looking forward, looking ahead." *GeoJournal* 52 (2): 157–162.

Vertovec, S. 2009. *Transnationalism: key ideas*. New York: Routledge.

Williams, B. F. 1989. "A Class Act: Anthropology and the race to nation across ethnic terrain." *Annual review of anthropology* 18: 401–444.

Wimmer, A. 2002. *Nationalist exclusion and ethnic conflict: shadows of modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wimmer, A. and N. Glick Schiller. 2002. "Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-state building, migration and the social sciences." *Global Networks* 2 (4): 301–334.

colloquium: new philologies

doi:10.23963/cnp.2017.2.1.4

Black Slavery in Canada: A structuring Absence in Canada's (Hi)Stories

László Bernáth*

Abstract

In national as well as international terms, Canada holds the image of a savior of African slaves, even though in the recent production *The Book of Negroes* (CAN/USA 2015) a more critical depiction of Canada is presented. The question, however, remains whether the miniseries, with its admission of discrimination and racism, actually rebuts previously established myths of Canada's relation to slavery. Due to the virtual absence of Canada from the screen when it comes to slave narratives, very little attention has been paid so far to a Canadian perspective in analyzing such artifacts. By looking at the representation of Canada's relationship with black slavery on film and television, I search for patterns and discursive moves which maintain a distance from addressing the country's own slaving past. I apply a critical discourse analytical approach in order to unveil the meanings and cultural implications of information-omission from screen. The overall purpose of my argument is to show that by focusing exclusively on the significantly larger contribution of the United States to the practice, artifacts reinforce the popular notion of Canada's innocence in the enslavement of human beings.

Key words: Canada, slavery, film studies

* Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt; lbernath@edu.uni-klu.ac.at

1 Introduction

The trans-Atlantic slave trade and slavery have become popular topics to be dealt with on screen since after the Civil Rights Movement. In a supposedly post-racial society, where race is claimed to matter no more (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Wise 2009; Wise 2010), the remarkable interest in the production as well as consumption of such artifacts seems to indicate that the white population has managed to come to terms with and is now able to face the abominable deeds committed by fellow whites against blacks in the past. However, there is a significant difference between depicting certain events and providing thorough, realistic and sincere information. Besides the still ever-present 'white savior narratives' (Guest Pryal 2012), there is another, much less widely discussed, let alone questioned, level of the 'Canadian savior'. As far as cinematic treatments are concerned, Canada's relation to slavery is almost exclusively represented by fugitive slave narratives, providing safe refuge to slaves fleeing from the United States while remaining in the background all along.

The Book of Negroes (CAN/USA 2015), however, shows a significant improvement in depicting the harsh realities awaiting freed slaves in Canada. In contrast to former productions, Canadian and U.S. American alike, which present the country as a land of opportunity for ex-slaves and their descendants, the miniseries takes a more critical approach concerning the quality of the 'freedom' offered. Yet, despite admitting to racism, discrimination and even racist violence as everyday experiences, *The Book of Negroes* still fails to question the myth that Africans came to Canada by choice, and reinforces the popular notion of Canada as solely the liberator of black slaves by conveniently placing the practice of slavery itself to the southern side of the border.

In my paper, I attempt to show that *The Book of Negroes* takes an important step towards deconstructing the myth of Canada as the provider of security and opportunity for fugitive slaves. At the same time, however, such accomplishment by no means indicates that the darker aspect of Canada's relationship with the institution of slavery, its involvement in it, is now addressed either nationally or internationally. In the first chapter, I will analyze the established idealistic representation of Canada in connection to race relations in general and black slavery in particular. In the second chapter, I will use this analysis as a basis on which to compare the achievements and improvements presented by *The Book of Negroes* with its critical view on Canada and its population. Finally, in the last chapter I will argue that the miniseries is only an initial step – significant as it is – towards addressing a problem rather than the solution to it. The overall purpose of my argument is to show that stories of slavery still fail to discuss Canada's slaving past by focusing exclusively on the significantly larger contribution of the United States to the practice.

1.1 Background Section

Canadian legislation created the dream of freedom within reach for the slaves of the southern neighbor. Following the American Revolution, thousands of Black Loyalists were given the opportunity by the British to settle in what is today Canadian territory and start a new life there as free persons. Yet the most essential acts of legislation came later. On the one hand, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 of the United States enabled the seizure of runaway slaves in Northern states, which meant that entering a free state no longer provided security from re-capture. On the other hand, the Act Against Slavery of the same year in Upper Canada made the importation of slaves to the province illegal, that is, it stipulated that every black person was automatically considered free once having entered the province and could not legally be re-enslaved therein (Gallant 2001). Nevertheless, it was not until the passage of a second Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, which obliged every citizen of free U.S. American states to cooperate with the authorities to track down fugitive slaves, that many tens of thousands of black slaves suddenly undertook a virtual exodus to the northern neighbor (Lubet 2010). Many of them escaped through the so-called Underground Railroad, a safety network organized by abolitionists to aid fugitive slaves in the mid-19th century. Thus, Canada is widely considered a liberator of slaves fleeing from the United States.

However, it is much less widely known, let alone discussed, that Canada had a system of slavery of its own. Marcel Trudel in his groundbreaking work *Canada's Forgotten Slaves* (1960) unveils French Canada's involvement in the enslavement of Africans as well as First Nations people. The unpopularity of the topic is perfectly symbolized by the fact that besides Trudel's work, which already has a limited scope by only focusing on French Canada, there is hardly any material, let alone book-long treatment, available on the issue. An important aspect mentioned in Trudel's workwith regard to Québec, later Lower Canada, but which was true in every other province as well except for Upper Canada, is that slavery had never been abolished until the general abolition by Britain in its colonies in 1833 (Riddell 1920; Trudel 1960, 250-253; Whitfield 2012; Whitfield and Cahill 2009). However, in contrast to popular perception, even in Upper Canada the aforementioned Act of 1793 did not end slavery. It only outlawed the further importation of slaves, while those already enslaved in the province remained thus until their death, and their children also remained property until they reached the age of 25 (Trudel 1960, 239-240). In fact, the greatest irony is that the Act itself provided a legal basis for the *maintenance* of slavery in Upper Canada, while in other provinces the outcomes of legal decisions concerning runaway slaves were up to the personal views of the respective justices, which mostly resulted in anti-slavery verdicts in Lower Canada and Nova Scotia (Riddell 1920; Trudel 1960; Whitfield 2012).

The omission and distortion of essential facts such as those mentioned above contributes to the maintenance of popular ignorance about Canadian slavery. Popular culture is a powerful means of spreading – and backgrounding – information, and with it ideologies, among the general population on a large scale (Holtzman 2000; van Dijk

1988; van Dijk 1991). Therefore, the impact of such artifacts on the popular perception of and ways of thinking about various issues cannot be disregarded. It deserves even more attention and critical analysis if the respective artifact is claimed to be based on true historic events, thereby gaining extra truth-value, or if the topics in question are not likely to be learned about from other, ideally more reliable, sources. As for the issue of slavery in Canada, both cases apply, which means that such depictions have significant influence on the public's knowledge, and can dangerously lead to a situation where, if unquestioned, such ignorance invisibly reproduces itself and is no longer perceived as ignorance at all but as common knowledge (van Dijk 1991; 1993).

2 The 'Promised Land'

The Underground Railroad, the most widely known safety network organized by abolitionists to aid fugitive slaves, has become *the* representative of Canada's relation to slavery nationally as well as internationally. If, as Odgen, Perkins, and Donahue observe, "England, if considered at all, is seen as a champion of the anti-slavery movement, having abolished slavery earlier in the nineteenth century" (2008, 469), then Canadians can boast with an even more positive representation or, more often, with the convenience of non-representation and thus the apparent lack of involvement in the issue. Cinematic treatments of slavery that do refer to Canada deal, virtually without exception, with fugitive narratives in general and the Underground Railroad in particular. Productions such as the Canadian made-for-television film *Race to Freedom: The Underground Railroad* (CAN 1994), the story of black slaves escaping from southern plantations and, in crests and troughs, finally crossing the Canadian border to gain their liberty, are the prototypical dramatic treatments of slave narratives featuring Canada. Thus, Canada's presence in such movies is little more than an abstract idea in the minds of slaves which stands for their ultimate goal: freedom.

Canadians' apparent humanitarianism, however, is shown to have made more substantial contributions to the escape of fugitives than only the eventual, and rather passive, legal liberation. The general theme of the Underground Railroad in film involves predominantly white abolitionists who help slaves along their way, that is, act as indispensable saviors that slaves must rely on in order to succeed. In the majority of cases, the 'good guy' vs. 'bad guy' dichotomy is drawn between the profoundly simplified images of the anti-slavery Northern and the pro-slavery Southern U.S. American (Ogden, Perkins, and Donahue 2008). Yet sometimes representatives of other nations, rarely more than one individual, whose actions, as a rule, are indicated to be representative of their home country's attitude at large, appear in film (ibid.). With regard to Canadians, there are not many appearances to be analyzed to begin with, but even in those few instances the diversity in the characters' role in the story is negligible. If Canadians appear at all, they play ardent abolitionists – such as the savior Dr. Alexander Ross (Michael

Riley) in *Race to Freedom*, who, symbolically, happens to be an ornithologist, or Samuel Bass (Brad Pitt) in *12 Years a Slave* (UK/USA 2013) – who sacrifice their own safety, even potentially their lives, for the sake of the slaves' liberty. When Bass in *12 Years a Slave* explains his anti-slavery stand to Solomon Northup (Chiwetel Ejiofor), the impression is that his Canadianness is in itself the explanation as to why he condemns the enslavement of other human beings. He only questions the morality of the U.S. Constitution, for instance, in a rather unemotional tone as if delivering a dry legal argument, which presents him not so much as a passionate activist rather than a representative of the average Canadian. In general, nowhere is there a Canadian person shown who is not an abolitionist but is indifferent about slavery or even supports it (Small 2014). The absence of such counterbalance clearly implies that, by and large, anti-slavery views and abolitionist involvement were absolutely self-evident in Canada and to Canadians (ibid.).

From a slave or later Black Canadian point of view, the treatment of the Underground Railroad or fugitive stories in isolation from a transnational picture is inherently problematic, as the topic is almost exclusively approached from a white U.S. American perspective. Even in *Race to Freedom*, where the abolitionist white hero is Canadian, the point of view of the storytelling remains white in general and U.S. American in particular. What Canada means in the films, the liberator, is defined by the U.S. American perception of it based on knowledge of nothing more than a legal document abolishing slavery, which is then reflected in the similarly white-determined purpose of slaves. The concept of 'freedom' presented in the movies is only understood in *legal* terms, which is then implemented in the ways of thinking of escaped slave characters as well. Thus, even black characters are constructed by filmmakers to operate within a white perspectivist framework (van Dijk 1993), as if black slaves and whites had had the same experiences and could have the same, rather limited, concerns for a future in Canada. The ultimate failure of fugitive narratives which omit a Canadian perspective is that they unanimously avoid questions of *permanence* and thus of the *quality* of the celebrated freedom, disregarding that "sameness and equality are very different phenomena." (Holtzman 2000, 22) By means of absolute and happy closure at the moment of crossing the border, it is implied that blacks no longer faced barriers to thriving in their new homeland. Hence, an analysis of the fate of fugitives is inevitably incomplete without touching on Canada and what it had to offer to them following legal liberation. In order to create a more complete picture of what the Underground Railroad and Canada truly meant to blacks themselves – after all, they were the ones who actually experienced the way and then the place it led them to, it is also indispensable to develop a simultaneous, all-encompassing combination of black and trans-border perspectives.

Cinematic attempts to tell specifically Canadian stories beyond the fugitive narrative are remarkably scarce. The only artifact of similar intention that has received at least some attention is the Canadian-U.S. American co-production *Captive Heart: The James Mink Story* (CAN/USA 1996). The main character, James Mink, played by the

acclaimed actor Louis Gossett Jr., is the son of a former slave, and now a successful businessman; in fact, he is among the richest people in mid-nineteenth century Toronto. While the rest of the story is not directly relevant to this argument, the fact that an immediate descendant of a slave became a millionaire and celebrated political figure in Canada again implies for the viewer that Canada was a true land of opportunity for liberated slaves and their descendants.

This remarkably positive impression is achieved by the use of several discursive strategies that help create a tilted picture without necessarily telling lies, even though, in this case, the creators of *Captive Heart* did have an extremely loose understanding concerning the requirements of historical accuracy to allow themselves to claim the film to be 'based on a true story' (Fisher 2016). The most fundamental move applied is what Tim Wise, in the context of race, calls 'enlightened exceptionalism' (Wise 2009), which means that an exceptional, individual case or event is chosen and presented so as to appear to be representative of a much larger picture (ibid., 28-29; Guest Pryal 2012). In this instance, James Mink's success story was clearly an exception to the rule that Black Canadians, by and large, had to live in very poor conditions (Small 2014). The second, and no less relevant, strategy consists of backgrounding and/or exclusion. Captive Heart further reinforces the notion of Canadian society's colorblindness by showing Mink's popular respect by making him run for the position of Mayor of Toronto, which, in fact, he never did (Fisher 2016), and his power and control over the white population by turning down the offers of numerous 'unworthy' whites who intend to marry his daughter. Although the false implications cannot be considered lies, the film certainly does not even remotely present a sincere picture of race relations in Canada at the time. Information that would undermine the intended message of having opportunity for all regardless of race, such as the not-so-irrelevant fact that, in reality, Mink's estate was set on fire by racists, whereby he lost everything and eventually died in poverty, is conveniently omitted so as not to contaminate the positive depiction of Canada as a land of equality and opportunity.

3 The Land of Loss

In comparison to the previous examples, *The Book of Negroes* (CAN/USA 2015) provides a radically different image of Canada. The miniseries corrects the two major shortcomings of previous treatments: On the one hand, unlike fugitive slave narratives, it features Canada itself as a location of action, and, as opposed to *Captive Heart*, it focuses on the life and struggles of a larger, average community rather than on the exceptional story of a single individual. After the transport of about three thousand Black Loyalists to Canada in 1783, the majority to Nova Scotia, the episodes set there depict the various difficulties of living on the still barren land.

The arrival in Canada is no longer shown to mean survival *per se* but simply the continuation of the struggle to survive in a different place and context. The essential deviation from the established norm of referring to Canada as a 'paradise' for former slaves and their descendants is made quite clear long before the Black Loyalists set foot in Nova Scotia. When Captain John Clarkson (Ben Chaplin) first mentions the British intent of transporting blacks to the colony of Nova Scotia, he immediately tells Aminata (Aunjanue Ellis) that even though blacks will be "entirely" free there (Episode 4, 6:04), "there will be hard work." (ibid., 6:10) The actual conditions, however, turn out to be much more problematic than just having to work hard. Aminata's apt description to Chekura (Lyriq Bent) sums up what the 'promised land' has to offer: "Moose, wolves, bear, every manner of massive wildlife, but you can barely grow a potato or a carrot or an onion; even chickens freeze." (Episode 5, 32:42) It is a place to die in, where disease devastates the population, including Aminata's newborn, and where people are forced to steal in order to survive, only to be hanged afterwards for having stolen. In the Canada of the miniseries, death is so much omnipresent that the sight of a crushed, dead body with wolves feeding on it no longer evokes any reaction in inhabitants because they have become accustomed to these sights on a daily basis. The initial images on the way from the port to Birchtown, the black settlement, already establish that perhaps the only difference between freedom in Nova Scotia and enslavement in the South of the United States is that while in the latter blacks toil in unbearable heat, in the former they do much the same in the freezing cold.

The major achievement of *The Book of Negroes* is that, unlike previous success stories, it depicts white Canadian society as deeply racist. Literally in her very first seconds on Canadian soil, Aminata already encounters hatred as a black person when being 'welcomed' by white men throwing peanuts at her. As the story-line develops, it becomes clear that racism is indeed a taken-for-granted phenomenon that is pervasive in every aspect of life, confirming historical records that people of African descent "were regularly reminded that they belonged on the lowest level of society, or indeed outside of society altogether." (Whitfield 2012, 27) A black person is paid half of what whites earn with the same work, and some, such as Cummings Shakspear (Stephan James), even decide to indenture themselves in order not to starve, thus, in effect, returning to slavery for a limited period of time. Even so, however, blacks are attacked for supposedly taking away jobs and opportunities from whites. The all-encompassing prejudice towards blacks reaches its climax when Mrs. Witherspoon (Jane Alexander), Aminata's employer, vows revenge on the black population at large for the murder of her son Matthew (Joel Thomas Hynes). Although neither she nor the authorities know who committed the crime, it is considered self-evident that only a black person could or would do so. When the tensions develop into racist riots and Birchtown is burned down and several blacks are murdered or lynched, it becomes clear that people of African descent have no stay in Canada. What is important to note in addition is that, while in the miniseries the riots break out nine years after arrival, in reality the Shelburne Riots, on which the

depiction is based, happened little more than half a year after the Black Loyalists settled in the colony (Robertson 2014). Nevertheless, the miniseries provides a realistic picture of how the majority of whites "rejected anything resembling equality with their black neighbors" (Whitfield 2012, 43), and "opted for a system of social subordination and absolute economic control." (ibid., 44) Race relations in Canada are perfectly symbolized by the manner in which the Canadian part of the story ends: Blacks are relocated to Freetown, Sierra Leone. Thus, it is admitted that racism is so pervasive in Canadian society that any attempt to maintain order between black and white communities is inherently futile. The only option left is therefore to deport Africans out of the colony.

An important message that *The Book of Negroes* conveys is that humanitarianism was not the driving force for liberating Africans. Although Captain Clarkson, who represents British abolitionists, shows deep sympathy towards and concern about blacks, freed slaves are little more than tools to be used by the British for their own purposes. Black Loyalists are always assigned tasks that serve the interests of the Crown. Both in Nova Scotia and later in Sierra Leone, they are needed as cheap labor to build up civilization in the respective colonies out of wilderness. Those who do not accept the conditions are left out in the cold despite having served the British in the Revolutionary War. Thus, after the Shelburne Riots, those who do not wish to be relocated and start building up their lives from zero all over again remain abandoned in a profoundly racist community without any meaningful action taken to improve the conditions and resolve the racial tension. Black Loyalists are shown to matter only as long as their labor and capabilities can be exploited with the least possible expenditure, while they are forsaken when in need. Therefore, without denying the significance of progressive values and thinking in freeing Loyalist slaves, the miniseries raises the question as to whether concern for former U.S. American slaves would have been the same had the British and their colonies not been able to draw direct profit from their labor.

4 The Land of Denial

Despite its emphatic depiction of the racist environment on Canadian soil, *The Book of Negroes* does not actually refute the idealistic images of previous artifacts. As far as Canada is concerned, the miniseries is unique in its being set at the end of the 18th century. It shows the conditions in Nova Scotia immediately following the Revolutionary War, that is, during the nine-year period between 1783 and 1792. In contrast, all the other treatments featuring Canada, one way or another, are set in the mid-19th century. While this can be considered inevitable with regard to stories of the Underground Railroad, since it was the period when the safety network was, by far, at its busiest (Lubet 2010; Soike 2013), it is an interesting and relevant coincidence that both *Captive Heart* and *12 Years a Slave* are based on narratives from exactly the same time. Thus, these stories combined provide a remarkably strong foundation to the notion that Canada was

indeed the land of black liberty and racial acceptance in the 1840s and 1850s. In relation to these images, the critical approach of *The Book of Negroes* is of little value since the miniseries tackles an entirely different historical period. The temporal distance along with the lack of variety in the qualitative depiction of either era allow for a clear-cut dichotomy of 'the bad late-18th' and 'the good mid-19th' centuries. Therefore, based on cinematic representations, one can easily arrive at the false conclusion that, by the 1850s, Canadians had successfully eliminated racial oppression, which had been so prominent and all-encompassing only 60 years before. Such a notion of improvement can easily be disproved by reading the following excerpt from Halifax's *Morning Post* from November 8th, 1842: "The free negro population of this province, pressing, for the most part, like a dead weight on the community, might have given England an argument [against abolition] that it would have been impossible to repel – of the national slothfulness of the African disposition." (Quoted in Whitfield 2012, 44) At first look, *The Book of Negroes* may seem to create a counter-argument to those positive images, yet, in fact, it simply does not operate in the same context and thus cannot be considered a rebuttal of previously established myths.

In fact, *The Book of Negroes* continues to reinforce the notion of Canada's innocence when it comes to involvement in slavery itself. The miniseries tells the story which, despite the lack of popular cultural attention, "is so familiar to Maritime historians that it hardly needs to be retold" and "the literature about [it] is voluminous." (Whitfield and Cahill 2009, 34) Such interest in black history in the region, and in Canada as a whole, comes to a virtual full stop, however, when Canadian slavery is in question. *The Book of Negroes* is exceptional in its indication, implicit as it is, of an existing slaving system on Canadian soil. Yet, even there, the only reference to domestic slavery is when Daddy Moses (Louis Gossett, Jr.) tells Captain Clarkson that "we have slave owners and slave property, and desperate people indenturing themselves into servitude." (Episode 5, 27:39) Clarkson's reply that "I regret profoundly the disappointments that have shaken you so. And that's why I've come" (ibid., 27:46) is contradicted by his own statement a few seconds later, when he explains that "you can't join us on this grand adventure [to Sierra Leone] if you are enslaved, indebted, or indentured." (ibid., 28:33) Essentially, those who would need help the most are the ones left out in the cold. Even more importantly, however, Clarkson's regret seems to imply that slavery has been unknown to and unanticipated by the British, and thus a marginal, underground activity at best. Its existence is no longer denied entirely, but its relevance is still mitigated and it still remains an off-screen 'side-note' rather than a narrative in and of itself (Whitfield 2012, 18). In general, *The Book of Negroes* confirms Whitfield and Cahill's observation that "[s]lavery is not seen as an integral part of this region's history, but rather as an alien and exceptional practice imported from the United States." (2009, 31)

Nevertheless, the miniseries is only one component to a much broader, systematic problem. The treatment of the issue of slavery in a specifically Canadian context is yet to gain popular attention and interest. In no cinematic depiction of slavery I have been

able to access is Canada presented as a slaveholding nation. Although *The Book of Negroes* makes reference to the existence of the practice, Canadian slave narratives never appear on screen. Such absence gives an impression similar to that of Captain Clarkson's regretful speech: that slavery in Canada was not a prevalent issue. To paraphrase and adopt Linda Holtzman's remark on the absence of disabled people from screen, if there are no images of Canadian slavery in the films we see, the one message which is conveyed with certainty is that Canada's slaving past, if acknowledged at all, is not relevant enough in history to see or hear about it (2000, 47). In this sense, missing presence means empowerment. The singularity of a few cinematic treatments featuring Canada bestows them with extraordinary influence on the views of the public (ibid., 41). An excellent, and eye-opening, example for such a phenomenon is *Captive Heart*, which is, in fact, not based on a true story but on a popular legend whose only resemblance to reality is that a black businessman called James Mink indeed existed (Fisher 2016). Nevertheless, if one searches for information on the protagonist and his life, one finds historical truth-claims to either the entire plot of the movie or at least to some vital parts of it. The power of such images, thus, lies in their thematic uniqueness because no divergent voices and perspectives are present to potentially debunk the established myths. In such cases, however, there is at least the opportunity to use the information available to question them and thus possibly come up with a counter-argument. In the case of absences, on the other hand, "[i]f vast areas of information are simply not [present], many facts cannot even be used to build counterinformation and hence counterideology." (van Dijk, 1988, 202). By replicating a positive or simply disconnected image of Canada in relation to slavery without giving voice to alternative narratives, the dominant ideology of Canadian innocence can easily be maintained as well as reinforced, and can be made unquestionable 'common knowledge' to the public without apparent ideologically charged content (Holtzman 2000, 34-35; van Dijk 1991, 37).

5 Conclusion

The issue of slavery has yet to be adopted into the Canadian national narrative. North American slavery offers itself to a U.S. American focus both because of the profound contribution of the United States to the enslavement of Africans and because of its dominance over information flow and the media in general. Nevertheless, slavery needs to be acknowledged and discussed as a part of specifically *Canadian* history as well. The institution has to be re-contextualized into a Canadian framework rather than simply compared to the United States in purely statistical terms. Numbers can be deceptive: In the same period when the Thirteen Colonies, or later the United States, were well-established, Canada was either in the initial phase of being built or entirely unsettled by Europeans. In this respect, while Canada's contribution to black enslavement does not appear significant internationally, slaves nevertheless made a profound contribution

to the establishment of the colony (Johnston 1978; Riddell 1920). Therefore, in order to provide a comprehensive picture of Canadian slavery, it is necessary to take into consideration the significantly different conditions in Canada in comparison to other major slave-holding nations and introduce a micro-level perspective of the institution as well.

Besides the adoption of a specifically Canadian perspective on the analysis of slavery in North America, it is essential to present the issue from an insider's perspective. Stories featuring minority narratives in general are almost exclusively told from the point of view of the dominant majority. As Haile Gerima, an acclaimed independent filmmaker from Ethiopia, tells in an interview, the first question a filmmaker planning to tackle minorities on screen receives is "Who is the white lead person that the Blacks will be endorsed by for a commercial guarantee?" (Gerima and Woolford 1994, 102) Thus, they are stories *about* rather than stories by those concerned. The most fundamental step towards realistic, thorough and inclusive depictions of minorities and their histories would be to allow them to tell their own stories for and about themselves, without being concerned about having to satisfy the predominantly white audience. Only an insider can experience, see and feel all the barriers to be broken and gaps to be bridged over, which would otherwise be invisible from the perspective of the dominant and the privileged.

References

Primary Sources

Braithwaite, Diana, Peter Mohan, and Nancy Trites-Botkin. *Race to Freedom: The Underground Railroad.* Directed by Don McBrearty. Santa Monica, California: Xenon Entertainment Group, 1994.

Ridley, John. *12 Years a Slave.* Directed by Steve McQueen. Los Angeles, California: Fox Searchlight Pictures, 2013.

Virgo, Clement, and Lawrence Hill. *The Book of Negroes.* Directed by Clement Virgo. Toronto: Entertainment One Television, 2015.

White, Bryon, Brian Bird, and John Wierick. *Captive Heart: The James Mink Story.* Directed by Bruce Pittman. New York: Columbia Broadcasting System, 1996.

Secondary Sources

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2010. *Racism without Racists.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Fisher, Jack. "ACO sponsors speaker for Black History Month." *Ontarion* (Guelph, Ontario), Feb. 24, 2016. http://www.theontarion.com/2016/02/aco-sponsors-speaker-for-black-history-month-2

Gallant, Sigrid Nicole. 2001. "Perspectives on the Motives for the Migration of African-Americans to and from Ontario, Canada." *The Journal of Negro History* 86 (3): 391–408.

Gerima, Haile, and Pamela Woolford. 1994. "Filming Slavery." *Transition* 64: 90–104.

Guest Pryal, Katie Rose. 2012. "Hollywood's White Legal Heroes and the Legacy of Slave Codes." In *Afterimages of Slavery*, edited by Marlene D. Allen and Seretha D. Williams, 145–163. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers.

Holtzman, Linda. 2000. *Media Messages.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharp, Inc.

Johnston, T. 1978. "The Canadian Black Population and Immigration." *Anthropos* 73 (3/4): 588–592.

Lubet, Steven. 2010. *Fugitive Justice.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Ogden, Nancy, Catherine Perkins, and David M. Donahue. 2008. "Not a Peculiar Institution." *The History Teacher* 41 (4): 469–488.

Riddell, William Renwick. 1920. "Slavery in the Maritime Provinces." *The Journal of Negro History* 5 (3): 359–375.

Robertson, Jesse. "The Shelburne Race Riots." *Canadian Encyclopedia* (Toronto), Nov. 19, 2014. http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-shelburne-race-riots/

Small, Takara. "Canada's secret slave-owning past revealed." *Metro* (Toronto), Feb. 10, 2014. http://www.metronews.ca/news/canada/2014/02/10/canadian-secret-slave-past.html

Soike, Lowell. 2013. *Necessary Courage: Iowa's Underground Railroad in the Struggle against Slavery.* Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Press.

Trudel, Marcel. 1960. *Canada's Forgotten Slaves.* Translated by George Tombs (2013). Montréal: Véhicule Press.

Van Dijk, Teun Adrianus. 1988. *News Analysis.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Van Dijk, Teun Adrianus. 1991. *Racism and the Press.* London: Routledge.

Van Dijk, Teun Adrianus. 1993. *Elite Discourse and Racism.* Newbury, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Whitfield, Harvey Amani. 2012. "The Struggle over Slavery in the Maritime Colonies." *Acadiensis* 41 (2): 17–44.

Whitfield, Harvey Amani, and Barry Cahill. 2009. "Slave Life and Slave Law and Colonial Prince Edward Island, 1769–1825." *Acadiensis* 38 (2): 29–51.

Wise, Tim. 2009. *Between Barack and a Hard Place.* San Francisco, California: City Lights Books.

Wise, Tim. 2010. *Colorblind.* San Francisco, California: City Lights Books.

Zellars, Rachel. "Canada's long history of racism." *Montreal Gazette*, Aug. 18, 2015. http://montrealgazette.com/news/quebec/opinion-canadas-long-history-of-anti-black-racism.

colloquium new philologies

doi:10.23963/cnp.2017.2.1.5

Sex Workers in Comic and Graphic Novels

Armin Lippitz*

Abstract

Sex workers in comics and graphic novels are usually marginalized and generally depicted negatively. Most frequently, a stereotypical image of sex workers as victims of society is perpetuated from a patriarchal viewpoint. Violence against prostitutes often constitutes the central theme for graphic novels. Characters in comics that are, or used to be, prostitutes are almost exclusively victimized or vilified. Even powerful, authoritative, and independent female sex workers, are usually at the mercy of even more powerful male figures.

In 2011 the Canadian cartoonist Chester Brown tried to counter this prevalent misogynist depiction of prostitutes in his graphic novel *Paying For It*. The autobiographical story centers on him as a 'John', a client of sex workers, for several years, and explains his experiences with escorts in a somber, dry, methodical, and unembellished style. My paper focuses on the portrayal of prostitutes in Chester Brown's *Paying For It* and compares various comics and graphic novels also featuring sex workers to it. I will show that *Paying For It*, although partly flawed, is an important work for the portrayal of prostitutes in comics, and a valuable contribution in the debate about the decriminalization of sex work.

Key words: comics, graphic novels, sex workers, Chester Brown

* Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt; armin.lippitz@aau.at

Comics and graphic novels have gained in popularity in recent years. The success of movie adaptations of popular comics stories, heroes and franchises has helped in this respect. The notion that comics are primarily produced for children is outdated and the medium has grown up to include serious subject matters. In this paper I am going to focus on prostitutes, or sex workers as they are mostly referred to nowadays, and their representation in comics and graphic novels. I will present a short array of examples and their various different approaches of depicting people working in the sex industry as prostitutes. Before an analysis of various comics texts and their portrayal of sex workers, let me give you a short explanation of the terminology I am going to be using.

Prostitutes or 'sex workers' are people who exchange "money for sex acts and services of various kinds" (Overall 1992, 709). This definition includes people working as street prostitutes, escorts, 'exotic dancers' or strippers, telephone sex workers, and porn performers. For the purpose of this paper I will use the terms 'sex workers' or 'prostitutes' referring exclusively to people exchanging money or other valuable commodities for physical interaction of a sexual nature. I am going to investigate the portrayal of sex workers in comics and graphic novels. It is not my intention to find a blueprint for the 'typical sex worker' or how they came to be working in that profession. As Dalla argues:

> [u]ndoubtedly, entry into prostitution and continued work in the sex industry results from the cumulation of multiple interdependent personal and contextual factors; none of which may exist in the same form or to the same degree for all women who prostitute themselves. A 'profile' of the prostituted woman (or one who will eventually turn to prostitution) does not exist. (Dalla 2000, 345)

I will instead highlight the most common depictions of sex workers in comics and graphic novels.

There are numerous examples for comics and graphic novels featuring characters trading sexual favors for money. Sex workers are usually marginalized and generally depicted in a negative light. Two different depictions of female sex workers in comics and graphic novels stand out, one being the nymphomaniac, or hypersexual seductress, and the other being the victim to be preyed upon. Both these images are most often perpetuated from a patriarchal viewpoint and used to vilify or victimize female sex workers. In addition, these two approaches have become shorthand, or a convention of the medium, as stereotypical images of prostitutes.

Chester Brown in his graphic novel from 2011 *Paying For It*, tries to break this pattern and provides a fresh perspective on female sex workers. In this paper I will focus on the portrayal of prostitutes in comics and graphic novels and will compare various comics and graphic novels also featuring sex workers to Chester Brown's *Paying For It*. The primary texts I have chosen to examine in contrast are the comics series *Uncanny X-Men* (2001–2003) among others by Joe Casey and Tom Raney and related comics, the graphic

novel *From Hell* (1999) by Alan Moore and Eddie Campbell, as well as one work from the series of graphic novels called *Sin City* by Frank Miller, namely *Sin City: The Big, Fat Kill* (2010). The main focus, however, will be on *Paying For It*. I will show that this text, although partly flawed, is an important work for the portrayal of prostitutes in comics, and a valuable contribution in the debate about the decriminalization of sex work in Canada.

As already mentioned, two different depictions of female sex workers are most common in comics and graphic novels, the victim and the oversexualized, flirtatious temptress. The former is much more prominent and is used more frequently than the latter. However, even some victimized characters sometimes develop sexually alluring behavior, usually to get out of dangerous situations. In this way, they are using their sexuality to save themselves from harm or trauma.

An archetypal example for the seductive harlot is Miranda Leevald, better known by her mutant name Stacy-X, introduced by the writer Joe Casey and illustrated by Tom Raney in the *Uncanny X-Men* comics series.[1] She has the power to control her pheromones and stimulate other people's body functions while secreting her pheromones upon skin-to-skin contact. This ability allows her to cause nausea, vomiting, rectal malfunctions, or orgasms in the people she touches. With no job skills or money she turns to prostitution as a source of income, first on the street, later in the fictitious Nevada brothel called the X-Ranch, which is a reference to the actual 'World Famous Mustang Ranch' brothel in Nevada, USA. Because of her powers she supposedly does not have to have sexual intercourse with any of her clients, but her flaunting and provocative demeanor reveals that she is not ashamed of and might even enjoy what she is doing. While working with and going on several missions with the X-Men, she tries to seduce two members of the group, Archangel and Nightcrawler. To emphasize her seductive nature, her American creators, instead of regular skin, gave her snake-like scales. The religious connotation of the snake tempting Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden is unmistakable and emphasizes her villainous identity even though she is, for a time at least, a team member of the so-called "good guys". The allusion to religious themes is emphasized considering that the two X-Men she is trying to seduce are both theologically connoted as well.

Sex and seduction are second nature to her. She uses her mutant power to control pheromones for her own gain and sexual gratification, as well as to tease her fellow X-Men about their sexual desires. The ability to influence people with their own lust is her strongest weapon and she makes use of it gratuitously. However, in one of the many convoluted and tangled story-arches of the Marvel comics universe she loses her mutant powers, which hits her pretty hard. The only option she sees to survive without

[1] The series changed writers and artists several times. The issues I am referring to were created by Joe Casey and Tom Raney (Casey and Raney 2001–2002) as well as Chuck Austen and Ron Garney (Austen and Garney 2002–2003) respectively.

her abilities is to work as a street prostitute again, this time as a "regular" sex worker. The British comic book writer Paul Jenkins, who is responsible for her loss of mutant powers in his series *Generation M* (2006), turns her former villainous identity into the predominant depiction of sex workers in comics, namely the victim.

This portrayal of sex workers is self-explanatory. It shows them being the mark for tragedies or being oppressed and attacked by society and more powerful characters. They usually cannot escape their grievous fates and are made out to be at the bottom of society. They are at the mercy of others, most commonly male figures of authority, and generally do not have strong personalities or extraordinary skills or attributes.

One of the best examples for a graphic novel in which female sex workers are victimized is *From Hell* (1999) by the English writer Alan Moore and the Scottish artist living in Australia Eddie Campbell. It tells the story of a conspiracy revolving around an illegitimate child of the royal family at the end of the 19th century and its cover-up. When a group of prostitutes – who are aware of the baby – blackmail the foster father of the child to get rid of a gang of thugs harassing them, the royal physician Sir William Gull is instructed to silence the women threatening to expose the crown's secret. Thus, Gull, with the simpleton driver John Netley as an accomplice, begins brutally murdering the sex workers and in doing so becomes the notorious serial killer Jack the Ripper.

Much of the story of *From Hell* alludes to, and comments on, factual events, documented by official records on the Whitechapel murders in the late 19th century, as well as by prominent sources in what has become known as 'ripperology', the study and analysis of the Jack the Ripper cases. So, portraying prostitutes as victims is the whole point of the narrative because it references the non-fictional events of a serial killer murdering sex workers. However, there are numerous examples of fictitious elements which express the same notion. One example would be the outburst of the leading Detective Inspector Frederick Abberline in chapter eleven in which he curses at a sex worker and calls her "this dirty little scrubber" and "[f]ilthy fuckin' whore" before ordering a constable to arrest her for soliciting (Moore and Campbell 2015, XI–15[2]). The point of that sequence is to show this character's change of perspective on prostitutes, who previously was seemingly tolerant of the profession, and is, according to the author himself, "a fabrication for story purposes" (Moore and Campbell 2015, Appendix I–36). This incident is just one example of the constantly looming atmosphere that all prostitutes in the story are at the mercy of more powerful, usually male, figures. This is highlighted by them perpetually and desperately scraping for money to be able to get food and shelter, their dependency on and fear of violent street gangs, and obviously by the gruesome murders themselves.

In this book, female prostitutes are the lowest class of people, a group literally to be used and abused at the whims of men. Their visual portrayal, however, shows a maturity

[2] The Roman numeral in the reference indicates the chapter in the book, the Arabic number refers to the page count within that chapter.

missing in many Jack the Ripper fictions, which either exaggerate their sexuality by making them overly beautiful, desirable, and promiscuous, or they are shown as disease-ridden and repulsive. Alan Moore makes a point of their depiction in the extensive appendix, writing:

> The physical appearance of the four women here is drawn from written descriptions, published sketches by police illustrators and, where appropriate, from morgue photographs. These women were neither the sultry, wanton beauties that they are depicted as being in the more exploitational Ripper movies, nor the disfigured and toothless hags that some writers have described them as. They were ordinary women, who, despite their deprived and unhealthy situation, were trying to look attractive for the only job that society had seen fit to offer them. (Moore and Campbell 2015, Appendix I–8)

The attempt to picture the female sex workers in this book as ordinary women is basically the only common characteristic *From Hell* shares with *Paying For It* in regard to the portrayal of prostitutes.

The strong notions of classism and sexism punctuate the female sex workers' victimization in Alan Moore and Eddie Campbell's book. They are hopelessly trapped in their position at the bottom of society without any prospects for improvement of their situation. The continual threat of violence by street gangs, the perpetual possibility of contracting diseases or getting pregnant, as well as the chance of being arrested by the police are all indicative of an undesirable lifestyle. The sober demeanor towards their occupation, however, reveals that they seemingly have accepted their fate, because none of the women in the graphic novel show any signs of wanting to change their circumstances. They are not perpetuating a defeatist sentiment though, but rather one of compliance or even restrained agreement. In this sense, they are rather weak characters which emphasizes their victimization even more. The American comics creator Frank Miller takes a different approach in his depiction of sex workers in the *Sin City* series of graphic novels.

While the prostitutes in *From Hell* are victims through and through, at first glance the sex workers in Sin City are strong, independent women. They have established themselves as a self-governed force in Old Town, one of the city districts, where they are the law and nobody, not even the police, dare to interfere. In the second installment of the series, *Sin City: The Big, Fat Kill* (2010), the sex workers unknowingly kill a hero cop and start to panic, fearing for their autonomy and relative freedom. They expect retaliation by the police, and the mafia to take over their district and subsequently exploit them as slaves. The only character who keeps a cool head and actually devises a plan to help them out of their dilemma is, of course, Dwight, the male hero of the story. Thus the image of the sex workers being free, independent, strong women in charge of their own destinies is undermined and turned on its head. In actuality, they are again portrayed

as victims at the mercy of more powerful figures, like the police or the mob, and are dependent on male interference to save them. Frank Miller makes this particularly clear in one sequence in which Dwight orders the panicked prostitutes to give him a car so he can take care of the situation with the dead policeman. Threatened in her authority, Gail, the sex workers' leader, pulls a gun on Dwight, commanding him to stay out of it. He smacks her in the face and after a tense few moments, she, surprisingly, kisses him passionately. She appears to appreciate his dominant behavior and even thanks him for treating her that way. The scene reveals Frank Miller's misogynistic view of female sex workers and establishes the patriarchal power structure of the narrative.

In *Paying For It*, Chester Brown takes a radically different approach on various levels. First, his narrative is autobiographical and thus much more closely connected to real life events than the previous examples, even the semi-fictional story *From Hell*. As a result, all depictions, actions, and situations in his work set out from a premise distinctly different from the aforementioned artifacts. In typical Canadian, diplomatic fashion he cautions his readers: "While I've recounted the incidents and conversations that make up this graphic novel in a manner that's reasonably faithful to my memories, you should keep in mind that memory is not precise" (Brown 2011, viii).

Secondly, Chester Brown not only broaches the issue of the visual representation of sex workers in his comic book but also their behavior, social circumstances, and personalities, without compromising their anonymity. He regrets that he had to withhold much of what the sex workers had told him "about their families, their childhoods, their boyfriends, and other aspects of their lives", because "it would have brought the women to life as full human beings and made [*Paying For It*] a better book" (ibid, vii). For the sake of protecting their identities he decided against including any material that could potentially jeopardize their anonymity. Brown is conscious that he is tackling a controversial subject and his respectful, apologetic approach emphasizes that.

Lastly, although it is not explicitly stated in the story or in the extensive appendix, it is clear that Chester Brown has an agenda, namely to change the public perception of people involved in the sex industry. His message to decriminalize sex work, at least in Canada, is very prominent throughout the graphic novel. While it might be a part of the reason, it does not seem to be his main motivation to justify his decision to regularly pay for sex, but he seems genuinely interested in the sex workers and their conditions and circumstances. In other words, he is not primarily concerned with improving or defending his own experiences as a 'john', a client of sex workers, but he rather wants to increase understanding and acceptance of all people involved. Ultimately, he aims to remove the prevalent social stigmas against sex workers and their customers.

Chester Brown puts prominent emphasis on the fact that the women he pays for sex are human beings, and that they should be treated with the same respect and dignity as any other person. He tries, with varying degrees of success, to make them relatable to his readers. Brown shows them as ordinary people with needs, problems, and personalities. Even though he conceals their faces, by strategically placing speech-bubbles or by clever

framing and perspectives, each sex worker has her own character traits and identity. These features may not be accurate representations of their real identities, yet for the sake of the narrative they at least feel plausible and approachable. He regretfully states in the foreword that he was not able to "[give] a better sense of their personalities", because he did not want to share any details that could potentially expose their real identities.

That is also the reason for the visual representation of the sex workers in the book. Although, according to Brown, he met women of several different ethnicities, all the sex workers have the same general appearance – they are white with long black hair. He abstains from drawing any tattoos or piercings and only occasionally highlights details of physical appearance, like the size of their breasts or dimpled skin. Most of the sex workers in the book share the same body type, which might just be Chester Brown's preference, but in later chapters it feels like a vignette with slightly changing hairstyles. Despite their similar appearance he still manages to give each sex worker a unique identity though, especially the ones he meets repeatedly. This does not change the fact that the visual representation of prostitutes in *Paying For It* is questionable.

What is particularly interesting about this book is that it does not exclusively feature Chester Brown's point of view. Admittedly, it is the most prominent voice in the narrative but he provides space for other opinions, often countering his, as well. The graphic novel tackles several controversial issues in relation to sex work, like underage prostitution, drugs, love and romantic relationships, language barriers, prevention and contraception, the female period, sex worker review websites, laws and legislation, physical attractiveness and sympathy, or sex-slavery and human trafficking. Many of these topics are investigated and commented on from different perspectives, and all of them are covered and dealt with in the extensive appendix. The reflective, respectful, and differentiated manner in which sex workers are considered in *Paying For It*, is a refreshing change and improvement of their depiction in the medium, albeit not without shortcomings and flaws as well.

Although some aspects, like the visual representation of the prostitutes, are problematic, it is definitely a step in the right direction regarding the depiction of sex workers in comics and graphic novels. In addition, it makes a compelling argument for decriminalizing sex work in Canada by raising awareness of important issues revolving around the subject. Chester Brown's graphic novel is unique and gives a refreshingly new perspective on female prostitutes, which will hopefully influence future depictions of the profession in this and other media.

References

Austen, Chuck and Ron Garney. 2002–2003. *Uncanny X-Men #410–422.* New York: Marvel.

Brown, Chester. 2011. *Paying For It.* Montreal: Drawn & Quarterly.

Casey, Joe and Tom Raney. 2001-2002. *Uncanny X-Men #399–409.* New York: Marvel.

Dalla, Rochelle L. 2000. "Exposing the 'Pretty Woman' Myth: A Qualitative Examination of the Lives of Female Streetwalking Prostitutes." *The Journal of Sex Research* 37 (4): 344–353.

Jenkins, Paul. 2006. *Generation M.* New York: Marvel.

Miller, Frank. 2010 [1994]. *Sin City: The Big, Fat Kill.* Milwaukie/OR: Dark Horse.

Moore, Alan and Eddie Campbell. 2015. [1999] *From Hell.* Marietta, GA: Top Shelf Production.

Overall, Christine. 1992. "What's Wrong with Prostitution? Evaluating Sex Work." *Signs* 17 (4): 705–724.

colloquium new philologies

doi:10.23963/cnp.2017.2.1.6

Advertisements as Authentic Materials in Business English Class

Vesna Lazović*

Abstract

Authentic materials frequently complement coursebooks since they increase learner motivation and provide a realistic context for tasks relating to learners' needs. However, using language from natural texts instead of ready-made examples can be counterproductive if not appropriately adapted. For that reason, the ESP teacher must consider the learner's knowledge of language when preparing tasks, as authentic materials often contain difficult language, unnecessary vocabulary items, and complex language structures. This paper, first, summarizes the main advantages of using such materials in teaching and then focuses on the use of bank advertisements in Business English classes. In order to be properly implemented, these advertisements need to be analyzed in terms of their most frequent features at different linguistic levels. This analysis can help both ESP teachers to relate language instruction to particular universal characteristics of the register and ESP students to acquire language more naturally. Finally, the paper includes several ideas for exercises focusing on different language skills aimed at intermediate and upper-intermediate students.

Key words: authentic materials, advertisements, bank advertising, Business English class

* Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad; lazovicvesna@ff.uns.ac.rs

1 Introduction

The teaching and learning situation has changed dramatically after communicative language teaching came into existence in the late 1970s and the need for authenticity reappeared. The concept of actual language use in language teaching was then introduced and the language classroom was linked to the reality of the outside world.

Although the issue of authenticity has been discussed and debated extensively in the field of linguistics, materials development and pedagogy for at least four decades, a consensus has not been reached on a precise definition (Lee 1995). Some of the authors tried to simplify the matter by underlining that the term *authentic* is "reserved for textual material prepared for the consumption of native speakers, without any type of adaptation or abbreviation for the benefit of the foreign language student" (Carney and Franciulli 1992, 3). However, defining authenticity and implementing it, especially in education, has become a very complex process. Gilmore (2008, 68) emphasizes this complexity by highlighting a variety of research fields in which authenticity has been explored, including discourse and conversational analysis, pragmatics, cross-cultural studies, sociolinguistics, ethnology, second language acquisition, and motivation research, among others.

This paper, first, tries to summarize the common definitions of authenticity together with the main advantages of using such materials in teaching. Furthermore, it discusses the necessity of a thorough pre-analysis of materials before they are brought to class. Finally, it concludes with several ideas for exercises focusing on different language skills aimed at intermediate and upper-intermediate students.

2 Definitions of authenticity

The notion of authenticity was originally introduced to distinguish between artificially simplified texts and unmodified real texts (Thornbury 2006). Nonetheless, the problem of defining authenticity has become very complex over the years primarily because researchers mainly investigated the concept within their fields of specialization. Gilmore (2008) warns about the different readings and definitions which can further lead to terminological confusions.

One of the first widely accepted definitions was the one proposed by Morrow (1977, 13) who suggests that an *authentic text* is "a stretch of real language, produced by a real speaker or writer for a real audience and designed to convey a real message of some sort." Similarly, Widdowson (1983, 30) attributes authenticity to texts produced by native speakers which inevitably have a normal communicative purpose. These two early definitions center around text authenticity by emphasizing a real sender and a real receiver of the message.

Referring to authenticity in the language classroom, McDonough and Shaw (1993, 43) point out that authenticity implies a close approximation of the world outside the classroom in terms of both the selection of language material and the activities used for practising. In other words, authenticity is the result of acts of authentication, by students and their teacher, of the learning process and the language used in it (van Lier 1996, 128).

For the purpose of this paper dealing with authenticity in foreign language education, the most appropriate definition of authenticity would be Mishan's layered description (2005, 18), where authenticity is seen as a set of the following five criteria: (1) provenance and authorship of the text; (2) original communicative and socio-cultural purpose of the text; (3) original context of the text; (4) learning activity engendered by the text; and (5) learners' attitudes to the text and the activity pertaining to it.

3 Authenticity in language education

Following Mishan's thorough discussion and investigation into authenticity in language education (2005), it can be concluded that authenticity is a complex process with the key components being manifested in three domains, namely, authenticity of texts, authenticity of tasks, and learner authenticity.

3.1 Authenticity of texts

Authentic texts are textual materials aimed at native speakers which can be used as classroom materials with or without adaptation and/or simplification for the foreign language student. However, the two most common concerns regarding the use of such texts are text difficulty and the loss of authenticity. Most commonly, texts for native speakers abound in difficult language, unnecessary vocabulary items, and complex language structures. Therefore, the question remains whether a text loses its authenticity if it is adapted and used for pedagogical purposes. Generally speaking, absolute authenticity is impossible in classroom settings, because it is destroyed whenever a text is used for teaching purposes, i.e. whenever a text contains traces of language teaching intervention (Morrow 1977; Chavez 1998; Joy 2011).

Furthermore, there are two opposing standpoints in the literature regarding the modification of texts. On the one hand, some authors highlight the complexity of such texts, which are very often too difficult to be comprehended by language learners (e.g. Widdowson 2003; Mishan 2005; Khaniya 2006). For that reason, texts should be simplified and adapted to the learner's knowledge of the respective language. This is especially important at lower levels, as learners may not be able to respond to a text appropriately, which can further cause frustration, confusion, and demotivation (Guariento and

	Important Factors in Choosing Authentic Reading Material
Suitability of Content	Does the text interest the student? Is it relevant to the student's needs? Does it represent the type of material that the student will use outside of the classroom?
Exploitability	Can the text be exploited for teaching purposes? For what purpose should the text be exploited? What skills/strategies can be developed by exploiting the text?
Readability	Is the text too easy/difficult for the student? Is it structurally too demanding/complex? How much new vocabulary does it contain? Is it relevant?
Presentation	Does it "look" authentic? Is it "attractive"? Does it grab the student's attention? Does it make him want to read more?

Table 1: Checklist for selecting authentic materials, Berardo (2006, 63).

Morley 2001, 348; Gilmore 2007, 109). This approach is a so-called loose approach to authentic texts, since text alterations are justified by pedagogical reasoning. On the other hand, there is a stricter approach to authenticity. Adams (1995) states that materials are authentic if the language data are unaltered and produced originally for non-teaching purposes conveying a real message. Proponents of this view are generally against any text simplifications and suggest task simplification instead (e.g. Morrow 1977; Bacon and Finnemann 1990; Berardo 2006).

Whatever the standpoint, with SLA research becoming increasingly pedagogically focused, Mishan (2005, 21) argues that authentic texts in language learning should be used since they enhance language acquisition. She also (ibid, 37) adds that their use demands greater personal investment on the part of the learner, which is how the vital connection is made between the classroom and the real world.

Anyhow, whenever a text is to be selected, a teacher always has to consider a number of important factors, such as curricular goals, the students' age, their level of language proficiency, and their interests and needs (Khaniya 2006, 21). Berardo (2006, 63) suggests a check-list for teachers for selecting authentic materials, particularly for choosing authentic reading material, presented in Table 1.

Unlike pedagogical texts in course books, authentic materials do not highlight particular linguistic or grammatical features but rather fulfil a particular purpose, for example, convey information, instruct, or persuade. For that reason, a proper selection and adaptation of authentic texts are required. Only then can teachers focus on designing tasks which suit the learners' needs.

3.2 Authenticity of tasks

Many researchers suggest that with a task-based language learning approach, authentic materials can be used even with beginners, since the level of difficulty is modified by adapting the task and not the text itself (Nunan 1989; Mishan 2005). In such a way, task design can solve the problem of text difficulty.

When incorporating authentic texts in foreign language classes, crucial questions should be: (a) what is to be achieved with classroom materials? and, consequently, (b) what kind of tasks ought to be designed around these materials? According to Mishan (2005) and Gilmore (2008), the teacher's goal is to help learners become communicatively competent, i.e. to communicate effectively in the target language. This is possible only if classroom activities acknowledge the communicative purpose of an authentic text. Teachers can use any materials, as long as they serve that purpose.

In order to design authentic tasks, it is vital to consider the six guidelines proposed by Mishan (2005, 75) with regard to task authenticity:

1. reflect the original communicative purpose of the text on which they are based
2. be appropriate to the text on which they are based
3. elicit response to/engagement with the text on which they are based
4. approximate real-life tasks
5. activate learners' existing knowledge of the target language and culture
6. involve purposeful communication between learners.

Mishan's (2005) approach to designing authentic tasks around authentic materials always begins with the identification of the communicative purpose of a text. Thereafter, the teacher can select between the different task types. To illustrate, advertisements have a persuasive communicative purpose, hence, the teacher can design different tasks where learners analyse how the communicative purpose of the advertisement is achieved. In Table 2, several examples of authentic tasks are presented, which belong to three different task types, as described by Mishan (2005, 90).

Task Type	Description	Examples
Inferencing	Inferring/interpreting information/concepts (including cultural) from audio, written, visual or audio-visual input.	Find several advertisements and infer the target audience. Identify the cultural concepts in advertisements.
Extraction	Extracting factual information from audio, written, visual or audio-visual input.	Extract factual information from advertisements.
Analysis	Raising awareness of linguistic forms and functions and of figurative use of language.	Analyse how advertisements achieve impact. Analyse conversational strategies.

Table 2: Advertisements as examples within three different task types (Mishan 2005, 90).

3.3 Learner authenticity

Together with the appropriate choice of authentic texts and the design of authentic tasks, authenticity in language learning depends on the learner who is an active subject in the learning process. The learner is the one who experiences and evaluates the authenticity of texts and the tasks designed around them (Mishan 2005, 18). The authenticity-centred approach concentrates on learners and their experiences, attitudes, needs, and emotions. Authentic materials can be selected to meet the needs and interests of specific learners, which textbooks targeted at an international audience sometimes fail to address (Morrison 1989; McGarry 1995; Mishan 2005).

Unless the teacher prepares authentic texts and tasks to tailor learners' needs, learners will not be able to understand the purpose of these real-life materials used in a classroom setting. Authenticity in language learning depends on the learner's perception of what is authentic, that is, the learner's response (Arnold 1991, 239–240; Mishan 2005, 18). More precisely, authenticity ought to be reflected in tasks which relate to the learning experience.

Lee (1995) also claims that authentic materials must be learner-authentic. In other words, they need to be motivating, interesting, and useful. Moreover, Joy (2011) argues that authenticity is a process of personal engagement, in which learners must be genuinely interested. Teachers should construct relevant classroom contexts in order to make the learning process real for learners (Nation 2009) and implement materials and design tasks which will enable learners to meaningfully and purposefully use the language (Castillo Losada et al. 2017).

4 Advertisements as authentic materials

The authenticity of the language can help language learners develop their communicative competence (Tomlinson 1998). The significance of authenticity has been emphasized by various authors as a relevant feature in ESP methodology (Breen, 1985; Rogers and Medley 1988; Guariento and Morley 2001; Gilmore 2004, 2007; Berardo 2006).

According to Shrum and Glisan (2000, 133), authentic materials "provide an effective means for presenting real language, integrating culture, and heightening comprehension." Beresova (2015) claims that authentic materials can be more appropriate for advanced L2 readers than pedagogically modified texts in raising cultural awareness. They can be used to pre-teach cultural traits, increase learners' knowledge about the culture (e.g. holidays, history, tradition). Such materials are often thought to contain more realistic and natural examples of language use than the ones found in course books and

other teaching materials (Richards and Schmidt 2002, 42). The main advantages of using such materials could be summarized as follows (Richards, 2001):

- they expose learners to real language;
- they have a positive effect on learner motivation;
- they improve their language production;
- they increase their confidence;
- they raise their awareness of natural speech;
- they provide authentic cultural information about the target culture;
- they relate more closely to learners' needs;
- they support a more creative approach to teaching;
- they develop their interest in the real use of the target language.

This paper will illustrate the use of advertisements as authentic materials in Business English classes. Advertisements in the media are a rich source for educational use, since they are abundant in a wide variety of psychological, emotional, and cultural messages. They are also a valuable source of habits, customs, and social behaviour (McCarthy and Carter 1994, 150). They can be used as learning tools for teaching vocabulary, grammar, and writing concepts. For example, Brickman (1992) uses them to exemplify writing models presented in class. He argues that advertisements can be effective, when carefully chosen, even in the basic skills classroom, since they can help students sharpen their critical thinking skills. Furthermore, learners can collect those advertisements which contain examples of vocabulary taught in class, such as wordplays, idioms, and metaphors. Picken's article (2000) reviews work in the areas of language awareness, language play, and culture in relation to the use of advertisements in foreign language teaching. Stamatelou (2015) underlines the contribution of written advertisements to language learning, paying special attention to how macro-level and micro-level discourse features of advertising can be taught. She further points out that teaching discourse in EFL classrooms using whole written advertisement texts contributes to raising learners' language awareness and to developing their language learning, because it involves the highlighting of linguistic, cultural, and socio-cultural domains (32).

Interestingly enough, although there is a vast amount of authentic materials available as teaching resources, including advertisements, there are very few guidelines for teachers on how to incorporate them successfully into the language classroom. Kramsch (1993) gives detailed suggestions on how advertisements and other authentic materials can be used but does not elaborate how to select them or for what to use them. Jacobson et al. (2003) provide useful ideas on how to use different authentic materials and demonstrate the wide variety of literacy activities that can be used when exploring a single theme but do not mention advertisements in particular. Autio (2012, 6) emphasizes that there actually is no handbook on the implementation of authentic texts or the design of authentic tasks for cultural education and includes a material package with practical guidelines for the application of authentic materials as cultural mirrors.

Here, the following steps are suggested for approaching authentic materials:

1. *selecting materials and identifying the goals of teaching.*
   Teachers should decide which authentic materials they want to use and for what reasons.
2. *pre-examining features of a text.*
   Teachers need to pre-examine features of a text and specific register in advance (linguistic and/or non-linguistic features) focusing on the targeted aspects to be learnt, including both the content and the form;
3. *adapting the text and designing the tasks.*
   Teachers should adapt the text to the students' level of language knowledge before using it in class.

Since the preparation of authentic materials can be very time-consuming, the first step is the most essential because without a clear purpose in mind, all the hard work can be in vain. Osborne (2005, 74) suggests that the ESP instructor must always incorporate authentic texts that are meaningful to students. The fact that a text is authentic does not automatically mean that it is relevant, which can lead to situations where learners report authentic materials to be significantly less interesting than artificial materials (Peacock 1997). Liu (2016) also advises language teachers to make use of graded tasks to guide the students through its difficulties from simple to more complicated ones. Finally, Gilmore (2008: 97) warns that teachers should not overload the learners' language capacity by asking them to analyse input for meaning and form simultaneously. Rather, they should focus on meaning first before shifting attention to language forms (Willis 1996).

4.1 Main features of advertisements

In order to use advertisements, the teacher needs to get acquainted with the previous analyses and pre-examine features to be used in class. Only with the thorough insight into different aspects of advertisements can they further be implemented in ESP teaching.

To start with, many linguists have dealt with the analysis of advertising language from the linguistic point of view and specified devices used in advertising texts. For instance, Leech's (1966) work on English-language advertising in 1960s Britain highlights the extensive repertoire of linguistic choices available to copywriters when creating advertising material; Rees (1982) shows how slogans have been used; Cook (1992) focuses on parallelism, metaphor, metonymy, homophones, puns, parody, and rhyme; Myers (1994) includes alliteration, assonance, rhyme, homophones, question forms, ellipsis, parallelism, and puns. In a general survey, Brierley (2002) lists language games, repetition, similes, parallelism, paradox, omission, and ambiguity, while Tanaka (1994) concentrates on the use of puns and metaphors, etc. Vestergaard and Schroder (1985) illustrate

the range of techniques advertisers use to achieve emphasis and special effects. All of these studies reveal some universal language features of advertisements across languages:

1. at the phonological level: alliteration, rhythm and rhyme, repetition, sound symbolism;
2. at the orthographic level: deviations in spelling, capitalization;
3. at the lexical level: trigger words, brand names, slogans, catch phrases;
4. at the grammatical level: structural simplicity, ellipsis, imperatives, superlatives;
5. at the semantic level: metaphors, metonymy, word plays, ambiguity;
6. at the pragmatic level: direct appeal to the recipients, speech acts of persuasion.

This list does not attempt to be exhaustive but only emphasizes the fact that some uniform features appear in advertisements regardless of language or culture. A discourse-based view of advertising language confirms that all of these characteristics have the same functions – catching our attention and appealing to our imagination; increasing recognition and enhancing the memorizing effect; making the advertisement easy to repeat and remember (Leech 1966, 29; Dyer 1982, 140).

4.2 Examples of authentic tasks for classroom use

Picken (2000, 341) notices that advertisements still seem to be rarely used in mainstream EFL texts, most commonly in activities related to job advertisements. Stamatelou (2015, 27) further investigates the use of advertisements in EFL course books and concludes that advertising texts are under-exploited, both qualitatively and quantitatively. The micro-level and macro-level discourse features reflecting the functions of advertising texts are neither highlighted nor interrelated.

This can be confirmed if any typical Business English course book (B1 level CEFR) is taken into consideration. For example, in Allison and Emmerson (2013, 55) there is only one instance of job advertisements in relation to a role-play where students revise the most common questions and answers at a job interview. Moreover, in Cotton, Falvey, and Kent (2011, 44–51) a whole unit is dedicated to the concept of advertising. However, the exercises mainly serve as a trigger for speaking practice and introduce vocabulary which is broadly connected to advertising (e.g. words for different methods of advertising or verbs to do with advertising). They neither refer to the register of advertising nor do they indicate any of the lexico-grammatical features. As was mentioned above, advertisements provide an excellent source of varied and comprehensible input for language learners and should be used in language learning settings. As such, they can complement materials in the compulsory Business English course book in order to encourage learners to further explore language use on their own. They are likely to increase learner motivation while providing a realistic context for tasks relating to learners' needs. The sample tasks presented here are all based on the discussion and findings in Lazović (2014a, 2014b, 2015) and are primarily designed for Business English classes. Since all of the examples are taken from the collected corpus of online

bank advertisements in the UK, they are suitable for students of economics, marketing, business, banking, management, etc. In situations where learners need specialised language for professional development, authentic texts might be more motivating because learners recognise them as useful for their future career (Mishan 2005, 27). Following the same pattern, other advertisements can, of course, also be used, depending on the learner's interests and needs.

In the following section, several ideas for exercises are presented, focusing on different language skills aimed at intermediate and upper-intermediate students (B1–B2 level CEFR). In the vocabulary exercise, for example, frequent words and their collocational patterns are practised; while in the grammar exercise, the use of imperatives is reinforced. Regarding productive language skills, students can improve their speaking by discussing the strategies banks use online and by elaborating on the reasons of their effectiveness; alternatively, they can be asked to change the genre from descriptive texts to that of advertising texts.

4.2.1 Vocabulary exercises

The following examples can help students learn and revise frequent words and expressions in advertisements.

Example 1 – Fill in the missing words in these sentences

1	When you borrow money from banks, pay attention to the i..... r..... they charge.	[INTEREST RATE]
2	Which kind of s..... a..... suits you best?	[SAVINGS ACCOUNT]
3	Have you checked if you are p..... the right amount of t.....?	[PAYING / TAX]
4	Recipient banks abroad may c..... a f..... for receiving payments.	[CHARGE / FEE]

Example 2 – Suggest at least three words that could collocate with each of the nouns below

.....	.....
..... account	..... card
.....	.....
[DEPOSIT, INVESTMENT, SAVINGS]	[CREDIT, DEBIT, PREPAID]

Example 3 – The following captions from bank advertisements all include instances of figurative language. Name the figures of speech used in each example and discuss their impact on the target audience.

1	*Wherever you go, <u>your bank travels with you</u>*	[METAPHOR]
2	*A range of <u>low</u> rate, <u>low</u> deposit mortgages*	[PARALLELISM]
3	*Turn your <u>small</u> change into something <u>big</u>*	[ANTITHESIS]
4	*A successful career you can <u>bank upon</u>*	[WORDPLAY]

4.2.2 Grammar exercises

Grammatical exercises can encourage students to understand the typical grammatical patterns used in advertisements.

Example 1 – Match the sentence halves and underline all the imperatives

1	*Let us take the stress*	a	*you'd expect from a bank account*
2	*Don't forget*,	b	*out of changing banks*
3	*Join the bank*	c	*that's with you for the journey*
3	*Download the new app*	d	*you get £5 every month*
4	*Get all the benefits*	e	*and estimate how much you'll earn*

[LET US TAKE THE STRESS OUT OF CHANGING BANKS]
[DON'T FORGET, YOU GET £5 EVERY MONTH]
[JOIN THE BANK THAT'S WITH YOU FOR THE JOURNEY]
[DOWNLOAD THE NEW APP AND ESTIMATE HOW MUCH YOU'LL EARN]
[GET ALL THE BENEFITS YOU'D EXPECT FROM A BANK ACCOUNT]

Example 2 – Recover the missing elements in the following bank advertisements and discuss the main function of ellipsis in advertising

1 *Recently moved?*
2 *Looking for the right credit card?*
3 *Exclusive service – and a Private Banking Manager as standard.*
4 *Up to £1m turnover?*
5 *Why choose ANZ?*

[HAVE YOU] Recently moved?
[HAVE YOU BEEN / ARE YOU] Looking for the right credit card?
[YOU GET] Exclusive service – and a Private Banking Manager as standard.
[DO YOU HAVE] Up to £1m turnover?
Why [SHOULD YOU] choose ANZ?

Example 3 – Find the advertisements with the intentional grammatical errors (e.g., *'kidz accounts'* or the famous McDonald's slogan *'I'm lovin' it'*). Explain the implications.

4.2.3 Speaking exercises

As a supplement to the course books, authentic advertisements may provide learners with the various genuine visual and verbal elements which can help them improve their oral skills.

Example 1 – Find several online bank advertisements. Discuss the strategies they use for attracting attention. Do they appeal to you? Justify.

Example 2 – Describe the advertisements and compare advertising approaches that banks take to attract various groups of consumers (e.g. a busy mother packing groceries into a van together with her children; a happy couple drinking wine in a restaurant; a retired man distrustfully looking at his laptop, etc.)

Example 3 – Discuss the interrelation between a visual and verbal component in the advertisements (e.g. a picture of a moped together with a caption 'Looking for a loan?' or an advertisement featuring a young girl going downstairs with her dog reading '1% off loans for our loyal customers').

4.2.4 Writing exercises

Learners could be instructed to consider typical features when writing advertisements or change the genre of descriptive texts to that of advertising texts.

Example 1 – Read the passage about the bank service. Think of the ways to present the information in the form of an advertisement. Write two possible versions.

The Credit Card for Purchases
When you start using your new Card for purchases you'll pay 0% for 18 months from the date of your account opening. If you have any major purchases planned, your Card may help to ease the cost. In addition, you pay 0% interest on balance transfers from other credit and store cards – for a full 9 months from the date you open your account (3% balance transfer fee applies, minimum £5).The smallest amount you can transfer is £100. The total amount of balances you can transfer cannot be more than 95% of your credit limit. If the total transfer you want to make is above your available credit limit, we may allow you to transfer part of this amount. You cannot transfer balances from other Group accounts. At the end of the 0% period, if you haven't paid off the amount of the balance transfer and/or the purchases in full, interest will become payable on the remaining amount at your standard balance transfer or purchase rate.
(taken from www.santander.co.uk)

Example 2 – Below is an imaginary example of a bank advertisement. Identify the problems and write an improved version.

Personal loans between £7,000 and £15,000
Unless you open a bank account at Crissfold bank, you'll not be able to get a loan.
If you don't apply online, you'll wait approximately seven days for a transfer of funds.
If you don't own our special bankcard, additional fees apply.
You have to have the minimum of £1000 income per month.
If you don't pay instalments regularly, the interest rate doubles.

Example 3 – Write a discursive essay giving your opinion on the following statement: *Celebrity endorsement should be avoided in bank advertising campaigns.*

4.2.5 Exercises for introducing culture and raising cultural awareness

Advertisements are a valuable resource for developing language awareness not just in terms of forms and functions, but also in terms of socio-cultural meanings. For instance, a comparison of advertising for similar products across cultures or the analysis and examination of cultural content can be very practical and insightful for students because of a variety of cultural values and connotations mirrored. Advertisements can sometimes only be understood by members of the targeted culture. However, there are many examples of advertisements with universal appeals. Both can be incorporated into the language classroom.

Example 1 – Compare two advertisements of the same bank service for different cultures (e.g. images of men and women, children, gender roles). What do you notice? What are the main similarities / differences?

Example 2 – This advertisement is aimed at British people. The bank offers different current accounts by asking potential clients *How do you like your bank account?* along with the image of a teapot. Why do you think a teapot is used in it? What is the message?

Example 3 – Think of the ways to adapt this advertisement to the members of your culture.

5 Conclusion

Although opinions towards the use of authentic materials are controversial, it is clear now that authentic materials can be utilized in foreign language learning classrooms and can be beneficial to the learning process as long as they are properly used.

This paper illustrated how advertisements can be potential learning tools in the language classroom and provided concrete examples for learning and teaching vocabulary and grammar, improving oral and written skills, as well as raising cultural awareness in Business English classes. The paper offered an insight into the ways the analysis of this type of text can help both ESP teachers to relate language instruction to particular universal characteristics and ESP students to acquire language more naturally through authentic texts.

Finally, even though authenticity in language education has become somewhat of a trend in recent years, there is still a lack of research on the effects of the use of authentic texts for language learning, especially in relation to students' motivation. In addition,

more guidelines on the ways to select and incorporate authentic texts are required, since they could be very beneficial for new and innovative task design.

References

Adams, Thomas. 1995. "What Makes Materials Authentic?" Accessed May 10, 2017. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED391389.

Allison, John, and Paul Emmerson. 2013. *The Business 2.0 Intermediate. Student's Book.* Oxford: Macmillan Education.

Arnold, Ewen. 1991. "Authenticity Revisited: How Real is Real?" *English for Specific Purposes* 10 (3): 237–244.

Autio, Laura K. 2012. "Authentic Texts as Cultural Mirrors: A Handbook for English Teachers." Unpublished Master's Thesis. University of Jyväskylä.

Bacon, Susan M. and Michael D. Finnemann. 1990. "A Study of the Attitudes, Motives, and Strategies of University Foreign Language Students and Their Disposition to Authentic Oral and Written Input." *Modern Language Journal* 74 (4): 459–473.

Berardo, Sacha A. 2006. "The Use of Authentic Materials in the Teaching of Reading." *The Reading Matrix* 6 (2): 60–69. Accessed April 20, 2017. http://www.readingmatrix.com/articles/berardo/article.pdf.

Beresova, Jana. 2015 "Authentic Materials – Enhancing Language Acquisition and Cultural Awareness." *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 192: 195–204. Accessed May 15, 2017. http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1877042815034990.

Breen, Michael P. 1985. "Authenticity in the Language Classroom." Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences 6 (1): 60–70.

Brickman, Bette. 1992. Advertisements in the Basic Skills Writing Class. Accessed May 10, 2017. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED352859.

Brierley, Sean. 2002. *The Advertising Handbook.* Second Edition. London & New York: Routledge.

Carney, Carmen V. and Matilde Franciulli. 1992. "The Use of Authentic Reading Materials in the Business Language Classroom." Accessed May 15, 2017. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED373538.

Castillo Losada, Cesar A., Edgar A. Insuasty, and Maria F. Jaime Osorio. 2017. "The Impact of Authentic Materials and Tasks on Students' Communicative Competence at a Colombian Language School." *PROFILE Issues in Teachers' Professional Development* 19 (1): 89–104. Accessed May 10, 2017. www.revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/profile/rt/printerFriendly/56763/58142.

Chavez, Monika T. 1998. "Learner's Perspectives on Authenticity." *IRAL* 36 (4): 277–306.

Cook, Guy. 1992. The Discourse of Advertising. London & New York: Routledge.

Cotton, David, David Falvey, and Simon Kent. 2011. *Intermediate Market Leader. Business English Course Book.* Third Edition. London: Pearson Longman.

Dyer, Gillian. 1982. *Advertising as Communication.* London: Routledge.

Gilmore, Alexander. 2004. "A Comparison of Textbook and Authentic Interactions." *ELT Journal* 58 (4): 363–374.

Gilmore, Alexander. 2007. "Authentic Materials and Authenticity in Foreign Language Learning." *Language Teaching* 40 (2): 97–119.

Gilmore, Alexander. 2008. "Getting Real in the Language Classroom: Developing Japanese Students' Communicative Competence with Authentic Materials." Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Nottingham University.

Guariento, William and John Morley. 2001. "Text and Task Authenticity in the EFL Classroom." *ELT Journal* 55 (4): 347–353.

Jacobson, Erik, Sophie Degener, and Victoria Purcell-Gates. 2003. *Creating Authentic Materials and Activities for the Adult Literacy Classroom: A Handbook for Practitioners.* Accessed April 20, 2017. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED476482.

Joy, J. John L. 2011. "The Duality of Authenticity in ELT." *The Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies* 7 (2): 7–23.

Khaniya, Tirth R. 2006. "Use of Authentic Materials in ESL Classrooms." *Journal of NELTA* 11 (2): 17–23.

Kramsch, Claire. 1993. *Context and Culture in Language Teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lazović, Vesna. 2014a. "The Language of Online Bank Advertisements in English." *ESP Today* 2 (1): 88–104. Accessed April 25, 2017. http://www.esptodayjournal.org.

Lazović, Vesna. 2014b. "The Significance of Distinctive Lexical Repertoire in British Bank Offers." In *Festschrift in Honour of Draginja Pervaz English Language and Anglophone Literatures in Theory and Practice*, edited by Tvrtko Prćić et al., 275–289. Novi Sad: Faculty of Philosophy.

Lazović, Vesna. 2015. "Cross-Cultural Analysis of Online Bank Advertisements in English and Serbian." Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of Ljubljana.

Lee, Winnie Y. 1995. "Authenticity Revisited: Text Authenticity and Learner Authenticity." *ELT Journal* 49 (4): 323–328.

Leech, Geoffrey. 1966. *English in Advertising: A Linguistic Study of Advertising in Great Britain.* London: Longman.

McCarthy, Michael and Ronald Carter. 1994. *Language as Discourse, Perspectives for Language Teaching.* London: Longman.

Liu, Jiangfeng. 2016. "Adaptation of Authentic Materials in English Listening Comprehension Classes." *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 6 (9): 1774–1779.

McDonough, Jo and Christopher Shaw. 1993. *Materials and Methods in ELT.* Oxford: Blackwell.

McGarry, Dee. 1995. *Learner Autonomy: The Role of Authentic Texts.* Dublin: Authentik.

Mishan, Freda. 2005. *Designing Authenticity into Language Learning Materials.* New Jersey: Intellect Books.

Morrison, Bruce. 1989. "Using News Broadcasts for Authentic Listening Comprehension." *ELT Journal* 43 (1): 14–18.

Morrow, Keith. 1977. "Authentic Texts and ESP." In *English for Specific Purposes*, edited by Susan Holden, 13–17. London: Modern English Publications.

Myers, Greg. 1994. *Words in Ads.* London: Edward Arnold.

Nation, I. S. P. 2009. *Teaching ESL/EFL Listening and Speaking.* New York: Routledge.

Nunan, David. 1989. *Designing Tasks for the Communicative Classroom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Osborne, Priscilla. 2005. *Teaching English One to One.* London: Modern English Publishing.

Peacock, Munro. 1997. "The Effect of Authentic Materials on the Motivation of EFL Learners." *ELT Journal* 51 (2): 144–156.

Picken, Jonathan D. 2000. "Why Use Ads in Classroom?" *JALT Journal* 22 (2): 341–355.

Rees, Nigel. 1982. *Slogans.* London: Allen & Unwin.

Richards, Jack C. 2001. *Curriculum Development in Language Teaching.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, Jack C. and Richard Schmidt. 2002. *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics.* Third Edition. London: Pearson Education.

Rogers, Carmen V. And Frank W. Medley Jr. 1988. "Language with a Purpose: Using Authentic Materials in the Foreign Language Classroom." *Foreign Language Annals* 21 (5): 467–478.

Shrum, Judith L., and Eileen W. Glisan. 2000. *Teacher's Handbook: Contextualized Language Instruction.* Second Edition. Boston: Heinle & Heinle.

Stamatelou, Maria. 2015."A Reflection on the Use of Advertisements in Enabling Language Learning in the EFL classroom." *ELTED Journal* 17: 27–34. Accessed April 25, 2017. http://www.elted.net/uploads/7/3/1/6/7316005/v17_5stamatelou.pdf.

Tanaka, Keiko. 1994. *Advertising Language: A Pragmatic Approach to Advertisements in Britain and Japan.* London: Routledge.

Thornbury, Scott. 2006. *An A-Z of EFL: A Dictionary of Terms and Concepts.* Oxford: Macmillan.

Tomlinson, Brian (ed.). 1998. *Materials Development in Language Teaching.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Lier, Leo. 1996. *Interaction in the Language Curriculum: Awareness, Autonomy and Authenticity.* Essex: Longman.

Vestergaard, Torben and Kim Schroder. 1985. *The Language of Advertising.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Widdowson, Henry G. 1983. *Learning Purpose and Language Use.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Widdowson, Henry G. 1998. "Context, Community, and Authentic Language." *TESOL Quarterly* 32 (4): 705–716.

Widdowson, Henry G. 2003. *Defining Issues in English Language Teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Willis, Jane. 1996. *A Framework for Task-Based Learning.* Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman.

colloquium new philologies

doi:10.23963/cnp.2017.2.1.7

Knowledge Transfer in the Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH) – Definition, Motivators, Obstacles, and Visions

Daniel Wutti*, Markus Hayden**

Abstract

While knowledge transfer in economic and technical sciences is a matter of frequent research, knowledge transfer in social sciences and humanities (SSH) has not been examined sufficiently in the last few decades. In order to fill the research gap, this paper presents results from a study conducted at an Austrian university. Eighteen scientists were interviewed with regards to a definition, common examples, motivators and obstacles as well as visions of SSH knowledge transfer. Interview transcripts have been analyzed qualitatively. Results were compared with quantitative data derived from the research documentation system of the university.

A comprehensive definition of SSH knowledge transfer is presented. Motivators turned out to be closely linked to perceived personal and civic duties. Obstacles were described as being attributable to a focus on 'science to science' achievements within the scientific community.

Key words: Knowledge Transfer, Social Sciences, Humanities, Expert Interviews, Qualitative Content Analysis, University

* Institut für Mehrsprachigkeit und Interkulturelle Bildung, Pädagogische Hochschule Kärnten – Viktor Frankl Hochschule; daniel.wutti@ph-kaernten.ac.at

** Alpen-Adria-Universitä Klagenfurt; markus.hayden@aau.at

1 Introduction

Apart from teaching and researching, universities are required to complete other tasks as well. This so called 'third mission' includes the transfer of knowledge to non-academic communities (Trencher et al. 2014). However, scientific research on this special field of a university's responsibility can be described as being incomplete (Olmos-Peñuela, Castro-Martínez, and D'Este 2014). On the one hand, many different scientific papers exist on the transfer of knowledge from universities into the economy (for an overview, see for example Geuna and Muscio 2009). These pieces of research mainly focus on the commercialization of academic knowledge and teaching as well as on links between university and industry. On the other hand, however, other elements of university knowledge transfer are studied insufficiently. In particular, transfer of knowledge within the different disciplines of the social sciences and humanities (SSH) has hardly been examined (Olmos-Peñuela, Benneworth, and Castro-Martinez 2014). There is not even a consistent nomenclature that has gained acceptance in scientific research. Common examples include for example 'knowledge transfer', 'knowledge exchange', 'knowledge mobilization' or 'knowledge translation and transfer' (Phipps, Jensen, and Myers 2012).

Current theories to explain this imbalance within scientific literature state that research output in the SSH is more difficult to evaluate than in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) (Olmos-Peñuela, Benneworth, and Castro-Martinez 2014). It is important to keep in mind that popular benchmarks, for example the number of patents or university spin-offs, are unreliable indicators for social benefits (Olmos-Peñuela, Castro-Martínez, and D'Este 2014).

Another factor that influences the research of SSH knowledge transfer negatively is the lack of data material. The scientific output of universities is usually described by specific factors referring to achievements within the scientific community, which can be defined as 'science to science'. Knowledge transfer in the SSH is typically linked to the fields of communication with practitioners (also known as 'science to professionals') and communication with the public, or, in other words, 'science to public'. These issues have received significantly less academic recognition and there is hardly any data available (Olmos-Peñuela, Castro-Martínez, and Manjarrés-Henríquez 2010).

As a matter of fact, the promotion of knowledge transfer should be a serious goal for the SSH. Especially in the context of global challenges, the SSH play an important role in the search for sustainable answers. Researchers are encouraged to promote the inclusion of their study results into professional practice, public policy, and legislation (Van Langenhove 2012). To gain influential attention, both scientists and universities have to commit themselves to knowledge transfer (Nisbet and Mooney 2007). In this regard, the involvement in open science and open access of research results (European Commission 2016a, 2016b; Wolpert 2013) should be mentioned as a topic of particular importance. Examples of these approaches are defined by the *Budapest Open Access Initiative* (http://www.budapestopenaccessinitiative.org/read) and the *Berlin Declaration on*

Open Access to Knowledge in the Sciences and Humanities (http://openaccess.mpg.de/Berliner-Erklaerung). They promote the provision of online access to scientific information free of charge. It enables people both inside and outside of academic environments to gain information on each academic discipline. Researchers and institutions may reuse this information for further research and study (European Commission 2016a, 2016b). Large parts of university research are funded publicly, therefore, the salaries of many researchers are paid with tax money. Hence, free access to research results should be taken for granted (Wolpert 2013).

To summarize, knowledge transfer in the SSH can be described as being important, but is not supported nor examined enough. In Austria, the Federal Ministry of Science, Research and Economy approached this problem by installing three knowledge transfer centers in order to link the country's southern, eastern and western universities. Although the initiative primarily focuses on promoting knowledge transfer between science and economy to foster economic benefit, a certain financial support is dedicated to illuminate and strengthen SSH knowledge transfer. The present pilot study was conducted to provide a basis for further examinations of knowledge transfer in the SSH.

Firstly, we strived to find a comprehensive definition of knowledge transfer in the SSH as well as common examples thereof. To minimize any distortion of subject's answers, we intentionally asked only open questions and did not provide any examples, neither from previous research, nor from other interviews. Next, we asked scientists about their experiences with knowledge transfer in the SSH, especially regarding motivators and drawbacks. Thirdly, we asked whether knowledge transfer in the SSH is appreciated or not. We then explored scientists' further visions and perspectives for SSH knowledge transfer. Finally, we compared the reported subjective experiences with the output of the university.

2 Sample

In the present study, we strived to examine the experiences and attitudes of researchers in the field of SSH. In order to fulfill this task, we used a Typical Case Sampling strategy (Teddlie and Yu 2007) to approach content-related representative cases. This technique aims at finding interviewees that can be described as being *typical* representatives of the field of study. As the spectrum of 'typical SSH researchers' includes different scientific disciplines, different levels of academic career, as well as sex and age, we sought to achieve a broad distribution of interviewees. Requests for participation were sent to all the departments of the two faculties that are mainly engaged in SSH research, namely the *Faculty of Humanities* and the *Faculty of Interdisciplinary Studies*. With the exception of three departments, at least one scientist from each department agreed to participate in the study. The final sample comprised eighteen researchers, all of whom were employed by the university during the study. Subjects were recruited between December 2014

and July 2015. Participants, as shown in table 1, were scientists of different scientific disciplines and were at different levels of their academic career.

Academic Level			
	Male	Female	Total
Predoctoral		1	1
Postdoctoral	4	3	7
Habilitation Completed	6	4	10
Total	10	8	18
Scientific Disciplines			
Business Studies			1
Cultural Anthropology			1
Educational Science			3
English Studies			1
Geography			1
German Studies			2
History			1
Media and Communication Science			3
Psychology			2
Romance Studies			1
Slavonic Studies			2
Total			18

Table 1: Study sample

3 Methods and design

In this study we used a mixed method approach (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011) to intentionally combine both qualitative and quantitative methods. This strategy was chosen, as we aimed to link subjective experiences with objective key performance indicators in order to determine whether experiences were biased by selective perception (Ditto and Lopez 1992). We applied qualitative methods to explore the subjective experiences of researchers within the SSH and quantitative methods to compare these experiences with the academic output of the university.

In order to collect different views from experts in the field of SSH we used semi-structured expert interviews (Meuser and Nagel 2009). These were afterwards transcribed and analyzed qualitatively. For the analysis, all transcripts were imported into the online-tool *QCAmap* (www.qcamap.org). Afterwards, we used the method of qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2014) to inductively form qualitative categories. By means of qualitative content analysis, qualitative data material can systematically be reduced at an early stage of the analysis. Both inductive and deductive procedures may

be applied to form qualitative categories that can furthermore be quantified and compared. This strategy seemed to be most appropriate as more than thirteen hours of audio recordings led to 232,311 transcribed characters.

All the interviews were independently coded by the authors. After the first half of the process, coding schemata were discussed and compared to create a consistent pattern of categories. On the basis of this category system, all the transcripts were independently rated as a whole.

For the last research question, we also analyzed quantitative data that was obtained from the research documentation system of the university (*Forschungsdokumentation*; *FoDok*). This software was designed to fulfil the responsibility of recording all the scientific achievements of the university. Recordings are entered by the scientists themselves, but are reviewed by trained professionals. All entries in *FoDok* are categorized by the target audience ('science to science'; 'science to professionals'; 'science to public'). Therefore, the relationship between academically and non-academically focused outputs can be outlined.

Data from the two faculties that are mainly engaged in SSH research (the *Faculty of Humanities* and the *Faculty of Interdisciplinary Studies*), was extracted from *FoDok*, in order to obtain key performance indicators for both science to science and knowledge transfer achievements. These indicators were later used as reference value in the comparison between subjective experiences and objective outcome measures.

4 Results

The following section displays the categories of the qualitative content analysis arranged in the order of the research questions. In the last part, qualitative results were compared with the academic output of the university where all participants were employed at the time the study took place.

4.1 A proposal for a definition of SSH knowledge transfer

The topic of SSH knowledge transfer seemed quite new to most subjects, although in most interviews subjects quickly found themselves *in medias res*. Contributions from subjects assigned to this category range from making "theoretical knowledge usable" and "raising consciousness about topics" to "working on the borders of different spheres of society" and "transferring knowledge from science to practice". Subjects argued that universities are established and financed by societies, and therefore should work on making their knowledge achievements visible, understandable, and graspable for the broader public. It was noticeable that people who were already working and engaging in fields close to practice mentioned and defined their work specifically as knowledge transfer.

This was often in a context where they perceived that they had not received any appreciation for this kind of work. Another result was that technical knowledge transfer, or knowledge transfer in the field of STEM sciences, is easier to define and to measure. It was also clear for the interviewed persons that SSH knowledge transfer should not be equaled to transfer within the scientific community. Science communication was named as a specific field of knowledge transfer, but not the only field. SSH knowledge transfer was also referred to as experiencing, sharing, and researching together with practitioners, as a specific strategy for researchers to widen their research. A clear distinction to primarily profit-orientated knowledge transfer was mentioned as well.

4.2 Examples of SSH knowledge transfer

Several specific examples of SSH knowledge transfer were identified by the subjects. Qualitative content analysis exposed four main groups:

- Cooperation with the media
  The interviewed persons mentioned science communication completed by themselves. They produce media contributions on their own: some participate in radio and television shows, others produce radio programs on specific topics. Scientists mentioned that they write and respond to readers' letters of national as well as regional newspapers. They act on requests by the media, and give interviews about their scientific work.

- Cooperation and work with society / the public
  Subjects outlined a variety of events they had organized themselves that were dedicated to knowledge transfer. They organize talks and presentations beyond the university, often in cultural and political spheres. They are invited to moderate events in their field of expertise as scientists. They also participate as experts in panel discussions with representatives of other spheres of society. Scientists cooperate with organizations, clubs, and associations for the sake of knowledge transfer. They conduct research on questions relevant to society and to public policy, and are engaged in making their results visible.

- Transfer with practice
  The interviewed scientists outlined their cooperation with practicing professionals as an important factor of SSH knowledge transfer. Results show that SSH researchers often work closely with experts working within similar scientific fields. Subjects see a close relationship with professionals as an advantage because they can then link their scientific work to requirements of practical fields. In communication with specialists, the subjects can determine the current demands of practical fields, reflect on them scientifically, and transfer those results back to

the experts. A cycle of advantages for the representatives of different spheres was identified by the subjects.
Scientists organize and participate in workshops both made for and made by experts in practical fields. They present at conferences, and at meetings of professionals. Publications are being (re)written and scientists (co)work on certain information materials for professional practice.

– Teaching
Surprisingly, for the authors of this article, a number of scientists named their university teaching as SSH knowledge transfer. A number of engaged scholars work on innovative concepts for lectures and allow students to gain practical experience by working for professionals. Scientists prepare content for their students based on relevant questions for society and for the public. They send their students to different fields of society to combine theory with practice. Engaged scholars foster critical understanding and observation of societal trends in practical fields. Lessons and seminars with high references to practice were named by the scientists, who mentioned them as an important factor of their SSH knowledge transfer work.

4.3 Motivational factors and reasons for SSH knowledge transfer

The interviewed scientists mentioned the feeling of a certain personal obligation for knowledge transfer. Knowledge and scientific results should neither be solely collected and saved by individuals, nor should they be just stored within a scientific community. On the contrary, they should be accessible to the broader public. Scientific findings should widen the consciousness of individuals in a society and lead to (social) enhancement. A second 'obligation' mentioned by the subjects was a societal obligation. They felt that SSH knowledge transfer should be forced as a justification for the economic and financial costs, since Austrian universities are financed by the public sector.

Some mentioned their idea of SSH knowledge transfer as empowerment of the region. This could be especially important for small and marginalized regions such as Carinthia, where the subjects are employed. Ideas to create enthusiasm and excitement for research and science, to reach people, touch them, delight and inspire them, were mentioned as well. Moreover, SSH knowledge transfer was identified as a strategy for expanding one's audience. Establishing and raising public awareness of a certain topic could also be achieved through SSH knowledge transfer.

The subjects saw a double-sided benefit in SSH knowledge transfer: subjects gained new insights and were able to facilitate them simultaneously. SSH knowledge transfer in this sense means fostering exchange through mutual development of knowledge. Science can improve practice while practice can improve science. A certain number of scientists mentioned that their motivation in SSH knowledge transfer is founded in their own roots in practice; coming from professional spheres or from fields close to practice, they

are motivated to keep these ties. They have precise ideas how to benefit from knowledge transfer.

Extrinsic motivation such as knowledge transfer for one's own reputation, for one's curriculum vitae, or financial interests were mentioned *en passant* by the subjects.

4.4 Perception of the appreciation of SSH knowledge transfer

Signs of appreciation of SSH knowledge transfer include scientific topics discussed in public, research results helping to improve practice, as well as positive responses to fields of practice. Appreciation is also granted by certain colleagues. Simultaneously, subjects expressed their feeling that appreciation could not be found within the scientific community. What counts towards a scientific career and what leads to reputation are 'science to science' activities. These activities can be expressed by key performance indicators and classification numbers. Subjects mentioned a pressure to manage and achieve high performances. Bureaucracy forces scientists to report performance records. According to the subjects' opinion, this seems to be a new tendency in the scientific community. Some reported that they wished to work more in SSH knowledge transfer, but are hardly able to manage the demands in the field of 'science to science'. They reported a feeling of being measured in numbers as well as a pressure to research in mainstream directions. A certain governance of science was assumed by some subjects.

Negative aspects of SSH knowledge transfer are that scientific results and achievements are not necessarily accepted positively by society. High-quality knowledge transfer needs adequate funding and is costly in terms of time and energy.

4.5 Visions and proposals

Subjects reported their vision of SSH knowledge transfer being accepted in the scientific community. This, however, should focus more on its educational mandate. Universities should support events in SSH knowledge transfer and cooperations with the broader public. Financial funding for knowledge transfer should be installed sustainably. Incentive systems for knowledge transfer should be professionalized. Subjects wanted networks and platforms for engaged people to be established. SSH knowledge transfer was also mentioned as a potential for creativity, which, in turn, can be very well used in SSH science.

Scientists are worried that bureaucracy might increase as soon as SSH knowledge transfer is accepted within the scientific community and within the university system to a larger extent. Subjects argued that this is to be avoided. SSH knowledge transfer should not lose its creative potential. Regarding the measurement of knowledge transfer in terms of key performance indicators and classification numbers, concerns were raised that these might lead to standardization. At the same time, subjects mentioned the idea of new categories for SSH knowledge transfer in performance records to foster its acceptance.

The scientific community should re-balance its values. Research that includes knowledge transfer should be promoted. SSH knowledge transfer should be represented in its whole range, as there is a wide spectrum of activities. It was mentioned that the social sciences and humanities often seem to have difficulties explaining its costs to taxpayers and decision makers. Subjects argued that knowledge transfer, as a necessary interface to society, could help here, if there were strategies promoting it.

4.6 Research output

In the final step, we analyzed data from the *FoDok* and compared these results with the qualitative categories derived from the interviews.

Quantitative data was obtained from the two faculties that are mainly engaged in SSH research (the *Faculty of Humanities* and the *Faculty of Interdisciplinary Studies*). Furthermore, we focused only on three research categories: publications (academic and related publications, therefore excluding newspaper articles, blogposts, etc.), lectures, and events. Research projects, the fourth largest category, were excluded, because projects that started before the year 2014 were not assigned to different target audiences and can therefore not be categorized as being academically or non-academically focused.

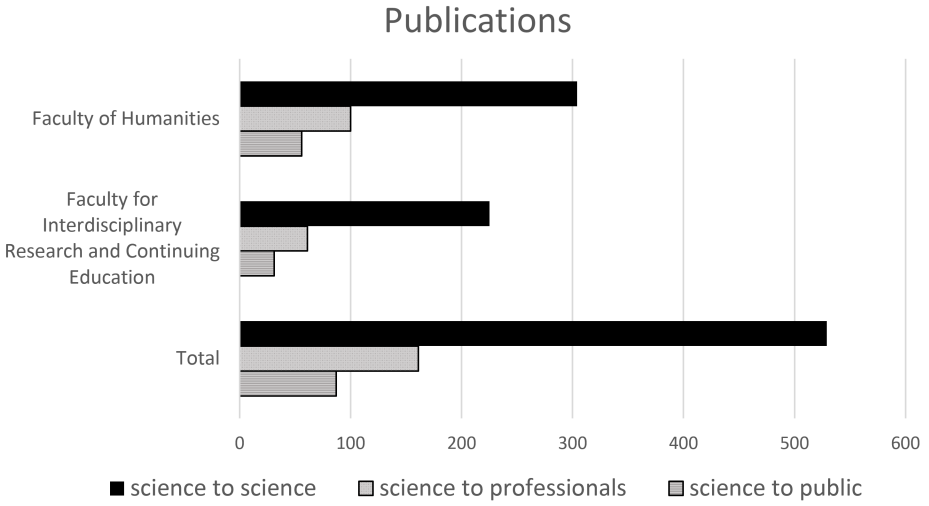


Figure 1: Publications of the *Faculty of Humanities* and the *Faculty of Interdisciplinary Studies* of the AAU in 2014

As shown in figure 1 and 2, both in publications and in lectures, a great gap can be observed between the three categories. The vast majority of records are categorized as having a 'science to science' focus. There are somewhat more 'science to professionals' records than 'science to public' ones. Both knowledge transfer categories combined represent about half the number of 'science to science' publications and lectures.

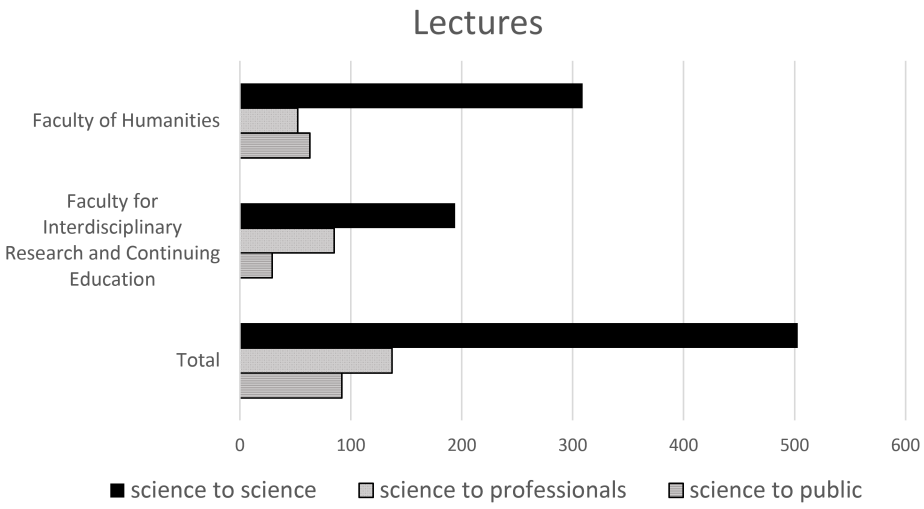


Figure 2: Lectures of the *Faculty of Humanities* and the *Faculty of Interdisciplinary Studies* of the AAU in 2014

Figure 3 reveals that the gap between 'science to science' activities and knowledge transfer categories turned out to be noticeably smaller in events. There were about as many 'science to professionals' and 'science to public' entries in *FoDok* combined as 'science to science' achievements.

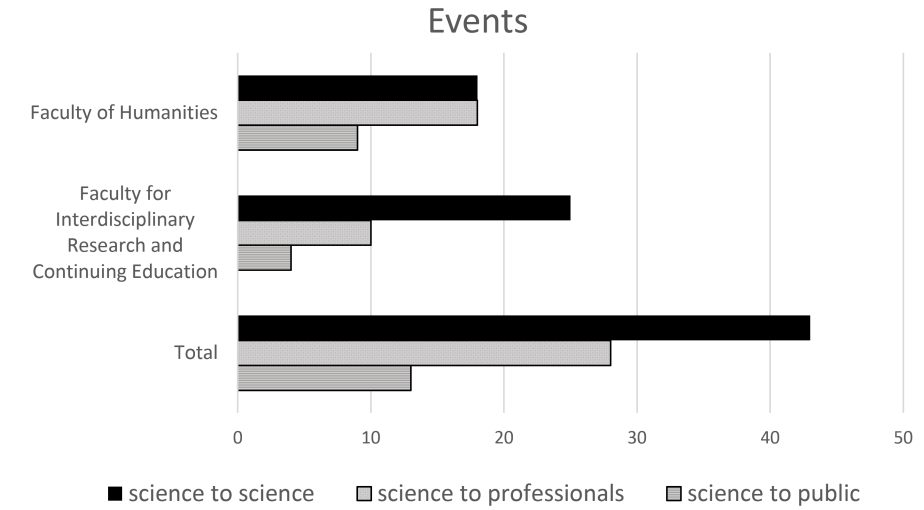


Figure 3: Events of the *Faculty of Humanities* and the *Faculty of Interdisciplinary Studies* of the AAU in 2014

5 Discussion

The purpose of this paper was to provide a basis for further research and promotion of knowledge transfer in the SSH. First of all, we tried to find a comprehensive definition, since nomenclature has not been standardized yet (Phipps, Jensen, and Myers 2012). Based on our results, we propose the following definition:

> *Knowledge transfer in the social sciences and humanities implies transmission of scientifically based knowledge to practice and/or the public and vice versa. Its purpose includes the raising of consciousness. SSH knowledge transfer has no primarily economic aim, is distinct to the term of knowledge transfer in technical or economic spheres and is also distinct to knowledge transfer within the scientific community. An important part of SSH knowledge transfer includes science communication.*

Subjects named a high number of specific examples of their engagement in SSH knowledge transfer. The spectrum of mentioned activities is broad and creative. It is obvious that certain scientific disciplines focus on different types of knowledge transfer in the SSH. Examples given by the scientists are consistently transdisciplinary and transinstitutional, which goes in line with other research results (Olmos-Peñuela, Castro-Martínez, and D'Este 2014). Interconnection with educationalists in educational sciences and exhibitions in historical sciences could be named as two specific examples derived from the interviews. Results clearly show that scholars engaged in SSH knowledge transfer use the exchange with professionals to transfer new and innovative topics from practice into the scientific community.

Most of the scientists we interviewed mentioned science communication as an important part of SSH knowledge transfer. Media relations and collaboration with journalists were examples frequently stated by the subjects. This consideration is of particular interest, as science communication is an imperative part of scientific business (Nisbet and Mooney 2007). Furthermore, research has demonstrated that television, newspapers, and radio are the primary sources for scientific information most commonly cited by the general public (European Commission 2013). Because knowledge is being transmitted to the public more and more often through less mediated sources like mass media and the internet, academically verified knowledge transfer has become even more important (Besley and Tanner 2011). As a matter of course, many universities and research institutions have special departments for science communication and public relations that take care of most of these duties. However, researchers should keep in mind that the general public label scientists to be the best qualified to explain research results (European Commission 2013).

Our results indicate that scientists working in SSH fields often research on questions relevant to society and public policy. They are engaged in making the results available. Their motivation in knowledge transfer is intrinsic rather than extrinsic in terms of

financial interests or economic benefit. Similar results were obtained by Olmos-Peñuela, Castro-Martínez, and D'Este (2014). SSH scientists can be driven by the idea of an improvement of social conditions. SSH knowledge transfer appears to be a strategy to approach this aim.

Scientists working in SSH fields assign an important role to knowledge transfer. However, their idea is that these activities are not appreciated by the scientific community. In times when it is becoming increasingly necessary for universities and researchers to utilize scientific work and to justify their economic and financial costs to taxpayers and decision makers (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001), SSH knowledge transfer should be considered as an important factor which takes these concerns into account. Our results link the perceived relevance of social sciences and humanities in society directly to knowledge transfer. With an increase of (high-quality) knowledge transfer, the SSH might gain a greater standing. According to our results, the scientific community is far away from this idea. Older scientists mentioned that knowledge transfer, in a sense of exchange between science and practice, was more developed decades ago. Concurrent bureaucratic challenges as well as the increasing pressure on scientists to achieve a high level of performance have negative impacts on this field. It seems paradoxical that political decision makers (and therefore universities as well) choose to force scholars to produce outputs that can be expressed by key performance indicators and classification numbers rather than to strengthen knowledge transfer and the practical use of research results for society.

Despite the intrinsic motivation of researchers and the idealistic goals attributed to knowledge transfer in the SSH, subjects did not mention the topic of open access or open science on their own. Although the topic is of great importance in the field of knowledge transfer (European Commission 2016b), it does not seem to be directly linked. However, it is important to remember that we intentionally did not mention these issues during the interviews. Even topics of particular interest for knowledge transfer were not addressed by the interviewers in order to achieve unbiased information. Our research results concerning this field suggest that open access and open science have, so far, not been made popular enough to the scientists who took part in the study. It also implies that more research should be conducted within this field.

Another specific result of the qualitative analysis was that obstacles to SSH knowledge transfer were often mentioned in combination with a perceived pressure to manage and achieve high levels of performance in scientific records. This focus on 'science to science' achievements seemed to be a more recent tendency in the scientific community. Besides concurrent demands on scholars, knowledge transfer is often given less importance as it neither leads to an improved scientific reputation nor benefits an academic career.

According to our results, the following strategies should be considered to promote knowledge transfer in the social sciences and humanities: Firstly, the scientific community should rebalance its values and focus more on its educational mandate. Secondly, incentive systems should be professionalized and financial funding for knowledge trans-

fer should be installed in a sustainable manner. Finally, visible networks and platforms of engaged people should be created.

The comparison of qualitative categories with quantitative data derived from *FoDok* showed that knowledge transfer activities are noticeably less reported and entered into *FoDok*. In 2014, there were about twice as many 'science to science' publications than 'science to professionals' and 'science to public' entries combined. About the same proportion also applies to lectures. Although there was a difference between the categories in events, the gap between knowledge transfer and 'science to science' activities was smaller. There were about as many 'science to science' events as 'science to professionals' and 'science to public' entries combined. For the *Faculty of Humanities*, the ratio was inverted with as many 'science to science' events as 'science to professionals' and half the number of 'science to public' activities, respectively. Nevertheless, it is important to remark that the total number of events is significantly smaller than the number of publications as well as the number of lectures. Therefore, it is a debatable point, whether results from this category can be perceived as reliable. The most probable explanation for the observable overall difference between 'science to science' activities and the knowledge transfer categories refers to the performance agreements that universities have to fulfill. In Austria's higher education system, universities negotiate performance agreements with the responsible ministry. These agreements determine the academic output for each year and usually contain targets for the number of 'science to science' achievements, but not for knowledge transfer. It is therefore comprehensible that scientists are forced to focus on 'science to science' outputs. However, a change in this strategy is noticeable since the university's latest performance agreement contains targets for knowledge transfer.

Although results from the analysis of *FoDok* data do seem to give a negative expression of the knowledge transfer output, we point out that teaching and researching are the main duties of academic business (Trencher et al. 2014). Therefore, a gap between 'science to science' and the other two categories is fundamentally justified. Yet an increase in the amount of 'science to professionals' and 'science to public' activities is to be targeted (Landry, Amara, and Lamari 2001).

Our research faced some limitations as it was designed as a pilot study. Firstly, it compromised only a small sample of scientists. Furthermore, all the subjects were employed at the same university and quantitative data was also assessed from only one university. Therefore, it is doubtful whether all the results can be generalized. Nevertheless, two implications can clearly be derived from the study: First, SSH scientists seem to struggle to promote knowledge transfer while simultaneously fulfilling the demands of high quality research. As long as researchers are forced to produce increasing amounts of 'science to science' achievements, opportunities to engage in knowledge transfer will be diminished. Secondly, as common key performance indicators, like the number of patents, or university spin-offs, are not suitable for the SSH, new strategies for the assessment of universities' knowledge transfer activities should be developed.

Based on the results of the present study, a nationwide quantitative investigation is currently being conducted, in order to produce further research results that can be generalized (Hayden and Wutti, in prep.)

6 Conclusion

Qualitative results suggest a definition of knowledge transfer in the SSH that includes the following criteria:

- Transmission of academic knowledge into professional practice and public spheres and vice versa
- Not primarily profit-oriented, but rather based on an idea of raising consciousness
- Distinct from knowledge transfer in technological sciences and economics
- Distinct from transfer of knowledge within the scientific community
- Including scientific communication

Furthermore, we could demonstrate that motivators for knowledge transfer in the SSH are closely linked to personal and civic duties. On the other hand, obstacles were described as being system-related and closely linked to the focus on 'science to science'. This focus could be verified when analyzing the academic output of the university where the study took place. Although it is important to keep in mind that knowledge transfer is not the main task universities must fulfill, SSH knowledge transfer is to be appreciated as an important part of university business. Furthermore, it should be considered a boost for creativity, and consequently even for enhancing scientific output.

We recommend further research in the field of SSH knowledge transfer with larger samples from different universities and regions.

References

Besley, J. C., and A. H. Tanner. 2011. "What Science Communication Scholars Think About Training Scientists to Communicate." *Science Communication* 33 (2): 239–63. doi:10.1177/1075547010386972.

Creswell, John W., and Vicki L. Plano Clark. 2011. *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research.* 2nd ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications Ltd.

Ditto, Peter H., and David F. Lopez. 1992. "Motivated Skepticism: Use of Differential Decision Criteria for Preferred and Nonpreferred Conclusions." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 63 (4): 568–84. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.63.4.568.

European Commission. 2013. "Spezial Eurobarometer 401 - Responsible Research and Innovation (RRI), Science and Technology." http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_401_en.pdf.

European Commission. 2016a. "Guidelines on Open Access to Scientific Publications and Research Data in Horizon 2020." https://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/grants_manual/hi/oa_pilot/h2020-hi-oa-pilot-guide_en.pdf.

European Commission. 2016b. "Open Innovation, Open Science, Open to the World." Brussels. doi:10.2777/061652.

Geuna, Aldo, and Alessandro Muscio. 2009. "The Governance of University Knowledge Transfer: A Critical Review of the Literature." *Minerva* 47 (1): 93–114.

Hayden, Markus, and Daniel Wutti. n.d. "Quantitative Research on Knowledge Transfer in the Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH)."

Landry, Réjean, Nabil Amara, and Moktar Lamari. 2001. "Climbing the Ladder of Research Utilization. Evidence from Social Science Research." *Science Communication* 22 (4): 396–422.

Langenhove, Luk Van. 2012. "Global Issues: Make Social Sciences Relevant." *Nature* 484 (7395): 442–442. doi:10.1038/484442a.

Mayring, Philipp. 2014. "Qualitative Content Analysis: Theoretical Foundation, Basic Procedures and Software Solution." http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-395173.

Meuser, Michael, and Ulrike Nagel. 2009. "The Expert Interview and Changes in Knowledge Production." In *Interviewing Experts*, edited by Alexander Bogner, Beate Littig, and Wolfgang Menz, 17–42. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. doi:10.1057/9780230244276_2.

Nisbet, M. C., and C. Mooney. 2007. "Framing Science." *Science* 316 (5821): 56. doi:10.1126/science.1142030.

Olmos-Peñuela, Julia, Paul Benneworth, and Elena Castro-Martinez. 2014. "Are 'STEM from Mars and SSH from Venus'?: Challenging Disciplinary Stereotypes of Research's Social Value." *Science and Public Policy* 41 (3): 384–400. doi:10.1093/scipol/sct071.

Olmos-Peñuela, Julia, Elena Castro-Martínez, and Pablo D'Este. 2014. "Knowledge Transfer Activities in Social Sciences and Humanities: Explaining the Interactions of Research Groups with Non-Academic Agents." *Research Policy* 43 (4): 696–706. doi:10.1016/j.respol.2013.12.004.

Olmos-Peñuela, Julia, Elena Castro-Martínez, and Liney Adriana Manjarrés-Henríquez. 2010. "Knowledge Transfer In Humanities And Social Science Research Groups: The Relevance Of Organizational Factors." *Ingenio Working Paper Series 2010/15*.

Phipps, David J., Krista E. Jensen, and Gary J. Myers. 2012. "Applying Social Sciences Research for Public Benefit Using Knowledge Mobilization and Social Media." In *Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Social Sciences and Knowledge Management*, edited by Asunción Lopez-Varela, 167–96. InTech. doi:10.5772/37533.

Teddlie, C., and F. Yu. 2007. "Mixed Methods Sampling: A Typology With Examples." *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1 (1): 77–100. doi:10.1177/2345678906292430.

Trencher, Gregory, Masaru Yarime, Kes B. McCormick, Christopher N H Doll, and Steven B. Kraines. 2014. "Beyond the Third Mission: Exploring the Emerging University Function of Co-Creation for Sustainability." *Science and Public Policy* 41 (2): 151–79. doi:10.1093/scipol/sct044.

Wolpert, Ann J. 2013. "For the Sake of Inquiry and Knowledge — The Inevitability of Open Access." *New England Journal of Medicine* 368 (9): 785–87. doi:10.1056/NEJMp1211410.