Futures for English Studies

Teaching Language, Literature and Creative Writing in Higher Education

Edited by

Ann Hewings, Lynda Prescott and
Philip Seargeant

Futures for English Studies

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Rob Pope is Emeritus Professor of former English at Oxford Brookes University and a National Teaching Fellow. He had taught English at universities in New Zealand, Wales and Russia, been a visiting professor in Australia and Japan, and presented for the British Council worldwide. His books include *Textual Intervention* (1995), *Creativity: Theory, History, Practice* (2005) and the pioneering interdisciplinary textbook *Studying English Language and Literature: An Introduction and Companion* (3rd edition, with website, 2012). He co-edited the essay-collection *Creativity in Language and Literature: The State of the Art* with Joan Swann and Ronald Carter (2011).

Lynda Prescott is a senior lecturer and former Head of the Department of English at the Open University. She is editor of *A World of Difference* (2008), an anthology of short stories from five continents and author of articles and book chapters on writers from Dickens to Pat Barker. She has written Open University teaching materials on nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature, and has a particular interest in interdisciplinary studies.

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Patricia Waugh was appointed to the Department of English Studies at Durham University in 1989 and was appointed professor in 1997. Her first book was *Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious Fiction* (1984), and she has written and edited many books and essays on modern fiction, modernism and postmodernism, feminist theory, contemporary fiction and literary theory. Her recent interests have been in the relations between the arts and the sciences and interdisciplinary negotiations beyond the two cultures. She is completing a monograph entitled *The Fragility of Mind*, examining the relationship between literary cultures and texts and theories and philosophies of mind since 1900, and a book with Marc Botha, *Critical Transitions: Genealogies of Intellectual Change*. Her recent work contributes to a collaborative Leverhulme-funded project at Durham University on Tipping Points and a Wellcome Trust-supported project entitled 'Hearing the Voice'.

Introduction:
Futures for English Studies

Lynda Prescott, Ann Hewings and Philip Seargeant

English Studies in higher education

English Studies, the term we use to cover English language, literature and creative writing, is a capacious subject that, over the years, has meant a variety of different things to different people, depending on cultural tradition and geographical context. Although generally perceived as a modern subject that only entered in the academy in the late nineteenth century (or even the early twentieth century, depending on how 'arrival' is judged), claims are sometimes made for ancient lineage through the links with rhetoric, links that are not merely of historical importance for, as we shall see at several points throughout this book, rhetoric continues to be a potent concept in discussions of current and future directions for the discipline. Meanwhile, in today's globalised world, as social and academic landscapes undergo rapid changes, the fundamental position of the English language in the daily existence of millions of people around the world is effecting large-scale shifts in what is meant by 'English Studies' worldwide. At the time of writing, the British Council has just launched the world's largest (so far) massive open online course, or MOOC, on 'Techniques for English Language Tests', with close on 400,000 students in over 150 countries.[1] This is just one, highly specialised example of changing facets of English Studies as a discipline in the modern higher education sector.

Taking account of the pull of disciplinary history and the push of changing economic, policy, and technological environments on teaching, learning and research in higher education, this book looks at the academic content and practices, along with the scope and future, of English Studies. It asks: why and how is the subject taught? how is it

evolving? and where does it sit within the disciplinary kaleidoscope that includes humanities, interdisciplinary studies, and, for some aspects of English Language, the social sciences? Through explorations of changing foci in a variety of contexts, the book examines the value and purpose of teaching and researching English language, literature and creative writing in the twenty-first century, both within Anglophone countries and the wider world.

The book is divided into three parts, each with a different focus. 'Part I: The Shape of the Discipline' examines current issues, debates and challenges in the three strands that constitute English Studies. The first chapter, by Ronald Carter, outlines a series of challenges and questions that face English Studies in the early part of the twenty-first century, thus setting up the terms of a discussion that is then pursued by Patricia Waugh, largely but not exclusively from the perspective of literary studies. This is followed by Andrew Cowan on the rise of creative writing, exploring the tensions that have arisen at the conjunction between the creative and the critical, and Ann Hewings and Philip Seargeant providing a critical appraisal of English Language Studies. 'Part II: International Dimensions' looks at how English is taught and viewed in diverse world contexts, from Europe (via Anna Kristina Hultgren chapter on English in Danish higher education) to India (where developments in English Studies are explored by Suman Gupta) to the USA (by way of David Russell's chapter on the study and teaching of writing in US English Departments), and at the practices that are shaping its identity internationally (as John Gray's chapter on TESOL demonstrates). 'Part III: Emerging Trends' focuses on some key areas where the discipline is evolving and new directions are developing. The chapters here range from specific topics such as the rise of digital humanities (in Chapter 9, by Marilyn Deegan and Matthew Hayler), the emergence of Children's Literature as a distinct field within English (Chapter 10, by Dena Attar and Janet Maybin), and a successful collaboration between a university department and a cultural institution, the Globe Theatre (Chapter 11, Gordon McMullan), to two final chapters in which Peter Stockwell challenges English Studies to reconsider the role of language as central to the field, and Rob Pope illustrates the capacity of English Studies to exploit the fuzziness of its boundaries in the interests of creativity and genuine learning. Despite the distinct themes of the three parts of the book, there are, of course, ideas and topics that thread their way through many of the chapters. The first of these concerns not simply English Studies but many of the disciplines to which it is closely related.

The value of the humanities

Any discussion of futures for English Studies sits within a wider context of questions about the future of the humanities, questions that have been debated with increasing urgency during the last decade or two. As new economic and political pressures continue to bear down on higher education, old assumptions of value are being re-examined, often anxiously where humanities subjects are concerned. In 2010 the philosopher Martha Nussbaum addressed what she described as a 'silent crisis' at all levels of education in the US and elsewhere in the world in a cogently titled book *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities*, arguing that '[w]ith the rush to profitability in the global market, values precious for the future of democracy, especially in an era of religious and economic uncertainty, are in danger of getting lost' (Nussbaum, 2010, p. 6). The following year there appeared a collection of essays commissioned by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council, and edited by the Shakespeare scholar Jonathan Bate, on *The Public Value of the Humanities*; the twenty-four essays defended the importance of humanities research during a period of deep economic recession and amidst debates about where resources for higher education should be focused. By 2012 the implications of a new funding regime for higher education in the UK were sinking in, and Stefan Collini's polemic, *What are Universities for?* articulated the widely shared view that '[w]ithin universities, those in technological, medical, and professional disciplines are generally more confident that the future belongs to them than their colleagues in the humanities or even many branches of the "pure" sciences' (Collini, 2012, p. 4). Attempts to bolster confidence in the humanities continue, and often these efforts follow the general direction of Nussbaum's arguments in emphasising the role of the humanities in relation to the idea of 'public good', though Helen Small, in *The Value of the Humanities* does line up the claim that the humanities matter for their own sake alongside justifications summed up in the idea that 'the humanities have good effects in the world by their impact on our cultural life, our happiness, our politics' (Small, 2013, p. 60).

   As Patricia Waugh demonstrates in Chapter 2 of this volume, soul-searching about 'value' is nothing new for English Studies. Nor is the sense of crisis, even if it has recently acquired different contours under the pressure of forces that are seen and felt as being antithetical to the humanities in general. Back in 1982, Peter Widdowson's influential collection *Re-Reading English* began with a fourteen-page introduction

on 'The crisis in English studies' in the UK, whilst a little later in the US, a book by Robert Scholes charting the decline of English in American colleges after its rapid rise at the end of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth, struck a distinctly *fin de siècle* note in its title, *The Rise and Fall of English* (1998). Scholes's sub-title, *Reconstructing English as a Discipline*, does, however, offer some hope for the future (of which more later). Another telling sub-title, back on the theme of crisis, cropped up in Josephine Guy and Ian Small's *Politics and Value in English Studies: A discipline in crisis?* (1993). This interrogative note—perhaps inevitable during a period now remembered as having been dominated by the 'theory wars'—was countered by assertions that 'the study of English constitutes a discipline of knowledge' and that such disciplinary knowledge is both social in nature and operates within the parameters of a community that is structured along philosophical rather than political lines (Guy & Small, 1993, pp. 1–3). We will refer later to some of the communities of practice that operate in the field of English Studies, but first we should perhaps foreground some of the problems inherent in the idea of subjects and their boundaries.

Subject, field or discipline(s)?

Descriptions of English as 'a discipline of knowledge' are inevitably complicated by the fact that the subject's identity is not singular but plural. The metaphor of the 'three-legged stool' is frequently invoked to characterise the composite nature of English Studies, with its inter-related facets, though the labels attached to each 'leg' vary from one usage to another. The sub-title of this book, along with the organisation of Part I, envisages the three legs of the stool as being Literary Studies, Language Studies, and Creative Writing. A slightly different formulation was offered by Rick Rylance as part of the British Qualifications and Curriculum Authority's consultation on the future of English held in 2005:

> In my humdrum, pedestrian map of the subject, English includes three central activities. It is, humbly, a three-legged stool if you like, and, in order to support any weight, all three legs are essential. In no hierarchical order, there is, first, the cultural aspect, in which students and teachers engage primarily with literary texts (though engagement with other sorts of text is possible and, I think, desirable) in order to enable discussion of issues and values. Second, there

is the functional or instrumental aspect in which students and teachers acquire and understand modes of communication and how to operate them successfully. Finally, there is the creative aspect. This is of increasing importance and includes not only 'creative writing' but also the broad appreciation of intellectual and aesthetic creativity and originality. This third aspect is a relatively late development in the evolution of the subject, and is likely to be a growth area in the future. In its pedagogy it highlights the necessity of understanding through doing—but that, I think, is characteristic in different ways of all three aspects. (Rylance, 2006, pp. 6–7)

Rylance's predictions in relation to creative writing are borne out in Andrew Cowan's chapter in Part I of this volume and reinforced in Rob Pope's diagrammatic representation of English, with 'Creativity' as one of the key compass-points. Pope also refers to English's 'critical-creative' core, a phrase that has been heard more and more frequently in the decade since Rylance articulated the relationship of the creative aspect of English to its other areas. Meanwhile, as Andrew Cowan shows, Creative Writing has been at pains to establish its own disciplinary identity and indeed legitimacy as it has become institutionalised within higher education.

Whilst the concept of academic disciplines, originating in the sciences, partly refers to different areas of knowledge and/or activity, it also makes reference to methods of working within those areas. Some of the chapters in this book focus strongly on methodologies, from Peter Stockwell's worked example of critical engagement with texts in Chapter 12 to digitally enabled developments described by Marilyn Deegan and Matthew Hayler in their chapter on Digital Humanities. Methodologies are also related to contexts, and in Chapter 11 Gordon McMullan discusses the opportunities for different approaches to critical and pedagogical questions made possible through collaboration with other cultural organisations, in this case, London's Globe Theatre. Add these examples to the awareness of the potentiality of creative practice already mentioned, and it is clear that English Studies not only embraces a very wide range of methodologies already but that it has the potential to be energised still further by its openness in this area. So within the broad field of variously designated disciplines and sub-disciplines that are conceived as being part of English Studies, whilst the idea of boundaries may have its usefulness at institutional level, it should not inhibit recognition of the complexity of English Studies and its capacity for hosting new growths.

Communities of practice

Given the complexity of English Studies, the communities of academic practice within which it operates are inevitably extremely various. Some of the most striking instances surface in the chapters in Part II of this book, where a range of international dimensions of English are explored. These chapters foreground the links between language, literacy and literature in a number of very different contexts, demonstrating some of the pressures that are shaping aspects of English Studies worldwide. Kristina Hultgren, in her account of Danish higher education curricula in English, recognises a commonly held concern about the 'vocationalisation' of English Studies, but concludes that such concerns are, in the end, unwarranted given what James English describes as the 'curricular conservatism of English studies' in European universities (English, 2012, p. 151). However, in the radically different context of Indian higher education, Suman Gupta identifies 'growing top-down and bottom-up demand for greater and more widespread English proficiency' (p. 110) and predicts that 'the powerful drive towards vocationalizing/ professionalizing HE will be felt increasingly unevenly on all aspects of English Studies' (p. 116). The English language as a commodity is a prominent theme in John Gray's chapter on 'TESOL and the discipline of English' and he notes with regret that in the materials produced by the global TESOL industry 'the English on offer is…one which is unabashedly celebratory of the value of contemporary consumerism and neoliberal individualism' (p. 96). More widely, as Ronald Carter points out in Chapter 1, when the educational objective is to create speakers of English as an international lingua franca, 'English language study outweighs English literature or literatures in English or any broader study of texts, its socio-economic value commonly taking precedence over the wider values fostered by a more inclusive version of English' (p. 12). David Russell strikes a slightly more hopeful note in the section of his chapter that deals with 'TESOL and Applied Linguistics': he describes a renewed interest during the last decade in the USA, where almost 20% of the population speaks English as a second or other language, in integrating second/other writing with Writing Studies, and although this does not necessarily imply integration between functional and cultural dimensions of English (since Writing Studies are largely functional in character), it represents a move towards acknowledging writing as a 'tool for learning', in Russell's phrase, opening a small window onto the wider landscape and values of English Studies. The perspectives on English worldwide offered in this volume also include the argument

advanced by Ann Hewings and Philip Seargeant in Chapter 4 that English Language Studies can function as 'a highly effective socio-cultural and political lens on global and local issues relevant to education in the twenty-first century' (p. 61). The phenomenon of English as both a worldwide language and a global object of study involves possibilities in which the idea of 'public good' co-exists alongside the 'private good' of language proficiency and status.

Forward trajectories

As Ronald Carter notes in Chapter 1, 'English as a subject continues to move between centrifugal and centripetal tendencies in respect of description in language, canonicity in literature and the development of global Englishes' (p. 14–15). Looking forward to the future, Carter comes down firmly on the side of centrifugal developments, and it is particularly the chapters in Part III of this book that point to ways in which English Studies is adopting new shapes and moving into new areas. The development of digital humanities has profound implications for all areas of English Studies, from corpus linguistics to manuscript studies, and, reflecting on the examples offered in the later part of Marilyn Deegan and Matthew Hayler's chapter, it seems likely that new forms of literary criticism may be called forth in response to creative blends of digital and print-based books that are now beginning to appear. Multimodality is also a strong theme in the development of Children's Literature, and Dena Attar and Janet Maybin and draw attention to the way in which new, interactive story-making practices are transforming traditional 'linear experiences'. These kinds of development will not be confined to any one area of literature, and the very nature of the 'texts' that literary scholars engage with in future is set to become even more diverse than at present. Robert Scholes' hopeful predictions of a reconstructed English after the dwindling of the subject in its present form include the incorporation of 'cultural production', which 'must also mean film, video, and digital composition, for all of these use the verbal language as well as the languages of images and tones' (Scholes, 1998, p. 161).

Meanwhile, conventional texts continue to be susceptible to new treatments. Gordon McMullan's account in Chapter 11 of the MA in Shakespeare Studies offered jointly by the Department of English at King's College London and the education department of the Globe Theatre reflects on the intersection between higher education and cultural tourism with canonical texts as the fulcrum of this partnership.

In Chapter 12 Peter Stockwell draws on established disciplinary practices and principles in order to generate a new synthesis described as 'applied English' as a way of exploring texts. In the book's final chapter, Rob Pope shows that rather than building or maintaining barriers between different facets of English Studies, or between English Studies and other disciplines, the fuzzy boundaries of English enable creative responses and the potential for genuine learning.

Throughout the book, from Patricia Waugh's evocation of an 'new paradigms and interdisciplinary engagements' (p. 35) to Rob Pope's 'provocations' on the theme of 'interdiscipline English', the centrifugal tendencies that Ronald Carter urges are very much in evidence. In surveying, exploring and engaging with these, the book as a whole provides both a critical assessment of the breadth and scope of English Studies in today's world, and an appraisal of directions for future developments. The various contributors bring a wide range of perspectives to the overall theme of the development of the discipline; and although the futures they envisage are differently focused, if there is one 'message' that emerges through the book as a whole, it is that the strengths of English Studies as an academic subject lie not only in its traditional breadth and depth, but also in a readiness to adapt, experiment, and engage with other subjects.

Note

1. See http://takeielts.britishcouncil.org/prepare-ielts/free-ielts-online-course.

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Part I
The Shape of the Discipline

1
English Pasts, English Futures

Ronald Carter

> ... the way in which education is organised can be seen to express, consciously and unconsciously, the wider organisation of a society, so that what has been thought of as a simple distribution is in fact an active shaping to social ends. (Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution,* 1965)

English pasts

What follows here offers a personal response to some general features of the landscape for 'Futures for English', outlining some wide-ranging thoughts on issues that chapters in the rest of the book then focus on in more specific detail. The discussion centres mainly on the implications for English futures of the fragmented and to some degree contested nature of 'English', something that always seems to mean that we impress inverted commas on the word whenever it is employed in this kind of context.

The academic subject of English is and always has been permeable and elusive of definition. First, there is no clear or consistent sense of what the object of study is, whether it be studied in schools, colleges or universities, in Anglophone or in non-Anglophone contexts. It is similarly unclear what descriptive methods are to be applied to its study, making it thus not entirely methodologically disciplined. Second, if not a clear subject in terms of many conventional academic disciplines, it is distinctively subject to external influences and numerous different partnerships; in fact, as a subject on the school curriculum it is subject like no other to political regulation and control.

Futures and pasts are always interconnected, and I begin first with some reflections on English in a school curriculum, its history in UK schools illustrating the kinds of political forces at work, which in many contexts also affect higher education—the main focus for this book. The history of English in UK schools is only one perspective and example but it offers a mirror to disputes, resistances and regulations, most involving different definitions of the subject or 'discipline' and what it should be or do, suggesting an active shaping to different social ends that is almost impossible to conceive of in the case of subjects such as mathematics and chemistry. Of course, the word discipline itself can slip in the meanings constructed for it to that of an almost military code and easily become equated with standards of behaviour in schools which many politicians feel can be controlled by a more regimented curriculum for English with decontextualised grammar drills and proper, standard English preferred to the more flexible pedagogies associated with the study of a variety of texts and styles of English. A parallel concern on the part of (mainly) right-wing politicians for school students of English literature to know about their 'English' cultural heritage has often resulted in a similarly narrow literary curriculum designed to reinforce a reduced and regulated version of national identity and produced in response to times marked by increasing social, cultural and linguistic diversity. Political control commonly results in a monologic narrowing of the curriculum; but political involvement is almost always more likely where a lack of definitional clarity concerning the subject of study obtains.

Internationally, political involvement in the non-Anglophone school English curriculum also exists but often has more marked economic values with the study of English language prioritised and with generally more agreement about the ends of creating speakers of English as an international lingua franca. In many such contexts English language study outweighs English literature or literatures in English or any broader study of texts, its socio-economic value commonly taking precedence over the wider values fostered by a more inclusive version of English.

Though generally less subject to external political control, the study of English in higher education is often more fragmented, or at least more variegated. Some departments of English focus exclusively on the study of literature, while others pursue partnerships with, for example, creative writing, media studies, performance studies and cinema. Others still claim that English language (which is how English is popularly defined internationally) is the core of the subject and is the lens

through which the subject or discipline should be viewed and studied, not least because a linguistic and rhetorical study of a variety of texts brings with it more social scientific methods of replicable empirical research, which in turn lends it to more rigorous interdisciplinary integration and offers greater 'relevance'.

The 21st century has, in fact, seen—in both Anglophone and non-Anglophone contexts—a renewed concern with the uses and functions of the study of English and, underpinned by funding imperatives, government imposed requirements for an audited relevance and impact have now become naturalised in all subject areas. In this context language skills and a functional social literacy can mean a clear relevance to communication in society and to employability—skills, of course, which, if not taught with due attention to a development of critical language awareness, risk an uncritical accommodation to the institutional structures and socio-economic order of society. On the other hand, there is a widely held opposing view that English studies is at its best when it is not directly concerned with relevance (simply because the development of critical and creative engagement with a range of texts and values is relevant in itself to the individual student and thereby more indirectly to society as a whole).

It would seem then that part of the uniqueness of English is that it is characterised by what Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) calls centripetal and centrifugal tendencies. Centripetal forces push towards unitary systems and political and cultural centralisation; centrifugal forces are anti-canonical and push against centripetal forces and towards variety and diversity. One or other of these tendencies has been present in the history of English studies but in higher education centrifugal forces continue to be celebrated within the profession of English teachers, as noted above in the range of different curricular foci for an English Studies degree. Diversity also plays a considerable part in the place of English internationally. Outside the profession, however, centripetal tendencies are present in a push towards standardisation (and equivocally a maintenance of 'standards') in terms of stubbornly narrow definitions of English literature and a description of the English language regulated by native speakers, by written norms and by the imperatives of the most powerful forces in publication, largely centralised in the USA and UK. The future is likely to see similar tensions and oppositions between centrifugal and centripetal forces. These different versions and tendencies also, of course, affect the internal face of the subject and the debates and tensions that affect the professional construction and constitution of the subject. Questions such as: is 'English' literature or language or

both? Can they be integrated? What are its relationships with other curricular subjects? Where do all the recent developments in courses in creative writing fit? Can we only really speak properly in terms of literatures in English and of Englishes in the plural? What exactly is a text in the context of English and how do students best pedagogically engage with texts, spoken and written, productively and receptively? What are the values to be promoted in the study of English? Are the values associated with creative writing the same or are they inflected differently?

The previous paragraphs show some of the difficulties of definition, the subtle disclosures of words and meanings, and the near impossibility of neutrality that should in fact make for celebration of the complexity of English, whether it be a subject, or discipline, or not. They constitute an indirect argument for the value and values of English studies and for the importance of nuance and complexity. Such discussion also underlines how English futures are inevitably determined by the paradox that the subject of English is not subject to any one single disciplinary practice but rather by a number of sub-disciplines each with its own ideological, methodological and ethical history and its own vision for the future. Questions such as those at the end of the previous paragraph are vital and will doubtless continue to be so. But they can all the same risk a diversity that leads to disunity and leave the subject open to the charge that English Studies can mean whatever anyone wants it to mean. These and similar questions may thus be seen as a sign of celebration of the diverse life of the species or as a recipe for ever increasing fragmentation.

In the light of all this, the following is then an inevitably personal view of possible futures. It comes in the form of what sound like prescriptions, but the aim is to suggest that reconciliation between opposing tendencies and forces is possible, without weakly conceding all territory to external political interference, without creating too much of an homogenous middle ground that dissipates productive tension and without unduly risking fragmentation.

English futures

Some tentative proposals and some accompanying questions:

Practice and context

- CENTRIPETAL AND CENTRIFUGAL. As English as a subject continues to move between centrifugal and centripetal tendencies in respect of description in language, canonicity in literature and the

development of global Englishes, it is vital that more centrifugal tendencies should be fostered; development will be limited without the notion of Englishes in language, English as a lingua franca and literatures in English. This is important because it reflects the more inclusive, globalised nature of English.

- COMPLEXITY, CRITICALITY AND CONTEXT. The teaching of English in schools, colleges and higher education is similarly characterised by this variety and diversity and such diversity should still be centred on ways to foster students' capacity for critical engagement with texts and for the appreciation of nuance and complexity in texts in a variety of contexts, including their historical contexts. Context concerns here not only features of an external environment in which a text is composed and interpreted but also the internal linguistic environment of the text itself with further layers of complexity added in the interplay between both such environments. This is especially important, because too exclusive a focus on external context can leave students unable to analyse a text linguistically and too exclusive an emphasis on the linguistic-stylistic context can result in too text-immanent a study, leaving students without a sense of historical context and of how the linguistic texture of a text is a part of its historical and cultural context.

- CREATIVE WRITING AND CURRICULUM. Where does creative writing fit? Developments in creative writing have a transformative potential for the subject but should embrace a wider variety of text types and genres, including spoken texts. In this respect the development of life writing is a very promising and less restrictive development. However, to continue the pervasive practice of confining the development of creative writing to poetry, prose and drama may serve to limit students' engagement with different text types and rhetorics, may affect their full development as writers and is not consonant with developments in creativity studies—which embrace a more holistic and nuanced view of creativity across a range of spoken and written discourses—nor is it consonant with changes in the landscape of English language and communication studies. Creative writing means creative writing in a range of fictional **and** non-fictional genres.

- DISCONTINUITIES AND CURRICULUM. Can discontinuities between school and university be lessened? Real discontinuities commonly exist between secondary school and university English. University English departments are not as informed as they should be about the teaching of English in schools (including both

pedagogy and curriculum content) and insufficient thought is given to how developments in school leaving examinations in English can grow organically into university English studies. More needs to be invested in resolving these discontinuities and potential tensions. Similarly, curriculum development world-wide needs to be more sensitive to the fact that students of English in both Anglophone and non-Anglophone contexts have affiliations to different social, ethnic and national groups and are increasingly commonly multilingual speakers.

Relevance and values

- METHODOLOGIES. Even given the importance of the cultivation of critical interpretation, research methodologies in English studies that do not go beyond hermeneutic processes are limited. They fail in particular to recognise that the growth of mixed quantitative and qualitative methods are shifting the ground in the arts and humanities towards the social sciences and that this shift is not unconnected with changing conceptions of relevance and social and economic impact. Fuller engagement with the vast array of literary and linguistic electronic databases and corpora will help develop curricula more in this direction. English studies is richer and can address even more complex problems and with more critical intent when it operates more fully in an interdisciplinary environment as 'applied English', drawing on insights beyond its own natural constituency.
- IMPACT. In the UK especially but increasingly world-wide, there are government-driven requirements for research to become more responsive to the world outside the academy, for engagement with the world of work, for research to demonstrate that it has cultural, social and economic impact. There are considerable opportunities for English here to demonstrate its impact on the cultural economy (publishing, theatre, the public arts), on how language study can help organisations engage more effectively with the public, deal with the media, deal with the language of the internet, handle meetings more efficiently, be more inclusive and socially responsible in language use.
- AESTHETIC AND SOCIAL VALUES. Can these values be reconciled? It can be inhibiting to focus too narrowly in the study of English on literary-aesthetic texts and values. Aesthetic values are important but there are, for example, social, political, communal and community values too, of which an English studies curriculum can be constitutive, and which courses involving work placements and an outward

facing focus can foster. An outward facing focus and a more inclusive view of texts for study and their socio-cultural applications is not inconsistent with the development of a critical stance nor with creativity in appreciation and in practice.

Texts and futures

- NEW TEXTUALITIES. What exactly is a text? A fuller and richer conception of texts and textuality in theory, practice and classroom pedagogy is needed to take English forward. There is a distinct challenge to English and its formation as a subject by an overreliance on written, 'literary' text as central to the subject and a failure to deal adequately with spoken, mixed-mode, non-fictional, multimodal and media texts. For example, futures in textuality are more likely to continue to involve further development of electronic media where communication can be simultaneous, multiply distributed, multi-channel, asynchronous, temporally displaced and fragmented and supported by gesture and moving image.
- SEEING THROUGH TEXTS. As has been argued throughout here, a vision of futures for English should be centred on the study of complete spoken and written texts. Of course, some texts are most productively studied as extracts but in general the analysis, discussion, interpretation and writing/production of complete texts allows for an integration of literary and language studies, drawing on the strengths of literary studies in critically analysing texts in cultural and historical contexts and on the growing strengths of English language studies in critically analysing the linguistic and rhetorical texture of many varied texts and text types. Creative writing has a key role to play here for students as practitioners in linking a fuller more internalised understanding of the linguistic composition of texts with a fuller understanding of how the parts are actively made to create the resonances of whole texts. In an ever more globalised world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest texts reveal and conceal more than ever and learning to see through (in both senses of the phrase) the language of a variety of types of texts is a key 21st century competence. And such a focus allows for the fuller study of media and multimodal texts. I would also argue that the learning of English (including in many different contexts where English is learned as an additional language) can be significantly enhanced by a textual focus, whether that text be a single line at less advanced levels or a complete novel or complex political speech or multimodal advertisement or long narrative poem.

There continue to be risks to English futures in that its many diverse parts risk greater fragmentation, at least as an institutionalised 'subject' in higher education. There are also risks that call for greater integration and unity lead to a homogeneity that removes all energy and potential for growth. I would argue, however, that fuller exploration of an integrated focus on texts and contexts—a modern rhetoric, as it were—along the lines suggested in these prescriptions counters the risks of fragmentation, while maintaining a distinctive character for English studies.

The proposals and suggestions here are inevitably partial and overly formulaic. It remains for the rest of this book to take further and in more detail these and many other suggestions, into further description, discussion and dialogue.

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2

Discipline or Perish: English at the Tipping Point and Styles of Thinking in the Twenty-first Century

Patricia Waugh

The Janus faces of English: disciplinary roots and terminal thoughts

English has always been a Janus-faced discipline. The Roman God of transition, sudden or radical change and transformation, Janus is emblematised by thresholds, doorways, entrances and exits, travel and trade, hybridity and the transcultural. Likewise, as Ben Knights has recently argued, English is a 'boundary practice' (Knights, 2015, pp. 15–25). The *habitus* of English, as *literary studies*—the main but not exclusive focus of this essay—primarily straddles cognate fields such as philosophy and history; in creative writing it extends to the performing arts; in English language to cognitive linguistics, philosophy of language and language acquisition. English is at once gamekeeper and poacher, custodian and iconoclast of heritage, nation and language. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the history of English from its earliest years to its latest developments and extensions is one of constant internecine skirmish, hot and cold border wars, crisis and cargo cults. In the last third of the twentieth century, in particular, English literary studies underwent more 'turns' than the heroine of a sensation novel: formalist, historicist, New Historicist, deconstructive, linguistic, textualist, ethical, affective, material, phenomenological, cognitive, narratological, digital. But English as taught has always been and remains a loose and ever changing federation of semi-autonomous domains, each with its own methods, focus and content, sometimes achieving devolved status as new departments or centres for linguistics, cultural studies or creative writing. Perhaps because of this diversity of its fields, objectives and methodologies, English as a practice of criticism has traditionally

foregrounded the importance of pedagogy as a unifying practice: teaching as exchange and negotiation, or what F. R. Leavis calls the 'creative collaborative' as opposed to a model of expert transmission of already constituted facts.[1] The classroom has always been to English as criticism what the 'lab' is to science and just as testing and challenge are central to science, in literary studies too, conflict is necessary and healthy, ensuring engagement with the real diversity of modern culture.[2] If the Victorian sage is long dead, the 'social mission' of English continues, part of business as usual.

Janus's temple presided over beginnings and endings of conflict; its doors opening in times of war and closing to signify peace. The period between 1920 and 1960, when English as the critical study of literary texts was established in the UK and North America as a cluster of practices including close reading, practical criticism, philological and literary historical scholarship, was hardly less riven by historical turbulence than now in its new and increasingly globalised modes. In these years, English presented its value and centrality to culture and the university as a civilising force, a shelter from the fallout of progressive modernity: from the amorality of political economy, the calculations of the technologico-Benthamite, the depredations of mass culture. In 1924, I. A. Richards honed the first methodology for practical criticism, conceiving the trained literary practitioner as a kind of bio-regulatory 'finer organisation of ordinary experiences', where the contemplative calm of the measured response fine-tunes the plasticity of the nervous system to accommodate and cope with a world reeling out of kilter (Richards, 1924, p. 10). English sought legitimation as a democratic but steadying force in times of change and crisis; its key concepts were 'continuity', 'living response' and organicism. Even those who conceived their role as a clerisy speaking truth to power believed that the study of great literature offered personal transformation or *Bildung*, cultural nourishment and renewal. The mission of English was partly to revitalise the language, enabling the half-thought and the dimly apprehended to find elegant accommodation. For its modern architects—in the UK, I. A. Richards, T. S. Eliot and F. R. Leavis, and in the USA, Cleanth Brooks, John Crowe Ransom and Yvor Winters—English existed to sustain a diverse 'living' tradition, a conversation between the past and the present. Indeed, for most of the twentieth century, creative response was the core ethos of English's critical thinking; its seeding ground was the classroom.

Almost a century on from Richards's, and others' efforts to professionalise English as a panacea for cultural morbidity, however, the

professoriate seems newly addicted to scenarios of its own demise. Ever gloomier prognostications for the future are penned. Mostly, toxicity is blamed on the culture of late capitalism, the fetishisation of techno-science and instrumental thinking in the new neo-liberal university, with its unprecedented 'for profit' assumptions. The rhetoric is notice-ably apocalyptic. For Martha Nussbaum, for example, defending the US liberal arts tradition as the basis of modern democratic thinking: 'we are in the midst of a crisis of massive proportions and grave global significance … thirsty for national profit, nations, and their systems of education, are heedlessly discarding skills that are needed to keep democracies alive … nations all over the world will soon be producing generations of useful machines, rather than complete citizens who can think for themselves … The future of the world's democracies hangs in the balance' (Nussbaum, 2010, pp. 1–2). In the UK, Stefan Collini presents a picture of the post-Browne Report humanities with academ-ics turned travelling salespersons, selling simples to public and funding bodies, seeking legitimation in the language of skills transfer, business partnerships and income generation.[3] Where political economy in the nineteenth century retained concepts such as trust, co-operation, restraint and community, Collini now sees, everywhere, neo-liberal thinking, instrumentality, simple belief-desire psychology, means-end contractualism: the rule of *homo economicus*. English has already lost its aura and is in danger of losing its values. The redemptive role of literary study in recovering the direct apprehension of immediate experience is now the purview of the television book club, the online chat-room, the therapeutic context.[4] A generation of literary scholars, teachers and critics who welcomed the post-1945 expansion of higher education, passionately believing in the transformational power of informed liter-ary experience and the practice of criticism as a potent source of social critique and justice, now feels betrayed.

The rhetoric of the 'Future of English' genre has mostly been cata-strophist, cultural pessimism serving a retrenched outlook ever prey to cultural conservatism.[5] But never more so than at present, where traditional vocabularies of creativity, innovation and transforma-tion, are already hijacked by the market and media celebrity culture. Concurrently, a preoccupation with risk measurement encourages not so much the idea of *taking risks* (thinking imaginatively and experimen-tally, cultivating and strengthening personal resourcefulness through creative response), but of being *at risk*, vulnerable, in need of the tried and tested or the ministration of the technical expert. Although 'for-profit' critiques, such as Nussbaum's, quite properly decry the takeover

of universities by market forces, they are often surprisingly sparse on new ways of thinking about the nature and role of English in the finer-grained cultural and political matrix of the contemporary world. Traditional defences are wheeled out in stock gestures: the importance of English as genealogical thinking, wisdom literature, the richness of the archive. The 'other' of Eliot's 'tradition', what he calls 'individual talent', understood as creative possibility, future-oriented thinking, speculative reflection, the generation of new concepts, is now mostly associated with the 'creative industries' or creative writing. Old New Historicism rules in literary studies. Creativity flourishes but is mostly, safely, cordoned off from critique as a necessary aspect of creative writing, and therefore less threatening to the business of 'knowledge' than creative-critical thinking.[6] Indeed, creative *thinking*, that one time core value of English, is now met by many research managers with suspicion. Despite the mantra of 'research-led teaching', one suspects that creative thinking and engagement in the classroom happens increasingly in spite of, rather than because of, the new research dispensations.

Yet a major source of English's distinctiveness, as well as its identity issues, is that, unlike most humanities disciplines, English has always straddled the Arts and Humanities; teaching and research have traditionally encompassed practice, theory and scholarship, the creative and historical. Indeed, its two key foundational figures are firstly: the positivist, philosophically/realist-trained I. A. Richards, for whom English literature's value was primarily in its capacity to organise the emotional life and best studied as a relation between feeling and form through the *method* of 'practical criticism'; and secondly, the poet-critic, T. S. Eliot, trained in philosophical idealism, for whom the language of criticism should aspire to the condition of *wit*, a performance involving 'a recognition in the expression of every experience of other kinds of experience that are possible' (Eliot, 1951, p. 303). For Eliot, English is, or at least becomes, a way of thinking; the critic is not to be trained as a technical expert, but is a 'whole man' writing with the 'knowledge and experience of life' (Eliot, 1957, p. 116). For both Eliot and Richards, though, this style of thinking is axiomatically inseparable from its uses of language. For the mode of wit, above all, opposes bare assertion in criticism, so that criticism shares something with the literary work itself. In numerous essays, Eliot argues against literature as a bare vehicle for sociological, philosophical or historical ideas.[7] 'Wit' allows for the circumvention of the explicit and the assertive, staying close to the text but opening a world new to each reader. So it enabled Eliot to resolve dilemmas in the professionalisation of English and it taught early practitioners that

the language of criticism must be the distinguishing mark of English. In 'The Frontiers of Criticism', Eliot condemns 'explanation by origins', the genetic fallacy that overmasters the poem, seeking to reduce it to a single definitive meaning (Eliot, 1957, p. 107). For Eliot, neither the methods and ethos of history, comfortably accommodated within the broad carapace of positivism, nor the analytic methods and languages of philosophy, might address adequately the crisis of values in his own time: those of a dissociated modernity, calculative in thought-style and cut off from feeling, driven by money and the search for sensation.

Eliot's wit is the forerunner of Leavis's more workaday notion of the tacit or ostensive, the idea that the realm of 'value' as engaged by literary criticism, in particular, is underpinned by and inseparable from an alternative kind of pre-reflective knowing that grounds human beings in their cultural worlds, and out of which the explicit knowledge of the scientist or historian is forged. If true thought is felt on the senses as 'immediately as the odour of a rose', an experience that might modify one's sensibility, then the pedagogic mode of English must somehow honour the centrality of language as a critical and creative force, but one disciplined through an historical knowledge of the literary works of a tradition (Eliot, 1951, p. 287). In 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', Eliot argued that 'criticism is as inevitable as breathing', but we should be 'none the worse' for 'criticising our own minds in their work of criticism' (Eliot, 1951, pp. 13–14). Here too, meta-cognitive distance is provided not by any explicit conceptual framework but through the unconscious voices of a collective mind that echoes through the writer and critic's own inner thinking. Though this exile of the 'explicit' from critical language helped to create the somewhat daunting mystique of the Eliot-Leavis mode of the tacit, it acquired, in the classroom, some more reassuringly 'learnable' rules of method supplied by Richards's practical criticism: the perfect pedagogic complement to Eliot's very intelligent 'wit'.

This tension between method and wit stabilised the dimensional arc of the discipline of English for most of the last century. In the new century, however, they are increasingly separated: where positivist scholarship underpins historicist research and technical rules organise the study of language, the performative, creative and pre-reflective are increasingly associated with the practices of creative writing as a discrete area of study in English. Not surprisingly, creative writing is now the fastest growing area of English studies. But if this rationalisation of English goes too far, it risks losing the distinctive creative-critical mode that has always underpinned its claims to critique and transformative

thinking as core disciplinary values. A huge opportunity is also lost for innovatory reflection on English as a style of thinking and the capacity of the discipline for training and adapting the human mind for the challenges of living in the very different world of the twenty-first century.

English now: a new epoch of complexity and the post-postmodern

But what has been rarely addressed since Eliot and Richards is this importance of English as a *style of thinking*. The capacity of literary studies to offer a unique kind of experience, simultaneously immersion in and vital critical engagement with imaginary worlds seems as important as ever. But might closer consideration of what is involved in this process allow a more nuanced account that is specifically oriented to the situation of the present and its sense of a future? The textual hermeneutics that begins with Renaissance humanism was explicitly defended as training for the mind's capacity to see different points of view, to develop persuasive argument, and to benefit from knowledge of the past; but what might textual studies offer in the new century? Current declinist theses focus almost exclusively on the effects of neo-liberalism and globalisation. But if the disciplinary niche of English has always involved a preoccupation with naming its distinctiveness *vis á vis* the more positivist disciplines of science, history, philosophy, then the paradigm shift that has recently occurred in science, from the dominance of physics to that of the sciences of life and mind, will inevitably impact on that relational identity. One consequence of the rise of the life sciences is that the positivist legacy which viewed 'knowledge' simply as mechanistic or causally explanatory thinking is losing its exclusive rights on 'truth' and knowledge. Aggressive positivism viewed the aesthetic as epistemologically empty, but valuable as a conversation about ends and values. This legacy crucially shaped the discipline of English in its early years, and later, as it struggled for legitimation either by establishing its own equivalent of 'scientific' credentials, or insisting on its 'performativity', akin to the creation of literature. But as science shifts its methods and boundaries, the perception of English inevitably alters too. English is beginning to open its borders to the new sciences, the digital, cognitive, the new life sciences and mix of psychology and philosophy that is neo-phenomenology. These changes represent opportunities for English to begin to identify, articulate and assert its own distinctive assets in this new

knowledge economy. 'Crisis of the humanities' thinking has mostly focussed on the identification of threats—the neo-liberal university and the infatuation with techno-science—rather than seeing opportunities for the re-presentation of English's distinctive strengths in these emerging contexts.

We seem to be—here comes Janus again—at a critical threshold: moving out of the era of what has been dubbed postmodernism and into one of complexity. The challenges facing the globe—economic, environmental, epidemiological, demographic, ethical—are no longer amenable to solution by linear thinking, or the classic realist methods of science-in-the-laboratory. We are crossing the threshold into an era of the bio-cultural and the eco-social—the Anthropocene—increasingly recognising the need for dynamic and narrative styles of thinking that fully grasp the complexity and interrelatedness of the world's systems as they bear on individual lives. In a complex system, small effects produce large changes; in a bio-cultural system, metaphors have 'agency' as do molecules and minds. Literary hermeneutics encourages modes of complex thinking that are increasingly being recognised as the necessary complement and often successor to more linear and mechanistic styles. Though arguments about English tend to revolve around texts, canons and content, we need more discussion of its singular styles of thinking and practical reason. English might even be thought of as a 'thoughtcraft', ministering to individual needs for the purposive and the contemplative, but having much to offer in providing, for the non-specialist, a means to grasp the various human challenges thrown up by an ever more complex and globalised world.

Since the 1990s, metaphors and concepts describing the real, in the sciences and the social sciences, have drawn increasingly on notions of complexity, distributed systems, interconnectedness, networks, critical transitions, cascades, amplificatory effects, interdependencies, emergence, positive and negative feedback, mimetic behaviours, diffusion, emotional contagion and affect. This shift—from the linear to the non-linear and from analytical reductionism to varieties of complex emergence—partly reflects the current reorientation towards the life sciences, the revival of evolutionary thinking and the growing pressure on the sciences, including economics, to leave the laboratory and the model and to enter the world.[8] This kind of thinking, mostly articulated through quantitative methods such as mathematical modelling, is central to a range of new sciences: in the cognitive neuroscientific interest in neuroplasticity, the predictive mind and neural networks; in developmental and cell biology and the new epigenetics;

in medicine, around the 'looping effects' of diagnostic categorisation. In the environmental sciences, the rise of eco-social systems thinking is well advanced; in economics, rational choice theory is giving way to more complex behavioural economics that reflect on the role of affect, trust and intersubjectivity in economic exchange. Yet as the world and our understanding of it grow more complex, the human brain—honed by evolution for a probabilistic kind of reasoning that minimises surprise, so that it constantly models the real by feeding back prediction errors and readjusting its templates to better fit the demands of its environment—is poor in contemplating the rare and radically new, or in imagining the unexpected that doesn't fit the template.[9] Most of the challenges that are threatening the stability of the globe are also imperceptible: economic, political or climate change, for example, is mostly invisible until the catastrophe occurs.

But what is evident is that we are more and more confronted with the unexpected: situations where established instruments of knowing or customary modes of doing seem inadequate. Until recently, academic disciplines were organised as if only the quantitative methods of traditional science and statistical modelling might bring order to these unpredictable aspects of the world. Since the nineteenth century, the view has prevailed that only more detailed evidence and a more rigorous identification of individual efficient causes, more planning templates, the gathering of more data, will allow the drivers of change to be assimilated to a probabilistic list of 'risk' factors. As this reliance on the linear and mechanical is being questioned, the kind of imaginative cognitive processing, affective response, and search for personal meaning involved in the close engagement with the language and emergent structures of complex literary works, offers to hone important cognitive skills that are likely to become increasingly important in dealing with this new world. In reading a complex literary work, for example, we constantly find our confirmation biases challenged and our hypotheses forced to undergo revision. We come to understand the power of buried metaphors in reorganising the real, or learn the source of our common errors as our forward-moving temporal processing of events is constantly revised when new and unexpected perspectives emerge. We may notice too how rhythm, rhetoric and the creative bending of formal convention changes our mood as readers and how moods affect our individual behaviours; how shifts in narrative voice encourage irony or empathy and imitation; how responsibility for events is often distributed and requires reflection on competing value systems and their origins.

Perhaps we should listen again to, but update, Leavis's message that literary study is an engagement with 'life'. This insight might be a starting point for new responses to those sceptics who recognise the relevance of STEM subjects, but can see little value, aside from preservation of heritage, in pursuing an education in English at tertiary level. In a culture where growth is overwhelmingly understood as GDP rather than *Bildung,* where science is promoted as the guarantor of truth and eventual well-being, the defence of English will benefit from refreshing its terms of reference to meet the challenges of the age. The 'civilising mission' will hardly hold up to the Socratic questioning of a new and rapidly expanding professional and managerial class for whom literary study, never in any case carrying the epistemological prestige of science, no longer even carries the kind of value as cultural capital that was assumed by an earlier leisured or 'mandarin' class. Literature now competes with many other kinds of cultural narratives: television, the digital, film. And in the culture of the worldwide web, where the obscure and arresting 'fact' is losing its aura, even literary scholarship already seems less rarefiedly impressive. Some new arguments seem in order.

In search of the tipping point: a brief history of English

But things are changing. My own view is that a tipping point in the perception of the futures of English began in the late 1990s though is only becoming perceptible—like all tipping points—with hindsight. It involves more than the rise of the 'neo-liberal university'. All too often ignored are broader shifts in the knowledge economy driven by enormous changes in the information, mind and life sciences. A number of related contexts are also relevant. An era of public health that saw infection control as its major focus is giving way to one where bio-medicine is recognised as only one remedial factor in the complex entanglements of mind, body and environment involved in many chronic conditions and especially in the rapid world-wide increase in mental illnesses such as depression and anxiety. A more complex understanding of the extent of the major environmental threats to the future existence of the planet developed rapidly too in the 1990s. The growing frequency of extreme weather events, terrorist activity and security fears similarly began to produce at this moment a sense of moving into a more precarious world that calls for more complex responses. The disastrous fallout of human 'progress' defined narrowly as economic and technical growth began to make apparent how reliance on a restricted definition of 'scientific thinking' had failed to prognosticate both economic collapse and

other spiralling global problems. The related 'tipping point' for English arrived with the sudden demise of postmodernism and the era of high 'theory'. Fredric Jameson's 'Postmodernism: or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism' (1984) was the most accessed essay of the 1980s in the humanities and social sciences. By 2004, Bruno Latour announced the end of postmodernism and, in particular, the overriding stance of *critique* as the defining activity of the literary humanities (Latour, 2004). The gadfly days were over: Latour called for a more positive and productive engagement with science. For Latour, in the age of the Anthropocene, the concept of nature on which the positivist claim to unified science rested its case, was in any case now a metaphysical ghost, haunting a nature already thoroughly entangled with human agencies. All knowledge in future will inevitably carry an ecopolitical value, he argued and, beyond this, both STEM and the humanities should collaborate in resisting the narrow neo-liberal pressure for growth that is felt across all disciplines and move to address, variously but collectively, its disastrous fallout.

But one might pinpoint 1996 as the tipping point moment: the year *Social Text* published an issue, 'Science Wars', prompting a short-lived but furious revival of the infamous 'two cultures' controversy of the early 1960s. At the inflammatory centre of the special issue was an essay by the physicist Alan Sokal, 'Transgressing the boundaries: toward a transformative hermeneutics of quantum gravity', a hoax send-up of cultural theory's unknowing and more-comic-than-tragic misappropriation of the technical vocabularies of the newish sciences of non-linearity, cybernetics, Uncertainty, indeterminism and undecid-ability (Sokal, 1996). What offended the scientists, however, was not so much postmodernism's often naive and arrogant misunderstanding of science, but its redeployment of concepts from the new sciences as fresh ammunition against the foundations of classic realist science. The essay presented postmodern cultural theory countering science's real-ist claims through a sonorous and overweening hermeneutic holism that borrowed from sociology the view that data in science is always underdetermined or skewed by theories, and that science hides its epis-temic gaps with metaphors, rather than acknowledging metaphor as a placeholder for what is not and might never be known. Where literary theory's hermeneutics were properly sceptical and suspicious, science's claims to 'truth' were naive. When Sokal exposed the hoax in order to unmask the Emperor's New Clothes of cultural and literary theory, fury erupted on both sides; the Science Wars moved rapidly from cold to hot. But the dying embers of the conflagration took with them the

last vestiges of postmodernism and the reign of 'theory'. Removed too, though, were the last traces of unfettered animosity between the sciences and the humanities that, in so many ways, had ever provided the flint against which the discipline of English honed its identity.

So the Science Wars are over. Their true significance is how they foregrounded the long-term effects of the early twentieth century's organisation of the disciplines around positivism's 'unity of science' as the true foundation for knowledge. This was a settlement bound to cause trouble later; it apportioned to the humanities, at best a 'civilising' or archival role as custodian of culture, but deprived them of epistemological status. English, especially, unable to 'verify' its procedures, was left with conversation, opinion, doxa. The unity of science argument rested its defence on a mimetically compelling reproduction of the hierarchies of nature, where humanistic complexity carried the least credentials: the foundation of life and the knowledge pyramid must be the smallest particles of matter, to be understood through the rigorously evidenced and analytically reducible logical and mathematical thinking of physics. From the sub-atomic to the atomic, from molecules to matter, to neurons and behaviours of individuals and groups, one ascends to the literary—short on the conceptual hygiene of philosophy, low-scoring compared to the positive methods of history. How literary studies might assert its own kind of rigour therefore became one of its abiding preoccupations, ensuring always one eye on science. So science envy was everywhere, if not everywhere admitted. Some sought to reinforce I. A. Richards' positivism with Structuralist, narratological and cognitive methodologies, others, deconstructionists especially, reinterpreted Eliot's 'wit' as an ironic continuation of positivism's own innate scepticism.

But the Science Wars were really spun around crude allegorisations of disciplinarity.[10] For Sokal, realism (in the positivist, not metaphysical sense), will always provide the foundation of scientific method. The literary humanities are accused of an envious and Puckish desire to undermine this foundation using an anti-realist misinterpretation of the new sciences to bolster an illegitimate transformative practice bent on flattening the knowledge hierarchy. Sokal, like C. P. Snow before him, views realist science as both a synecdoche and avenue for all truth, progress and political optimism. The 'wars' ended, but a painful disciplinary lesson was learned: that in emulating and/or subverting the sciences and the social sciences, literary studies tarnished its public face; having over-expanded its remit to increase its influence for a while, its own identity began to falter. By 1996, English was more than ever

unsure of its disciplinary ground. Brought up sharp against the mighty stronghold of science, wit and conceptual irony now seemed irresponsibly self-indulgent. By 2001 too, the new sincerity was everywhere; ironic playfulness seemed an inadequate response to terror, ecological disaster and economic collapse.

If this wasn't bad enough, the 1990s also brought a new expansionist scientific naturalism, the writing of a new Evolutionary Epic, often mixing indiscriminately the popular and the academic, the hard and the soft, the evidenced and the speculative, on everything from origins to ends and bodies to brains. The evolutionary ethics and epistemology banished by G. E. Moore in 1903 was back in force, the 'naturalistic fallacy' of a more restrained if clinically hygienic positivism, forgotten. E. O. Wilson's book of that name called for a new 'consilience' between the sciences and the literary humanities (Wilson, 1999). Wilson named the evolutionary epic, the myth for our time, insisting that it still rested on the watertight ground of scientific reductionism. All life, meaning and value were to be reduced to the understanding of the structure and function of the gene, built out of the molecule and the atom, but then expanded back up the hierarchy to explain everything from consciousness, value, individual and group behaviours, falling in love and the effects of poetic metre. Stephen Pinker's *The Blank Slate* (2005) used the procedure to ridicule the literary humanities for empty utopian thinking and argued that now, as knowledge of human nature is shown to be a product of science, so too might science provide foundations for value and purposiveness. Consilience allowed for 'cultural co-evolution' as long as we humanists recognised just how far genes have us on the leash. Consilience was a weasel word for scientism. No wonder Literary Darwinism was strangled in the cot.

So Postmodernism and High Theory disappeared as rapidly as they had arrived; wit was suddenly in short supply in the English department. A no longer 'new' historicism, one less playful than that of its pioneers, became the default and more sober mode of English. Self-congratulatory scepticism, provocative anti-realism, came to be identified as mandarin gestures, a residue of 'mystique' that seemed inappropriate in the new style democracies of the twenty-first-century mass higher education university. A number of consequences followed. One was the strengthening of periodisation as the organising and foundational principle of English, its rationale for recruitment, teaching and research clusters, despite the continued existence of areas of study still largely defined through concepts. But mostly the conceptual, the trans-historical, the formal, figural, generic and speculative that crosses

period boundaries moved to the interdisciplinary centre, to burgeoning new fields such as medical humanities, cognitive literary studies, post-classical narratology, the risk humanities, eco-social studies, attractive for this very reason. By the mid-1990s, English began to look like a subsidiary of history; the innovatory aspects of creative thinking now most often hygienically restricted to the creative writing programme. The vast historical or contextual reading needed for the ever-expanding study of each period hardly facilitated experiment, creative thinking or conceptual innovation. Hardly surprising that the creative-critical-conceptual began to migrate to interdisciplinary ventures and centres, rather than flourish in the traditional department.

Life flourishes, we now know from science, far from equilibrium; or nearer to home, in the words of Nietzsche: you need chaos to give birth to a dancing star. Systems—like disciplines—approaching critical thresh-olds, oscillate wildly and then conserve energy by reverting to earlier models of behaviour that are less risky and expensive, find backwaters, niches, and survive for a while through mimicry or well-rehearsed routine. But under changing conditions, such as pressure for public engagement, new technologies, new economies, new scientific think-ing, shifting politics and alliances, the safe backwater might suddenly become the most dangerous place on earth: the bio-regulation or equi-librium around a fixed point of the simple system is no longer an option. The new concepts and entities driving thinking in the new century are responses to its urgent and compelling problems. English has much to offer, if it can begin to make its case, as a discipline that already thinks in the modes necessary to the new epoch: those of complexity, emergence and inter-connectedness. These are the new translational concepts that have taken us past the post. Only a suicidal intransigence at the discipli-nary level can afford to ignore at least some interdisciplinary engagement with their sources in the new digital cultures, life and mind sciences, bio-medical advances and eco-social studies. In the next section, I shall explore these discourses of emergence and complexity and demonstrate briefly why a focus on what English has to offer, as a thought-community or thinking style, might offer a more robust response than declinism or the over-preoccupation with canons and periods.

English: styles of emergent thinking

Complexity is *the* buzzword of the new millennium, thoroughly dis-tributed through the sciences and social sciences, appearing in the humanities in weaker variants such as Actor Network Theory or ideas

of the embodied, extended and predictive mind, in interest in social networks and their manifestation in cultural artefacts. Emergence is what complex systems produce: from cybernetic and artificial life origins to evolutionary theory and the new developmental biology, complexity has spread from the origins of life and mind to the aetiology of diseases and organisational management. Jeffrey Goldstein, writing in the first issue of the first journal on *Emergence* (1999) offers a useful working definition:

> Emergence … refers to the arising of novel and coherent structures, patterns, and properties during the process of self-organisation in a complex system. Emergent phenomena are conceptualised as occurring on the macro level, in contrast to the micro-level components and processes out of which they arise. In a wide variety of scientific and mathematical fields, grouped together loosely under the title 'complexity theory', an intense search is now underway for characteristics and laws associated with emergent phenomena observed across different types of 'complex systems' … they share certain interrelated common properties that identify them as emergent. (Goldstein, 1999, p. 49)

This names a process that is wholly familiar to those who engage with complex literary works: what reader hasn't been fascinated by the way in which the meaning or phenomenology of an imaginary world emerges continuously and recursively through individual response to verbal cues cumulatively experienced as the 'depth' of a world? Complexity thinking has a long pedigree in the humanities and the current scientific turn to complexity theory offers a key opportunity for English to reframe its toolkit in order to extend and preserve its core values without defensiveness or retrenchment.

Three motifs recur in all *scientific* accounts of dynamic complexity: *unpredictability*—new entities appear beyond the calculations of probability; *irreducibility*—the whole is dynamic and more than the sum of its parts, so analytic reductionism won't yield reliable predictions; *recursivity*—the key differentiating feature of a complex, as opposed to a linear, system. Whereas a simple, thermostatic or bio-regulatory system is held in check by negative feedback, in a complex system, positive forcing or amplification is the product of recursivity, so that properties appearing out of bottom up processes exert a backward or top down effect on lower levels, entangling effects and causes to create emergent properties that produce further effects in the system. This process might

be observed in the development of a cell; a changing climate system; epigenetic processes; neural plasticity, to produce conditions that are 'far from equilibrium', or at the 'edge of chaos': conditions pertaining to life. 'Life' was, of course, also the operative term in Leavis's sonorous plea for the importance of English.

Emergence in its current usage, however, arrived with the new sciences of complexity, the work of biologists such as Stuart Kauffmann at the Santa Fe institute in California, extending earlier systems, information, and chaos theory.[11] Emergence is ontological for Kauffman and science will eventually unveil the laws of complexity even though singular emergent properties may remain unpredictable. Emergence, though, has origins in literary contexts too and English has its own style of thinking complexity. Indeed, the literary culture that scaffolded the rise of English had close links with the first and now mostly forgotten movement of British Emergentism that arose in the 1920s in biology and philosophy, taking its cue from the writing of G. H. Lewes who, in 1875, specifically addressed emergence in terms indistinguishable from today's complexity theory: 'every resultant is either a sum or difference of the co-operant forces and is clearly traceable in its components … the emergent … cannot be reduced to their sum or their difference' (Lewes, 1874–9, p. 413). Emergence was central to the attempts of C. H. Broad, A. N. Whitehead, Samuel Alexander and William James to move beyond the dualisms of vitalism and mechanism, materialist reductionism and mysticism, in an intellectual context that profoundly shaped the thinking of English. Its most famous literary proponent is Virginia Woolf, whose fascination with emergence—how something that had no previous existence can appear 'stark' out of the mist—is sometimes mistakenly read as mysticism (Woolf, 1958, p. 23). Indeed, her novel *To the Lighthouse* (1927), is a persuasive embodiment of and reflection on the complex intentionality involved as a work of art emerges out of life: out of mental events, automaticity, assimilated and non-self-conscious skills, bodily movement, sensations, random events and autopoeisis. She shows how intentionality is never simply situated inside the mind of the creator, but always entangled with the body and environment, arising through complex processes of self-organisation, rhythm, repetition, the emergence of pattern, recursive shaping. This fascination with emergence is central to modernism's preoccupation with the making of the work of art, but also provides one of the key intellectual underpinnings for the new discipline of English. In our own age of cybernetic naturalism and the Posthuman and where agency is distributed equally across humans, objects, the non-human, this complex investigation of

the human but entangled processes of meaning-making in art therefore is still vitally important. The British Emergentists sought to avoid a naive expressionism without destroying belief in the singularity of human agency and the verbally crafted drive for meaning. In a world whose unmappable complexity might induce a kind of quietist fatalism, English still has this kind of vital role to play in facilitating a nuanced grasp of distributed agency and intention. For if the mathematics of complexity is inaccessible to the majority, so the style of thinking required to grasp the intricacies of complexity in its more concrete and workaday modes is the very stuff of English as a 'thought collective'.[12]

English has never felt a need to make its grasp of complexity explicit as a countermove to positivist reduction: perhaps because complexity is intrinsically its business. But demonstrating affinities with other modes of complex thinking confirms the high level value of English as a training in thinking that arises out of its many kinds of engagements with its objects of study. Science moves increasingly towards complexity; it would be ironic indeed if English were to abandon its own complex thinking styles in a drive to be more positivist and evidence-based. Complexity theory offers a compelling framework for reflecting on the ways in which literary texts might be regarded as training grounds for challenging default linear thinking. How might we redescribe a literary genre, for example, as a complex system? The novel, for example, might be said to have arisen as an epistemological tool to cope with the complexity of a new world of risk, credit, adventure and speculation. For three hundred years, novels have examined how, through the small act or thing or item that ramifies through a system—a letter, a kiss, a look, a missed appointment, a misinterpretation, a postcard, a forgotten umbrella—catastrophic and irreversible changes might cascade to every level or social group. Entirely unpredictable consequences arise through complex ramifications out of everyday human transactions. The novel challenges the limits of probabilistic reasoning through scalar emergence, surprise, interconnectedness, techniques of amplification, modes of allegorisation and symbolisation that extend hermeneutically to other worlds; a metadiegetic self-transcendence that indicates a vastly more complex world beyond.

The novel evolved complex techniques of voice and perspectival recursivity that might be regarded as ways of honing skills to model other minds, anticipate behaviours, reflect on motives and develop empathy. Novelists such as Jane Austen pioneered techniques for modelling six or seven embedded layers of meta-representation of other minds: that A thinks that B thinks that C thinks that A thinks that B

thinks and so on, demonstrating the capacity of the mind to track and monitor its intersubjective relations in minutely complex ways, but revealing too the vast possibilities for error, self-deception, self-delusion and subterfuge in the process.[13] Reading a novel is through and through a process involving the unpredictable, the irreducible and the recursive that offers a kind of 'workout' for coping with life, requiring the exercise of hypothesis revision, inference, abduction, close observation, pattern recognition and the 'looping' effects of language. To follow a fictional plot hones recursive skills for mental 'time travel'—projecting into the past and the future whilst relating the projection to a moving point in the present in dynamic and complex processes of embedding of prolepsis and analepsis. In reading, we are constantly required to realign the time of the story and that of the discourse in cognitive manoeuvres that involve numerous, always dynamically shifting temporal embedding. Reading novels foregrounds too the ability to grasp reverse, circular and interconnected causalities, the way the world is experienced forwards and understood backwards, but as a continuously emergent and recursive process; the way our confirmation biases trip us even as we think we are being most attentive, and the way our values and affective lives enter into what we deem to be our most impassive and objective judgements. From *Don Quixote* onwards, its metaleptic paradoxes remind the reader to think beyond the text, to return to a world outside the novel, one that is always more complex, bigger, more messy, than any model.

Discipline and flourish: new paradigms and interdisciplinary engagements

What is evident, examining this history of English Studies, is how, despite shifts in modes of operation, disciplinary hierarchies are often sustained around older positivist assumptions. The belief in reductionism as settling a hierarchy of knowledge is hard to dislodge. As complexity and emergence emerge as key frameworks for knowledge in the early twenty-first century, what is clear is that both inter-disciplinary entanglement and the need to assert and know disciplinary difference will be equally important in the future. Entanglement with another discipline allows exposure to new concepts and perspectives that reveal one's own blind spots—like a change of point of view in a novel—but, as in complexity, also allow one to see what is there but not recognised until a new concept or vocabulary comes along. But understanding a discipline as 'laboratory life', whether an actual laboratory or an English seminar, is always much more than reading its texts, scientific or scholarly

papers, merely transferring semantic knowledge back to one's own domain. Working with colleagues from other disciplines makes one acutely aware of this.[14] Through spaces that encourage shared practice— currently the work of interdisciplinary centres, though networks and other models are emerging—the deeper and more tacit assumptions of thought communities emerge in ways made available for more explicit kinds of meta-cognition (such as this essay). Generating really significant new knowledge is most likely now only achievable through the stimulation and inevitable frustration and difficulty, of actually working on a shared problem with collaborators from other disciplines. Exploring a metaphor across disciplines is illuminating, but the pressure of trying to find ways to frame and approach a truly complex problem is what really produces significant interdisciplinary innovation and break-throughs in understanding. For me, working collaboratively on a medi-cal humanities' project that is addressing difficult questions around the strange (and yet common) experience of Auditory Verbal Hallucinations (or 'hearing voices') alongside voice hearers, psychologists, theologians, medievalists, philosophers and psychiatrists, has enormously expanded my sense of the possibilities of 'voice' in literary texts, of how creative processes evolve, and what is happening in inner experience when we materialise a text as an imaginary world. What has been most surpris-ing is how far I needed to step out of the current parameters of my own discipline to achieve insights—into affective relations with imaginary worlds or the closeness of creating literature to dissociated states—I believed to be germane to English. In turn, the perspectives I bring, on the importance of narrative in thinking as meaning-making, the phe-nomenology and complexity of the emergence of literary worlds, for example, have contributed to experimental design, the development of therapeutic models, the means to grasp cultural contexts of human experiences, not amenable to the methods of science.

Every breakthrough within the disciplines of science has occurred in the last hundred years through interdisciplinarity: biologists, chem-ists, physicists, engineers and mathematicians working in collaborative teams made up of a range of already hybrid disciplines. Surely the sci-ences and literary humanities can likewise find ways to work together and encourage engagement in shared as well as different ways of think-ing? Working on a shared problem involves a deeper understanding of difference, creating practices that might allow the new to emerge and be recognised. Oddly enough, new fields emerging in English are taking back themes once repudiated in the quest for 'rigour', that have now

become central to the cognitive sciences: neuroscientific research on intentionality, emotion, memory, for example. In emergent systems, default modes can suddenly shift. If English regards itself as a complex thoughtcraft as well as a body of texts and range of theories, the positivist orientation of current historicism will again take its place alongside but no longer overmastering wit and earlier styles of thinking honed over many years. English needs to recognise that it has plenty of resources for creative renewal and reframing its activities without compromising or abandoning its valuable styles of thinking. Let us hear but find ways to move on from the prophecies of doom and gloom.[15]

Notes

1. F. R. Leavis emphasised the centrality of English in a world where 'mankind … will need to be in full intelligent possession of its full humanity … a basic living deference towards that to which, opening as it does into the unknown and itself unmeasurable, we know we belong', *Two Cultures: The Significance of C.P. Snow* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1962), p. 26.
2. See, particularly: Gerald Graff, Beyond *the Culture Wars: How Teaching the Conflicts Can Revitalise American Education* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994).
3. The key arguments are in *What are Universities For?* (London: Penguin, 2012); see also Marina Warner, 'Learning my lesson'; *LRB*, 37, 6, 12 March 2015, pp. 8–14.
4. See Michael Bérubé, *Employment of English: Theory, Jobs and the Faculty of Literary Studies* (New York: NYU Press, 1997), p. 159.
5. See Francis Donahue, *The Last Professors: The Corporate University and the Fate of the Humanities* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008); William M. Chace, 'The decline of the English Department', *The American Scholar*, 1st September 2009.
6. See John Dale, 'The rise and rise of creative writing', *The Conversation*, 25th May 2011; Mark McGurl, *The Program Era: Post-War Fiction and the Rise of Creative Writing* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Richard Cave, *Creative Industries: Contrasts Between Art and Commerce* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
7. T. S. Eliot, 'Dante', *Selected Essays*, pp. 199–237.
8. The work of Stuart Kauffman is key for the development of complex dynamic systems theory; see his *Origins of Order: Self-organisation and Selection in Evolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); for useful discussions, see Edgar Morin, *On Complexity*, trans. Robin Postel, New Jersey: Hampton Press, 2008).
9. This 'Bayesian' idea of the mind has been developed in Andy Clark, 'Whatever next? Predictive brains, situated agents, and the future of cognitive science', *Behavioural and Brain Sciences* 36, 3, 2013, pp. 181–204.
10. See John Guillory, 'The Sokal affair and the history of criticism', *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Winter 2002), pp. 470–508.

11. See Stuart Kauffmann, *At Home in the Universe: The Search for the Laws of Self-Organisation and Complexity* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 26.

12. Leavis's defence of tacit knowledge—a version of the phenomenological pre-reflective—later drew him to the chemist and philosopher Michael Polanyi who also saw the 'tacit' and the emergent (he identified himself as working in the tradition of Emergentism) as a crucial dimension of scientific thinking. Polanyi expounded this in his Gifford Lectures of 1952, later published as *Personal Knowledge* in 1958, arguing for a 'thought collective' or knowledge emerging out of a community of thought and practice that challenges positivism as the exclusive method of science.

13. See Lisa Zunshine, *Why We Read Fiction: Theory of Mind and the Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006) and the more recent, 'Sociocognitive Complexity', *NOVEL*, 45:1, 2012, pp. 13–18.

14. Regina Gagnier argues a similar case on the basis of her own interdisciplinary entanglements; see her 1996 talk to the Council for College and University English, in *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 1999, pp. 465–472.

15. The research that contributed to this essay was supported by a Leverhulme award (F/DO128/BF).

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3

The Rise of Creative Writing

Andrew Cowan

In *The Elephants Teach,* his analysis of the complex history of Creative Writing as a university subject in the United States, D. G. Myers remarks that Creative Writing achieved its 'full growth' as a discipline in the late 1960s and early 1970s 'when the purpose of its graduate programs (to produce serious writers) was uncoupled from the purpose of its undergraduate courses (to examine writing seriously from within)' (2006, p. 149). Myers's argument (in context) is persuasive, though the binary starkness of his proposition inevitably fails to anticipate the increasingly vocational orientation of many undergraduate programmes (with their emphasis on skills appropriate to employment in the 'creative industries') and the research orientation of many PhD programmes (with their aim of producing serious academics).

In offering this much more modest account of the rise of Creative Writing in the UK, I am grateful to lean on Myers's analysis while being conscious also of the need to acknowledge the varieties of contemporary practice and orientation within the discipline, whether at undergraduate, Master's or Doctoral level. These variations relate in differing ways to the wider discipline of English Studies, and each has relevance beyond any narrowly national or even Anglophone context. But while the variations will no doubt multiply as the discipline continues to develop as a global phenomenon, the trajectory of its emergence in each national context may well follow the pattern established in the United States, beginning with a questioning of the discipline's academic credentials, proceeding haltingly to an accommodation with its undeniable appeal to students and administrators, progressing through a period of sudden and exponential growth that provokes a further questioning of the discipline's academic credentials, and eventuating in a reformed—or at least expanded—understanding of its relation to other

disciplines, including Literary Studies. Schematic as this certainly is, it does appear to describe something of the experience in the UK.

'Diligently finessed but slightly anodyne': the institutionalisation of writing

Initially in response to its novelty, then in reaction to its ubiquity, the commentary that has accompanied the rise of Creative Writing in the UK has been marked by a scepticism bordering on contempt and has taken the form of several now familiar and often contradictory claims, many focused on the validity of such programmes as a form of literary apprenticeship. An impressionistic survey of such views might include, for instance, the supposition that talent will be stifled by the requirements of a curriculum, that talented writers will succeed regardless of any curriculum, that Creative Writing programmes dupe their students with false claims about future publication, that the literary marketplace is saturated with the products of such programmes, that institutions shield their students from real experience, and that literary endeavour is necessarily solitary. Above all, there is the assertion that writing cannot be taught, coupled with the claim that Creative Writing programmes are nevertheless responsible for producing—presumably through the efficacy of their teaching—a surfeit of homogenised, unadventurous, 'assembly-line' writing.

These last two views may not be entirely contradictory, however. The claim that writing cannot be taught is that 'true originality' cannot be taught, with the corollary that writing programmes must therefore offer a schooling in how to construct decent, somewhat ersatz literary works whose sole distinguishing feature is their technical competence (and formal conservatism). A refinement of this claim is that certain celebrated programmes operate to a corporate aesthetic that marks their Master's graduates in particular as recognisably the product of those courses, as may be illustrated by a couple of book reviews that take the programme at the University of East Anglia (UEA) as symptomatic of a wider malaise. The first of these is an appreciation in *The Guardian* of Suzannah Clapp's *A Card from Angela Carter*, which says:

> [Carter's] early work in particular has a proto-punk surrealism to it, all exposed joins and twisted edges. And Carter's prose style was always 'helter skelter hoopla', as Clapp puts it. Carter was, in short, pretty much the opposite of what *Private Eye* recently called 'the diligently finessed but slightly anodyne' school of UEA-type good taste. (Turner, 2012)

The *Private Eye* piece to which this refers is a review of *Body of Work*—a volume published to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the UEA programme (Foden, 2011)—in which the anonymous reviewer doesn't merely identify a school of diligent, slightly anodyne writing associated with UEA, but proposes more generally that 'creative writing degrees are simply another stage in the institutionalising process that threatens to turn English literature into a branch of the Civil Service' (*Private Eye*, 2012, p. 28). In other words, the university is appropriating the once-social practices of writing and criticism and thereby curtailing the capacity of the former to innovate while usurping the authority of the latter to evaluate.

This plainly is to ignore the foundational role of Creative Writing at undergraduate level in supporting the study of English Literature through practice-based learning, as well as its developing role in fostering skills deemed appropriate to a range of careers in the 'cultural sector'. It also fails to recognise the emergence of Creative Writing as a research practice at Doctoral level. And while there is some irony in promoting Angela Carter as the opposite of the institutionalising process, since she was herself a teacher of Creative Writing (at UEA, in fact), the journalistic disquiet revealed by the reviews testifies to the continuing force of the Romantic legacy that assumes literary achievement to be the expression of natural talent, the outcome of a God-given faculty superior to reason and therefore to pedagogy, while serving to prolong the debate about the relative importance of nature and nurture, innate ability and taught facility, creation and imitation. Arguably this aligns with an ambivalence about the limits of pedagogy that persists among even the most committed of teachers of Creative Writing and finds its clearest articulation on the website of the most illustrious of graduate programmes, the Iowa Writers' Workshop:

> Though we agree in part with the popular insistence that writing cannot be taught, we exist and proceed on the assumption that talent can be developed, and we see our possibilities and limitations as a school in that light. If one can 'learn' to play the violin or to paint, one can 'learn' to write, though no processes of externally induced training can ensure that one will do it well. Accordingly, the fact that the Workshop can claim as alumni nationally and internationally prominent poets, novelists, and short story writers is, we believe, more the result of what they brought here than of what they gained from us. We continue to look for the most promising talent in the country, in our conviction that writing cannot be taught but that writers can be encouraged. (Iowa, 2007)

For Mary Swander *et al.*, anxious to argue the legitimacy of Creative Writing as a distinct academic field, and writing in a handbook designed to establish the parameters of that field, such a statement serves to perpetuate 'the Romantic myth' that 'talent is inherent and essential' and is potentially undermining of the claims of Creative Writing to be accepted as a discipline, for if writing cannot be taught 'then it might also follow that student work cannot be evaluated and programmes cannot be assessed' (2007, p. 15). But such concerns are, in one obvious sense, moot, since Creative Writing is everywhere *being* taught, and everywhere evaluated, particularly in the Anglophone academy, and not merely at MA level.

'A flourishing discipline': some numbers

Paul Munden's report for the Higher Education Academy, *Beyond the Benchmark*, provides some numbers for the UK. In 2013, there were 141 higher education institutions offering 504 degree programmes in which Creative Writing was a significant element, while figures supplied by the Higher Education Statistics Agency show that enrolment for courses in which 'Imaginative Writing' was the major element climbed from 2,745 in 2003 to 6,945 in 2012 (Munden, 2013, p. 8). Corroboration of this may be found by comparing the figures displayed on the website of the National Association of Writers in Education (NAWE) with those given in Siobhan Holland's 2003 report for the English Subject Centre. NAWE's online directory states that there are currently 'over 83 HE Institutions offering undergraduate courses, sometimes in combination with other subjects such as Film, Literature or Language Studies. A similar number offer MA courses, with almost 200 to choose from. More than 50 universities offer Creative Writing PhDs' (NAWE, 2014). Holland's report from ten years earlier declares: 'Creative Writing is a flourishing discipline within the academy. Twenty-four HE institutions are offering named undergraduate programmes in Creative Writing in the academic year 2002–2003 … Graduates can choose between 21 taught and 19 research-based postgraduate degrees …' (Holland, 2003, p. 2).

In short, in ten years in the UK the number of HEIs offering BA courses (in a variety of combinations) rose from 24 to 83, while the number of MA courses rose from 21 to 200, and the number of PhD programmes from 19 to more than 50.

As measured in courses, then, the growth of Creative Writing in the UK over the last fifteen years has been rapid, appears to be accelerating, and is plainly not confined to MA provision. Nor is this just a

UK phenomenon. Here especially the pattern follows the template established in the United States, where membership of the Association of Writers & Writing Programs (AWP) rose from 13 institutions in 1969 to 500 in 2011, while the number of degree-conferring courses rose from 79 in 1975 to 852 in 2010 (Fenza, 2011). Comparative figures for Australasia are harder to come by, but one indication of the growth of the discipline may be found in the four-fold increase in the number of PhD courses, from eight in 1999 to 31 in 2009 (*TEXT*, 2014), while the emergence of the discipline beyond the Anglophone academy may be gauged by the membership listings on the website of the Asia-Pacific Writers & Translators Association (APWT, 2014) or by the growth in membership of the European Association of Creative Writing Programmes (EACWP), which rose from nine institutions in 2005 to 23 in 2014 (Briedis, 2014).

The appearance of subject associations is one significant indicator of disciplinary identity, and is evidenced in the UK by the increasing prominence of NAWE. Concomitant with the UK expansion in courses, meanwhile, has come the recognition of a PhD in Creative and Critical Writing as the entry qualification for the field, a greater connectedness with institutions and representative bodies internationally, the widespread staging of pedagogical conferences, and a proliferation of pedagogical literature, including peer-reviewed journals of international scope (pre-eminently the Australian online journal *TEXT*). The subject is taught, and has acquired the apparatus of academic legitimacy and the appearance of disciplinary self-confidence. But in addition to this consolidation a number of areas of negotiation or contestation have become evident, many centred on the relationship of the 'creative' to the 'critical' within the discipline, others concerned with the relationship of Creative Writing to the wider discipline of English Studies. The issues, in either case, are reminiscent of the conditions that informed the inception of Creative Writing, both in the United States and, several decades later, the UK.

'Learning by doing': the American invention of Creative Writing

In order to situate and explain the rise of Creative Writing in the UK, it will be instructive to follow the narrative of Creative Writing's prior emergence and development in the USA, as described in *The Elephants Teach* (Myers, 2006). This locates the beginnings of the discipline in the late nineteenth century as a reaction against a prevailing

philological approach that addressed literature as a corpus of historical and linguistic knowledge but failed to allow for the possibility of that corpus being supplemented by the works of living writers. In this, Creative Writing was both an experiment in education and a creative-critical enterprise whose goal was critical understanding 'conducted from within the conditions of literary practice' (p. 133). It was 'learning by doing', and initially—in the 1870s and 1880s at Harvard—this assumed the guise of a re-formation of the teaching of rhetoric under the rubric of 'English composition'. But whereas traditional rhetoric had emphasised a rule-bound correctness, a subordination of the self to 'grammatical exercises, spelling drills, and the memorization of rhetorical precepts' (p. 37)—usually in the study of Latin—English composition emphasised individuality, self-expression and the importance of the imagination.

The subsequent development of the discipline, as Myers goes on to explore, is more complicated than might be conceptualised in terms of a simple dichotomy between the practical and the scholarly. On the scholarly side—at least until the advent of New Criticism—individual literary texts continued to be scrutinised for what they might reveal about larger cultural texts, while on the practical side there was the teaching of instrumental language—technical English, business English—which achieved ascendancy as 'English composition' reverted to a mechanical regime of precepts and drills. 'Historically', says Myers, Creative Writing 'beckoned a third way' (p. 8), but it wasn't yet called Creative Writing, and in the first two decades of the twentieth century it beckoned with diminishing force until given fresh impetus by the confluence of three phenomena: the appointment of Robert Frost as the first writer–in–residence at an educational establishment, at Amherst in 1917; the invention of the artists' colony and writers' conference—Carmel, Bread Loaf, MacDowell, Yaddo—which advanced the role of writers as teachers; and, crucially, the emergence of the 'progressive education' movement in high schools in the 1920s, which promoted a doctrine of self-expression and the nurturing of the child's natural abilities (thus storing up for the future the pedagogical conundrum of whether writing could or should be *taught*.)

A key text of this child-centred movement was Hughes Mearns's *Creative Youth,* which was, in 1925, the first publication to use the term 'creative writing' to refer to a course of study. But still, at university level, there wasn't yet a discipline of Creative Writing, and this, for Myers, came about with the appointment of a critic, Norman Foerster,

to the School of Letters at the University of Iowa in 1930. Importantly, Foerster was not only scornful of the blindness of philological scholars to contemporary writing; he was equally scornful of the historical ignorance of many contemporary writers, who were too interested in 'problems of technique' and—in their reliance on the expressive self—overly inclined towards 'solipsism' (Myers, 2006, pp. 134–135). Thus creative writers at Iowa were required to do scholarship as a structured part of their course, just as scholars were required to do Creative Writing (p. 136), and the kind of scholarship required was New Critical scholarship, which respected the autonomy and sufficiency of the individual literary work.

At undergraduate level, classes in Creative Writing soon became commonplace—and popular—while remaining faithful to the founding pedagogical goal of achieving critical understanding through creative practice. But despite the success of the Iowa program, and the impetus given by the 1944 'G.I. Bill', which guaranteed four years' free education to returning servicemen, by the mid-1960s there were still only five graduate programmes in the USA, and when the expansion of Master's courses finally occurred it was in the direction of training would-be authors for publication and would-be writing teachers for teaching. At Master's level, that is, Creative Writing became a form of professional apprenticeship once again removed from critical scholarship, so what had begun 'as an alternative to the schismatizing of literary study had ended as merely another schism' (p. 168), a schism that was exacerbated by the advent in the academy of Theory, as symbolised by the appointment in 1976 of the structuralist Northrop Frye as President of the Modern Languages Association.

Frye's election, for Myers, represented 'the revolt of literary study against literary value' and 'the view that meaning and value are not *in* literary texts—that novels, stories, and poems have neither meaning nor value in themselves' (pp. 169–170). In effect, this recreated the conditions that had produced Creative Writing almost a century earlier. As Myers says of nineteenth century philology, 'Any treatment of a literary text as something created rather than determined, a transcript of individual choices and not a specimen of larger forces, was left out of the account' (29), and the subsequent expansion of Creative Writing—both in America and in the Anglophone academy elsewhere—might be understood against this backdrop: as a reaction to the dominance of a Theory-driven approach that was indifferent not only to questions of aesthetic value, but to the authority of authorship.

'A cultural intervention': UEA's adoption of Creative Writing

A comparable history remains to be written of the emergence and rise of Creative Writing in the UK, and would necessarily involve an examination of the importance of adult (or 'continuing') education, the commitment to interdisciplinarity and seminar-based learning in the newer universities, and the vocational complexion of the polytechnic system—building perhaps on the 'historical snapshots' assembled by Michelene Wandor in *The Author is not Dead, Merely Somewhere Else* (2008, p. 18). It might trace the impact of extracurricular writing workshops at a number of universities in the 1950s and 1960s, such as those provided for undergraduates by Angus Wilson at UEA (Holeywell, 2009, p. 21) or the gatherings organised by the poet-academic Philip Hobsbaum, who was 'responsible for the management of four writing groups, respectively in Cambridge, London, Belfast and Glasgow', the first of these in 1952 (Hobsbaum, 1992, p. 29). And it might elucidate—as indicated by Giles Foden (2011, pp. 15–16)—the pattern of informal support for Creative Writing in 'traditional academic settings' such as Oxford and Cambridge through the provision of writing fellowships, the funding of literary magazines and prizes, and the employment of creative writers as academics, beginning with the appointment in 1912 of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch as the King Edward VII Professorship of English Literature at Cambridge.

Inevitably, however, such a history would be bound to examine the several continuities with the American experience that mark the inauguration of the MA in Creative Writing at UEA in 1970. As in the States, for instance, the UEA programme began as an experiment in education—in a new university committed to educational innovation (Holeywell, 2009, p. 21)—and just as English Composition and, subsequently, the Iowa School of Letters, had 'established the institutional validity of submitting creative work for academic credit' (Dawson, 2005, p. 60), the MA at UEA proceeded from the identification of this same possibility, initially securing a concession merely to offer Creative Writing 'as a possible small supplement to an academic MA degree' (Bradbury, 1995b, p. ix). The American academy, meanwhile, had a long tradition of employing practising, publishing authors to teach literature, and UEA followed suit, firstly in the appointment of Angus Wilson and then, to a lesser extent (he was already an academic), Malcolm Bradbury, both of whom had recent experience of teaching in American universities. Crucially, Creative Writing at Master's level in the USA

had evolved into a form of literary apprenticeship, and UEA Creative Writing was mindful of the professional context from the outset while also insisting on a conjunction of the creative and the critical that was the structuring premise of Creative Writing at Iowa.

Bradbury especially was conscious that British literature and British publishing appeared to be in crisis—'Serious publishers seriously talked about dropping the serious or literary novel—so it clearly needed a context of reinforcement and support, an intellectual environment' (1995a)—but the ultimate impetus for the introduction of Creative Writing at UEA appears to have been his and Wilson's shared sense of the developing schism between creative and critical practice, as described by Bradbury in the introduction to *Class Work,* an anthology of UEA alumni published to coincide with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the MA:

> One odd fact struck us. Though everyone was announcing the Death of the Novel, no one was announcing the Death of Literary Criticism. In fact (as was clear from the climate in our own university) criticism, stimulated by the new thoughts of France, was undergoing a vivid resurrection, emerging in the new guise of Literary Theory … Since Angus and I were both novelists as well as teachers of literature, and took our profession seriously, it seemed somewhat strange for us to be announcing the Death of the Author in the classroom, then going straight back home to be one. What seemed even more grievous was that the practice of criticism and the practice of writing were splitting ever further apart. Where once writers and critics had been much the same people, now the practice of writing and the theory of its study seemed ever more to divide. (1995b, pp. vii/viii)

Here and in each of his several other accounts of the founding of the UEA programme, Bradbury makes clear his ambition to influence the culture and 'ensure that professors of contemporary literature have something resembling contemporary literature to study' (Bradbury, 2000, p. 22). In this, as Michelene Wandor observes, the UEA project had from the outset an 'aesthetic-vocational aim of making a cultural intervention in the creation of a contemporary literary canon' (2008, p. 18), an intervention whose effectiveness may be measured not only in the roll-call of its published alumni (UEA, 2014) and the widespread adoption of Master's provision elsewhere, but the recognition among potential authors and their potential publishers of the value of such courses as a form of professional preparation.

'Practical knowledge': the MA workshop

If Bradbury and Wilson succeeded in providing a refuge for the embattled academic category of authorship and a context of support for the production of literary works, they were arguably less successful in healing the division between 'the practice of criticism and the practice of writing'—at least as it pertains at Master's level. With certain exceptions, and many variations, the 'typical' MA course continues to emphasise the acquisition of technical skills and the completion of a publishable manuscript over the concerns of critical scholarship, and while Creative Writing and Literary Studies frequently reside in a relationship of departmental proximity, they continue to take divergent approaches to the conception and study of literature. The difference, Paul Dawson suggests, rests on the distinction between process and product: 'The object of study in a Creative Writing class, whether it be a published work of literature or a student manuscript, is scrutinised in terms of the process of its making, rather than as a literary artefact' (2005, p. 38). For Literary Studies, in other words, literature is what has been written; for Creative Writing, it is what is being written. The knowledge generated in each case will be different, and while the critical encounter with a literary work may 'produce' that work anew with each reading, and may—in the emerging context of 'creative criticism'—be productive of more *writing* (Benson and Connors, 2014, p. 27), it will not allow for the original work to be rewritten in response to its reception, as routinely happens in the Creative Writing classroom.

Dawson is not, however, sanguine about the distinction he proposes. His powerful and often persuasive polemic, *Creative Writing and the New Humanities,* is emblematic of a certain critique that emanates from within Creative Writing and tends to find its signature pedagogy—the peer-review workshop—insufficiently attuned to the cultural, social, political and theoretical context in which literature is defined, disseminated and consumed. Dawson presents the workshop, in fact, as a defensive formation in which amateurism and evaluation may be protected from the incursions of institutionalisation, professionalism and the hostility of critical theory. It is a privileged space in which a community of writers may gather under the patronage of the university for the purpose of enabling 'established practitioners' to 'pass on practical knowledge about their craft' to literary aspirants with a view to hastening the students' accreditation as fully fledged practitioners themselves (2007, p. 85). In this, it provides a refuge for traditional humanist literary criticism and a forum that facilitates 'the therapeutic discovery of

a neo-Romantic expressive voice' (2005, p. 177) while construing the literary 'in terms of aesthetic autonomy' predicated on a 'withdrawal from politics and society' (p. 187).

Dawson's remedy for the failings of the workshop is the application of a 'sociological poetics' (pp. 208–209) that would interrogate the student's work-in-progress for its underlying ideological assumptions, reading it not as the expression of an individual author but the outcome of broader social and cultural discourses. The workshop would cease, in fact, to be a *writing* workshop at all, for which reason his critique has been subject to numerous rebuttals (Myers, 2006, p. 172; Harris, 2009; Cowan, 2011), not least because it has every appearance of reinstating the conditions—Theory-driven, hostile to authorship, indifferent to evaluation—that initially gave rise to Creative Writing. That aside, Dawson's focus on the workshop neglects the extent to which many MA courses—including UEA's—support their 'creative' core with 'critical' electives and define their pedagogical aims in terms of an interrelationship between the two, a structural conjunction that is constitutive of many undergraduate programmes, too, particularly where Creative Writing is offered as one element in a joint honours degree with English Literature—that is, where creative practice is situated within a systematic programme of engagement with the literature and criticism that informs and contextualises the students' own work.

'A very wide range of combinations': the varieties of BA provision

In his report for the Higher Education Academy (HEA), Paul Munden notes that Creative Writing is now offered in 'a very wide range of combinations', despite the 'widespread belief that the link with English is vital, indeed that undergraduate Creative Writing study is questionable without it', and remarks that one programme 'goes so far as to state the purpose of Creative Writing within the combined BA as being to "provide a form of practice-based knowledge to support the study of English Literature", an extreme end of the spectrum of opinion that many would contest' (2013, p. 11). Whether there is such a spectrum, having such extremes, the claim may simply be a reiteration of a key premise at the discipline's origins and a recognition of a pedagogical theme that has remained consistent throughout its subsequent development, partly in response to a conception of Creative Writing as inspired self-expression in the service of personal growth. The more contentious proposition, perhaps, is that writers do not require a scholarly

grounding in the literature that precedes and surrounds them in order to be effective writers, though it is certainly true that writing is a skill applicable to many more contexts than the conventionally literary.

The tension between these two orientations—literary-critical and vocational—would appear to be constitutive of the discipline, as evidenced by the BA in Writing and Publishing that was inaugurated at Middlesex Polytechnic in 1991. Identified by Michelene Wandor as the first undergraduate course to be formally established in the UK (2008, p. 9), this was the outcome of modules offered on the English Literature programme since 1984 as a means of introducing 'practice-based ways of enhancing the teaching of literature', but was additionally intended to provide a 'functional "vocational" skills-base for other university subjects, as well as for the wider world of cultural employment' (p. 18). In this latter aim it anticipated the increasing tendency for Creative Writing to be offered in combination with subjects other than English— Film, Media, Digital Humanities, Drama, Computing Studies—a variety of couplings that serves to emphasise the vocational virtues of the subject in providing a grounding in skills appropriate to a range of professional settings. But even when offered in combination with English Literature, the 'employability' claims of Creative Writing may be more compelling than those of most other Humanities subjects and provide one explanation for its growing appeal. In the absence of a discipline of Composition on the American model—a programmatic training in functional or instrumental writing skills—Creative Writing offers itself as an indirect means of acquiring a vocationally useful education:

> From publishing to copywriting, editing, journalism, proofreading, public affairs, public relations, teaching, in-house business communications, information technology, market research, community work, from working in a literary agency, to working in a library or various branches of the media or many aspects of the cultural industries—in all these professional areas and more, training and experience in creative writing can give a significant advantage (Green, 2012, p. 326)

If this assumes an advantage to one particular group of students, the instrumental benefits of Creative Writing to students other than creative writers is suggested by a survey conducted at Leicester de Montfort University with the aim of identifying the 'relevance of creative writing skills and activities to the study of English Literature programmes' (Bell and Conboy, p. 2009). Having completed a single module in Creative

Writing, 95 per cent of the (admittedly small) sample of Literature students agreed that they had gained 'a better understanding of the editing process', 76 per cent that their grammar and punctuation had improved, 84 per cent that their vocabulary had improved, 90 per cent that 'the expressiveness of their writing' had improved, 82 per cent that 'creative writing had increased their self-confidence as writers', and 74 per cent that 'creative writing had improved their critical reading of literature'. All of which supports Jonathan Bate's suggestion, in his Foreword to *The Cambridge Companion to Creative Writing,* that an education in 'the *craft* of putting together words' is among the key contributions that Creative Writing can make to English departments (2012, pp. xvi–xvii).

'A healthy dialogue', Bate proposes, 'is one in which critics are interested in writerly skills—rhetoric, narrative construction, pacing—and students of creative writing are unafraid of critical judgement' (pp. xvi–xvii)—which is, of course, to conceive of two distinct bodies, the critic and the (somewhat timorous) writer, though Bate goes on to suggest that the conjunction of Creative Writing and English may signal a reassertion of pre-institutional origins of English literary criticism, and identifies in John Dryden the sire to a lineage that takes in a succession of exemplary poet-critics—Pope, Johnson, Coleridge, Arnold, Hazlitt, Ruskin, Eliot—before the interregnum effected by the ascent of Theory (pp. xvii–xviii). And indeed, where Creative Writing continues to be offered as a joint honours degree with English, a genuine site of interaction between the creative and the critical is to be found in the students themselves, for whom the two parts of the degree take on a relationship of complementarity. Conversely, where Creative Writing is offered as a single honours degree—or in combination with other subjects—it may appear to provide an inadequate critical education, though advocates of single honours might argue the irrelevance of such an education to practice-based learning, or the sufficiency of the two forms of critical engagement that are distinct to the pedagogy of Creative Writing: the 'critical self-commentary' and 'reading as a writer'.

This latter term was coined in 1934 in a non-academic context, Dorothea Brande's classic teach-yourself text, *Becoming A Writer* (1996, p. 91), and developed in another, R. V. Cassill's *Writing Fiction* (1962, pp. 6–8), and is the practice of close reading applied to exemplary texts—whether complete works or illustrative excerpts—as a form of literary appreciation dedicated to the acquisition (or, perhaps, absorption) of technical know-how. Historical and contextual understanding is largely excluded, though the critical self-commentary often encourages

the reinstatement of some such understanding by requiring students to describe, in David Morley's words, 'the affinities you may feel [your work] has with the work of other authors … placing [it] in any intellectual, aesthetic, social or other context you feel it should be seen in' (2007, p. 37). Vague as this certainly is, the practice of self-exegesis necessarily reasserts the authority of authorship and the importance of authorial intention, though it can also be read as ironically undermining of both in that it appears to demand a demonstration of critical self-awareness as a prophylactic against the writerly solipsism of 'the expressive self', and represents a form of insurance against the shortcomings of the creative work through a compensating display of critical competence.

The *Creative Writing Subject Benchmark Statement* issued by NAWE describes the wide variety of formats that this 'accompanying critical, reflective or contextualizing piece' may adopt, and suggests that its primary purpose is to provide an aid to assessment, an additional means by which the achievements of the creative work may be judged (2008, p. 9). Of equal importance, however, is the underlying issue of how the exploratory and uncertain nature of creative practice may 'become answerable to knowledge' (Magee, 2012) at both the individual and disciplinary level—in other words, how creative practice may be construed as 'a process of investigation leading to new insights effectively shared', the currently operative definition of 'research' for academic funding purposes in the UK (HEFCE, 2009). This in turn will have a bearing on the legitimacy of Creative Writing as a university subject.

'The bifurcation of practice': the PhD and the writer-academic

The research status of Creative Writing is described in some detail by the NAWE benchmark statement, which proposes that Creative Writing 'may be seen as a form of "speculative" research that is then re-visited and tested through redrafting, reconsideration and revision, as the author explores their own text as its predicted reader' (NAWE, 2008, p. 12).

As Paul Munden observes, this rubric is broad and 'could be construed as relating to Creative Writing at any level. There are no clear lines between the exploratory work of undergraduate students and that of postgraduate students' (Munden, 2013, p. 28). In practice, however, the exploration at undergraduate level tends to be contained by the pedagogy, which codifies knowledge in Creative Writing as a set of practical skills that can be taught, a set of confirmed understandings that can be transmitted, tested and described. At Master's level—in the workshop

especially—the pedagogy may take on a more uncertain complexion, the discussion achieving something of the contingency of writing itself, being relatively unstructured, relatively fluid, a process of shared discovery that may—in some institutions—be deemed sufficient demonstration of the students' self-understanding in relation to their craft. At Doctoral level, however, this process of discovery often also becomes the object of scrutiny, a problematic to be explored, and while most students will be working on a full-length creative work that they hope to see published, they will also be undertaking training as researchers, often with a view to pursuing a career in academia, and will frequently become participants in the meta-discourse that is key to establishing the conceptual parameters of the discipline.

This disciplinary discourse has been termed 'creative writing studies' by Stuart Glover, who itemises its modest palette of preoccupations as:

> (1) the pedagogy of creative writing; (2) creative writing's constitution as an academic discipline and its epistemological status … that is, investigations into the kinds of knowledge creative writing studies produces, particularly through research by creative practice; and (3) the compositional aspects of individual creative practice. (Glover, 2012, p. 293)

Clearly the first and second of these will encompass the expository and reflective 'outputs' of writer-academics, while the third is particularly relevant to the exegetical element of Doctoral theses. For some writers in academia, however, their contribution to this discourse, and to the 'disciplining' of Creative Writing within an institutional audit culture of performance indicators, has entailed an unwelcome requirement to conform to the conventions of established research definitions, necessitating a contortion of their professional identities and working practices so as to resemble more conventionally 'academic' categories. Jen Webb describes, from an Australian perspective, how this effort of contortion also requires 'artist-academics to be successful art practitioners' *and* 'successful researchers' if they are to fulfil their university's contractual expectations of them, a conundrum whose solution has been 'to assert that creative practice in fact constitutes research, thus neatly avoiding the double burden, or the bifurcation of practice' (Webb, 2012).

Scott Brook, similarly writing from the Australian perspective, points to the importance of 'institutional *realpolitik*' in the acceptance of the 'the legitimacy of creative works as research' (Brook, 2012), but while this acceptance appears to have come about only recently in

the Australian academy—in 2009, in fact (Krauth *et al.*, 2010)—the tendency in the UK has been to recognise the sufficiency and integrity of creative works, both for the purposes of research assessment exercises and the calculation of research leave entitlement. Nevertheless, despite the contortions and compromises, and the acceptance of creative work as research-equivalent (or simply *as* research), many writer-academics in the UK have begun to assume a dual identity in the academy, becoming 'both fully literary in their art practice, and fully "academic" in their scholarly practice' (Webb, 2012). In this they are modelling what remains a requirement on Doctoral students: to be what Webb terms 'double-mode practitioners' (2012).

Given that writers in the academy are also teachers, and that the PhD has emerged as an essential criterion in academic job specifications, some element of teacher training and teaching practice has also become integral to most PhD programmes, meaning that new entrants to the discipline are credentialed for teaching in a way that their predecessors, relying on their publications, were not. Inevitably this gives further cause for disquiet among literary commentators since it raises the spectre of universities becoming engines for the production of teachers of unpublishable writing, an accusation of self-perpetuation acknowledged by D. G. Myers:

> The history of creative writing since the Second World War has been the history of its development into what American industry calls an 'elephant machine'—a machine for making other machines … As early as 1964, Allen Tate warned that 'the academically certified Creative Writer goes out to teach Creative Writing, and produces other Creative Writers who are not writers, but who produce still other Creative Writers who are not writers'. (2006, pp. 146–147)

Nevertheless the goal of becoming a published and thereby certified writer remains the ambition of most Doctoral students, for whom the 'double mode' suggested by Jen Webb often registers in the title of the 'PhD in Creative and Critical Writing' that is offered in many UK institutions, though the more commonly named 'PhD in Creative Writing' similarly requires the submission of both a creative and a critical thesis. The first such degree in the UK was conferred by UEA in 1990 on the Jordanian/British writer Fadia Faqir, whose thesis comprised the novel *Nisanit* and a relatively short commentary on the writing of the novel, and while the combination of a substantial creative work with a shorter critical essay has remained a consistent requirement (the

typical weighting being 80 per cent creative to 20 per cent critical), the recognition of the self-exegesis as an original contribution to knowledge is beginning to be supplanted—certainly in my own institution—by an expectation that the critical thesis will address the themes (formal, contextual, conceptual) of the creative work without necessarily commenting upon it, leaving the relationship between the two discourses—creative and critical—more implied than explicit.

This move away from what could be seen as the solipsism of the self-commentary to a fuller recognition of the scholarly potential of the creative writer not only represents a multiplication of the possibilities of the PhD, but suggests a partial fulfilment of Malcolm Bradbury's aspirations for Creative Writing: that it might help to heal 'the schizoid division that has developed between writer and critic' and bring about 'a new kind of alliance, a fresh interaction between the creative and the critical … where the notion of the Death of the Author is replaced with the idea of the Creativity of the Writer' (2000, p. 22). The convergence implied in this 'fresh interaction' has an interesting parallel, meanwhile, with developments in the orientation of criticism in the 'post-theory' academy, newly awakened to the creative potential of the critical writer.

'The charisma of authorship': creative writing and creative reading

Writing in the *Times Higher Education,* Nicholas Royle suggests that the rise in Creative Writing has encouraged and accentuated 'an ambience of narcissism and self-centredness' that speaks directly to a contemporary 'culture of the self', and that this is allied to 'a quiet but deluded sort of triumphalism' that the impact of Theory may not have brought about the death of the author after all. Against this he proposes that a significant legacy of Theory is to have collapsed the distinction between the creative and the critical, inventing a role for the critic who 'does not simply describe or analyse but brings something new, something of their own, to the text under consideration'. This he calls 'creative reading', an approach to texts that is 'not only rigorous, careful, attentive to historical context, different connotations and nuances of meaning and so on, but also inventive, surprising, willing to take risks, to be experimental, to deform and transform' (Royle, 2013).

Royle's promotion of the critic as a producer of texts closely aligns with Benson and Connors' search in *Creative Criticism* (2014) for a critical idiom and approach that is adequate to what Mark McGurl calls 'the therapeutic enchantments of literary experience' (McGurl, 2009, p. 12).

The challenge, they suggest, lies in recognising and recording 'the mutable matter of reading as event or encounter or happening' (p. 2) by fashioning a response to the literary work that avoids making the primary experience of the encounter subservient to a discourse of critical authority—a 'language of criticism [that] has always already been chosen by another' (2014, p. 14). Rather their hope is to foreground the excitement and singularity of the encounter, the lively specificity of its coming into being as an experience, and in this they—like Royle—may be emblematic of an unforeseen consequence of the rise of Creative Writing: the institutional space it has opened up for a reconceptualisation of the role of the critic and possibly, more broadly, of the discipline of Literary Studies.

In another context, Royle makes the obvious point that the Barthesian concept of the 'death of the author' is 'explicitly figurative or metaphorical' (Bennett and Royle, 2009, p. 23) and cannot be taken to imply a denial of the existence of empirical authors, of whom Barthes himself was one. Despite the literalism inherent in Malcolm Bradbury's joke about 'announcing the Death of the Author in the classroom, then going straight back home to be one' (1995b, p. viii), what is challenged by Barthes's argument is any appeal to authorial intention for the unequivocal and unchanging meaning of a text, for while the figure of the author will inevitably be conjured up by readers, the meaning of the text will be highly mutable and will lie in the 'the peculiar double bind of reading [whereby] the reader makes the text and the text makes the reader' (p. 16). Barthes's prophesy that the 'birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author' (1977, p. 118) finds its proof, perhaps, in this promotion of criticism as a primary discourse, impatient with mere reading and pushing on into authorship, whether this is performed under the rubric of 'creative reading' or of 'creative criticism'.

This development in Literary Studies may not simply arise in response to the strongly anti-intentionalist thrust of New Critical, structuralist and poststructuralist theory, or as a reaction to the alienating anti-humanist authority of those critical modes, or even as a response to the contagious influence of Creative Writing in the academy. It may also be explained by the reflexive turn in the wider culture that Mark McGurl cites in *The Program Era*—his comprehensive survey of the impact of Creative Writing on post-war American literature—as a major influence on the spread of the discipline. Among the many instances of 'self-observation' that are characteristic of the contemporary world, McGurl nominates as fundamental 'the self-monitoring of individuals who understand themselves to be living, not lives simply, but *life stories*

of which they are the protagonists' (2009, p. 12). Understood in this context as an 'experiential commodity that the student purchases with tuition money', the Creative Writing programme invites its student-consumers 'to develop an intensely personal relation to literary value, one that for the most part bypasses the accumulation of traditional cultural capital (that is, a relatively rarefied knowledge of great authors and their works) in favor of a more immediate identification with the charisma of authorship' (pp. 15–16).

Whether or not the critical establishment is as readily seduced by the charisma of authorship—and whether it is even possible to generalise about critics, or to continue to make the distinction between critics and writers—the cultural capital accrued by the presence of novelists, poets and playwrights on campus offers one guarantee of the continuing spread of Creative Writing in the academy. The subject's appeal to university administrators is in part explained by its employability claims, which are unlikely to diminish and which will continue to translate into application numbers, admission numbers, and ultimately student fees income. But as Mark McGurl notes, an equally significant factor is the 'relative prestige' conferred on an institution by the writers it employs, who contribute to the university's 'overall portfolio of cultural capital, adding their bit to the market value of the degrees it confers' and thereby testifying to 'the institution's systematic hospitality to the excellence of individual self-expression' (2009, p. 407). That hospitality, and the real-world reputation of those writers, also acts as a powerful incentive to student applicants, some of whom will themselves go on to publish and become a reputational asset in their own right, thus attracting more students, and thereby translating cultural capital into the financial capital that is accrued in student fees income.

Perhaps ironically, the reputation of many of the writers employed in academia will have been secured against the belletristic values that were banished from the academy over a century ago but which are still thriving in the public realm: in publishing houses, book review pages, prize juries, and among the reading public. In other words, it is the endorsement of those same literary commentators who bemoan the institutionalisation of writing that will do most to secure the continuing presence of writers in the academy. The readiness of the academy to continue to recruit them is meanwhile unlikely to diminish given the increasing emphasis placed by many universities (and league tables of universities) on 'transferable skills' and 'employability', the increasing reliance of the publishing industry on Creative Writing programmes as a reliable source of new authors, and the increasing readiness of universities and funding

bodies to acknowledge—whether for reasons of *realpolitik* or not—the research credentials of creative practice. What may be overlooked in all of this is the primary and originary reason for incorporating 'learning by doing' into the academy—the particular insights offered by creative practice in the study of literature—though here it may be that the study of literature will, in some incarnations at least, incline increasingly towards a new form of creative practice, that of 'creative criticism' and the attempt to find 'words in response to the work of another' that will allow the critic to engage in what Stephen Benson and Clare Connors promisingly describe as 'a form of "continuing"' (2014, p. 27).

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4
English Language Studies: A Critical Appraisal

Ann Hewings and Philip Seargeant

Introduction

In this chapter we locate English Language Studies (ELS) in relation to other areas of the subject 'English', but significantly we also argue for the study of the English language as a highly effective socio-cultural and political lens on global and local issues relevant to education in the twenty-first century. From globalisation and superdiversity, through the relationship between language and nationalism, to an understanding of the dynamics of and attitudes towards diverse varieties of English, ELS provides opportunities for students and researchers to critically explore many of the big challenges facing societies today, while simultaneously addressing issues of communication at an individual level as both cultural artefact and skill. It can be conceptualised as a discipline in its own right, but it also draws on and contributes to debates in multiple other disciplines, and thus has an importance across curriculum areas. In illustrating the relevance of ELS as a discipline—as a partner within English Studies and in interdisciplinary combinations, and as a vehicle for communicative skills development—the chapter positions it as contributing a unique humanities-social sciences perspective to research and to educating students as global citizens.

The context for the discussion is the current status of the English language. This, while a product of its history, continues to have global relevance beyond its original home. It has a political dimension on the world stage, but also a personal dimension for millions as both a first and an additional language. It is implicated in identity construction at a variety of levels—from the family to the nation state and beyond—and the relationships that people have with it can have a significant impact

on their lives and personal and professional opportunities. Learning *about* the language can encourage an understanding of the past as well as an appreciation of its influence on the present, alongside contributing to aesthetic and creative sensitivity. To this end the chapter examines how ELS is constructed in higher education, both in the UK and internationally, and the fundamental contributions it can make to a range of critical, creative and reflexive skills and attitudes. It looks at the way ELS engages with major themes such as globalisation, intercultural communication, and identity politics, and examines the insights that can be gained from a focus on language practices associated with English around the world.

What is English Language Studies?

In higher education, the relationship between English-the-language and English-the-cultural-artefact is a complex one. While 'English' is both the name of the language and the discipline, the language element of the discipline is often, ironically, overlooked; or at least accorded comparatively less prominence than the cultural products written in English. The extent to which this is the case can be seen in the way that the term 'English' is regularly adopted metonymically to refer simply to Literary Studies. The reasons for the uncertain position of ELS are many and varied, ranging from the historical development of the discipline in different parts of the world to its current institutional and epistemic structuring. We will examine these below, but before doing so it will be useful to consider how ELS aligns with the broader area of English Studies.

If Literary Studies has taken as its starting point the cultural *products* of English—poems, plays, novels et cetera written in English—and Creative Writing has at its heart the *processes* of creativity—the practice and reflection of bringing into being such products—then Language Studies focuses on the *resources* drawn upon in these processes and used in the creation of these products. This is, of course, a rather simplistic—reductive even—characterisation of the three subject areas and their respective concerns. As we have seen in the previous two chapters, each subject area embraces a wide and complex set of concerns which resist being categorised by means of a secure set of essential qualities. What this formulation does do, however, is offer a way of drawing initial distinctions between the three elements of a broader English Studies, and of highlighting certain key issues around which they are structured. In this way, it provides a useful entry point into an examination of what

constitutes ELS, and of how we can best conceptualise its disciplinary identity.

To begin in basic terms, English Language Studies examines the ways in which people communicate using the English Language as a resource. It explores the nature of this resource (or, more accurately, the multiple resources which come under the umbrella term 'English'), and how these are used across the spectrum of social and cultural interactions that humans engage in. Both parts of the equation—the nature of English as a resource, and the ways in which it is used—present issues for the identity of the subject.

The first (the nature of English as a resource) does so in the sense that (a) determining what constitutes English is not as self-evidently straight-forward as one might assume; and (b) an alternative conceptualisation of the content of the discipline is possible which does not foreground the English language, but language in general—i.e. it looks at language as a resource in human communication, rather than privileging this one particular language. With respect to (a), as a language with a true global spread, English has multiple forms and multiple identities, is used in combination with other languages and semiotic modes, and is in a constant state of evolution and diversification. It is not, therefore, a clearly and precisely circumscribed entity, and a great deal of scholarship addresses the blurred nature of its conceptual boundaries. With respect to (b), the privileging of one language (resulting in English Language Studies) over a more general examination of linguistic communication (Language Studies, or Applied Linguistics) can be both pragmatic (in an Anglophone country it makes sense to focus on the particular linguistic resources that most of the population work with) and ideological (based, for example, on perceived relationships between a language and national identity). In both cases, the notion of what English is—in terms of form, identity and influence—becomes a core part of the concerns of the subject area.

The second part of the equation then looks at the ways in which English is used across the spectrum of social and cultural interactions. Given the diversity of the domains in which this use occurs, the subject overlaps with—and in some case underpins—a huge variety of other subject areas, and thus an interdisciplinary element is native to its existence. We will return to both these elements—and especially the issue of interdisciplinarity—later in the chapter. Before that however, let us look at how ELS is actually constituted in terms of its institutional framing. To do this we will draw on examples primarily from the UK context, but referencing out also to ELS more widely.

The breadth of ELS in UK higher education is captured by the list of most common modules or courses in English language as reported to the *Survey of the English Curriculum and Teaching in UK Higher Education* commissioned by the English Subject Centre of the Higher Education Academy:

History of English language	World Englishes	Dialects/regionalism
Syntax	Grammar	General Linguistics
Language change	Sociolinguistics	Stylistics
Phonology	Morphology	Language acquisition
Pragmatics	Conversation analysis	Semantics
Linguistic theory	English language in the media	Language description
Psycholinguistics	English language in business	Lexicography
Bilingualism/ Multilingualism	Computational linguistics	Other

(Cronberg and Gawthrope, 2010, p. 22)

This list highlights the way that the study of English language is more than simply describing the structure of the language (its grammar, syntax, morphology). The study of meaning (semantics) is joined by a focus on language choices made in social contexts (pragmatics) and points to what some might describe as a more cultural or social turn in the subject, akin to trends identified in English literature/English Studies more generally (English, 2012; McComiskey, 2006). This same socially-informed focus is also apparent in modules focusing on dialect, World Englishes (i.e. the nature, use and politics of diverse global forms of the language), and sociolinguistics. This has been accompanied by greater use of technology to analyse both spoken and written texts. Large-scale collections of texts (corpora) interrogated with specially designed computational tools have enabled researchers to describe systematically how language is used in registers ranging from sermons to doctor-patient interactions and from business letters to poetry. As can also be seen from the list, a focus on particular domains of communication—such as the media and business—is also a notable part of the subject, along with specialist areas of language study such as lexicography.

Institutions teaching English language within non-Anglophone traditions, as for example in most European universities, focus on teaching communication in English, which often includes aspects of the

linguistic study of language originating within philology. While this is a narrower conception of ELS, without the focus on social and global issues that was a key element in the earlier examples, some programmes do incorporate aspects of American or wider Anglophone study, or place English within the context of Europe and other European languages. Alongside the skill of communication, English in these contexts is also often about Anglophone literatures from around the world, and is a traditional way of learning about both the language and the culture. The position of English as a lingua franca and as indexical of globalisation also figures in some undergraduate and Master's degrees,[1] alongside an emphasis on developing more vocationally oriented proficiencies relevant to an international employment market that values English language (see Hultgren, this volume).

A further way of illustrating the scope of ELS as it is currently configured is to look briefly at a couple of examples. The study of linguistic variation in different speech communities is a typical area of research, and one that is often related to class and gender differences. Recent work by Mesthrie (2012) has linked rapid pronunciation changes within a particular society to a single historical event: the ending of apartheid in South Africa. Mesthrie claims that the racial connotations of a particular vowel sound, the 'oo' sound [/u:/] as found in the word 'goose' have changed since the ending of segregation. The /u:/ vowel was typically 'fronted' (produced further forward in the mouth) by White South Africans in comparison with Black speakers. Since the ending of segregated schooling in the 1990s, quality schools which were formerly Whites only became mixed and the new non-White students, through a process of linguistic accommodation (the gradual adapting of language practices to match those of the community with which one is aligning), adopted features of the prestige White South African pronunciation, as demonstrated in the fronting of the /u:/ vowel. Mesthrie terms this 'deracialisation' of the vowel and comments that it is no longer easy to identify the race (or ethnic group) of young people through their speech alone. There has emerged a young, middle-class, educated South African accent no longer associated with particular racial groups. While indicative of a reduction of barriers within this middle class group, this also signals aspects of a process whereby children, parents and grandparents from the same family can come to no longer have equal proficiency in a shared language, a phenomenon also observed among migrant communities to Anglophone countries. At a political level this linguistic crossing over is seen as part of a 'broader change in lifestyles, values and symbolism' (Mesthrie, 2012, p. 317) that has the potential to threaten indigenous languages and undermine

the solidarity of the Black community, a solidarity which helped to defeat apartheid.

In order to undertake the type of sociolinguistic study exemplified by Mesthrie's research, an analyst needs proficiency in identifying subtle variations in speech, in methods of appropriate interviewing, data collection and analysis—detailed linguistic work which contributes to an understanding of a socio-political phenomenon—as well as a grounding in the sociological and political issues affecting the community being studied. Such observation and analysis then provides insights into the pace of change taking place not just in language but in social bonds, family relationships, and political and cultural affiliations worldwide in the era of global communication and, arguably, the linguistic hegemony of English.

Another example which can illustrate the type of issues that ELS addresses is metaphor studies. Metaphor studies have expanded from a traditional feature of the analysis of English literature to a field with significant practical implications for society and culture. Examination of the metaphorical underpinnings of the language used in newspapers, for example, has highlighted how news reports are framed in the structure of their telling, and how readers are positioned over time to accept a certain viewpoint (Coffin and O'Halloran, 2005). Exposing the methods used in media representation of events provides a powerful tool for readers to question and/or reject the positioning assumed in the texts. Such critical awareness is, needless to say, a valuable asset in a world dominated by media messages.

Metaphor studies also have a more subtle and positive role to play in social interaction as demonstrated by Cameron's work on conflict resolution (e.g. 2007). Through examination of recorded dialogues with those involved in histories of political conflict, Cameron developed a model of 'empathetic mutual positioning' (2013) which first described successful conflict transformation and reconciliation and later applied the findings to current conflict situations. Based on the narratives people constructed and the metaphorical spaces they occupied and allowed others to occupy, Cameron has helped those involved in conflict resolution from Ireland to Kenya to influence the dialogues taking place.

In both the studies by O'Halloran and Coffin and by Cameron the focus has been everyday language rather than literary language, and close attention has been given to how that language is being used, and the impact that is has on the reader or hearer that is attended to. In addition to systematic, forensic attention to language, the work has an applied dimension that grounds the research, and inspires the

researcher and others. And as can be seen from these brief examples and the common courses which comprise ELS, the subject matter—as it is taught both in Anglophone and non-Anglophone countries—enables students and researchers to analyse and investigate English language broadly as communication and artefact, over time and across different geographical areas where it has local and global relevance for individuals, communities and policy makers.

In using the label 'English Language Studies' so far we have sidestepped one of the key issues that influences the understanding of the subject. As was noted above, the topics covered by ELS that we have surveyed can (and do) also appear under different names and with different emphases. For example, Applied Linguistics is often the home for much that is also (or in different institutional contexts) named ELS, and as the 'applied' designation indicates, the study of the English language may be tied to various professional applications such as teaching, translation, interpreting, and speech therapy. Other aspects of the study of English language are related to developing proficiency in writing, with academic literacies research in the UK, rhetoric and composition in the USA (see Russell, this volume), and journalism and media studies in Australia. This distribution of effort under a variety of names or in the margins of other disciplines can be a problem for ELS in terms of 'brand recognition' and has much to do with the history of the subject, which is the topic we move to in the next section.

Diverse traditions in English Language Studies

A brief glimpse into the various contexts from which English Studies developed as a university discipline can help in understanding the reasons behind the fragmentation of the subject throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. The language part of English Studies was, and in some universities still is, primarily concerned with the historical development of the language as traced through its literature. This was a focus linked to the philological study of language which emerged from a German tradition associated with von Humboldt in the early nineteenth century. Philology was an integrated approach to language, literature and culture, and part of the wider conception of the value of humanities within university education in nineteenth century European and US universities (Hardcastle, 1999). Fry (2008) notes that at Yale 'the teaching of vernacular and even recent literatures was first taken up along lines that Anglophones were learning to call "philological" before even there was a department of English'.

In the UK, English as a recognised university discipline took root slowly, with the first academic department being established at the newly formed University College London in 1828. It was not for another six decades, in 1894, that it was recognised at Oxford however, and controversially it had a strong language/philology bias which was perceived as being at the expense of the study of English literature (Baron, 2005). Philological study by this time had moved away from the Humboldtian idea of the integration of language, literature and culture and come to be associated more with studying the historical development of the English language. This approach began to wane in the early twentieth century in the UK and USA. McComiskey (2006) ascribes this to anti-German feeling following World War One and, in the USA specifically, to the rise of linguistics as a sub-discipline of philology. Linguistics, as a (social) science-oriented approach to language, concerned itself with current rather than historical uses of language, and focused initially more on speech than writing. In Britain, the focus on literature as a core discipline of the humanities, and therefore not a (social) science, in higher education dates from around 1900. As the Cambridge University website proudly announces:

> Amazingly, it was only in the twentieth century that the study of English literature became a respected discipline in universities. Among the new courses, Cambridge's in the 1910s was daringly innovative. First and foremost, it innovated in considering literature as an object of study in its own right, rather than merely as evidence for the history of the language (then the prevailing method). (University of Cambridge, 2014).

The situation further afield was different again. English was part of the colonial project in places such as India, where it was viewed as a secular civilising force without the dangerous evangelising overtones of biblical study. Education in English literature was thus part of the training of Indians for the colonial bureaucracy. This legacy of a focus on literature rather than language has, to a large extent, continued, particularly in the more prestigious universities in the country. Gupta (this volume) charts the increased focus on English language that is being encouraged by the Indian government, and is predominantly being undertaken within English Studies departments. For many English departments, this situation appears to be less akin to the philological integration of language, literature and culture, and more a case of English being taught for instrumental purposes, a skill of use in the increasingly globalised

workplace, with little or no reference to the wider context of English Studies.

Within Anglophone dominant countries, linguistics, as a (social) science, did not have the same level of cultural capital as the study of literature. In the days before substantially increased student enrolments, developing a wider and deeper knowledge of the arts, including literature, was a privilege of the few. Linguistic knowledge was generated by those studying other languages, or seeking to understand the broad foundations of language in use. Contributions to this were as likely to come from philosophers, anthropologists and educators as from those within English departments. A similar situation held in Africa and India (Johnson, 2012; see also Gupta, this volume) with literature, whether indigenous or from the Anglophone centre, maintaining its social prestige. In European departments of philology, on the other hand, English language and literature were institutionally closer, but language study was largely the servant of literary and cultural study. In a survey of English Studies in Romania and Bulgaria at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Irimia (2009) focused almost entirely on literature and culture in a discussion entitled 'English Studies in Romanian Higher Education', and in the same volume, Kostova (2009) foregrounds the 'literary' in a discussion of Englishness in Bulgarian academic culture.

In the first decades of the twenty-first century there have been a number of changes to higher education motivated by evolving socio-political values, increased student numbers, and responses to a significantly wider student demographic. ELS is ideally placed to critically interrogate major areas of concern such as globalisation, migration, and individual and group identities, while also dealing with individual and personal skills development related to communication. In the US, the teaching of writing to all newly enrolled students in 'freshman composition' (see Russell, this volume), while having less kudos than more traditional literature-based English programmes, maintains the economic viability of many English departments, while also supporting a rapidly growing research area related to writing pedagogy. Known as the Writing across the curriculum (WAC) movement in US universities, this integrates the study and teaching of written English within its disciplinary context. It brings the linguistic study of language and the psychosocial exploration of understanding language together for pedagogical purposes. The so-called massification of higher education and the increasing numbers of students with non-traditional backgrounds and/or English as an additional language has meant that many universities are drawing on researchers in ELS to help support these students through, for example,

an understanding of the processes of language learning, the intricacies of English as an academic language, and the effect on identities of using an academic register (see Lillis, 2001; Lillis and Curry, 2010).

The situation in countries where there was no historical link to the English language is different again. Betsy Hu Xiaoqiong and Xi Jing (2013), in a discussion of the English curriculum in China, distinguish between English majors who study language, literature and culture and non-English majors whose study is 'skills based'. They illustrate that teaching focuses on British and American language and culture with aims such as 'Should be able to understand lectures *given by people from English-speaking countries*' (p. 390, italics in original), and courses such as British Literature, American Literature, British Culture, and American Culture. This, they argue, ignores the role of English as a lingua franca and its significance in a variety of linguistic and cultural domains. As an international language, the close relationship between English, Anglophone countries and cultural identity is disrupted by globalising forces. They predict that English as an international language 'will develop in ways which reflect local indigenous cultures and languages, diverging from the variety of English spoken in Britain or North America' (p. 393).

The position of English language within English Studies more broadly has waxed and waned over the last two hundred years in response to ideas about the goals and values of higher education, geography, history, and relations with Anglophone dominant countries and political and economic systems. Different facets of ELS have risen to prominence at different times over this period, and ELS as a whole has expanded its reach and the nature of its relationship with other subject areas. Given this breadth and diversity, in the next section we examine the identity of ELS from a disciplinarity perspective, what the implications of looking at it in this way might be, and how it aligns and combines with other disciplines in examining the communicative resources that are drawn upon in various different domains of social and cultural life.

English Language Studies as discipline and interdiscipline

An exploration of the way that knowledge, and the practices that generate and reproduce it, is structured in academia can be a useful perspective for looking at how and why a subject is taught, and how it attains the status that it does. As has been intimated in the above section, contemporary academic research and teaching are the result of a complex interplay of historical, cultural and political forces, all

of which combine to produce what are understood as disciplines. An examination of these forces, along with their implications, can provide useful insights into the state—and to an extent the future directions—of a discipline, and in this section therefore we will review ELS within this context with the aim of examining in further detail how it is currently constituted and its role in the contemporary university/global society.

Definitions of what precisely comprises a discipline include a broad range of different components (Kelley, 1997), including factors such as: the requirements of the education system; the influence of historical precedent; the nature of the phenomenon under investigation; and the existence of a preferred set of methodologies and theoretical frameworks or approaches. By focusing on a selection of these we can examine what these conventions, such as they are, tell us about the practices and concerns of the discipline, and particularly how it is positioned with relation to other complementary subject areas.

ELS has somewhat of a dual nature as far as its relationship to institutional education structures is concerned. On the one hand it is an established field of study, with textbooks, handbooks, journals and courses of study all serving it, and with a relatively standardised content across different universities. It could also be said to have a central canon of theoretical approaches and core ideas, which comprise the tables of contents of the leading handbooks of ELS (e.g. Leung and Street, 2014; Maybin and Swann, 2009), and the curricula of courses of study.

Another key element of disciplinary identity within the context of institutional education however is the emergence of a named subject which is adopted in institutional structures, policies and curricula. As has been noted, this is a somewhat more problematic—or at least fluid—area for ELS. The topics which constitute ELS are often shared out among different centres or degrees, departmental names vary (Applied Linguistics, or Language and Communication, etc.), and departments can find themselves housed within a number of different faculties, from Arts to Education to Media. The dual aspects of this profile can be seen in the statements prepared by UK ELS academics on what constitutes ELS, which on the one hand provide a clear picture of what constitutes ELS, but also notes its interdisciplinary nature, which is manifest in the various institutional homes it can have:

> The subject of English Language draws on concepts from a range of academic areas including Linguistics, Literature, Media and Communication, but its object of study is English. Programmes in English Language cover … the linguistic systems underlying English,

> as well as language in use and the relationship between language and context, the society and the individual… English may be studied in its cultural, contemporary and historical background; it may be related to literary texts, everyday discourse, and the structure of languages other than English. (Higher Education Academy English Subject Centre, 2011, p. 3)

While this broadness of reach can, in some respects, lead to an unstable identity for the subject area within institutional contexts, it is also the source of its usefulness and strength (in terms of its flexibility) in engaging with diverse areas across the curriculum.

Moving to the nature of the phenomenon under investigation as a determining factor in the focus for the discipline, here again there is a certain fluidity around the boundaries. There are several areas where the discipline incorporates issues and topics which are not, perhaps, at first glance related directly to English. The first relates to where the boundaries are drawn around what counts as English. Languages such as pidgins and creoles are often included in ELS, and more recently communicative strategies such as multilingualism and translanguaging (the mixing of languages and bits of languages) also are. As we will discuss in the final section of the chapter, this is in fact becoming a prominent concern which is likely to shape the future of the subject. Another recent trend in language studies generally has been to consider a wide range of semiotic communication—the use of gesture, of sound and images, etc.—and again this is often included as part of ELS (and indeed features in the 2015 Quality Assurance Agency English benchmark statements). Given the way that communication via digital media draws on a great many non-linguistic resources—often mixing the verbal with the visual—this continues to be a growth area in the discipline (see, for example, Seargeant and Tagg, 2014).

Turning finally to preferred methodologies and theoretical frameworks, ELS as a whole covers several approaches, often with notably differing methodologies, ranging from the statistical to the ethnographic, and while there may be a canonical set of theories and key ideas, these are not always compatible and do not represent a single epistemic vantage point from which all research in the area is approached. Certain broad trends across the subject area can be discerned, however. Empirical evidence is of foundational importance for the discipline (purely speculative work is much less common). In addition there is, for the most part, a concern for social issues. ELS is grounded very firmly in the real world: it looks at language as it is used, ideas of language as

they are manifest in discourse, and language as it relates to society and to individual and group identity. The result is that this work often takes a critical approach, the research itself engaging in some respect with social issues. And it is perhaps this grounding within social realities, and the concomitant social engagement, which acts as one of the defining features, both in terms of disciplinary identity and value, within the HE curriculum.

English Language Studies: its value and future directions

We would argue that the benefits of studying ELS operate at both micro and macro levels, being of relevance to people's individual identities (how they're perceived and perceive themselves, based on the social relationships they form that are mediated by language and communication) as well as incorporating issues pertaining to global politics (for example, the relationship between the history of English and colonialism). In addition to these content-based issues, it also spans generic issues such as critical thinking and communication skills.

If we return to the statements published by the HEA in what constitutes ELS, we can see how it is positioned to teach students 'responsiveness to the central role of language in the creation of meaning and a sensitivity to the affective power of language; [and] awareness of the variety of Englishes in the world and intercultural awareness' (Higher Education Academy English Subject Centre, 2011, p. 6). In practical terms this means that students of ELS develop their ability to see and reflect on language as a resource used for thinking, expressing meaning and communicating; as well a critical knowledge of the cultural and political forces that have shaped the language and provide the contexts in which people learn and use it today. Typically a student will learn the metalanguage necessary to describe and analyse language in use. This then underpins the ability to view language as a product, and evaluate aspects of its creation and use. This can apply to a wide range of domains and scenarios. Stockwell (this volume) illustrates how such skills may be applied to the study of poetry. But equally they are appropriate to understanding how everyday language works, and in particular how language constructs representations of individuals, products, and ideologies, and how it positions people as allies, enemies, and consumers, as figures of authority and as the powerless, et cetera. This sensitivity to the 'affective power of language' prepares students to better manage the way in which they or others are positioned through language, and to take a critical stance towards all aspects of social organisation. A study

of the events, dynamics and debates which have shaped the multiplex nature of English today—a language with multiple forms and identities in diverse world contexts—then provides insights into the actuality of social and political relations which are revealed through the resource of language, and the cultural practices that shape communication.

What then of the future directions of the subject? Based on recent and emerging concerns, as well as the way the phenomenon of English itself continues to evolve, we can identify a number of themes or areas which are likely to continue to develop and to attain ever greater prominence within the discipline. In particular key areas of note are: the relationship between English and globalisation; the use of English (as part of a broader semiosis) in the era of social media; and the impact that digital technologies are having on the research and analysis of language practices. Let us very briefly look at each of these in turn.

Globalisation represents a huge shift in the way that social relations are structured, and is having a profound impact on patterns of communication, with English both influencing and being influenced by the phenomenon. English at once acts as a driver in globalisation processes (in terms of its status as the pre-eminent international lingua franca), while at the same time processes of globalisation result in the on-going spread and diversification of the language. There are several important issues in the relationship between globalisation and English, all of which are likely to influence the shape of ELS. Here we wish to highlight one particular issue: superdiversity. The concept of superdiversity was introduced as a way of understanding the increasingly complex waves of migration that were producing urban societies in Britain from the 1990s onward (Vertovec, 2007). Within this changed context, assumptions about migrants belonging to fixed, homogenous communities no longer held. Superdiversity calls for the reconceptualisation of straightforward connections between individuals and broad social categories such as ethnicity, gender or linguistic-background. It thus challenges many of the notions upon which traditional sociolinguistics was built, and calls instead for new research into how English is used, the forms it takes, and the meanings it has in communities marked by these complex patterns of mobility which define modern urban environments.

Another phenomenon which is having profound effects on social organisation and social interaction is the use of digital communications technologies, and especially social media. Social media sites have, since the first decade of this century, transformed the ways in which people interact, along with the linguistic practices in which they engage.

They allow for new channels and strategies for identity performance, and for different dynamics of community creation and maintenance. Here again, then, traditional sociolinguistic models are having to be refashioned, and research is focused on mapping the ways English is used in these evolving online contexts.

The final area to highlight concerns approaches to the analysis of language use. Corpus linguistics—the computer-facilitated analysis of large collected bodies of actual language use—along with related digital-informed methods have emerged as a key way to investigate language and language use in the last few decades. Corpora of different genres, registers and varieties of English and from different times provide insights into how language use is adapted to different modes, social settings and linguistics heritages. As noted above by Betsy Hu Xiaoqiong and Xi Jing (2013) English is a lingua franca that is evolving in different places in different ways (and being put to wide range of purposes), and collections of corpora from around the world illustrate this evolution and inform our understanding of the adaptations taking place, and thus are proving a highly influential element in ELS.

All the above, then, are related to how the language itself continues to develop (as society changes, so the phenomenon also changes), and how different forms of communicative technology and research technology offer new opportunities and challenges for the study of the language. Again, they span the range from the communicative practices of individuals to society-level changes in social relations, and address issues which have direct relevance for everyone who communicates through English. There is one further aspect of the nature and positioning of ELS to add however, and that is its relation to the other parts of a broader English Studies. We have stressed throughout this chapter how ELS is, due to the spectrum of domains in which English is used, a natural candidate for interdisciplinary engagement, and this is nowhere more apparent than with the other parts of English Studies. There is much to be said for mixing the approaches of Literary Studies, Creative Writing and Language Studies, not least because the combination of their *shared* approach to the use and manipulation of language alongside the *different* perspectives they take to this can result in a productive opening up of new avenues of exploration. We have seen in the previous two chapters arguments for the particular contribution that Literary Studies and Creative Writing can bring to this equation; in this chapter we have argued that Language Studies, in its turn, can make a unique contribution in the way that it is grounded in real-life issues from those focused on the individual to those structuring society as a

whole, and in this way it offers an important lens for educating students as critically-aware global citizens.

Note

1. For example, 'English as a foreign language in the context of globalisation' is part of the undergraduate syllabus at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, and the University of Copenhagen runs a course on 'Political and socio-economic conditions (historical and/or contemporary) in countries where English is the main language' at Master's level.

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Part II
International Dimensions

5
TESOL and the Discipline of English

John Gray

Introduction

This chapter looks at the specialist field of TESOL—Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages—and explores the ways in which it relates to the evolving discipline of English Studies. The emergence of the latter, as has been noted in other chapters in the book, is located in a specific nineteenth century moment in which the study of literature in particular came to be seen as having a unique social function. As the writer Charles Kingsley (1890, p. 262) loftily put it, the study of English was a means of inculcating in the young a thorough knowledge of 'the English spirit' and a means of enabling them to appreciate that 'the English mind has its peculiar calling on God's earth' which it alone was capable of fulfilling. Anthony Kearney (1988, p. 260) has described this moment as one in which English literature:

> became the focus for certain high ideals and expectations in the Victorian mind [and] was variously regarded as an agency for psychic renewal, as an antidote to the materialistic drives of the age, as a means of refining the crude middle-class philistines, and the even cruder masses, and as a means of creating a new sense of national identity and patriotic pride.

As these quotations suggest, English Studies did not emerge in a political or ideological vacuum. Indeed, some scholars have linked the rise of English Studies to the hypothesised inability of established religion (confronted with the challenges posed by the work of Charles Darwin and Karl Marx) to fulfil its ideological function as an effective form of *social cement* (Eagleton, 1983), while others have argued that English

Studies resulted from 'the growing commercial and imperial rivalry between the great powers' and 'were designed to meet the challenge of German philology and its claims to dominance in language studies' (Ashcroft *et al.,* 1989, p. 217). More recently, scholars such as Josephine Guy (2005) and Carol Atherton (2005) have argued that such perspectives require nuancing, given that the incorporation of English Studies into the university curriculum was initially resisted. At the time, many within the academy took the view that the study of English was less about the creation of what might be called objective academic knowledge and more about subjective aesthetic judgement. Guy and Atherton argue that the philologically oriented form English Studies initially took in the universities can best be understood within the context of the professionalising of academic life in the nineteenth century and the perceived need to systematise the subject so that it became 'rigorous, teachable and objective' (Atherton, 2005, p. 222)—rather than in terms of an explicit political or ideological project. However, such a position in no way negates the view that English Studies simultaneously fulfilled an ideological and political function, as the Kingsley quotation suggests. At the same time it should be pointed out that English Studies have evolved, particularly in the late twentieth century, to include not only a greater attention to world literature written in English and a new concern with contemporary language-in-use, but also a sense of disciplinary reflexivity in which the uses to which the academic study of English have been put historically and those to which it might be put in the present and in the future are deemed worthy of consideration.

The emergence of TESOL, on the other hand, is firmly located in the mid-twentieth century and correlates with a very different (but not unrelated) historical moment: the end, more or less, of Britain's colonial era and the rise to pre-eminence of the United States as the most powerful country in the capitalist world. Of course, English had been taught to speakers of other languages throughout the colonial period (Howatt, 1984); and, as Gauri Viswanathan (1995, p. 431) has argued persuasively, 'the subsequent institutionalization of the discipline in England itself took on a shape and an ideological content developed in the colonial context'. However, as Robert Phillipson (1992) explains, it is only in the period following the end of the Second World War that an academic base for teaching English to speakers of other languages was formally established in the UK. But although it emerges in a nominally post-colonial moment, TESOL can be said to provide a high degree of continuity with the earlier colonial moment. Indeed Alastair

Pennycook (1998, p. 19) asserts that TESOL 'is a product of colonialism not just because it is colonialism that produced the initial conditions for the global spread of English but because it was colonialism that produced many of the ways of thinking and behaving that are still part of Western cultures'. The following statement from the British Council—a government-funded, semi-state body with the remit of promoting Britain internationally through education and cultural activity—illustrates this neatly. Written in the mid-1980s (by which time the field was well established), it provides an insight into how British TESOL had come to be seen by one of its key promoters:

> Of course we do not have the power we once had to impose our will but Britain's influence endures, out of all proportion to her economic and military resources. This is partly because the English language is the lingua franca of science, technology, and commerce; the demand for it is insatiable and we respond either through the education systems of 'host' counties or, when the market can stand it, on a commercial basis. Our language is our greatest asset, greater than North Sea Oil, and the supply is inexhaustible; furthermore, while we do not have a monopoly, our particular brand remains highly sought after. I am glad to say that those who guide the fortunes of this country share my conviction in the need to invest in, and exploit to the full, this invisible, God-given asset. (British Council, 1984, p. 9)

In little over a hundred years, English had gone from being seen as a kind of literary moral tonic, suitable for strengthening the national fibre of the citizenry of a great colonial power to being a marketable linguistic asset appropriate for the post-colonial state's exercise of influence in a rapidly changing world. As the extract from the British Council report suggests, by the late twentieth century, English was already the *de facto* language of a range of academic disciplines globally and a great number of international bodies and transnational corporations. However, the euphoric rhetoric of the kind found in British Council reports and elsewhere (e.g. McCrum, 2010) was—and continues to be—dogged by the clamour of critical voices (e.g. Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1998; Canagarajah, 1999; Holliday, 2005; Gray, 2010a), all of them questioning in one way or another the manner in which English is promoted and taught, and the uses to which it is put in the markets into which it is sold.

This chapter begins by focusing on the emergence of the field of TESOL and then considers the nature of the E in TESOL and its relation

to the English in English Studies—a relation which is shown to be far from straightforward.

What is TESOL?

The academic base of TESOL

To begin with there is the matter of acronyms. Initially ELT—English Language Teaching—was the term favoured by British scholars, with TESOL being the one used by their North American counterparts. Today, certainly in the UK, the two acronyms are used interchangeably, and in the account which follows quotations in which one or other term is used should not be held to imply any difference in meaning. In an historical account of the field's emergence, Phillipson (1992) points out that the University of London's Institute of Education had provided training in English language teaching for teachers from British colonies or those planning to work there as far back as the 1920s. However, it was only with the foundation of the School of Applied Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh in 1957, notably under the auspices of the British Council, that an academic base was formally created. The fact that this was within applied linguistics is noteworthy as it clearly signalled the role of linguistics (as opposed to English) in the establishment of an appropriate knowledge base. In many ways this location is not to be wondered at—at the time the language component in English as an academic discipline referred to Old and Middle English and in some cases Old Norse, rather than the kind of approach which might be found on a more linguistically oriented course today. The School's prospectus made it clear that 'the primary aim […] is to provide a theoretical basis for the teaching of English as a foreign language' and added that this would take place 'within the wider framework of language teaching in general, which in turn is treated as a branch of Applied Linguistics' (in Phillipson, 1992, p. 174). That said, it is important to signal that applied linguistics was seen from the outset as an interdisciplinary field—at least in theory. Phillipson points out that although the original Edinburgh course incorporated psychology and education, it was linguistics 'which dominated theory-building in the first phase of ELT expansion' (p. 176). In the USA, things developed in a similar way. In 1941, the English Language Institute was established at the University of Michigan to teach English to university students from non-English-speaking counties, but it also had the remit of conducting research into second language teaching and learning; and it was here,

in 1948, that *Language Learning: A Journal of Applied Linguistics*, the first journal in the field, was published. To answer the question 'What is TESOL?' therefore, it is necessary to step back a little and explore what applied linguistics is before returning to the relationship with English Studies.

As Guy Cook (2005) has shown, the evolution of applied linguistics can be seen as falling into three main phases—an initial phase lasting from the mid-1950s until the mid-1980s; a second phase lasting from then until the mid-1990s; and a third phase which may be said to have continued from then until the present. The first phase was memorably characterised by Henry Widdowson (1984) as 'linguistics applied'—a scenario in which linguistics functioned as the parent discipline and theoretical insights derived from it were applied by specialists (applied linguists) to practical phenomena such as second language teaching, speech and language disorders and doctor-patient communication. The second phase saw the field becoming more autonomous and its practitioners increasingly able to adopt what Widdowson described as 'an independent perspective on the general phenomena of language', with the confidence 'to establish principles of enquiry without necessary reference to those which inform linguistics' (1984, p. 21). Given the provenance of research in applied linguistics, 'the general phenomena of language' usually meant the English language. From this perspective, applied linguistics had become, as Widdowson suggests, a specific kind of linguistics (like cognitive linguistics or sociolinguistics). The third phase is typified by the field's reflection on its own evolution and consolidation and what Cook calls a radical departure on the part of some from existing orthodoxies. To give just one example, he cites the way in which applied linguistics has questioned the validity of the concept of 'the native speaker' when considering a language such as English (e.g. Rampton, 1990), and the challenge this presupposes for cognitive linguistics which takes the concept as a necessary and unproblematic given. For other scholars, the third phase occasioned thoughts about the nature of the field's interdisciplinarity.

In the late 1990s, Ben Rampton (1997, p. 8) made the case for much greater interdisciplinarity than had hitherto been the case, and argued for a shift in the direction of what he described as a Hymesian 'socially constituted linguistics'. Such a recalibration (or 'retuning', as Rampton put it) implied a broadening of the scope of applied linguistics to include much greater engagement with the social sciences and, as the references to a 'socially constituted linguistics' imply, with sociolinguistics. In this Rampton was not alone—Sandra McKay and Nancy

Hornberger (1996, p. 461) also argued that second language teaching needed to be informed by insights from sociolinguistics, given that:

> education is the site where, on the one hand, larger social and political forces are reflected in the kinds of educational opportunities offered to speakers of different language varieties and, on the other, language use mediates their participation in those opportunities and, ultimately, their potential contributions to the larger society.

Significantly, a parallel move towards the incorporation of elements of descriptive linguistics, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics had also begun in English Studies as studied in universities and in the way in which English was taught in schools. In 1981–82, a number of leading British examination boards introduced an Advanced Level in English Language (Hudson, 2010). Generally referred to as 'A levels', these examinations are taken at the end of secondary schooling and enable successful students to enter university. The introduction of the English Language A level, in which students were introduced to morphology, grammar and discourse, but also to language-in-use and language variation, was largely coterminous with the evolving nature of the subject area in higher education. At the time of writing (spring 2015), a search of the University and College Admissions Service (UCAS) website for English Studies, English Language and English Literature reveals in excess of 700 courses across 133 institutions. Typical undergraduate module titles focusing on language include: *Describing Language*; *Language in Society*; *Discourse and Society*; *Varieties of English*; *Second Language Acquisition*; *Sociolinguistics*; *Language, Gender and Identity*; and *Language, Culture and Power*. Many of these programmes, particularly those weighted exclusively in favour of language frequently include a module on the teaching of English as a foreign or second language, although it should be noted that such degrees are not teaching qualifications, as they tend not include assessed teaching practice (the requirements for which differ greatly from country to country). Recognised initial teaching qualifications in TESOL in the UK are provided in the commercial sector and are validated by bodies such as Cambridge English and Trinity College, London. At Masters level the story is altogether different. Here, named programmes in TESOL, English Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics proliferate across a range of disciplinary homes in the Humanities, Linguistics and Education. At the time of writing the UCAS website lists several hundred Masters programmes offering modules such as *Fundamentals of Second and Foreign Language*

Teaching; *Sociolinguistics and Sociocultural Theory*; *Discourse, Society and Culture*; *Social and Psychological Aspects of Second Language Learning*; *Sociolinguistics*: *Language in its Social Context*; *Language and Identity*; *English in Diverse Wold Contexts*; *Introduction to Corpus Linguistics*; *Using Corpora in Language Teaching*; and *Multilingualism*. Such titles are a clear indication that TESOL can be seen as a branch of an increasingly inter-disciplinary applied linguistics *and* as having much in common with an expanded English Studies. Such programmes tend to recruit high numbers of international students (many of whom may be English language teachers in their country of origin) and are generally viewed as 'cash cows' by the departments in which they are located. This international aspect, linked to the role of English as the world's default lingua franca, means that TESOL must also be seen as part of a global industry in which commercial considerations play a determining role—and it to this that I now turn.

The commercial context of TESOL

As the quotation from the British Council earlier made clear, English has become a national asset and TESOL is the mechanism whereby it is delivered into the marketplace. By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century TESOL (and the multifarious activities such as testing and materials production that accompany it) was estimated by the British Council to be worth between £3–4 billion a year to the British economy. This all-important commercial context has had huge implications for education globally and the role of English in the academy and in schools around the world. Take, for example, the case of universities. In many parts of the world as education has been reconfigured as a 'private good' rather than a 'public responsibility' (Altbach and Knight, 2007, p. 291), state funding has been reduced, with institutions being forced to rely more on increased student fees, consultancy and privately funded research of the kind which has direct commercial application or measurable social 'impact'. One feature of this changing panorama is increased internationalization in higher education, which Philip Altbach and Jane Knight (2007, p. 290) describe as 'the policies and practices undertaken by academic systems and institutions […] to cope with the global academic environment' brought about as a consequence of such policies. These include the establishment of 'branch campuses, cross-border collaborative arrangements, programmes for international students, establishing English-medium programs and degrees' (p. 290), all of which may be said to be driven by the need for educational institutions to act as profit-making businesses. The role of English in

this is crucial as the quest for international students has meant the increased use of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) across higher education globally, the recruitment (and training) of English-speaking staff and the use of textbooks written in English. The British Council's Anne Wiseman and Adrian Odell (2014) report that there were 560 Masters-level programmes delivered in English in 19 European Union countries (excluding the UK and Ireland) in 2002—a figure which had risen to 6,800 in 11 European Union countries (excluding the UK and Ireland) by 2012. While they indicate that there are possible problems associated with this (interestingly identified as having to do with lack of proficiency in English on the part of lecturers, problems of student comprehension and assessment, as well as—what many would see as the most serious problem—domain loss for local languages), they conclude that there is 'little doubt that the number of courses taught in EMI globally will continue to rise, not only at higher education level but also at secondary level, and with it will come *more opportunities for training and development, and accreditation*' (emphasis added). From this perspective, internationalization is primarily seen a business opportunity for British TESOL.

At the same time, the British Council has been active in support of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) in schools across Europe. CLIL is a European Union endorsed bilingual approach to education which in theory could, for example, see French-speaking children learn history through German or Spanish. However, as Tom Morton (2013) points out, although any language can be used in CLIL, English has become the dominant language in most CLIL settings.

But, as suggested above, the British Council is only one of many 'edu-businesses' (in Stephen Ball's [2012] memorable description of such bodies which are as much about business as they are about education) whose work is closely linked to English in education. Increasingly universities from across the Anglophone world have opened campuses abroad, particularly in Asia. These institutions offer EMI, follow the same curriculum as that of the parent university and award exactly the same degrees. They also recruit globally. The website for the University of Nottingham Ningbo China, for example, features video testimonies from students from South Korea, India, Russia, Britain, Panama and Brazil—as well as China. At the same time, elite British private schools such as Dulwich College and Marlborough College have opened branches across Asia offering EMI to local and international students and preparing them to take internationally recognized examinations

such as the Cambridge International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) and the International Baccalaureate.

Ball (2012) has shed considerable light on the way in which other edu-businesses such as publishing companies have also dramatically expanded the scale of their activities. He cites Pearson Education as an example of how one such company which, in addition to publishing textbooks, is now involved in providing and administering testing globally, along with translation services and digital rights management—while at the same time buying up English language schools. Ball (2012, p. 126) adds:

> Increasingly edu-businesses like Pearson, in their advertising and promotion, position themselves as offering 'solutions' to the national policy problems of raising standards and achieving educational improvements linked to both individual opportunity and national competitiveness. Such promotion also extends to active participation in policy influence relationships (sic) and policy networks […] as *a means to agitate for policies which offer further opportunities for profit.* (emphasis added)

In this way, policy advice paves the way for future sales of a wide range of products and services. As I have argued elsewhere (Gray, 2012), the activity of such powerful global players not only helps to establish and then standardize educational markets, it also further extends the use of and need for English. In such a neoliberal scenario where the reach of the market is being planned and extended, many have argued that it is not only education which is commodified, but English itself (Heller, 2010; Park and Wee, 2012).

Certainly English courses, examinations, textbooks and so on are bought and sold globally on a daily basis. But, we can ask, in what sense does all this buying and selling mean that the TESOL industry has succeeded in turning English itself into a commodity? Turning to Marx (as the key theorist of the commodity) we see that the commodity is the product of human labour, which has both use value and exchange value. Noting the readiness of many commentators to ascribe commodity status to language in the neoliberal era, Block (2014) points out that language is not a commodity in the same way that a machine or a piece of linen is. A similar point is made by Marnie Holborow (in Gray, 2010a, p. 198), who argues that language is 'not a commodity in the sense that it can be detached from the person who uses language'—clearly it cannot. However, while language is not a *product of labour* in

the manufactured sense, it can under certain conditions be seen as a dimension of *labour- power*. This is described by Marx (1976 [1867], p. 270) as 'the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in the physical form, the living personality, of a human being, capabilities which he sets in motion whenever he produces a use-value of any kind'. From this perspective, the ability to use a particular language *as part of a worker's skill set* is indeed part of that worker's labour-power. And Marx continues:

> [The worker] must constantly treat his labour-power as his own property, *his own commodity*, and he can do this only by placing it at the disposal of the buyer, i.e. handing it over to the buyer for him to consume, for a definite period of time, temporarily. In this way he manages both to alienate [*veräussern*] his labour-power and to avoid renouncing his rights of ownership over it'. (p. 271, emphasis added)

Viewed thusly, language can indeed be seen as a commodity—that is, in the looser sense of a skill which can be deployed in exchange for wages (see discussion by Block [2014]; Holborow (2015)). However, in this sense, there is nothing specific to neoliberalism about seeing language as a commodity—linguistic abilities have always been a part of the skill set for many jobs. What is new is the way in which more and more jobs nowadays require 'communications skills' and the way in which some languages are increasingly *branded* in the neoliberal marketplace. The TESOL industry markets English very much *as if* it were a commodity like any other. In English language textbooks, in promotional material for institutions, courses and tests, English is packaged and imaged in exactly the same way as other products on the market—that is, indexical associations between the 'product' (in this case the symbolic entity of English) and the promise of transformation to the buyer are repeatedly made. For example, one of the leading providers of English language tests sells its services to global businesses as follows:

> In today's competitive global market, English skill is becoming as important as technical skill—and having an English-proficient workforce is a business imperative for international success. English helps companies unleash the full potential of their human capital by:
>
> - increasing collaboration among colleagues
> - improving customer satisfaction
> - driving global growth.

With this in mind, the creators of the *TOEIC*® Program developed a single, comprehensive resource dedicated to the impact of English proficiency on global business. (Why English Matters, 2014)

Collectively these practices constitute a form of branding—that is they entail the creation of an identity for English which is designed to trigger an emotional response in the consumer (Lury, 2004). Brands elicit identification while at the same time being essentially promissory—and in the case of English the promise is overwhelmingly one of effortless global mobility and spectacular professional and personal success (Pegrum, 2004; Gray, 2010a). At the same time, as I have shown in analysis of English language textbooks (Gray, 2010b), there is a relentless focus on characters, both real and fictional, who embody and subscribe to the neoliberal value of what might be called the entrepreneurial self—individuals whose lives are lived as business projects, who take risks in the pursuit of personal goals and with whom students are repeatedly invited to identity. In this way, the values of contemporary capitalism are repeatedly reproduced in the TESOL industry's pedagogical materials. Having thus sketched out the commercial context of TESOL is, I now turn to the specific nature of the 'E' in the acronym.

What is the E in TESOL?

As we have seen, TESOL as an academic field is related to an increasingly interdisciplinary applied linguistics and a much expanded English Studies in which the language component has moved beyond a focus on Old and Middle English. Despite this, it could be argued that the actual practice of English language teaching across much of the world remains largely untouched by these academic perspectives. This is mainly because English, in many settings, enters the classroom via the commercially produced materials disseminated by the TESOL industry, where there is a highly selective approach to the application of TESOL research and scholarship. This industry caters mainly for the most profitable sector of the market—namely those studying English as a foreign or international language—rather than those for whom it may be a local second language (with its own standard) and those, such as migrants, for whom it is an additional second language.

Textbooks for the lucrative English as a Foreign Language (EFL) or English as an International Language (EIL) market provide a useful lens for an exploration of the way in which English is currently represented for teaching purposes. In turning to this now, I will touch on two areas

highlighted as problematic in the literature—the representation of spoken English, and the representation of English at the phonological level.

Spoken English

Since the 1990s and the rise of corpus linguistics, it has been possible to produce a better picture of how English is actually used by speakers and writers of the language. Corpus-based descriptions also mean that it is now possible to talk about the grammar of spoken English as being different from the grammar of written English—on which second language teaching has traditionally been based (McCarthy and Carter, 1995). Despite some notable exceptions such as the *Collins COBUILD English Course* (Willis, 1988) and the *Touchstone* course (McCarthy et al., 2014), corpus findings have made little impact on published classroom materials. In drawing attention to this, Scott Thornbury (2005, p. 77) gives the following example of a conversation found in a typical textbook:

A:	Kevin, have you got a minute?
B:	Sure. How can I help you?
A:	Can you have a look at my computer?
B:	What's the matter with it?
A:	It keeps crashing.
B:	How long have you had it?
A:	It's only four years old.
B:	That's very old for a computer.
A:	Can you fix it?
B:	I can fix it, but you should get a new one.
A:	What can I do with the old one?
B:	You could give it to charity.
A:	That's a good idea.

Thornbury argues that while this dialogue has the virtue of teaching a number of useful idiomatic expressions, the whole exchange is very unlike the way A and B would talk if they were not textbook characters. For example, none of the features identified by corpus linguists as typifying spoken English—such as pervasive ellipsis, incomplete utterances, false starts, overlaps and disfluencies—is present. Ruth Wajnryb (1996) argues plausibly that the kind of 'tidying up' of language that goes on in textbook production 'effectively turns language into a manageable, indeed a marketable product [...] like a discrete item on a shop-shelf—hardy, portable, reliable'. From this perspective, the 'untidiness' of naturally occurring language presents a problem for publishers who

are ultimately in the business of producing as standardised a product as possible which can be sold into the maximum number of markets. However, the 'untidiness' referred to by Wajnryb, which students in some settings may actually need, would entail the segmentation of markets which so far the industry is unprepared to do. To date, a 'one size fits all' approach typifies the production of textbooks for this EFL/EIL market.

Of course it could be argued (as indeed Thornbury does) that such dialogues were never meant to represent spoken discourse and that students at lower levels and in certain settings simply need to see items embedded in contrived but intelligible contexts without having their attention drawn to such discursive features. However, not all students are in the same setting, nor do they all have exactly the same needs. It could be argued that many—particularly those who need to develop their ability to use English in spoken interaction with so-called native or other proficient speakers—require a degree of exposure to spoken discourse so that they can develop the decoding skills and interactional competence needed to cope with this.

A similar disparity between textbook representation and ethnographic data of specific speech events has also been noted. The following textbook extract exemplifies the way in which job interviews are typically represented.

D = David N = Nancy

D: Who do you work for now, Nancy?
N: I work for Intertec Publishing. We publish international
            business magazines.
D: I see. And how long have you worked for them?
N: I've worked there for nearly five years. No, *exactly* five
            years.
D: And how long have you been in charge of Eastern
            Europe publications?
N: For two years.
D: And what did you do before you were at Intertec?
N: I worked for the BBC World Service.
            (Soars and Soars, 2003, p. 126)

Although a further four questions are asked, it will be obvious from this that the interview frame is little more than a pretext for the contrast of the past simple and the present perfect. The interaction unfolds neatly and coherently, the turns alternate without any of the hesitations and

pauses for thought or false starts that we would expect to find in an actual interview. More worryingly, it is also a misrepresentation of the way in which interviews are conducted in English-speaking settings today. Roberts and Cooke (2009) point out that textbook representations of job interviews are invariably too short. Their ethnographic data show that interviewers generally attempt to elicit longer replies from applicants than those found here; that applicants tend to try and use the particular institutional discourse found in the person specification during the interview, and that the more successfully this is mirrored back in answers to questions, the more successful interviewees are likely to be. They also point out that successful interviewees in their data base signalled clearly what competencies they would bring to the job and gave concrete personal examples of these often in the form of narratives. Roberts and Cooke also show how doctor-patient consultations in textbooks similarly diverge from ethnographic descriptions. Elsewhere, Jo Angouri's (2010) work on the treatment of business meetings in textbooks for Business English shows a similar gap between textbook representation and actually occurring data. At the same time, Roberts and Cooke rightly point out that descriptions of language whether derived from a corpus or the kind of ethnographic data they draw on do not unproblematically or necessarily translate into recipes for teaching—but they *do* make a plausible case for materials being more research-based.

The phonological representation of English

My own study of best-selling textbooks aimed at the global market (Gray, 2010a) revealed that a very narrow range of mainly British accents were featured in the listening activities. Overall, there was a privileging of received pronunciation (RP) and modified RP, along with a tendency to associate regional British accents with speakers in lower status jobs. Also noticeable, despite the progressive globalising of content and the foregrounding of international cosmopolitan textbook characters, was the lack of accents from around the English-speaking world and an absence of authentic second language speakers' voices. Teachers I interviewed as part of the research, all of whom worked in Spain, tended to see this as a limitation with serious implications for their students. On the subject of RP, Pere, a teacher of Business English with twelve years' experience, said:

> I think it's a mistake / I don't really know why /maybe you know it's the accent that's got the prestige attached to it and all that / but the vast majority of my students will encounter when doing business /

when doing business with British people / if they ever do / a lot of British speakers who do not have an RP accent / and this is you know detrimental / it's doing them a disservice / you know / RP's fine / I like some RP in my / in my coursebooks / but I like Welsh English / and northern English / and London English / and you know Scottish English / and Australian and American / for Christ's sake there's three hundred million speakers of American English / at least / Canada and the US / so / so this is a criticism I might make.

Eulàlia, a teacher of general English with fifteen years' experience, made the case for listening materials which focused on what she called 'Euro English' in which 'the actual words and the conventions are shared, but maybe other things like pronunciation are not'. She elaborated as follows:

here in the school / we watch BBC World a lot and CNN / more BBC World /and then you see / I mean all the interviews / they interview people all over / and everybody speaks in English yeah / and I thought about this / about how obviously in England like for the BBC / to have people from all over the place and interview them and all this / and everybody /better or worse / speaks in English / and that's why I think this Euro English is an interesting idea because it's / it's like saying / look now this a German speaking in English / now this an Italian speaking in English / […] I mean because if you travel around Europe / and you don't go to England / you will be talking in English to people from / from all these countries yeah / so maybe it's not so much a language that comes from England or America / and we have that model there / but something that we all use / you know / something that / like try to not to have the model there so much yeah.

Whereas Pere took the view that including a wider range of so-called native speaker accents in listening materials would prepare students to decode what they were likely to encounter outside the classroom more effectively, Eulàlia made the case for including samples of so-called non-native speakers' English—so that teachers and students would be enabled to feel more confident about their own English. But as Roberts and Cooke (2009) pointed out with regard to the collection of ethnographic data and their application to textbook production, the inclusion of a much wider range of accents would also imply financial investment on the part of publishers and a greater willingness to engage with applied linguistics research.

Conclusion

TESOL can thus be seen as Janus-faced. On the one hand, it is a field of enquiry within an increasingly interdisciplinary applied linguistics where language is construed in ways which are also congruent with understandings in English Studies. On the other hand, it is a multimillion pound industry which markets a model of English which in many ways could be said to mislead students about the nature of English and the nature of language use. While a degree of tidying up and simplification is pedagogically necessary at lower levels, materials produced by the TESOL industry for more advanced students show few signs of serious engagement with research in the field or the way in which English exists in the world. The English on offer is also one which is unabashedly celebratory of the values of contemporary consumerism and neoliberal individualism—as the following banal exchange in a grammar exercise (in which students have to identify the correct form in bold) shows:

A: I don't know how you can afford to buy all those fabulous clothes!
B: **Still/Hopefully**, I'm going to get a bonus this month. I should do. My boss promised it to me. **After all/Presumably**, I did earn the company over £100,000 last year. **Basically/Actually**, it was nearer £150,000. I do deserve it, don't you think.
B: **Of course/In fact**, you do. (Soars and Soars, 2005, p. 109)

This is precisely what Edward Said (1993, p. 369) was referring to when he described the kind of English language teaching he observed in Middle Eastern universities as having 'all but terminally consigned English to the level of a technical language stripped of expressive and aesthetic characteristics and denuded of any critical or self-conscious dimension'. His critique was in fact a plea for the E in TESOL to be rethought and for teaching to become more informed by the kind of focus found in contemporary English Studies and applied linguistics more generally. As things stand today—over twenty years later—his plea may be said to fallen largely on deaf ears.

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6
English Studies in Indian Higher Education

Suman Gupta

Introduction

India is the first Asian country, and amongst the first in the world, where English Studies was established as an academic discipline in higher education (HE). Developments therein from the mid-nineteenth century onwards have often been significant for disciplinary pursuits elsewhere, especially as the study of English language and literature tried to accommodate diverse cultural contexts, and insofar as the post-colonial condition came to be regarded as a fulcrum for understanding past and current political dimensions of such study. Equally, debates about English Studies in HE provide a useful index of social developments in India after independence. This chapter registers some of these developments and debates with a view to assessing the current condition of English Studies in India and considers its future prospects.

Here, instead of delineating the discipline (perhaps more appropriately, the *disciplines*) of English Studies in terms of its contents or objects of study, I largely assume an institutionally circumscribed view: the discipline consists in whatever is regarded as the professional concern of HE English teachers and English departments. That could include any variety of English language teaching, linguistics insofar as addressed to English users, the study of literatures in English (or in English translation) and of Anglophone cultures and media, creative writing in English—or some permutation or combination of these. Shifts of emphases in what English teachers and departments should concern themselves with have frequently occurred; below I try to track such shifts in the recent past, indicate where matters stand at present and may drift in the future.

This chapter largely confines its observations to English Studies in publicly funded universities and university-affiliated/validated colleges. The situation for the discipline in distance-learning and correspondence programmes, in vocational and professional institutes and private institutions, and at post-graduate levels are gestured towards in citing some of the broader indicators. The remarks below are heavily dependent on these broader indicators and seek to convey a sense of the general situation for the territories of the Indian state at large; the significant variations that obtain in state provinces and within specific institutional sectors, not to mention specific institutions, are not accounted for. The only specific institution mentioned, for reasons which will become clear, is the University of Delhi—an institution which is typical of the Indian situation in some ways and atypical in other important ways.

Five sections follow. The first attempts to place English Studies amidst the current contours of the Indian HE sector as a whole. The second offers a brief historicist perspective of English Studies in India, focused on influential narratives and the contexts in which they appeared. The third section outlines some recent developments in social attitudes towards the language and the effects thereof on academic pursuits. The fourth outlines how government education policy and HE institutions are responding to those developments. The final section speculates briefly on possible future moves within the discipline in India.

The present institutional and disciplinary context

In 2010–2011, there were 634 universities and university level institutions in India, with nearly 17 million students enrolled at different levels of study, of which around 14.6 million were undergraduates (see Figure 6.1). By way of comparison, in the UK in 2009/10 there were 2.4 million students enrolled in 165 HE institutions, of which 1.7 million were undergraduates (HESA, 2011). HE institutions in India are divided into several categories by the University Grants Commission (UGC), the apex government organization for higher education: central universities (funded and administered through central government), state universities (funded and administered through state governments), deemed universities (which are autonomous and receive some government funding and are often predominantly self-funding), private universities (which do not receive government funding but are recognized, and are not allowed to have affiliated colleges), institutes of national importance and other university level institutions (usually devoted to applied academic areas such as engineering, medicine, business, agriculture, which

often receive significant government funding). The distribution of these institutions according to category is represented in Figure 6.1.

To chart take-up of programmes in these institutions, UGC statistics divide subjects of study into broad areas (Faculties). The distribution of numbers of students between these across the country in 2010–2011 is succinctly conveyed in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2 gives an immediate visual impression of the dominance of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences (all included in Arts) amidst other subjects of study for all HE levels across India.

The business of English teachers and departments—of English Studies—is concerned with almost all these categories of HE institutions in different ways. As far as defined programmes of English go, such as BA (Hons) in English (majoring in English literature and/or linguistics), these are offered in central, state and private universities with Arts faculties; English as a supplementary language and/or literature subject could figure with any undergraduate programme, with or without Honours, in those universities too. Further, English language instruction for special purposes (for business, technology and computing, etc.) and general English language teaching at different proficiency levels may feature across the board, for all sorts of institutions and alongside any subject area (including the vocational/professional). Thus, the all-India spread and variations of undergraduate English
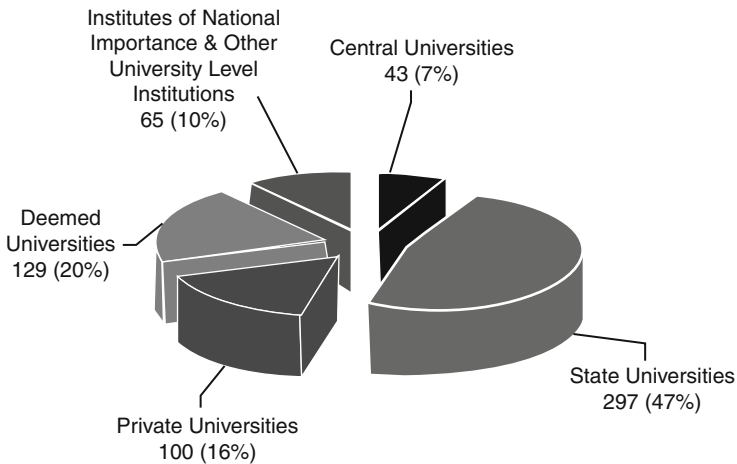
Figure 6.1 Type-wise distribution of degree-awarding universities/university-level institutions, December 2011
Source: UGC, 2012.
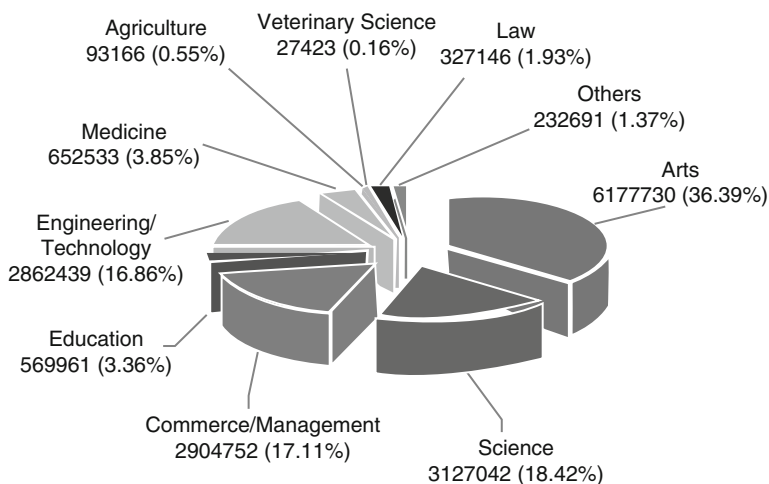
Figure 6.2 Faculty-wise student enrolment in higher education, 2010–11
Source: UGC, 2012.

Studies are of considerable complexity. That English Studies programmes have been popular in higher education and are becoming more so seems to be widely accepted, and any sampling and comparison of applications to Honours programmes in English with other Arts subjects in specific institutions generally bear that out. This is also confirmed by figures for postgraduate study across the country, where firmer evidence is at hand. In 2010–11 the Ministry of Human Resource and Development (MHRD) gathered figures for Indian postgraduate programmes for foreign languages and Indian languages—Table 6.1 gives the figures for the top two foreign languages (English and French) and the top three Indian languages (Hindi, Telugu and Bengali). These figures speak for themselves.

To put the above observations into perspective, it should be noted that English has been and continues to be the dominant medium of instruction in HE. Indian languages are media of instruction for Arts and Humanities subjects in a significant number of HE institutions, depending on which state region these institutions are located in and the education policies pursued in that region (state territories were largely formally demarcated according to the dominant language groups therein, such as Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Malayali etc.). Programmes in science and technology, business and commerce, and in other applied areas are predominantly delivered in English. In this

Table 6.1 Enrolment at PhD, MPhil and postgraduate level in major disciplines/subjects (based on actual response), 2010–11

Discipline	PhD			MPhil			Other postgraduate programmes		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
English	833	804	1637	403	565	968	40738	53793	94531
French	45	75	120	20	18	38	159	168	327
Hindi	726	709	1435	307	254	561	17265	22472	39737
Telugu	257	105	362	56	23	79	10618	11621	22239
Bengali	55	59	114	57	49	106	10243	17587	27830

Source: MHRD.

regard, the choices and experiences of students are naturally mediated by their schooling. The levels at which English and the state language and national language Hindi (if different from the state language) are taught in schools vary widely according to state policy and kind of institution: English generally features as a compulsory second or third language, and not infrequently as the medium of instruction. In a useful paper, Meganathan (2011) uses two School Education Surveys (in 1993 and 2002) by the National Council for Education, Research and Training (NCERT) to give state-by-state and aggregated comparative figures in this regard.

Histories and historicizing

The current complexities of the situation of English Studies in Indian HE derive from a correspondingly complex history which can be fathomed only to a very limited extent. For much of the discipline's career in Indian HE, English major programmes and even English as a minor subject has focused predominantly on literary study. Institutional histories of English Studies in India have accordingly centred literary pedagogy and scholarship. There is, however, no single story that emerges unambiguously from such institutional histories, one which can be speedily summarized. The facts have generally been selected for and subjected to varying interpretations in such histories, depending on the ideological climate in which historicizing was undertaken. The following remarks on the institutional history of English Studies in Indian HE are therefore more about different phases of historicizing the discipline than a straight historical narrative of the discipline's career; the phases of historicizing are, it appears to me, more indicative of recent developments than a straight historical narrative could be.

Institutional histories of English Studies in India generally begin their narratives at the same juncture: the early nineteenth-century debate about the East India Company's colonial education policy, between Orientalists (who favoured a traditional Sanskritic education for the natives) and Anglicists (who championed a Westernized education in the English language). The debate was decided in favour of the Anglicists, notably by Thomas Babington Macaulay's assertions in the much-discussed Minute on Education (1835). The manner in which these debates and subsequent developments are accounted differentiates various institutional histories of English, and it turns out that accounting is grounded significantly on the contemporary preoccupations that historians have in mind and seek to understand from

a historical perspective. Shifts in historical perspective mark shifts according to current developments at the time of historicizing.

Thus, a relatively early account of this history in Kalyan Chatterjee's *English Education in India* (1976) made out that the defeat of Orientalist arguments by the Anglicists led by Macaulay—which effectively opened up the introduction of English education and English Studies around the mid-nineteenth century—had been the defeat of a progressive and culturally sensitive possibility within the colonial fold. Chatterjee's history went on to describe the various ways in which English Studies came to be assimilated in Indian cultural and intellectual life, through colonialism and towards decolonization. This was written at a time when secular post-independence nationalism was the dominant political discourse, and allowed for a schismatic reckoning with the colonial past—taking in both the productive and repressive drives of colonialism in articulating the contemporary national formation. A decade along the line, though, dominant discourses were under more searching scrutiny and a 'crisis' in the Humanities was being felt widely: markedly in North American academia, where it was associated with the rise of politically engaged 'Theory' and social constructionist identity politics. In particular, Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) had persuaded many critics of the need for close attention to underpinning ideological assumptions in colonial and postcolonial cultural productions (postcolonial criticism). Gayatri Spivak (especially in her 1985 paper) had sought to bridge such criticism with the methods of the Indian collective of subaltern historians. In various academic circles these moves were regarded as effectively interrogating some of the fundamental assumptions of academic work itself—hence the sense of a 'crisis'. Gauri Viswanathan's influential history of the institutionalization of English Studies in India during the colonial period, *Masks of Conquest* (1989), drew upon these developments—it was written as a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University, acknowledging the guidance of, among others, Said and Spivak. Viswanathan's understanding of the colonial education project was more *of a piece* than Chatterjee's; therein the apparently contrary impulses of Orientalists and Anglicists actually worked jointly towards a common imperialist end: 'it would be more accurate to describe Orientalism and Anglicism not as polar opposites but as points along a continuum of attitudes toward the manner and form of native governance, the necessity and justification for which remained by and large an issue of remarkably little disagreement' (p. 30). Viswanathan's history proceeded to show how every step within the institutionalization and pursuit of English Studies ensured that the discipline itself became

deeply engrained with imperialist attitudes towards and the domination of colonial subjects—and putatively remains so (though her observations were carefully confined to the colonial period).

In the 1990s, the broader sense of a 'crisis' in the Humanities (woven around Theory) was wedded to a distinctive and localized sense of 'crisis' in Indian English Studies, and historicizing the discipline became part of an effort to engage with it. To some degree this distinctively Indian crisis derived from the anxiogenic relationship of English, as an imperial inheritance and middle-class stronghold, with Indian languages, especially the vernaculars in everyday use. That the English language has worked to the detriment of disadvantaged constituencies appeared to be increasingly obvious. Further, since the higher pursuit of the discipline in India had been centred on literary studies, its curriculum—focused preponderantly on British and North American texts—was regarded as alienating. English Studies appeared to offer little scope for addressing immediate social concerns and experiences. A series of edited volumes (Joshi (ed.), 1991, Marathe et al., 1993, Part I, Rajan, 1986, and, a bit later, Tharu (ed.), 1997) drew upon disciplinary history and current political concerns to find a path through this crisis, and, in a way, the very attempt to articulate the crisis thus was also a kind of resolution—effectively contemporary social concerns were brought within the purview of English Studies pedagogy and scholarship. It entailed broadening the reach of scholarly interest to social schisms and conflicts within India (along the lines of caste, class, gender criticism), taking account of debates within Indian languages and literatures (especially through translations), and bringing in literatures from beyond the dominant Anglophone centres (under the guise of comparative and world literature). Specific attention to English language learning was more or less inserted by R. K. Agnihotri and A. L. Khanna, *Problematizing English in India* (1997) into the narrative provided by Viswanathan. In the domain of pedagogy, curricular reform was undertaken to reduce the emphasis on British and American literature in English Studies, and to include Indian literature in English and in English translations (with particular attention to underprivileged constituencies in India), literature from other contexts (especially other postcolonial contexts), English language and linguistics, media studies, popular cultural studies, and so on. The changes of the BA and MA English syllabi of Delhi University in the late 1990s appeared symptomatic of a wider phenomenon, and received international notice in higher education circles (Suroor, 1997, 'University of Delhi …' 1999). The University had stayed with a conventional and unresponsive English syllabus through

much of its post-Independence career, and syllabus changes there were regarded as a necessary, indeed inevitable, sign of reform within a particularly conservative and influential bastion of the discipline.

A further shift in narrating the history of English Studies in India appeared in the late noughties, in Santosh Dash's *English Education and the Question of Indian Nationalism* (2009) and Alok Mukherjee's *The Gift of English* (2009). These re-examinations of that history were paved through, as before, the Orientalist-Anglicist debate. But the readings of that debate here were significantly different from Chatterjee's or Viswanathan's. Viswanathan's account of the joined-up imperialist interests on both sides was accepted, but the notion that the Orientalist agenda simply fed into and merged with (or was overtaken by) the imperialist thrust of the Anglicist agenda wasn't. It was maintained instead that though the policy of Anglicization in HE was instituted, the Orientalists' agenda was assimilated alongside that, at the behest of *both* the British colonial establishment and the Indian elites. Some sections of the Indian elites (by class and caste) had supported the Anglicist programme in accordance with their own interests; as importantly, the Orientalist agenda was opportunistically picked up and accommodated in educational policy and practice thereafter in keeping with Indian elite interests. Thus, the inculcation of English into Indian academia worked through a gradual concordance of both imperialist and elite Indian interests. The vernacularization debates that followed later in the nineteenth century were examined closely here (from the 1860s and 1870s onwards), debates which were apparently against the dominance of English. Elite Indian interests were embedded in the education system by adopting Sanskritized versions of the vernaculars as standard (especially as medium of instruction in schooling), backed by the strong interest that Orientalists had in Sanskrit. At the same time, compulsory English in schools and, especially, as medium of instruction in HE meant that mainly the elites could access education and align themselves with establishment interests. In India all this meant that an idea of nationhood came to be articulated in predominantly elite terms, and the numerous oppressed social strata were systematically disadvantaged during the colonial and the post-colonial periods.

Dash's and Mukherjee's 2009 accounts of the history of English Studies in India were obviously offered not merely as scholarly interventions in postcolonial history or academic crisis debates; these were interventions in current political debates in India via English Studies, and accordingly a re-articulation of the place of English Studies in contemporary Indian society. The result was that English couldn't be regarded simply as a

colonial importation or as the concern of elite academic ivory towers; the history of English and the currency of English Studies also draws in the past and present of pressing political divides and social conflicts in India. To grasp the contextual implications of these historicist interventions for the pursuit of English Studies, it is necessary to register some of the broader developments related to the place of the English language in India at present.

Social developments

By way of framing the following account of social developments related to English in India, some figures on English language usage might be useful—figures for both the population generally and especially the constituency of young persons who dominate HE student populations.

By the returns on language usage for Census 2001, English was claimed as a first subsidiary language by 86,125,221 persons and as a second subsidiary language by 38,993,066—a total of a bit over 125.12 million (12.16% of the total population). Figures for bilingualism and trilingualism in general across the country were also tracked according to age and urban and rural divide—these are shown in Table 6.2, with particular attention to the age group of interest here (15–24 years).

In the rural sector, the numbers speaking a second language as percentage of the total rural population (742.5 million) was 18.4%, and speaking a third language was 5.44%. In the urban sector, the equivalent proportions of the total urban population (286.12 million) for second language speakers was 41.37% and for third language speakers was 16.45%. Of the total number of people using a second language, the proportion that claims English as a second language is 33.77%. Briefly, the total population of India has moved from 1.029 billion to 1.210 billion between 2001 and 2011; urbanization has increased from 27.81% in the 2001 Census to 31.16% in the 2011 Census.

A fairly nuanced sense of the extent to which English is read by the age group this chapter is concerned with can be obtained from a NBT-NCAER survey (Shukla, 2010) covering 311,431 literate youth (within a broad age group of 13–35 year olds), across 207 rural districts and 199 towns in India. Of this sample, the survey found, about 25% read books for pleasure, relaxation and knowledge enhancement; and English is the preferred language for leisure reading of 5.3% of those (Hindi is for 33.4%, Marathi 13.2%, Bengali 7.7%). University-level students are likely to figure significantly among these. Traced amidst those figures is the obvious observation that, as a result of colonial and postcolonial

Table 6.2 Numbers speaking second and third languages by age group, sex and rural/urban region

Total/ Rural/ Urban	Age-group	Number speaking second language			Number speaking third language		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Total	**Total**	255026463	151488952	103537511	87499882	54630649	32869233
Total	15–19	38357575	21529833	16827742	14769247	8305140	6464107
Total	20–24	34482232	19994255	14487977	13792079	8177126	5614953
Rural	**Total**	136669344	83877845	52791499	40426853	26786428	13640425
Rural	15–19	22091245	12815654	9275591	7981442	4717434	3264008
Rural	20–24	18598695	11170397	7428298	6877277	4335306	2541971
Urban	**Total**	118357119	67611107	50746012	47073029	27844221	19228808
Urban	15–19	16266330	8714179	7552151	6787805	3587706	3200099
Urban	20–24	15883537	8823858	7059679	6914802	3841820	3072982

Source: Census 2001.

education provision and social arrangements, it is a relatively small number of Indians who use English comfortably, and this small number has enjoyed inordinate public visibility and social advantages. The English language has been and continues to be complicit with the political and cultural domination of an elite professional and bureaucratic class, a minority of the Indian population. Social inequalities exercised through English proficiency have continued to be embedded in the education system since independence (trenchantly outlined in Faust and Nagar, 2001; Ramanathan, 1999).

At the same time, it is evident that, at least over the last two decades, there is a growing top-down and bottom-up demand for greater and more widespread English proficiency. On the one hand, English seems ever more necessary for the workforce of the future amidst globalized processes; on the other hand, traditionally disadvantaged and dispossessed communities feel that becoming proficient in English encourages higher earnings and superior social status. The push from both directions has created a sort of *social pressure of English*: both in the growing numbers of people seeking English language skills, and in the demand from government and employers for more persons proficient in English and more depth in proficiency. Several reports on the labour force in India identify proficiency in English as a significant skills deficit (see Aring, 2012 [India report], p. 1). A number of surveys indicate that poorer families are increasingly preferring schools which reputedly offer sound English instruction for their children, even when they can ill afford to (on this see, for instance, Advani, 2009, and Desai *et al.*, 2008 on the growing popularity of private schools, esp. pp. 18–20).

Other developments play alongside the general thrust of this pressure. The success of the Business Process Outsourcing ('outsourcing' in short) industry in India is pertinent here. Of particular interest is the balance that media and political discourses struck between, on the one hand, seeing Indian outsourcing as based on persistent inequality between North and South, and, on the other hand, presenting Indian outsourcing as promising gradual equalization (Gupta, 2009). Relevantly, these discourses about the outsourcing industry re-valued English-proficiency as being not merely an important element of cultural capital but also directly translatable into financial capital in India. No systematic study is available of the impact that such media and political profiling of the industry had in this regard (e.g. on student recruitment, on career choices). Much of the academic discussion on English in this context centred on questions of identity and attitudes to variant language usage in training Indian call-centre workers (e.g. Cowie, 2007; Poster, 2007;

Taylor and Bain, 2005). However, it is generally taken for granted that evidence of the financial value of English proficiency *à la* outsourcing has spurred the growing demand for English in India.

On a note related to the growing demand for English among dispossessed constituencies, it has been significant that prominent Dalit leaders and intellectuals have promoted English as their preferred language of aspiration and opportunity. The powerful Dalit political and cultural movement that gathered force through the 1990s has brought the particularity of Dalit life-experiences and perspectives, at odds with traditionally dominant cultural discourses, into the forefront of the Indian public sphere. In particular, the Dalit movement has posed a salutary challenge to the rise of majoritarian, and tendentiously fascist, Hindu communal alignments. That ideologues of the most oppressed constituencies in India prefer to think of English as the medium of aspiration and opportunity, and moreover there's a significant history of this (as Omvedt, 2006 notes), has undoubtedly interfered with grievances about the hegemony of English and the beleaguered status of Indian vernaculars. Interest in Dalit attitudes to English has ranged from media-fuelled curiosity about political gestures—such as, the construction of a temple to Goddess English and celebrations of Macaulay's birthday (on these see activist Chandra Bhan Prasad's 2010 web-site declaration)—to considered exploration of the language politics in question (Anand, 1999; Dash, 2009; Mukherjee, 2009, esp. Conclusion). Playing alongside that, the production and consumption of texts by and about Dalits, especially memoirs/biographies and literary works, have multiplied significantly since the 1990s. These have appeared in particularly significant numbers in English translations from Marathi, Tamil and other languages, and have provided new fodder for reflection in Translation Studies (e.g. Kandasamy, 2007; Mukherjee *et al.,* 2008; Merrill, 2010; Sivanarayanan, 2004). Dalit literary texts often test the conventional limits of literary expression, and take liberties with linguistic and literary norms, in a manner that is challenging for translators.

Yet other factors have encouraged reconsideration of the position of English in India. The incorporation of English words and phrases into Indian vernaculars is increasingly manifested in public and popular cultural exchanges (advertisements, commercial films, newspapers, popular songs, etc.), and suggests a greater degree of acceptance of such linguistic hybridity than heretofore. With reference to such hybridity in Hindi, commonly called 'Hinglish' now (for varied discussions, see Kothari and Snell eds. 2012), scholarly attention has occasionally considered it as confined to elite metropolitan circles (Trivedi, 2008,

pp. 203–6), and sometimes regarded it as a 're-vernacularization' of Hindi that works against nationalist attempts to promote linguistic purity (Saxena, 2010). From a quite different direction, the very significant growth of Indian commercial fiction in English since the 1990s, targeting an Indian readership (which circulates indifferently, if at all, outside India), also has a bearing on reconsiderations of English in India. Arguably, such commercial fiction attempts to take possession of English as an Indian language (Gupta, 2012): English appears to be used in these texts as if it is familiar in the Indian habitus, whereas Indian literary fiction in English has often been charged with a defamiliarized relationship with Indian contexts, and regarded as 'inauthentic' to or 'exoticizing' such contexts. In a related fashion, also relevant here is simply the fact that since the 1990s there has been a constant increase in the numbers of literary translations from Indian languages into English, targeting Indian readers, being published (examined at length in Kothari, 2003).

These developments naturally have a bearing on ongoing reconsideration of the shape of English Studies and its future prospects in Indian HE. The implications are beginning (as this is written) to be registered, albeit often with uneven rigour, in the government's education policy and in recent HE institutional restructurings.

Education policy and response

Since independence, government policies on the status of English and regarding English education in India have seen several noteworthy reversals. The Constitution of India, adopted in 1950, declared Hindi in the Devanagari script the language of the Union and official language and allowed the use of English as an official language, with states being able to appoint official languages within their territories. Initially, the Constitution allowed a 15 year period for the use of English as an official language alongside Hindi with the expectation that Hindi would become the sole official language thereafter. In a diverse linguistic context like India, misgivings about having Hindi as the sole official language were considerable; strong anti-Hindi agitations were undertaken as the 15 year deadline approached (notably in the state of Tamil Nadu); and effectively English was retained as an official language by the Official Languages (Amendment) Act of 1967. A Three-Language Formula for school education was agreed, whereby non-Hindi speaking students would be taught their mother tongue/regional language,

Hindi and English, and Hindi-speaking students would be taught Hindi, English and a regional Indian language. The Formula has generally been unevenly applied. A few decades later, in the course of the 1980s and 1990s, several state governments (such as Maharashtra, West Bengal, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh) reduced the emphasis on English teaching in state schools—mainly by introducing English at a later stage of schooling. After 2000, however, such state policies have largely been rolled back. Throughout, a significant number of private schools, dominated by students from middle class and affluent backgrounds, have delivered English medium instruction, and higher education has been dominated by English medium teaching too. The role of English in exacerbating social disparities in India lies within the interstices of these policies and educational arrangements.

Amidst the social developments outlined in the previous section, the current thrust of government policy at almost all levels is to promote English language teaching and learning. This thrust is addressed to school education and also, interestingly, to HE. Unsurprisingly, the thinking that drives policy at present as regards English is strongly instrumental: English Studies is being redefined or 'reoriented' (to use the favoured bureaucratic term) to consist in English language teaching and learning, the production of purposive English proficiency, as a vocational/professional skill. It has steadily been pressed upon English teachers and departments in HE institutions that it is their responsibility to engage with pedagogy and scholarship in this instrumental spirit. The policy documents which gesture towards or simply issue directives to that end are numerous, especially at the national or federal government level. The most recent 12th Five Year Plan (2012–2017) states the instrumental nature of English in HE more unambiguously than any previous five year plan:

> 21.244. Notwithstanding the growth of technical higher education, over half of students will enrol in general (meaning arts, science and commerce) undergraduate programmes. If properly imparted, general education could be an excellent foundation for successful knowledge-based careers. Therefore, focus should be primarily on improving the quality of general education. [...]. Special emphasis on verbal and written communication skills, especially, but not limited to, English would go a long way in improving the employability of the large and growing mass of disempowered youth. (Planning Commission, 2013, Vol. 3, p. 106)

This observation in the midst of the largest-scale policy document that the Government of India produces is the culmination of a constant refrain in other policy documents. The recommendations of the National Knowledge Commission's *Report to the Nation 2006–2009* (2010), for instance, was premised repeatedly on the understanding that 'An understanding and command over the English language is a most important determinant of access to higher education, employment possibilities and social opportunities' (esp. pp. 27–8). The federal government's drive in this regard is strongly supported by various reports from the corporate sector in India (I have mentioned this above), the 'employers' who are seemingly regarded as the principal 'stakeholders' in HE at present. Encouragement for this policy direction also comes from abroad, especially from Anglophone-dominant contexts (UK, USA, Australia). To take the British example: the British Council has set up a number of initiatives with Indian HE institutions addressed to English Language Teaching (ELT). On the surface these are presented as public-spirited and even altruistic; but public-spiritedness in the UK, as in India and elsewhere, is increasingly impossible to distinguish from private-spiritedness and business-orientation. So, the British Council India also organizes events such as the UK-India English Partnership Forum of 30 January 2013 in London, entitled *Opportunities in English Language*. It needs little perspicacity to gather that the 'opportunities' in question were really for a range of British (in partnership with Indian, of course) companies which could, in various ways, sell English language skills training. The forum was usefully bolstered with a report funded by the British High Commission in India and produced by iValue, *ELT Market Report for India* (2013), and by the partnership of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, UK Trade and Investment (UKTI) and Department for Business Innovation and Skills (BIS). A more general British Council pamphlet *Understanding India: The Future of Higher Education and Opportunities for International Cooperation* (Feb. 2014) features English as a commodity frequently and throughout.

Thus encouraged, government education policy and directives are now aligned with the interests of corporate sector and external agencies in demanding a 'reorientation' of the work of English Studies—English teachers and departments—in HE institutions. This demand is steadily percolating downwards through the UGC and state-level education ministries into implementation at institutional level, in universities and HE colleges and institutes. Since the top-down pressure in this regard falls upon English departments and teachers, it is the shape of English Studies at HE itself which is under scrutiny. The emphasis on literature

that has prevailed for much of the history of English Studies in India, traced sketchily above, necessarily has to—and does—give way: the quotient of literature has to be proportionally reduced to make way for English literacy in the work of English teachers and departments in universities. The last attempt, fifteen years back, made by the UGC to give guidance on university English Studies programmes and their contents (UGC Curriculum Development Committee Feb. 2001) consequently seems firmly dated now with its strong literary and cultural studies interests. The ongoing moves towards accommodating firmly, if not centring, English language teaching in English departments does not mean that academic linguistics, insofar as addressed to English, has found more of a purchase than heretofore. Insofar as linguistics in India has attended to English, scholarly and pedagogic pursuits have predominantly attached to socio-linguistics and descriptive linguistics: attempts to describe Indian English as a standard or as an 'acrolect' were undertaken, data on regional varieties of English in India collected, and the status of English in India subjected to sociolinguistic analysis—all areas with prolific publications. None of that is particularly relevant to the policy thrust on English proficiency for instrumental purposes. By and large, linguistics is as out of sync with the ongoing re-orientation of English Studies as the conventional Anglophone literary and cultural studies are.

To conclude this section, let me refer back to an institution which I have mentioned before. At the end of the section on histories of English Studies, the curriculum reform for English programmes at Delhi University was noted, to register the broadened scope of the discipline after the crisis debates. In the academic year 2013–14 Delhi University instituted a wider curriculum reform, with effect on programmes in all disciplines, in shifting from a three-year to a four-year undergraduate programme structure. This meant implementing a number of Foundation Courses in the first and second years for all students in the university, designed to deliver the 'general education' mentioned in the 12th Plan quoted above, alongside a number of Applied Courses and a range of Discipline Courses (wherein the previous subject-specific curriculum is confined). This meant that like all other disciplines English Studies programmes found the already expanded literary/linguistic/cultural studies curriculum squeezed. Within the Foundation and Applied Courses there is provision for English language teaching of the instrumental variety, free of both literary and linguistic scholarly engagement, which naturally becomes the responsibility of English teachers and departments—in that sense a part of English Studies.

This specific situation clarifies how the current thrust of policy may be interpreted in a HE institution, and what that might imply for English Studies.

Future?

In considering future possibilities for English Studies in Indian HE, it is not my intention to give a normative cast to the above observations—whether ongoing developments are good or bad is not for me to judge. The future possibilities are simply possible logical outcomes of current trends, which may change as trends change, and in fact consist in little that isn't glaringly obvious in India and indeed elsewhere.

First, Applied Linguistics (focused on ELT as an instrumental programme) seems set to grow within the existing institutional spaces of English Studies—within English departments—in the near future. This would be encouraged by market demand, government and corporate initiative and concentration of investment, as well as by international academic and business entities. It is possible that eventually Applied Linguistics (focused on ELT) will break away from the mainstream of English Studies and assume independent institutional identities, as separate departments and as a separate discipline. Second, correspondingly scholarship and pedagogy in what has conventionally been English Studies (literature, linguistics, cultural studies, etc.) is likely to become more contained: appealing to a smaller intake of students/researchers and justifying smaller departments, regarded as more highbrow—perhaps also perceived as more socially remote, in a way, from what the discipline turned out to be through and after the crisis debates in the 1990s. The elite interests served by English proficiency and cultivation of English Studies thus far will take time to dissipate, if at all; in that process, English may lose its cultural (and financial) capital to some degree. Third, the powerful drive towards vocationalizing/professionalizing HE will be felt increasingly unevenly on all aspects of English Studies. So long as Applied Linguistics (focused on ELT) remains or appears to be a subsection of English Studies—i.e. the business of English departments—that subsection will draw investment, perhaps to the advantage of English Studies generally. If Applied Linguistics subsections broke away from English Studies and became separate institutional entities (departments), and formed independent professional bodies, the remnant English Studies would still have to find ways to survive in an environment where resources are allocated according to vocational/professional measures and market demand. In due course,

this remnant of English Studies may have to reorient itself again to become more market-friendly, perhaps by cultivating firmer application within and alignment with entertainment, mass media, heritage and other industries.

Outlining such future possibilities is, of course, no more than an expression of the present. In a way, any attempt to predict the future is but a strategy for framing the present, and the ambition of this chapter doesn't extend beyond that.

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7
The Role of Policy in Shaping English as a University Subject in Denmark

Anna Kristina Hultgren

Introduction

This chapter focuses on how education policy plays a role in what constitutes the subject of English in university. It explores how and to what extent contemporary policies, devised in the context of an ongoing massification of higher education (Altbach *et al.,* 2009), are reflected in an English Studies curriculum, using the University of Copenhagen in Denmark as a case study. As far as English Studies is concerned, the massification of higher education has fuelled anxieties, in the USA at least, that 'real English studies: the novel, the sonnet' are going to be replaced by more vocationally relevant subjects such as 'programs in ESL [English as a second language], remedial writing, business English, Anglophone area studies, rhetoric and composition, practical communication, applied linguistics, media arts, and so on' (English, 2012, p. 109). There is concern, in other words, about what might be called a 'vocationalization' of English Studies, in which its practical and utilitarian dimensions are prioritized over its intrinsic value.

Denmark is an apt case study for two reasons. Firstly, English Studies in Denmark represents a typical continental European undergraduate degree programme in this subject with a tripartite structure of literature, language and culture (English, 2012). In comparison, the US model typically focuses on literature alone, increasingly combined with a focus on creative writing, as in the UK (English, 2012; contributors to Engler and Haas, 2000). English Studies at the University of Copenhagen has also existed as a degree programme for more than a century (Nielsen, 1979). Hence, the Danish case may be considered as a window into more general principles of how contemporary policies affect (or not) the

curricular content of a typical well-established European undergraduate programme in English Studies.

Secondly, the Danish tertiary education system has not escaped the radical changes that have affected higher education systems in other countries in the developed world. Such changes stem from political initiatives to increase the proportion of people in post-compulsory education from a small élite of 5% of school-leavers in the 1950s to between 40% and 50% today (Smith, 2014). This has put pressure on the system and forced universities to think in terms of the societal relevance of their modules, graduate employability, widening participation and student retention, progression and completion (Hazelkorn, 2011; Qenani *et al.,* 2014; Quality Assurance Agency, 2008).

Using Denmark as a case study, this chapter examines the extent to which contemporary educational policy has an impact on English Studies as a subject. The outcome might be curriculum innovation, conservatism, or fall somewhere in between the two. On the one hand, it might be expected that concerns with widening participation, completion and progression would prompt universities to review their curricula to better meet the greater diversity of the student body, perhaps by emphasizing employability and making courses more vocationally relevant. On the other hand, universities are known to be resistant to change as they are 'deeply affected by [...] structures whose nature and meaning have been institutionalized over many centuries' (Meyer *et al.,* 2007, p. 187). Writing about the Danish situation, Christiansen *et al.* suggest that such conservatism may make it difficult for teachers to be innovative:

> Universities are [...] institutions with a long history, and they can in many ways be described as *conservative institutions*. Even if this conservatism may sometimes feel like a burden if a teacher wants to tread new and unknown paths, it is precisely this conservatism which has helped retain them as central institutions in society since the middle ages. (2013, pp. 17–18; translated from Danish by the author, emphasis in original)

Given the tension between innovation and conservatism, it is not a straightforward matter to predict whether or not political changes will influence the nature of what is being taught as part of an English Studies degree at a Danish university.

As a secondary concern, the chapter will also consider another set of policies indirectly related to massification. These centre on internationalization and EU harmonization. Since Denmark's ratification of

the Bologna Declaration in 1999, Danish universities have had targets to attract international staff and students. Increased transnational mobility has led to a dramatic rise in the use of English as a medium of instruction, with about a quarter of post-graduate degree programmes now being delivered in English (Hultgren *et al.,* 2014; Hultgren *et al.,* 2015). Irrespective of 86% of Danes declaring that they are able to hold a conversation in English (European Commission, 2012), this is arguably quite a dramatic shift considering that English is a foreign language in Denmark. At some universities in the country, the rise in English-medium instruction has led to the establishment of English language training, support and assessment centres.

Given the established presence of English Studies as a subject combined with the rise of English as a medium of instruction, Denmark is arguably a potentially illuminating case in terms of shedding light on the dystopian outcries briefly alluded to above. In other words, will current political changes, centred on massification, internationalization and EU harmonization, lead to an end to English Studies 'as we know it' (English, 2012) and will 'real English studies: the novel, the sonnet' (English, 2012, p. 109) give way to a vocationalization of English Studies, spurred on by a need for ESL remedial courses to salvage the increasing proportion of individuals who are faced with having to teach and learn in a language that is not their first?

The chapter compares the Copenhagen University English Studies curriculum of 2005 with that of 2012 with a view to finding out the extent to which political reforms in the intervening period have had any effect on the latter version of the curriculum. As we shall see, the analysis suggests that there is little, if any, noticeable effect of the policies on the English Studies curriculum at least as it is laid out in course descriptions. Other policies, however, have had dramatic, often unintended, effects on the growth of English as a medium of instruction. Based on these findings, the chapter argues for the importance of distinguishing 'English as a subject' from 'English language training': which is on the rise as a result of the growth in English as a medium of instruction. Where the former is unaffected, the latter is in considerable growth.

The chapter first provides some background information on English as a university subject in Denmark, followed by an overview of the most relevant political reforms that have taken place in the Danish higher education landscape in the first decade of the new millennium. The chapter then compares the 2005 and the 2012 versions of the curriculum and, finding little difference, considers possible reasons for why the political reforms have not had any noticeable effect on curriculum

content. The chapter concludes by offering some speculations about the direction in which English, as a university subject and as a medium of instruction, respectively, is headed in the future.

English studies in Denmark

Five out of Denmark's eight universities offer a BA programme in English Studies: the universities of Copenhagen, Aarhus, Aalborg, Southern Denmark and Roskilde. This chapter focuses on that offered by the University of Copenhagen, the largest and oldest university in Denmark dating back to 1479, but there is not a great deal of variation between the English Studies programmes offered at the different universities (Department of Education, 2014). As is typical in Europe (English, 2012), a BA in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen cannot be studied on its own but must be taken either as a major or minor in combination with another subject in the humanities. If taken as a major, which is what we will focus on in this chapter, a BA in English Studies constitutes 135 ECTS (European Credit Transfer System) units plus 45 ECTS units in a minor subject, which amounts to the normative 180 ECTS units for a three-year qualification.

Given that the discussion below will focus partly on the extent to which political calls for professional relevance are incorporated into the English Studies curriculum, it seems relevant to mention that English is also offered as part of a combined degree, usually with a business angle. Thus, Aarhus University offers a BA programme in 'International Enterprise Communication' where students can focus on English plus one other language: Spanish, French or German. Copenhagen Business School, in turn, offers 'English and Organizational Communication' as a degree programme.

As can be seen from Figure 7.1, a BA in English Studies is a comparatively popular degree programme in Denmark, possibly because of a combination of the expanse of the English-speaking world, low entry requirements and high job prospects. In 2011, 96% of English graduates were employed or in continued education within two years of graduation (Department of Education, 2014). Law was by far the most popular degree programme in 2013 with more than twice as many enrolments as the second most popular degree programme, psychology. However, English fares relatively well in comparison to other subjects. Notably, it is chosen more often than Danish, which in some universities is referred to as "Nordic", i.e. the dominant language/culture of the region, and certainly a lot more often than French, which, like most modern foreign
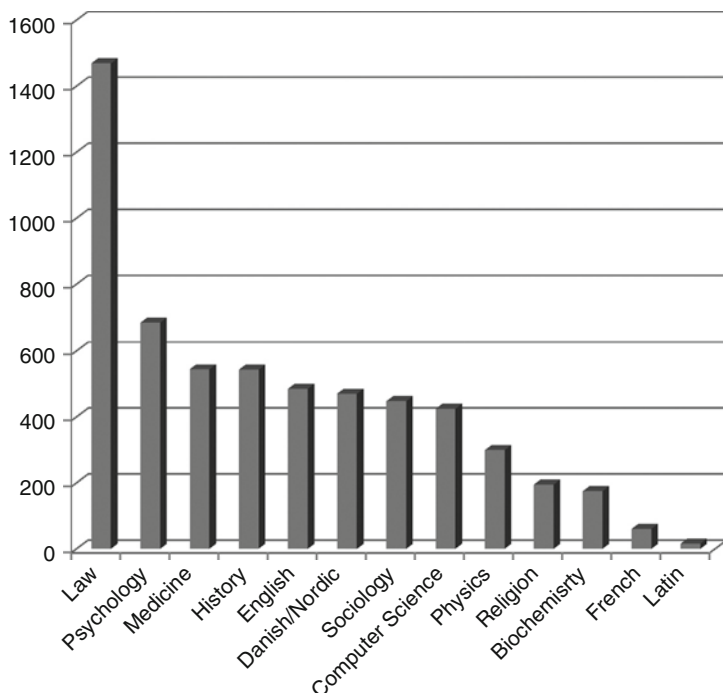
Figure 7.1   Number of enrolments at selected BA programmes in Denmark, 2013[1]
Source: Department of Education, 2014.

languages, but unlike English, has been in constant decline in recent years. Interestingly too, perhaps, English is more popular than some natural science subjects such as physics, biochemistry and, surprisingly perhaps, computer science.

Political reforms in Danish higher education

Despite many overt or covert political reforms aimed at curbing their individual power, Danish universities maintain a high degree of autonomy (i.e. independence from the interests of the state and private sectors) in terms of research areas and teaching subjects (Christiansen *et al.,* 2013; Wright and Ørberg, 2008). In line with global currents, and spurred on by an eight-year rule of the Social Democrats (1993–2001), the first decade of the new millennium saw a string of political reforms in the higher and further education area of Denmark by the new

right-wing coalition government who had won the election under the campaign 'Time for Change' [Tid til Fornyelse].

Two such policies, the Welfare Agreement and the Globalization Agreement are analysed below given their relevance for higher education, and the fact that they were implemented in 2006, i.e. shortly after the 2005 publication of the University of Copenhagen's English Studies curriculum but presumably with enough time for the reforms to take effect in the 2012 version of the curriculum. Despite a recent theoretical move to bottom-up, ethnographically oriented approaches to educational policy (Menken and Garcia, 2010), the focus in this chapter is on top-down policies in the form of state and government documents whose purpose it is 'to steer the actions and behaviour of people' in a certain direction (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010, p. 4). As is the norm for the multi-party consensus-based political system of Denmark, the policies have been proposed in agreement with other parties.

The Welfare Agreement is set against the backdrop of the growing strain on the welfare system by mass entry into higher education, which in Denmark is not only free but accompanied by very generous (by international standards) governmental stipends to all students. In light of this, as well as the fact that Danish graduates are typically four years older than the international average (Government of Denmark, 2006a), the policy aims at ensuring faster completion rates. In concrete terms this policy is operationalized by 1) raising the grade point average of prospective students with a gap year of less than two years, thereby encouraging earlier study start, 2) allowing students to take exams more frequently and with improved mentoring systems, thereby facilitating quicker progression, and 3) rewarding those universities which ensure faster progression by a reallocation of funds (Government of Denmark, 2006a). It also entailed imposing a deadline for the completion of BA projects (Christiansen *et al.,* 2013). Insofar as Rein's criteria for assessing the potential success of a policy are concerned, it would seem that this one stands a good chance of being successful in that it has clear and effectively operationalized goals and is backed up by substantial funding (Rein, 1983). It is worth noting that this policy is an extension of another important policy introduced in 1994, known as STÅ (studenterårsværk, literally 'students' year work'), which was premised on governmental funds being released to universities on the basis of the number of students who passed all the exams for that year, providing yet another clear incentive for universities to be concerned with retention and progression (Christiansen *et al.,* 2013). This, of course, is equally relevant to all university subjects as it is to English Studies.

The Globalization Agreement, in turn, was envisaged to invest the funds freed up by the Welfare Agreement to get more people into education and thereby strengthen Denmark's position in the global knowledge economy (Government of Denmark 2006b). The goal set by the Danish government was to have 50% of a generation in further education by 2015 and 25% in higher education by 2020, thus echoing the objectives set by the OECD (Government of Denmark, 2006a; Government of Denmark, 2011). Importantly, this needs to happen without compromising quality and by emphasizing relevance, i.e. the potential for graduates to make their education beneficial to society. Concretely, this policy was operationalized by establishing an independent quality assurance agency, ACE Denmark (akin to the QAA in the UK), with the purpose of assessing existing and new degree programmes in Denmark in terms of their quality and relevance to societal needs. Programmes are assessed on five criteria: 1) the need for the programme within the context of the employment market; 2) the extent to which it is research-led; 3) disciplinary profile and level; 4) structure and organization; and 5) the measures in place for continuous internal quality assurance. The policy also encompasses other concrete initiatives, such as providing continuing professional development of teaching staff and strengthening internationalization by easing the administrative burden for ingoing and outgoing staff and students.

The BA curriculum in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen

This section will focus on how English Studies is construed in course descriptions. Obviously, a range of other factors will also be relevant, e.g. how the planned curriculum is translated into practice by teachers and how it is understood by students (Bernstein, 2000) just to mention two, but these are not the focus of this chapter. Supplementary data used for this chapter is in the form of email correspondence with Steen Schousboe, lecturer in English language at the University of Copenhagen 1974–2015 and my Master's Thesis supervisor. Departmental meeting minutes are also drawn on. The section serves two purposes: 1) to give an insight into what a BA in English Studies at a Danish university looks like, and 2) to consider the extent to which the two policies discussed above have had an impact on the BA curriculum in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen.

In terms of the nature of the curriculum as such, the BA in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen represents a typical European BA in English Studies consisting of a largely equal proportion of literature,

language and American/British culture (see Table 7.1). The European version has its origins in the 19th-century European tradition of classic philology and seeks to develop an understanding of language as well as literature, and general knowledge as well as specific skills (English, 2012; Engler and Haas, 2000). Also worth bearing in mind are the Humboldtian principles of developing students into free thinkers, which underpin most university level programmes in Europe (Christiansen *et al.,* 2013).

The study of English literature is wide-ranging and, in my own recollection of being an English student at the University of Copenhagen in the 1990s, challenging. As the study of canonical texts was arranged chronologically rather than by difficulty, I remember sweating over Beowulf and Chaucer as a newly enrolled student and finding Shakespeare a welcome reprieve. The reading list comprised both American and British authors, organized by period from Old and Middle English, the Renaissance, Restoration, Romanticism, through to modern and postmodern works, and students were required to be able to interpret the literary works against the period in which they were situated. Language modules comprise phonetics, grammar and pragmatics. For both literature and language, the programme has the dual objective of developing students' conceptual understanding of these topics as well as their practical skills in analysing literature and speaking and writing in English. The study of society and history, finally, entails learning about the political systems in the USA and Britain, and major events in modern history such as Industrialization and the Marshall Plan. It is perhaps worth a comment that in contrast to the dramatic rise in Creative Writing modules in English-dominant contexts over the past three decades (English, 2012), this does not exist as part of the English degree programme in Denmark, which suggests national variation in the proliferation of this module.

Turning now to a look at how the curriculum might have changed in the seven-year period from 2005 to 2012, Table 7.1 shows that, apart from some minor reordering of elements, the content is strikingly similar (the few changes that have taken place have been italicized). The two components of 'Textual Analysis and Academic Writing' in Year 1, Semester 1 have swapped places in the 2012 curriculum and so have 'History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World 2' and 'Phonetics and Grammar and Perspectives on Language' in Year 1, Semester 2. 'Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study' has also been moved forward in the 2012 version. However, there is nothing in the more detailed course description (not reproduced here) to suggest that these changes reflect an actual change of the sequence in which the

components must be studied, rather than an insignificant preference for the way in which the document is styled. Another minor adjustment has been made for the module entitled 'Literature of the English-Speaking World' where 'before 1800' has been added to the 2012 version. A more detailed look at the course description, however, suggests that this does not reflect a change in content, merely an added level of specification.

Another minor change is the removal of complete electivity for module 8 in Year 2, Semester 2. In the 2012 curriculum, each of the two 7.5-credit electives is sub-divided into a 2.5-credit component which assesses, respectively, the oral and written English proficiency of the candidate. While English proficiency might be said to be indirectly assessed through many of the other forms of assessment, mainly essay writing, these do not separate out English proficiency from a general treatment of the subject matter, and therefore do not actually document to future employers that English graduates are able to speak and write English to an adequate standard. Giving separate grades for English proficiency could perhaps be interpreted as doing just that and consequently as reflecting *some* consideration of societal relevance and employability. Again, however, a more detailed look at the course description suggests that this change too may be nothing more than a slight reordering of elements. It seems that the oral exam in 2012 may have been added as a result of another oral exam having been removed, more specifically the one which was part of the BA project. For the test in written proficiency, the electives in the 2005 curriculum also gave two grades for this, one for content and one for written English proficiency. Indeed, when I was a student in the department in the 1990s, I recall being given separate grades for my oral and my written proficiency and that both these exams were compulsory. On closer inspection, then, this again turns out to be a case of making minor adjustments in the ordering of elements rather than any substantial changes.

One final change remains, which might immediately strike us as being of a slightly more substantial nature. This is the abolishment in 2012 of the 7.5-ECTS point module 'Postcolonial Studies'. The departmental meeting minutes of 18 April 2012 mention a complaint raised by a small group of undergraduate students wishing to retain 'Postcolonial Studies' as a core subject. The group's request was dismissed as follows: 'The Study Committee wish to thank the students for the request, and express appreciation for their engagement, but wish to announce that the matter has already been extensively discussed among students and that the decision to make "Postcolonial Studies" one of three electives has been made' (Study Committee 2012, item 9,

my translation). No other rationale is given for its abolition. The reason for this, according to an inside source was a shift in the intellectual zeitgeist (Steen Schousboe, p.c.). In other words, just as the 1960s saw the establishment of many linguistics departments across the world as a result of Chomsky's generative paradigm, and their subsequent closure in the 1990s, postcolonial studies had its heyday in the 1990s, but seems in Denmark to have lost its appeal in later decades.

There is one notable change in the curriculum content which seems to have happened in the period between my own time at the university in 1999 and 2005, i.e. before the implementation of the earliest curriculum examined in this chapter: the introduction of the subject 'Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study (7.5)'. This is a module which seeks to give students grounding in epistemology, theory and methodology, probably intended as a way of preparing them for the independence they will need to undertake their BA project, a component which was also introduced around the turn of the millennium. The introduction of this subject by the Danish Department of Education and the Danish university association (then, Rektorkollegiet) in 2001, could be interpreted as a well-documented focus on greater student electivity and flexibility partly motivated by a perceived need to develop them into independent life-long learners with transferrable skills (Tight, 2012), and partly, perhaps, by limited resources which have seen a need to cut down on taught classes. Indeed, the average twelve hours taught lessons per week received by English students at the University of Copenhagen has attracted considerable attention in Danish media because it is so slight (Gudmundsson, 2012).

In sum, while we might have expected that at least some of the political reforms such as rewarding those universities who ensure faster progression through the system and quality assurance to ensure societal relevance might have led to a review of the curriculum, this does not seem to have happened in any major way in the revised 2012 curriculum.

Why does policy fail to influence the curriculum?

What are the reasons for the apparent lack of influence of policies on the curriculum content? One explanation is that the policies aimed at ensuring faster completion and progression do not do it through modifying (or simplifying) the curriculum content, but through administrative measures such as adding points to the grade point average of those students who do not delay the start of their study, i.e. do not take a gap

Table 7.1 Comparison of the BA curriculum in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen, 2005 and 2012

English Studies BA Curriculum[2]			
2005 version		2012 version	
Module	ECTS	Module	ECTS
YEAR 1, SEMESTER 1			
Textual Analysis and Academic Writing	15	1. **Textual Analysis and Academic Writing**[3]	15
Textual Analysis (7.5)		*Academic Writing and Language Awareness (7.5)*	
Academic Writing and Language Awareness (7.5)		Textual Analysis (7.5)	
The History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World 1	15	**The History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World** *before 1800*	15
The Makings of the English–Speaking World (7.5)		Foundations of literature in English before 1800 (7.5)	
Foundations of literature in English (7.5)		The Makings of the English–Speaking World 1 (7.5)	
YEAR 1, SEMESTER 2			
3. **History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World 2**	15	3. **Phonetics and Grammar and Perspectives on Language**[1]	15
British History and Literature (7.5)		Grammar and Perspectives on Language (7.5)	
American History and Literature (7.5)		English Phonetics and Oral Proficiency (7.5)	
4. **English Language 1**	15	4. **The Newer History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World 2**	15
Grammar and Perspectives on Language (7.5)			
English Phonetics and Oral Proficiency (7.5)		The History (2) and Literature of the English-Speaking World after 1800 (15)	

(*continued*)

Table 7.1 Continued

English Studies BA Curriculum[2]			
2005 version		2012 version	
Module	ECTS	Module	ECTS
YEAR 2, SEMESTER 1			
5. **English Language 2 and the History, Culture and Literature of the English-Speaking World 3**	15	5. **Grammar and Perspectives on Language 2 and Translation**	15
Postcolonial Studies (7.5)		Grammar and Perspectives on Language 2 (7.5)	
Grammar and Perspectives on Language 2 (5)		Introduction to translation (7.5)	
Modern Translation Studies (2.5)			
6. **Electives 1+2**	15	6. **Electives 1+2**	15
Electives 1 (7.5)		Electives 1 (7.5)	
Electives 2 (7.5)		Electives 2 (7.5)	
YEAR 2, SEMESTER 2			
7. **Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study and Translation**	15	7. **Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study and Translation**	15
Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study (7.5)		Translation from English into Danish (3.5)	
Translation from Danish into English (4)		Translation from Danish into English (4)	
Translation from English into Danish (3.5)		*Theoretical Foundation of Humanistic Study (7.5)*	
8. **Electives 3+4**	15	8. **Electives 3+4**	15
Electives 3 (7.5)		*Electives 3 (5)*	
Electives 4 (7.5)		*Oral proficiency 3 (core) (2.5)*	
		Electives 4 (5)	
		Written proficiency (core) 4 (2.5)	

(*continued*)

Table 7.1   Continued

English Studies BA Curriculum[2]			
2005 version		2012 version	
Module	ECTS	Module	ECTS
YEAR 3			
9. **BA Project + Minor**	60	9. **BA Project + Minor**	60
BA project (15)		BA project (15)	
Other subject (45)		Other subject (45)	
Total	180	Total	180

year. Similarly, the establishment of the quality assurance agency (ACE Denmark) in between the period of the two versions of the curriculum is also indicative of a greater concern with quality control, accountability and key performance indicators, one that perhaps takes precedence over a concern with course content.

Indeed, according to Schousboe, the biggest change in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen was due to the STÅ policy (studenter årsværk, literally 'students' year work') introduced in 1994 (Christiansen *et al.,* 2013; Wright and Ørberg, 2008). This policy is meant to ensure that governmental funds are released to students who have passed all the exams for that year, providing clear incentives for universities to focus on retention and progression.[4] My contact relays that before this policy was introduced, it would have been quite possible to be a Professor of Indology or Aztec Studies if just one qualified candidate existed. However, when universities had to 'earn' the funds needed for their appointments through the STÅ policy, there was no longer room for very narrow and exotic subjects or programmes nor for very narrow modules within a given subject:

> In those days, three students and one teacher could spend an entire term discussing Carnap's theory of truth or Reichenbach's theory of temporality and perfectivity in the English language. A lot of teachers including myself now feel that they can only teach overview modules, 'Introduction to…'. It rarely gets very thorough. (Steen Schoesboe, p.c. 2014)

It has been argued that because universities have become economically accountable, and can even be declared bankrupt if they do not

attain the required targets, academics' freedom is usurped. Possibly too because so many institutional and individual resources are devoted to meeting targets and quality assurance protocols, there is little time and energy left for innovating course content and material (Wright and Ørberg, 2008).

However, it remains unclear to what extent greater academic freedom and lesser bureaucracy would actually entail curriculum change. Certainly, to me, who embarked on my English Studies at the University of Copenhagen in 1992, the curriculum was, in my distinct recollection, largely the same as its 2005 instantiation. Just as it does today, the programme consisted of a largely equal proportion of literature, language, and British or American culture and society, largely identical modules and syllabi and a possibility for students to choose if they wanted to focus on British or American literature and phonetics.

Going back even further in history, this tripartite structure of English language, literature and society seems to date back to more than a century ago when English Studies was first established as a subject in its own right at the University of Copenhagen. In 1883, requirements for English taken as a major at the University of Copenhagen included:

> knowledge and understanding of the history and grammar of the language, skills in speaking and writing in the language and understand an unfamiliar text, knowledge of the culture and history as background to the literature, knowledge of literature history as well as some knowledge of dialects such as for instance Scottish and American. Students need to study Old and Middle English and of the newer literature, one needs to demonstrate knowledge of 'the sublime authors' and study both poetry and prose. Finally, one needs to have specialized in a drama by Shakespeare and a piece of work from the 19th century. (Nielsen, 1979, p. 275, translated from Danish by the author)

Apart from an equal balance between language, literature and society, the idea of a two-fold provision of general knowledge as well as skills development also shines through in this extract (e.g. '*skills* in speaking and writing' and '*knowledge* of the culture and history'). While Schousboe points out that the subjects 'history and grammar of the language', 'literature history' and 'reading skills in Old and Middle English' were all abolished in the 1970s he suggests that the reasons for this were rather to do with shifts in intellectual zeitgeist than any political initiatives. Nonetheless, despite such minor adaptations undertaken in line

with the current intellectual climate, Nielsen himself notes at the time of writing this in 1979 how interesting it is to find that the curriculum has changed so little in the course of nearly a century.

As far as the BA curriculum in English Studies at the University of Copenhagen is concerned, then, it seems to be characterized by conservatism. The policies we have examined seem to be much more targeted at administrative and economically driven performance indicators than at the subject content. Of course, it needs to be borne in mind that we have only focused on the planned or intended curriculum here as it is construed in course descriptions. The delivery of the curriculum may of course be different to reflect the much greater diversity of the student body that is the result of recent policy changes and ensuing mass education.

While this chapter has only focused on one degree programme at one university and generalizability cannot be assumed, especially given contemporary pressures on universities to individualize their course offerings, there is evidence that this conservatism is mirrored throughout Europe: 'Browsing the European course catalogues, what is most striking is the curricular conservatism of English studies throughout that region, its capacity to maintain a fairly stable set of core texts and methods through an extended period of social and institutional tumult' (English, 2012, pp. 151–152).

Looking to the future: English as a subject versus English as a medium of instruction

What will the future bring for English Studies in Denmark and in Europe? Insofar as past developments are valid indicators of future trends, the above analysis appears to suggest that English as a subject is unlikely to change in fundamental ways. So it would seem that dystopian outcries about a perceived vocationalization or instrumentalization of English Studies are unwarranted, at least where the University of Copenhagen is concerned and possibly elsewhere in continental Europe too. As James English puts it: 'In relative terms, and in a global perspective, the higher study of English literature has shown itself to be a surprisingly resilient and durable field of educational practice; its salvation is not the issue' (English, 2012, p. 108). This observation contrasts markedly with views cited in the beginning of this chapter predicting the imminent demise of English Studies in its traditional form.

What is likely to change, however, or rather expand, is the skills-based need for English. In contrast to the apparent modest effect of policies on curriculum content, the growth in English-medium instruction seems to continue, with more and more universities across Europe adopting English as a medium of instruction (Hultgren *et al.,* 2015).

In contrast to what was the case with English Studies as a subject, this change can be directly traced to political changes. Among the most important ones are the Bologna Declaration and the creation of a European Higher Education Area, which sought to promote intra-European mobility in the higher education area. Although linguistic issues are blatantly absent from such policies, they have the unintended effect of increasing the amount of English used because intra-European mobility necessitates a shared language, which given today's linguistic ecology tends to default to English.

Importantly, however, this trend does not seem to happen at the expense of English Studies 'as we know it' (English, 2012), but as an entirely separate trend. James English, similarly, notes the explosion of centres across the world offering courses in English for Specific Purposes, and points to the National University of Singapore as an example where 'a Centre for English Language Communication has been set up to teach courses like Business and Technical Communication or Law Intensive English, leaving the linguists in the English Department to teach such areas as Discourse Analysis, Semantics and Pragmatics, and Bilingualism' (2012, p. 122). At the University of Copenhagen too, a Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use was established in 2008 to assess the standard of English language skills and provide training where needed to those university lecturers who were required to teach in English despite not having English as their first language. While this centre collaborates with the Department of English Germanic and Romance Languages where English Studies is housed, it operates independently.

Such a division between, on the one hand, English as a subject and, on the other, English as a set of language skills to be developed, may be reflective of a wider pattern, which suggests that there is no need to fear that English Studies in its traditional form is going to be replaced by remedial English centres anytime soon. The two serve distinct and separate purposes. In other words, English as a university subject and English as a medium of instruction are two separate things that need to be kept apart analytically. As it seems, it is mainly or only the latter that is affected by policy and is undergoing considerable

change. In Denmark and throughout continental Europe, English as a university subject seems to stubbornly continue in its century-old incarnation.

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Notes

1. Roskilde University is not included in these numbers.
2. See Study Committee (2005) and Study Committee (2012) in the bibliography
3. In the 2005 curriculum, the module title is given in both Danish and English; in the 2012, it is given only in Danish, so the English translation from 2005 has been given.
4. As further indication of the increased concern with measurability, key performance indicators were introduced in 2009 to measure *research* output in addition to *teaching* output (Wright and Ørberg, 2008).

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8

The Literary and the Literate: The Study and Teaching of Writing in US English Departments

David R. Russell

The study and teaching of academic and other practical kinds of writing has become, over the last 40 years, a major focus within university English departments in the USA. Although the study and teaching of imaginative literature has traditionally had greater prestige, writing studies (as it is coming to be called) has altered the landscape of academic English dramatically, both within and beyond English departments. A typical US university provides support for student writing in various programmatic ways, which are usually housed in English departments. There are introductory courses in general academic writing ('composition') in the first year or two, required of almost all students (and have been so for 140 years). There is a 'Writing Center' that provides one-on-one or small group tuition for students in any course. There is a 'Writing Across the Curriculum' or 'Writing in the Disciplines' program that offers support to teaching staff in all departments on ways to use writing more effectively to support students' learning in their fields. There are English as a Second or Other Language (ESOL) courses mainly for international students. Often there are specialized communication courses to support writing in such fields as engineering, commerce, law, or the natural sciences. And increasingly there are four-year curricula where students earn a bachelor's degree in writing, just as they might in literature or chemistry. All of these supports for writing are in addition to (and separate from) courses in creative writing (poetry, fiction, drama) and professional schools of journalism. This was not always so. And the expansion of English department curricula has been—and in some ways still is—a site of contestation, more and less bitter, for almost 150 years.

Since the 1870s, general skills writing courses, now called First-Year Composition, have been required for almost all undergraduate students

at US universities, usually amounting to one fifth of students' first-year studies. And since the requirement was first instituted at Harvard in 1875, the courses have almost always been administered through the English department. Composition courses provide the vast majority of students for English departments and have allowed English departments to have much larger teaching staffs and larger postgraduate programs than other humanities departments (postgraduate students often teach composition courses). Yet for the first hundred years of its existence, composition was not an area of research and had almost no status in English departments in comparison to literary criticism, though the importance of good writing was recognized in the wider university and national culture, and there were always some faculty in English departments who took an interest in composition. They founded in 1949 the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC), to help English departments deal with the influx of GIs into higher education after World War Two. CCCC published a newsletter (later a journal) and laid the foundation for writing to become a recognized field in the late 1960s and1970s.[1]

In the 1970s, with an influx of 'baby boomer' students and 'open admissions' policies designed to provide greater access to higher education for minorities, 'poor writing' became a national issue, as it had a century before. The teaching of academic writing began to professionalize in the USA. Though based in English departments where literary (not literacy) study dominated, professors interested in academic writing carried out their own programs of research and publication, centered on rhetoric, not literary criticism. 'Writing specialists' or 'compositionists' did research on texts of all kinds (not only canonical literary texts) and they studied and taught the production as well as the reception of texts—writing as well as reading, literacy as well as literature.

The new writing specialists developed the various institutional means of supporting student writing outlined in the opening paragraph, and a national professional organization for each of them, in addition to the overarching organization, the CCCC, and an associated organization for writing program administrators (the WPA) (Council of WPA, n.d.). They created MA and PhD programs in composition and rhetoric, and a consortium of PhD granting institutions (now with more than 70 member universities) (Doctoral Consortium in Rhetoric and Composition, n.d.). In the last decade or so, many institutions have begun a full four-year bachelor's degree in communication, emphasizing writing, either as a component of English departments or, more rarely, as a separate

department of writing or writing studies (Committee on the Major in Writing and Rhetoric, n.d.).

Today, the academic job market for composition is still strong, even as the demand for literary scholars has declined. The increase in permanent positions has been in writing-related areas, not in traditional literary study (Modern Languages Association, 2013). Yet academic writing's place within English departments is still very much contested. This chapter will first look at how composition developed, then at how attention to writing studies has changed and is changing many departments of English in the USA.

Disciplining English: nineteenth-century origins

Before the American Civil War, higher education was for a tiny few, mainly future religious ministers, in private seminaries and small private 'liberal arts colleges'. Students took a single classical curriculum. All students were required to take a program of history, mathematics, religion, moral philosophy, Latin, and Greek. The only course they took all four years was Rhetoric (mainly oral), which meant there were a lot of rhetoric teachers. Exams were oral, science almost entirely absent, as was English literature, which was discussed mainly in student-run clubs, rarely in teacher-led courses. In the 1870s US higher education expanded to serve a rapidly growing nation, in both population and territory, with growing practical needs led by the rise of corporations and professions. Higher education was reorganized on the German model of von Humboldt, with specialized departments conducting scientific research, a new research degree offered beyond the Master's, the PhD, and an elective curriculum for undergraduates. Yet the old classical, liberal arts curriculum was in part preserved in the form of 'general education' requirements in the first year or two (out of four in total). These introductory courses in history, math, philosophy, and so on, were felt to be necessary before the rapidly expanding population of students entered their major course of specialized study, due to the uneven preparation available in burgeoning secondary schools. European Higher Education (HE) systems, in contrast, were generally able to offload such preparation to upper secondary schools, as long as enrolments in HE remained highly selective.

This new American HE system emphasized the written communication of modern, specialized scientific knowledge, rather than the old oral, oratorical tradition of the ante-bellum college. It instituted competitive—written—entrance examinations, in keeping with its

democratic, meritocratic ideology. As soon as the exams began, the faculty complained loudly that students could not write their mother tongue. Latin and Greek were dropped as requirements, and the four-years of Rhetoric were no longer required. However, a one-year intro-ductory course in written composition was instituted, first at Harvard, and then almost everywhere else, to remedy the presumed deficit. English departments were organized primarily to do this, to teach writ-ten composition.

As HE boomed and diversified in the late 1870s and beyond, many new departments evolved from the old curriculum, to prepare students going into a range of professions beyond the ministry. The new knowl-edge from scientific research drove industrialization and offered new career paths for a growing middle class, as engineers, chemists, manag-ers, and so on. Some of the many rhetoric professors left without a four year required course joined the emerging fields that would be known as 'the humanities': history, philosophy, philology, and modern languages (including English). Like the sciences, these were all professionalizing as well, in the sense that there was now a sequence of professional prepa-ration (through the Master's and the new PhD), and a career ladder in the rapidly expanding higher education sector, where advancement was linked, increasingly, to the production of new knowledge published in professional journals. Small universities or technical colleges formed portmanteau departments that combined required composition courses with a range of other courses in the humanities. For example, Iowa State College and MIT housed composition with history, political science, elocution (public speaking), and modern languages.

English departments began to be formed, and professors of rhetoric formed alliances with professors pursuing a wide range of intellectual interests to build a longer and more powerful network within and beyond the institution and stake out a place for themselves in the new economy of higher education. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, English departments taught a range of courses linked to various careers: theatre, journalism, elocution and oratory, technical writing, business writing, and creative writing. A profes-sor often taught several of these, as in smaller secondary schools and colleges in the USA today. Such alliances strengthened English departments by increasing the sheer size of the departmental teach-ing staff, but it also created useful allies in the growing networks of institutional power in the new economy. Journalism, for example, developed into mass circulation publications, with networks of linked correspondents.

However, in the new regime of specialized knowledge in the emerging university, it was necessary to have a specific disciplinary object, not a wide range of social practices that used writing. To achieve an identity as disciplinary specialists, English professors quickly developed a canon of imaginative literature as disciplinary object, and an idealist orientation in contrast to the pragmatism of emerging sciences and technologies, the *applied* fields. They eschewed the study of other texts and other practices to cement their place.

Purifying the discipline: twentieth-century consolidation

The study of a literary canon quickly became central to English department identity. Financially, literature faculty were supported by the economic base of composition teaching. But this was writing instruction re-conceived not as rhetorical communication but as an elementary, remedial skill. The teaching or study of anything besides the literary canon was marginalized in these new English departments.

English professors who wished to study other things, often formed new departments or left English to join existing ones. In the 1910s and 1920s there was a series of rebellions within English departments—at times quite bitter—as professors with other objects of study and teaching seceded from English to form their own professional organizations. Those interested in pedagogy left in 1912 to form the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), which quickly focused on supporting and preparing high school teachers and has now become the largest professional organization of teachers in any discipline. The professional organization for academic literary critics, the Modern Languages Association (MLA), disbanded its pedagogical section in 1903, to resemble other specialized fields, which eschewed pedagogy for research. Debate, oratory, and elocution had a dramatic break with English in 1915 and formed departments of speech, and their own research traditions and professional organization (now the National Communication Association). Journalism left English departments to found its own departments and schools; its professional association began in 1917. Theatre joined with speech or fine arts, in the 1920s. The study of language, constructed differently than the study of literature, became fragmented into various branches finding homes in various departments. Philologists joined classicists in separate departments of Classics and formed the American Philological Association. The new field of linguistics founded its professional association in 1924, and the teaching of English as a second language became part of applied linguistics

in the 1930s. Even the production of 'creative writing' was only given a secure, if marginal, place in English departments in the 1940s, with the creation of Master of Fine Arts programs. Significantly, Creative Writing drew on 'studio' pedagogy from the fine arts, not the humanities. In large part, English ceded to other fields teaching and research on the production and circulation of texts, keeping for itself only a study and teaching of reception—literary criticism, as it came to be called. These shifts split reading from speaking and writing, and the reading was limited to a newly formed canon of texts.

Art, craft, gift, or knack? Writing and the ideology of liberal culture

English departments began largely in order to teach writing, but as English purified its object, it gradually did away with specialized upper level writing courses to leave Freshman Composition as the sole course in the production of texts (Miller, 1997). From the 1890s to the present day, almost every student in almost every curriculum in almost every university took at least one semester of composition, often two. And to this day the majority of students enrolled in English department courses are in composition, not literature. Yet composition courses were not considered to have full status among English professors or, often, in the university as a whole. They remained on the periphery, viewed as providing remedial or preparatory support for students, often taught by junior staff or postgraduate students.

Despite the economic support and large enrolments that it provided, Freshman English attracted a range of critics, usually from English departments themselves, who wished to maintain the elite status of their department against the decidedly middle-class, professional emphasis of the new university regime. Opposition to composition came from what Laurence Veysey has called 'liberal culture', which espoused, as James Berlin put it, a 'Brahminical romanticism' in contrast to the vocational, democratic, and scientific values of the new university. The new English departments were the staunchest advocates of liberal culture against what they saw as the encroachment of scientific and professional fields, middle class barbarisms which thwarted liberal culture's Arnoldian ideal of the 'well-rounded man', a person with 'a wide vision of the best things which man has done or aspired after' (qtd. in Veysey, 1970, p. 186). Liberal culture claimed the mantle of the classical tradition in the university, as the keeper of Western civilization, but it was opposed to requiring classical languages, and dead set against teaching rhetoric.

Liberal culture interpreted literature in Romantic terms, and saw itself as the protector of the idealist and transcendental as opposed to the practical and positivist. As such, it even looked down on the scientific study of texts in the philological tradition (see also Waugh, this volume). Literary study, a Cornell professor wrote in 1894, achieves 'the true aim of culture', which is 'to induce soul states or conditions, soul attitudes, to attune the inward forces to the idealized forms of nature and of human life produced by art, and not to make the head a cockloft for storing away barren knowledge' (qtd. in Veysey, 1970, p. 185). As the defenders of high culture they were proudly elitist. The democratic and pragmatic reforms that were changing the university, especially massification and scientific specialization, were a threat to the standards of taste that liberal culture defended, sometimes in social Darwinists terms. Reed College president William T. Foster in 1909 lamented 'this democratic leniency toward the unfit, favouring self-supporting students at the expense of intellectual standards' (qtd. in Veysey, 1970, p. 211). Given these attitudes, it is not surprising that many advocates of liberal culture resisted the idea that the English department should offer a 'service course' for the very scientific and professional fields that in their view threatened the position of the humanities in the new comprehensive university.

After the turn of the nineteenth century, many literature professors called for the 'abolition of composition'. In 1911, for example, the distinguished literary scholar, Thomas R. Lounsbury, emeritus professor of English at Yale, attacked compulsory composition courses in Harper's Magazine. He lamented that 'for a quarter of a century' he had been forced to spend 'a distinctly recognizable share of my time reading and correcting themes' (p. 866). For Lounsbury and others, it was 'scullery' to scour first year students writing for errors (the common view of writing instruction), and it took them away from higher things, such as the appreciation of 'the best which has been thought and said' (Arnold, 1869, p. viii).

The Romantic assumptions then informing literary study emphasized the mystery of the literary art—and its unteachability. As Richard Young argued, Romanticism, 'with its stress on the natural powers of the mind and the uniqueness of the creative act, leads to a repudiation of the possibility of teaching the composing process, hence the tendency to become a critical study of the products of composing and an act of editing' (1982, p. 131). Abolition was the logical result of these Romantic assumptions: If writing worthy of the name is unteachable, then composition courses are a waste of time, for the serious scholars

and the gifted students who are compelled to endure it. The university has a moral obligation to remove it, abolitionists argued. Composition represented a challenge to their core beliefs about writing and higher education—and a drain on their time.

The abolitionists did not succeed in abolishing composition, because the wider university community and the public, with more pragmatic assumptions about writing, considered it valuable, and English departments gained a great deal from that. But literary scholars succeeded in marginalizing it and co-opting it. Typically, the first of two composition courses required of all students taught a review of Latinate grammar and school 'themes' ('How I spent my summer vacation') on the 'EDNA modes': Exposition, Description, Narration, Argument. Style and correctness were emphasized, content and communication were not. In the second semester students studied literature and wrote essays of appreciation—later, criticism. Composition thus served important purposes for English, beyond the external credit it gained them. It kept the teaching staff large, compared to other humanities departments, and it provided a platform for recruiting English majors. With a large teaching staff, there could be a division of labour that kept literary scholars from having to teach composition, at least in the larger universities.

A few dissenters held out for a broader understanding of writing before World War Two, and they formed in 1949 the CCCC, which eventually professionalized the teaching of writing in English departments. The study of writing has steadily grown, to the extent that it is now officially recognized as a discipline by the National Research Council and the US Department of Education (which keep statistics on degrees awarded), because it has separate undergraduate and postgraduate programs in sufficient numbers, and its own journals, professional organizations, and so on. Composition teachers and courses have made measurable though modest gains in academia, but controversies over teaching academic writing in English departments persist.

Alliances and futures: twenty-first-century restructuring

The professionalization of composition over the last four decades has meant that English departments have research programs in writing (academic, professional, etc.) and can and do hire permanent teaching staff who have PhD degrees. Almost all English departments have at least one specialist in what is called Writing Studies, or Rhetoric and Composition. It is now expected that a member of department with a

PhD in writing will direct the composition courses (formerly they were typically directed by junior literature faculty). And most research universities have several tenured faculty members in writing, often enough to support one of the 70-some PhD degrees in writing studies. However, this is not true of the most prestigious universities. The eight Ivy League schools, the nine University of California campuses, and a few others (Stanford, MIT) have writing *programs*—often quite comprehensive— but these are usually directed by staff without regular appointments in the English department (and often without security of employment). By contrast, more than 30 universities have separate *departments* of writing with their own permanent faculty and governance (e.g. University of Minnesota Twin Cities, University of California Santa Barbara and Davis) (Independent, n.d.).

Before turning to the impact of the professionalization of composition on English departments, I must explain what writing experts do in addition to their research—those typical activities of US higher education to support academic and other kinds of writing, which I previewed in the first paragraph.

'First-Year' composition (FYC) courses

Taught in sections of from 15 to 30 students (21.5 mean), FYC enrols most of the 4.5 million first-year students in US colleges and universities each year (Horning, 2007). More than two thirds of the sections are taught by part-time teachers without permanent contracts, or by graduate students (a situation common in many departments in the USA, unfortunately). So the reality is that English staff with a PhD in composition provide a good deal of management and training for large numbers of staff who have no previous training in the teaching of writing, a situation that some in composition criticize (Bousquet, 2010). Permanent posts in literature for PhDs are shrinking at the rate of 10% a decade (despite steady growth in student population), while permanent posts in composition have soared. This means that many in the first-year composition workforce are underemployed literature PhDs reporting to a supervisor with a doctorate in composition—who herself largely teaches upper-division and graduate classes in rhetoric or specialized practices of writing. This also means that writing program administrators, with a PhD in composition, oversee training and supervision in a way not typical of most teaching staff in academic departments. They serve as intellectual leaders in the way a chair professor might in the British system. With this experience, many go on to become deans and higher university administrators.

The professional organization (The Council of Writing Program Administrators) provides an Outcomes Statement (WPA Outcomes, 2014) that largely guides the curriculum, and informs teaching staff from other fields and policy makers as to the aims and goals of academic writing development. But there are multiple approaches to achieving those outcomes, some compatible or hybrid, others rather distinct. Few of these approaches emphasize the teaching of discrete linguistic features. The cognitive and social processes of writing have been the focus, including collaboration in writing, as well as situated practices such as community outreach. Again, a bit of history is necessary.

Writing teachers professionalized in the 1970s by drawing insights from two main research traditions, rhetoric and psychology. These influences are clear in the Statement of Outcomes and in the dominant teaching practices of FYC. Rhetoric, which had continued to be studied and development in speech departments after speech teachers broke away from English departments in 1915, was revived by some few teachers and researchers in English departments in the 1960s and adapted to written discourse. The revival of rhetoric in English pushed writing instruction away from an emphasis on formal aspects of writing (the EDNA modes, stylistic exercises, and formal grammar) and toward an emphasis on rhetorical—communicative—aspects of writing. Students are asked to analyse the purpose(s) and audience(s) of their writing, the genre expectations of the situation, and persuasive effects. In addition to looking at stylistic and mechanical features, they discuss finding and organizing what they have to say—what the classical rhetoric tradition terms invention and arrangement. Again, there is a range of theoretical and pedagogical approaches in this tradition (for an overview, see Bazerman, 2008, chapter 28).

A second seminal research tradition was psychology. By observing writers at work, interviewing them about their writing (often as they were writing), and other means (more recently keystroke recording, eye movement tracking, etc.), the processes involved in writing became an object of study and teaching, as well as the products of writing, the final texts. This change of emphasis from product to process showed that writing is recursive rather than linear, and even the best writers spend a great deal of effort revising. This led to assignments that extended over time and involved several steps and multiple drafts, as well as feedback *during* the process in addition to a final comment and mark (practices which have since spread to elementary and secondary school US writing instruction) (Nystrand, 1993).

Educational psychology and sociology of education also encouraged an emphasis on the critical thinking involved in writing (as well as reading), and the relation of writing to learning. Similarly, the possibility for personal and civic development through writing received attention. The relationship of writing to personal development (brought from UK secondary education in the 1970s) was emphasized in some versions of FYC, and in other versions a critical awareness: 'the relationships among language, knowledge, and power', as the WPA Outcomes Statement (2014) puts it (Nystrand, 1993).

The teaching of formal grammar waned, in response to research that showed it was more effectively taught in the context of the students' writing process (though this has remained controversial) (Lancaster & Olinger, 2014). Before the professionalization of composition, the most important subject of writing was imaginative literature. But that has largely changed so that students read a much wider variety of texts—mainly non-fiction—and write on a much wider array of topics and issues. The emphasis is on communication, in which correctness is only a part.

Writing centers

Well over half of the 4,000+ institutions of higher education in the USA have a 'writing center', a place where students (and sometimes researchers) can get individual or small group help with their writing, usually provided by graduate students, undergraduate 'peer tutors', or part-time help (The Writing Center Directory, n.d.). Some institutions had these as early as the 1920s, but they were expressly based on a remedial or deficit model—and even called 'writing hospitals' or 'clinics'. With the professionalization of composition these centers expanded in their numbers and their roles, under the assumption that writers of all abilities and experience may at times need help with a new writing task.

The approach again focuses on the processes of writing—developing and organizing ideas and resources, revision for an audience (teacher or other), overcoming blocks and gaining confidence—as a means of helping students grow as writers and learners. The approach eschews proofreading or editing student work, which is considered counterproductive in the long run and under certain circumstances unethical (Clark, 1988).

Some institutions have specialized centers for different disciplines. Others have undergraduate Writing Fellows attached to courses or

curricula to provide specialized tutoring. There are, increasingly, postgraduate writing centers (including one at Yale) to help those writing MA and PhD theses. And writing centers have become an international phenomenon now, with professional organizations in Europe, North Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

Writing across the curriculum/writing in the disciplines programs (WAC/WID)

As composition professionalized in the 1970s, it became clear that FYC and writing centers needed the support of teachers in the disciplines to develop students' writing in their various fields, and the specific genres they wrote. Research into the writing in different disciplines showed that writing is much more than an autonomous transcription of speech or thought, a mere conduit or transmission of pre-existing ideas. It is a tool for generating, (re)organizing, and deepening ideas. As E. M. Forster put it, 'How can I know what I think until I see what I say?' Or as another novelist, C. Day-Lewis, put it, we not only 'write in order to be understood, we write in order to understand' (Emig, 1977).

The central theoretical concept is that students not only learn to write but also write to learn. Writing is a tool for *learning* and intellectual development, not merely a tool for assessing learning. Thus writing can be a means of engaging students with the problems and methods of a discipline as well as a means of sorting students.

James Britton's work (1975) inspired the language-across-the-curriculum (LAC) movement at the secondary level in the UK, which in turn inspired the writing-across-the-curriculum (WAC) or writing-in-the-disciplines (WID) movement in US higher education, beginning in the 1970s. According to the most recent survey (Thaiss & Porter, 2010), more than half of institutions of higher education in the USA and Canada who responded have some program to improve student writing in the disciplines—and student learning through writing. Some 65% of PhD-granting universities reported such a program. WAC/WID programs, unlike FYC and Writing Centers, are focused mainly on teaching staff, in the various disciplines and departments. They involve such activities as workshops for university teachers to learn techniques for improving students' learning through their writing, consultations with teachers and departments, improving assessment of writing, and so on (Bazerman et al., 2005). And there are research and intervention efforts in many countries, though with different histories, such as Australia, France, Colombia, Germany, New Zealand, Switzerland, and many others (International WAC, n.d.).

In a large-scale survey (NSSE, 2008) of more than 23,000 students in 82 US universities found that writing *with certain qualities* contributes significantly to student engagement and learning. The report concluded (pp. 20–21):

> when institutions provided students with extensive, intellectually challenging writing activities, the students engaged in more deep learning activities such as analysis, synthesis, integration of ideas from various sources, and grappled more with course ideas both in and out of the classroom. In turn, students whose faculty assigned projects with these same characteristics reported greater personal, social, practical, and academic learning and development.

In this view, writing is important to student learning, but also to the intellectual activity of the disciplines. Researchers also use writing to learn themselves, as well as to communicate with others. And they use highly differentiated forms (genres) of writing to do their work and 'discuss' it in scholarly publications. Simply put, writing is specialized as well as transversal. There are many aspects of writing that are similar in all fields. All use the same basic grammar and spelling, and all pose problems, cite previous literature, give their methods and results, and so on. But they do so in very different ways, such that the writing in one field is often unintelligible to researchers in another. Recently, research on how students transfer skills from general composition courses to courses in their disciplines—and from academia to workplaces—has become central to writing studies. (For policy documents, see WPA Outcomes Statement, 2014. For an overview of research see Brent, 2011)

TESOL and applied linguistics

The university-level teaching of English as a second/other language (TESOL) has generally been separate from composition and literary studies, though courses for English language learners are sometimes—though not generally—housed in English departments. ESOL is usually taught in pre-university credit courses to prepare international students. But in the last decade there has been renewed interest within composition and applied linguistics (though not within English departments generally) in integrating second/other writing with Writing Studies. Almost 20% of the US population speaks English as a second or other language, so efforts to broaden enrolment of recent immigrants and their children in higher education are growing, along with efforts to recruit international students (and the revenue they bring to

higher education). The CCCC and TESOL are beginning to collaborate institutionally on policy (see CCCC Statement, n.d.), and there is a good deal more research on English language learners coming out of composition, which deals more directly with the teaching of English to immigrants, children of immigrants (the so-called Generation 1.5) and bilingualism in higher education. (For an overview, see Silva and Matsuda, 2012.)

What writing means to 'English'

Now that we've looked at what writing specialists do, we return to their place in English departments and curricula.

The number of English majors per/100 university graduates has remained remarkably steady since 1950 (and before), at between 4% and 5%—apart from a bubble between about 1965 and 1975 (Bachelor's, n.d.). Though English, along with other disciplines in the arts and sciences, has lost share to business and most other professional fields, English is now holding its own relative to the STEM fields (science, technology, engineering, and math). It has twice as many majors as physics, three times as many as math and statistics combined. And it is the largest of the humanities, with four times as many as philosophy.

However, as we noted, the steady number of English majors masks a major shift away from literary study, toward new areas devoted to the production of texts. A growing number of universities have a four-year curriculum in technical writing or some more general version of Writing Studies. There are new courses offered in Digital Humanities and other areas that have a more specific relation to employability. The world runs on writing, even more so with the writing-based World Wide Web, where multi-media composition and digital publication are central. And these new areas of English Studies (as it is coming to be called) reflecting this diversity, are specifically interested in the production and circulation of texts in society, as well as the traditional study of the reception of specifically literary texts by academic literary critics. This new writing research sometimes uses empirical, even statistical methods (e.g. computerized text analysis). And this shift from literary study to creative and professional writing has major implications for English departments.

Postgraduate education and the job market

More than 120 universities in the USA grant a PhD degree in English (NRC, n.d.). The vast majority of them are in still in literature. Teaching in a PhD-granting department is highly desirable because one can teach

postgraduate students over an extended period of time. Indeed, the median time to complete a PhD in the humanities (nine years) is almost twice that of almost all other fields (Laurence, 2014).

Yet there are not now enough posts for these new PhDs—and have not been since the 1970s. Bosquet summarizing a 2008 report notes that between 1993 and 2004, English lost 3,000 tenure-track positions, equivalent to 10% of the total. This is a higher percentage than any other field, and even the other humanities and social science fields mostly held their own. Noting more recent trends, Bousquet adds, 'Even that understates the case, since more than a third of the new tenurable hires have not been in traditional literary fields but in composition, rhetoric, theory, cultural studies, new media, and digital humanities' (Bousquet, 2014, p. A42). Tenure-track literature teachers are teaching larger classes and are being replaced by part-time and contingent faculty. The economic downturn beginning in 2007 was especially hard on English departments. From 2005 to 2012, tenure track positions advertised in English declined by 40% (Modern Languages Association, 2013).

For many years, the ethics of admitting more students to literature-focussed English PhD degree programs than the number of likely available posts have been discussed. While persons holding such a doctorate are among the least unemployed in the United States, they are increasingly either underemployed—in 'permanently temporary' faculty positions—or employed in what we have come to call an 'alternative career'. Now even the most prestigious English departments are having difficulty placing their PhD graduates in tenure-track faculty positions. Beginning around 1990, the lack of posts for PhDs trained in literary criticism prompted, for the first time, graduate faculty and professional associations such as the MLA to describe the literature PhD in terms of its relevance to employment opportunities outside the academy. However, relations between literature professors and the publishing and entertainment industries are not institutionalized in the USA, and are without even an effective 'old boy' network to help post-doctoral students along the path to other careers. Today, holders of literature doctorates are increasingly entering programs that retrain them in composition and new media, such as Georgia Tech's Brittain Postdoctoral Fellows program. Currently this retraining, perhaps including earning a graduate certificate in composition, makes literature doctorates more employable, as the growth in composition and rhetoric and professional writing still outstrips the ability of doctoral programs to produce doctorates in these fields, as it has for many years (Brittain, n.d.).

Indeed, many senior scholars in writing studies have a PhD in literary criticism (including the author of this chapter).

Scholarly alliances and futures

Despite the historical and very real tensions between writing studies and literary criticism, there is much common ground, and potential for that common ground to be greater. Most scholars of writing studies have a background in literary studies, and most literary scholars have taught composition, most often as a way of financing their MA and PhD studies. Indeed, that is the primary way PhDs in literary criticism are financed.

Two recent trends in scholarship have influenced both writing studies and literary criticism. One is commonly known in the USA as (British) Cultural Studies, (after the former department at the University of Birmingham in the UK) which, like composition, goes beyond a relatively fixed canon to study texts of any sort in any medium, including those in business, industry, government and non-profit sectors. Similarly, literary scholars have widened their scope, though most often they focus on texts produced for leisure and entertainment: comics, video games, and so forth. For many foundational figures on both sides of the aisle, such as James Berlin and Richard Ohmann, British Cultural Studies has served as a common point of reference. Nonetheless, very few texts from the worlds of work have become objects of analysis by academic literary critics.

A second trend connecting literary studies and composition in the USA is technology, by way of pedagogies of digital publication and the growing field of scholarly production now known as 'digital humanities' (see also Deegan and Hayler, this volume). The connections between writing and technology (and reading and technology) are becoming more important to both fields, as more and more writing and reading are digital (Bousquet, 2010). Moreover, tools for both creating and analysing texts are also increasingly digital, with computer analysis of large numbers of texts and writers possible. This poses identity challenges to academic literary criticism, as it brings in empirical, statistical approaches and—more challenging still—objects of study such as the production, circulation, and consumption of texts in society, which writing studies is specifically interested in and literary studies has not much been. But if younger scholars in both fields continue to explore these new methods and objects of research, there may well be more common ground in the future.

Conclusion

For the present, literary critics are still in control of the great majority of English departments, and in most departments scholars of rhetoric, composition and digital publication are content to remain in the minority, as long as they have their own upper level and postgraduate courses and curricula alongside those of literary criticism and creative writing. This arrangement provides literary criticism with funding, through teaching composition, for its MA and PhD students and for some PhDs who cannot find posts teaching literature. But trends in enrolments and in scholarship (as well as trends in society that drive these) over the last three decades suggest that the study and teaching of writing as more than a remedial skill will continue to wax, and traditional literary study will continue to wane. The future of English in U.S higher education will in no small measure depend on departments' response to these trends. The world runs on writing today as never before. And considering writing as intellectually interesting may have certain benefits for English, as well as for culture and society beyond them (Bazerman, 2003).

Note

1. This and the following historical account are drawn from Russell, 1988; Russell, 2002a; Russell, 2002b. Other histories include Crowley, 1998; Connors, 1997; Miller, 1997.

Acknowledgements

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Part III
Emerging Trends

9
Digital Humanities and the Future of the Book

Marilyn Deegan and Matthew Hayler

A brief history of digital humanities

Having been a somewhat niche activity for decades, digital humanities (DH), formerly called humanities computing, leapt into prominence in 2009 when it was pronounced the 'next big thing' at the US Modern Languages Association conference. But what is 'digital humanities'? In a world where there is surely no one in the humanities who doesn't use digital tools and resources, is digital humanities something special? There are specialist journals, collections of essays, and monographs devoted to it. There are also departments and centres of digital humanities in many institutions, and job lines in English (and sometimes other disciplines) and digital humanities. The US National Endowment for the Humanities has an Office of Digital Humanities, the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council has a Digital Transformations theme, other funders eagerly accept proposals in the digital humanities. There seems to be a prevailing view that, as Parker points out to us, 'project plus digital equals funding' (Parker, 2012, p. 3). What's going on?

In this chapter we investigate a number of the important events in the history of what the Digital Humanities might be; the technologies that have underpinned its advances and presented its challenges; and some of its particular trajectory in English Literature departments. The chapter also ends with a short case study to interrogate the boundaries of DH, asking what should be left out of the field. Whilst we cannot be comprehensive here, we hope to outline the most significant events that have led to DH's current manifestation. Our focus on English Literature principally stems from the way in which the field has become embedded in such departments, and their tendency

towards capacious understandings of reading (of which more below), and our own institutional backgrounds. From its inception, however, DH has been a multidisciplinary affair, led, at various times, by Computer Science, Classics, Religious Studies, and English Language and Linguistics. Each of these fields continues to shape our understanding of the potential for contemporary research in the Humanities, but this chapter isn't intended to be the final word on what DH is and has been, instead charting one path for those new to the field and interested in where it might go.

In 2010 Matthew Kirschenbaum, himself a scholar of English working in the US, wrote a blog post called 'What is digital humanities and what is it doing in English departments?' (Kirschenbaum, 2010). This was widely circulated and has appeared in at least two collections of articles on digital humanities. His definition of digital humanities is:

> The digital humanities, also known as humanities computing, is a field of study, research, teaching, and invention concerned with the intersection of computing and the disciplines of the humanities. It is methodological by nature and interdisciplinary in scope. It involves investigation, analysis, synthesis and presentation of information in electronic form. It studies how these media affect the disciplines in which they are used, and what these disciplines have to contribute to our knowledge of computing.

For Kirschenbaum this definition is at once sufficiently accurate, but also, importantly, capacious. His reasons that English is a good home for research of this kind include: that text is a tractable medium for computational analysis; that there have been many conversations around critical editing and the use of computers since the 1990s; that there is a long history of the use of computers in writing; that there is a convergence between teaching composition and the use of computing; that English departments are open to cultural studies and so digital cultural artefacts can be regarded as valid subjects for study; and that there has been an explosion of interest in e-reading. By contrast, Stephen Ramsay, also a scholar of English, at the MLA conference in 2011 claimed that to be a digital humanist you have to be building something, and that you need to know how to code. 'Building is,' he says, 'for us, a new kind of hermeneutic—one that is quite a bit more radical than taking the traditional methods of humanistic inquiry and applying them to digital objects' (Ramsay, 2011). But what do these definitions and demands mean for most scholars in literary subjects?

English may seem now like a natural home (to some, and generally from a US perspective), but in fact classics and religious studies were among the earliest humanities disciplines to embrace what was then called humanities computing. Father Roberto Busa's famous challenge to Thomas Watson of IBM to help him analyse the works of Thomas Aquinas was in 1949—only four years after the first stored program computer was developed. Busa realized immediately that something that could manipulate numbers could also manipulate letters, and asked Watson to sponsor the *Index Thomisticus* (Busa, 1980).

Given that computers are machines for manipulating symbols, and language is a symbolic structure, it is no accident that linguistics and the linguistic disciplines in the humanities found it more comfortable to adopt these new methods than other humanities disciplines. However, 'comfortable' is a relative term. Even now, the serious use of digital methods requires training, support and often funding. In the early days, computational manipulation was performed using a mainframe computer which lived in the university computing services with terminals scattered around campus. Text entry was initially achieved using punched cards or tape; later it could be entered via the terminal or eventually a PC. Initially, scholars often devised their own entry and processing codes, which resulted in chaos if a scholar tried to reuse texts produced in an arcane code. Indeed, it was often faster to start again than to work with texts marked up in non-standard forms, and therefore standardized coding systems were developed, based on XML (eXtensible Markup Language). As well as learning text coding, scholars had to learn computer programming and some basic statistics to perform textual analysis. One scholar (the philosopher Anthony Kenny) learnt the statistics so thoroughly that he even wrote a book to teach the basics of statistics to other humanists (Kenny, 1980). Despite the cumbersome requirements, and the extremity of the barrier to entry for many scholars, however, markup languages have proved vital for producing searchable corpora, dramatically changing the landscape of who can, and what it means to, do humanities research. Searchability has enabled the teasing out of hidden links between texts, word-frequency analyses, and, more prosaically, made scholarship from home, or abroad, viable or even preferable. Early problems with technicality, that still persist today if in (somewhat) less dramatic form, were always outweighed by the potential for dissemination and reflection for those who could see it, an impulse which might be traced back to Vannevar Bush's 1945 proto-hypertext system, the Memex, described in an article for *Atlantic Monthly* called 'As we may think'. Digital theorists of the

early nineties in particular, many working in areas which would later come under the umbrella of the Digital Humanities, often referred to Bush's work and in describing the Memex's augmentation of memory and recall Bush was at pains to emphasize his hypothetical machine's inbuilt relationship with a system that was already present:

> The human mind operates by association. With one term in its grasp, it snaps instantly to the next that is suggested by the association of thoughts, in accordance with some intricate web of trails carried by the cells of the brain. It has other characteristics of course; trails that are not frequently followed are prone to fade, items are not fully permanent, memory is transitory. Yet the speed of action, the intricacy of trails, the detail of mental pictures, is awe-inspiring beyond all else in nature. (Bush, p.44)

In this quotation, and others like it drawn from similar work by early digital pioneers (see for example the work of Theodore (Ted) Nelson), it was frequently argued that one could see how the linking made possible by markup languages might make manifest the asymmetrical linkages that had been in our cultural products all along, connections which were in turn relevant both to how the mind worked and to the arguments for intricate but non-hierarchical relationships that were posited as tenets of the linguistic turn, a postmodern outlook, or many of the philosophies and methodologies that they inspired. J. David Bolter, for instance, suggested in his *Writing Space* (1991) that:

> [a]s long as the printed book remains the primary medium of literature, traditional views of the author as authority and of literature as monument will remain convincing for most readers. The electronic medium, however, threatens to bring down the whole edifice at once. It complicates our understanding of literature as either mimesis or expression, it denies the fixity of the text, and it questions the authority of the author. (p.153)

Bush's fading, intricate web of trails inheres in this idea, as do the extensive associations between each node in the database, truisms for both brain and Memex in his eyes. As the powers of the digital equipment grew, thanks to the early development of markup languages described above, their relation with the brain's workings and their apparent emulation of theorizations of textual production and consumption increased apace. These kinds of ideas could still be found, a decade after

Bolter's comments, in influential works for DH such as Anna Everett and John T. Caldwell's *New Media* (2003):

> When we understand computerized linking as a system of 'nested narrative—a narrative within a narrative', following the rhizoplane structure, it becomes analogous to Freudian free association, which [Jean-François] Lyotard interprets as 'a way of linking one sentence with another without regard for the logical, ethical, or aesthetic value of the link'. (p.6)

Over time such notions became part of the assumed theoretical landscape for digital studies, implicit, for instance, in Hubert Dreyfus' *On the Internet*: 'With a hyperlinked database, the user is encouraged to traverse a vast network of information, all of which is equally accessible and none of which is privileged' (Dreyfus, 2005, p. 10).[1] George Landow, in *Hypertext* (1992), is perhaps the theorist to most explicitly link literary poststructuralism with the field and equipment of computer science:

> Like Barthes, Foucault, and Mikhail Bakhtin, Jacques Derrida continually uses the terms *link* (*liaison*), *web* (*toile*), *network* (*réseau*), and *interwoven* (*s'y tissent*), which cry out for hypertextuality; but in contrast to Barthes who emphasizes the readerly text and its nonlinearity, Derrida emphasizes textual openness, intertextuality, and the irrelevance of distinctions between inside and outside a particular text. (p. 8)

And yet more baldly, Landow sees hypertext as 'an almost embarrassingly literal embodiment' of such theory (1992, p. 34).[2] Over the early twenty-first century, the extremity of such assertions has tended to be moderated down, but, as Marie-Laure Ryan states:

> it is easy to see how the feature of interactivity conferred upon the text by electronic technology came to be regarded as the fulfilment of the postmodern conception of meaning. Interactivity transposes the ideal of an endlessly self-renewable text from the level of the signified to the level of the signifier. (2001, p. 5)

Such interactivity saw its genesis in the range of difficult early experiments in markup.

In classics and linguistics, the building of large corpora was similarly an early computational task. The *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*

(*www.tlg.uci.edu*) began to build its corpus of all extant Greek literature in 1971, drawing on a tradition of classical studies reaching back four centuries. Now, the TLG Digital Library contains virtually all Greek texts surviving from the period between Homer (eighth century BCE) and the fall of Byzantium in 1453 and is available online for a modest subscription. In the English language the definition of what is a 'large' corpus has changed and grown as power, storage and connectivity have increased exponentially. At the end of the 1960s, the Brown Corpus of American English was developed containing samples from around 500 texts, totalling around one million words. In the early 1990s work began on the British National Corpus (*www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk*), now a 100 million word collection of samples of written and spoken language from a wide range of sources, designed to represent a wide cross-section of British English from the later part of the twentieth century, both spoken and written. The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) with 450 million words claims to be the largest freely available corpus of English, and the only large and balanced corpus of American English (http://corpus.byu.edu/coca). Once large-scale corpora are available, they can be used and analysed in many different ways: patterns of word usage across time and geographic regions can be tracked; dialectal variations can be mapped; language usage from different population groups can be compared: children; women/men; different Englishes compared (UK/US/Australian/Creoles etc.).

Early computational work in English was largely mathematical and statistical, dictated by what the computer could do best. So computational stylistics and authorship studies dominated, as a glance through the tables of contents of the journal *Literary and Linguistic Computing* (now known as *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*) from the 1980s will confirm. This had minimal effect on the mainstream of literary criticism, which was dominated by more theoretical modes of enquiry: structuralism and post-structuralism, Marxism, feminism etc. In the 1990s, this began to change as computers were better able to handle non-textual materials and hypertextual modes of representation began to be possible. These changes were largely brought about by developments in the technology such as Douglas Englebart's work on graphical user interfaces and his invention of the mouse, and Apple's development of the Macintosh computer. These new technical developments brought a whole new dimension to the use of computing in the humanities: visual images, and eventually sound and motion, could be incorporated alongside textual materials and linked and navigated with ease. In 1980, Ted Nelson published his seminal work

Literary Machines where he coined the term 'hypertext' and imagined many of the hypertextual features that we take for granted today. He has been playing with these ideas since the 1960s (see e.g. Nelson 1965), but lacked the computational facilities to make them a reality.

A seminal moment in literary computing was Apple's development of the hypertext program Hypercard in 1987, with the wonderful promotional statement, referencing Bush again, 'The human mind works by association, so why don't computers?' This put a pre-World Wide Web hypertext creation package in the hands of anyone with a Macintosh computer, and indeed had more functionality and flexibility than the Web was to have for many years. Other hypertext authoring programmes with graphical user interfaces also appeared around that time, available across both Macintosh and PC computers. These programmes were easy for end-users to master, and literary hypertexts exploded, moving literary computing away from the numerical and into the exploratory and analytical. These hypertexts included Patrick Conner's *Beowulf Workstation* for teaching the Anglo-Saxon poem; Michael Best's *Shakespeare's Life and Times* CD-ROM, now developed as an internet resource and available at *http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca*; and *CD Word,* the first digital library of serious Bible study tools with commentaries, lexicons, and support for Greek, Hebrew, and extensive hypertext linking. In 1989, George Landow developed *The Dickens Web* in Intermedia, and he also began to develop the theoretic formulation for literary hypertexts described above. *The Dickens Web* situated *Great Expectations* in a complex network of contexts and relationship, dealing with Dickens' life and literary connections, as well as related subjects such as Victorian History, history of public health, religion etc. *The Dickens Web* is still available from Eastgate Systems (*www.eastgate. com/catalog/Dickens.html*). Hypertext and hypermedia systems proved to be ideal platforms for creating learning materials for students. The English Department at the University of Glasgow was an early adopter of such tools, and created a suite of learning materials known as STELLA (Software for Teaching English Language and Literature and its Assessment). The STELLA materials have been in existence for over 20 years now, have been successfully migrated across generations of technology, and have taught thousands of students the basics of Old English, and English and Scottish Linguistics (www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/aboutus/resources/stella/).

The biggest problem for the literary hypertexts being developed at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s was the rapid pace of change of the software and operating systems. CD-Word, cited

above, was developed at huge cost under Windows 2.0 and delivered on a CD. When the operating system changed, it became too costly to keep up the development and support. When the Web came along at the beginning of the 1990s, the death knell was sounded for many of these systems. The Web, fundamentally based on hypertext and inter-linking, was a triumph initially of connectivity and standardization over function. Early web hypertexts seemed much more primitive than their locally based predecessors, but this was soon to change; many of the literary hypertexts mentioned above have since migrated, changed and flourished in a Web environment.

Another critical early problem with digital literary texts was the lack of standardization of encoding. Texts needed to be translated into forms that the computer could understand, initially using a limited range of ASCII character codes. Even with a more flexible range of possibilities, for texts to be processed, exchanged and analysed, standard forms of encoding needed to be developed. The Text Encoding Initiative consortium, over more than 25 years, has been working to develop and maintain a standard markup for the representation of texts in digital form. Early text processing took a presentational view of markup: for instance, an element was described as italic without defining *why* it was italic. The TEI guidelines (2007), using XML, define markup structurally, that is, they describe an element by its function—heading, emphasis, foreign word in the text—with its presentation left to a later rendering.

At the end of the 1980s, scholarly editors began to think of the use of computer tools not just as means of producing printed texts, but as means of displaying editions electronically. For what is an edition if it is not a hypertext, a complex web-like system of linked transcriptions, variants, glosses, notes, and all the other apparata we associate with the printed form? Textual critics like Jerome McGann, Kathryn Sutherland, Peter Shillingsburg, Peter Robinson and others began to both theorize about literary works and editions as hypertexts and to develop hyper-text and multimedia systems around these ideas. Particularly influential were Robinson's work on Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and McGann's edition of the works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (of which, more below). Initially, ideas (as they do) ran faster than practical possibilities. The flu-idity of the electronic medium was seen as a benefit: how wonderful to be able to spot an error and correct it instantly, to be able to add a refer-ence, to constantly add new transcriptions or images to online editions, to interlink internal and external referents and create complex paths through the materials. Peter Robinson proposes a new model of edit-ing where the edition is made by the reader from whatever is available,

the reader determines what is read and how it is presented, the reader controls the choice of materials and anyone can alter any word and invite others to read the altered text. He calls this model 'fluid, collaborative and distributed editions' (Robinson, 2009, paragraph 33). However, this brings up a crucial issue: developing complex functions makes editions much harder to preserve for the long term. Another feature that editions *must* have is durability, something print has of course always achieved. Take for example R.W. Chapman's 1923 edition of the *Works of Jane Austen* published by the Clarendon Press. In 1966, a revised edition was published, which was reissued in 2001. The text set in 1923 was used in both later editions, so the page numbers never changed, citation was utterly stable, and even the 1923 text is as readable today as the day it was published. These issues were kept very much in mind by the team that developed the *Jane Austen's Fiction Manuscripts Digital Edition* edited by Kathryn Sutherland (**www.janeausten.ac.uk**), which brings together around 1100 pages of fiction written in Jane Austen's own hand. Through digital reunification, it is now possible to access, read, and compare high quality images of original manuscripts whose material forms are scattered around the world in libraries and private collections. Also provided are newly produced transcriptions that can be accessed alongside the manuscripts, and detailed headnotes for each manuscript. This is one of the earliest collections of creative writings in the author's hand to survive for a British novelist. An earlier example of the power of the computer to unite and display literary materials linked to their physical manifestations is the Rossetti Archive, begun in 1993 by Jerome McGann and completed in 2008. Rossetti was a painter, designer, writer, and translator, and so his works were produced across many different media, which meant that the print medium did not necessarily serve them well; the digital medium is ideal for presentation and cross-linking of such a complex oeuvre (www.rossettiarchive.org).

An interesting question that arises when editions are produced digitally, with the inclusion of so much source and explanatory material, is, what *is* an edition and when does it become an archive? In the print world, an edition is finished, published and used, often for decades. Critical comments on the edition can be made, but they are always outside the work itself. In the digital world, everything *about* the edition can become *part of* the edition, adding always to this growing archive of materials. And this also begs the question of the role of the editor, which may be different from that in the print world. In multi-partner digital projects, there is a whole range of roles and responsibilities, some of which map onto those functions in the print world, while some

don't—managing the complex technical dimensions of the edition, for example. Multi-partner editing projects are not just the province of the digital, of course: there are many, complex print-based editing endeavours and there are some interesting hybrids. The *Complete Works of Jonathan Swift* (2008) have been published in an 18-volume print edition by Cambridge University Press. These are accompanied by a freely accessible electronic archive containing around 300 texts, including documentary transcriptions of Swift's works as they appear in their original printed editions (generally, first editions), as well as other materials. The intention here is to marry what print does best with what digital does best, producing both a scholarly edition and an archive. Cambridge have also published the complete works of Ben Jonson (2008) in print, accompanied by an online scholarly digital edition, incorporating old-spelling texts and digital images of manuscripts and major early editions.

It is not just scholars themselves who have been making available texts and sources; there has also been intense activity in libraries and in the commercial world, sometimes in partnership. Early English Books Online (EEBO, http://eebo.chadwyck.com/) and Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO, http://gdc.gale.com/products/eighteenth-century-collections-online/) have put millions of pages from hundreds of thousands of books onto the desktops of scholars, with catalogue records and in most cases full text searchability. Google Books also offers up millions of volumes from libraries all over the world; though often of patchy quality and with little metadata, they are still an enormous boon, especially for those working outside of the developed world. Probably the most important online initiative for the study of English being undertaken by publishers is the Oxford University Press initiative Oxford Scholarly Editions Online (OSEO, www.oxfordscholarlyeditions.com). This started as a republishing in complex digital form of editions published by the Press itself, and has developed into much more extensive coverage of scholarly texts by licensing works from other major publishers. Currently, OSEO provides access to more than 450 scholarly editions of material written between 1485 and 1788, including all of Shakespeare's plays, the poetry of John Donne, and works by John Milton and John Locke. These editions contain over 44,000 different works including more than 400 plays, over 17,000 poems, and more than 26,000 other works, the equivalent of over 233,000 print pages. All works are rekeyed and tagged with XML markup, and are presented using advanced searching and linking abilities, with accompanying PDFs of the original print page. Some difficult decisions had to be made by the OSEO editorial team and these were the subject of much debate

and discussion. For instance, the decision was taken to reprocess the original print editions for online presentation, without re-editing or updating them. The reason for this was total fidelity to the original publication, even to the point of reproducing known errors. Where possible these errors are signalled, but they are not corrected. PDFs of the original editions are available so that users can always check a reading in a faithful representation of the original. As a major resource like this grows over many years there will be more hard decisions to debate. For example, how can other online materials be linked in that may reside behind other paywalls?

As things get ever bigger and more extensive, new paradigms present themselves: Big Data and Distant Reading, to name but two. Big Data has been claimed as the Next Big Thing in the humanities, and is already seen as the current Big Thing in other disciplines. Big Data is the term used for collections of data that are orders of magnitude larger than the corpora such as the Brown Corpus or the British National Corpus discussed above. Big Data is not necessarily created for a particular purpose and marked up in a systematic way: it can be derived from many different sources and may not be standardized, so may need different approaches and new tools. Many of the commercial tools for processing large-scale data grow out of the military and surveillance communities, and in order to make sense of the results of data processing, data visualization methods have been developed. There is some discomfort among humanists in regarding the objects of our study as 'data', feeling that this is something of a reductive term. But, for scholars of English, there are new opportunities for research opened up by the massive availability of text online, especially if these are published as open data, freely accessible. Just to give one example, hundreds of millions of pages of historic newspapers have been digitized over the last ten years by newspapers themselves, by libraries, and by third-party commercial publishers like NewspaperARCHIVE.com, which calls itself the world's largest collection. To illustrate the possibilities, a search in Papers Past (paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/), the New Zealand newspaper archive, for 'Charles Dickens' yielded 16,654 results. An early one chosen at random led to an 1873 review of John Forster's life of Dickens in the *Wellington Independent.* Imagine the new research possible into, for instance, publication and reception throughout the English-speaking world. And imagine aggregating such searches across library catalogues, dictionaries, biographical dictionaries, letters as well as newspapers. That is what Franco Moretti has termed 'distant reading', a different view of our textual universe, taken from afar, which can pinpoint new

lines of enquiry and reveal new constellations of relationships. Moretti is a leading scholar of European literature who founded the Stanford Literary Lab and who uses technical methods to survey vast swathes of literary works: turning literature into data in order to identify patterns that are difficult if not impossible to see with traditional approaches. Moretti coined the term in a 2000 article in the *New Left Review* and it has entered the lexicon of digital humanities, meaning different things to different scholars. For Moretti, it constituted a new science 'where a new problem is pursued by a new method' (Moretti, 2000 and 2013, p. 55). The present authors prefer to think of it as a set of new methods to pursue many paths of enquiry, old and new, and as an adjunct to our traditional methods of work, not a replacement for them.

The future of the book

From very early in the development of digital humanities, and particularly in departments of English, a great deal of discussion has centred on the future of the print medium in the digital age. The publishing industry has always been ready to embrace new technologies in the pursuit of better, cheaper and faster production of its wares, and scholars and writers saw advantages in the new media for the development and promulgation of literary forms. Digital technology has been embedded in all forms of print production for decades, and it has been a logical progression to digital access, especially in journal provision. At the end of the 1980s, doomsayers began predicting the end of the printed book, but as a form it is proving surprisingly robust. Early predictions posited that CD-ROM-based and then web-based hypertext and multimedia literary forms would proliferate and the linear printed book would die away. Interestingly, this has not happened and does not seem likely to happen in the near future. What *has* happened is a huge rise in the popularity of ebooks, which, on the whole, mimic almost exactly the print form, with some added functionality such as the ability to search, annotate, link out to dictionaries, etc.

Pundits tend to predict that a new technology is likely to supersede previous ones. Some do: the telephone killed off the telegraph, for example; and some don't: television was supposed to kill off radio, but radio survived, probably because it is possible (and often desirable) to listen to the radio while doing other things like driving or ironing. The problem with trying to discuss print books versus ebooks is that, for many, the opposition is printed word equals linear and static, digital word equals non-linear and dynamic; printed word is fixed, digital

is interactive, and these are of course false notions. Very few printed products are strictly linear; even novels and poetry, though apparently linear, play with and rupture linearity in interesting ways, but periodical publications (newspapers, magazines, journals) also defy (and resist) linearity, as do reference works and complex works of scholarship. And every text is 'interactive', changing according to a particular reader at a particular hour in a particular place. All readers create their own text while reading, and every new reading is an act of recreating, just as every new access to an electronic text is a process of creating a human-readable version afresh on the screen.

An interesting development that has happened alongside digital advances is a degree of creativity by authors and designers in the development of the print book, resulting in books that cannot properly be represented in digital form. For instance, Jonathan Safran Foer's *Tree of Codes*, published by Visual Editions, is a book crafted out of another book: *The Street of Crocodiles* by Bruno Schulz, a collection of short stories published in Polish in 1934 and translated into English in 1963. *Tree of Codes* is a novel, a text and an art object and is resolutely physical in format: the pages of the Schultz collection are sculpted into the new work, with words physically cut from the pages to reveal the Foer work. *S*, a 2013 mystery novel by J. J. Abrams and Doug Dorst, is described by Joshua Rothman in the *New Yorker* as 'the best-looking book I've ever seen'. Impossible to produce or reproduce in other than book form, this work looks like an old library book called *Ship of Theseus*, which forms the central text of the work. But around this text is another text, written in the margins, in inserts of postcards, photographs, even a map. *S* was described by another reviewer as 'a celebration of the book as a physical thing, possessor of wonders that cannot be translated into digital bits' (Tsouderos, 2013). Anyone who thinks the printed book is dead is invited to contemplate the lengths to which authors and designers can go to prove them wrong.

What to leave out

English researchers all use some aspect of digital technology in their research; at the very least no one is safe from Google and word processing. But as the wealth of tools and methods available to academics proliferate, and their prioritization by funding bodies increases, so too does an interesting question: 'am I doing DH?' As one colleague put it: 'What is it with the digital humanities? No one I work with seems to be asking "am I doing manuscript studies?!"' For the foreseeable future this

is a question that will, and maybe must (or should) haunt the digital humanities. But for those who remain sceptical of DH's place in the English department there's also a second worry: what if we've accidentally been doing it all along?

Such queries arise despite the relative vintage of DH, presumably as an effect of the instability of the underlying architecture of the research. Has there ever before been an object that has so profoundly influenced Humanities study whilst changing at the pace of Moore's Law, having the capacity to become exponentially more complex, more powerful every 18 months? Above, we've outlined a range of approaches to researching in English with the addition of digital tools, many of which will be recognizable in some form or another for most Humanities researchers. And yet, despite the identification of distinctive 'waves' across the years, rises and falls of what's important, what's possible, what's desirable, even this incomplete and selective collection demonstrates what can feel like a baffling lack of coherency in what is meant to be a discipline, as DH is now assumed to be. If DH is indeed a distinctive field, what is it for, what are its goals? These are important questions, but ones that have often been sacrificed for the converse, slightly easier, less satisfying approach: what *isn't* it, what can we safely ignore?

The theme of the 2011 Digital Humanities conference at Stanford was 'Big Tent Digital Humanities'. Positioned as a direct response to the increasing diversity of practices that were being labelled as 'Digital Humanities', the conference aimed to realize fully the debate about the boundaries of the discipline, to question whether there was a 'right' way to do DH and, implicitly, whether there was a wrong way. Maybe 'wrong' is the wrong word, but (as now) there was a legitimate concern amongst some practitioners of digital humanities research that the term was being spread too thin, or, worse, reduced to a buzzword, excusing the same old scholarship just because it had a website and Twitter feed written into the grant proposal. Such concerns needed to be addressed (and perhaps put aside), and the conference aimed to celebrate the 'big tent', the inclusion of the greatest diversity of responsible research. This didn't stop the on-going discussion of exactly what DH is and the continued deployment of a slogan that had quickly slipped into parody in some circles: 'more hack, less yack.' The phrase was, in fact, always a joke, as Bethany Nowviskie noted in her charting of its origin (Nowviskie, 2014), but it still came to stand in for a sense that 'true' DH was research which *did*, which produced, which built things. What Nowviskie rightly critiques in that origin story, however, is the

sterile split that the phrase implies between a healthy practice and an unhealthy mere theorizing:

> In my view, to pretend or believe that 'more hack; less yack' represents *a fundamental opposition in thinking* between humanities theorists and deliberately anti-theoretical DH 'builders' is to ignore the specific history and different resonances of the phrase, and to fall into precisely the sort of zero-sum logic it seems to imply. Humanities disciplines and methods themselves are not either/or affairs. The humanities is both/and.

Humanities research is, indeed, a both/and set of disciplines, but that it now includes *both* reading *and* coding digital creations is a shift. It changes our practices dramatically (researchers who no longer see the book or article, but the database or app as the desirable output), subtly (the implications of accessing source texts digitally and the increasing searchability of metadata), and fundamentally (the lone researcher in the library is no longer able to accomplish all that they might want to; collaboration and multi-authored projects challenge the viability or desirability of the garret or ivory tower as a workspace). So the idea of 'more hack, less yack' remains significant, not as an accurate description, but as an indicator of the recognition of change; for anyone who has felt empowered by that phrase, even for a moment, it's been about changing what is viable.

This emphasis on building, on the carpentry of DH, returns the Humanities to an older debate about methods and what they best reveal. Building certainly isn't all of what the digital humanities is, or can be, but it puts it on the same continuum of advocacy that has seen creative writing and other art practices positioned as viable research methodologies that can reveal something distinctive. Writing a poem can tell you something different about the act of writing and of contemplation than criticism, but it is not the whole of English Studies; painting a picture can tell you about brushwork, and building a trebuchet with original tools can tell you about the knowledge required to get there, but these aren't the sum of Art History or Archaeology. Building in DH, similarly, does more than just make things (otherwise it would simply be fabrication), but it is also not all that DH can or should be.

In thinking the above ideas through it is perhaps useful to consider an edge case. At the time of writing, Matt is working with the Royal Shakespeare Company and a husband and wife team of artists, Davy and Kristin McGuire, on a project to develop a pop-up book version of

scenes from Macbeth.[3] What's unique about the McGuires' approach is that the beautifully cut and folded scenes that unfurl from each page also come alive: through a system of digital projection and reflection, cleverly hidden within the body of the book itself, characters walk across scenes that flicker with energy and movement even as they're newly minted with each turn of the page. It's captivating and always makes its audience become children again—it feels magic and intimate, like hiding under the covers with a torch and escaping the burden of sleep by heading to another world. [4]

But the McGuires aren't doing digital humanities, or at least not exclusively. They're making art and, by devising the mechanisms by which their art functions, engaging in design, prototyping, and fabrication, reminiscent of *Tree of Codes* and *S* mentioned above. These are elements of digital humanities work, but they are not its sum or sole components. The Royal Shakespeare Company aren't doing digital humanities; they're providing vital support for the project, acting as producers and putting the other participants in contact with Shakespeare and his plays and coding and production experts. And Matt isn't doing digital humanities; he's writing a series of essays to accompany the project, like extended variations on the gallery blurb beside a painting, to help an audience, the RSC, maybe even the McGuires themselves, to articulate what's going on, why and how the object and the experience feels so rich, overdetermined, why it means so much. The project, however, seems to be absolutely a DH project—there's something in the sum, and this suggests that that question of 'am I doing DH?' remains uneasy if it's neatly reduced to practices or outcomes.

There is something genuinely distinctive about digitization and its effects that requires a new way of working and speaking, a new set of sensitivities, and it is here, perhaps, that we might like to identify the digital humanities. Actually, maybe the concerns aren't so new, but rather a reconfiguration with the net cast a little wider. The conversations that the McGuires' work and other experimental print-based books prompt—about the continuing importance of stories on paper in a digital age, about the potential inherent in drawing on old myths and new technology, the pure and devastating drives of memory and hope—also demand what any sensitive reading of a text has always required: paying attention to the conditions of its production and reception. Collaborations like the above give each member new ways of considering the objects under discussion, but despite the importance of building for DH, as both source and provocation, it also requires a significant critical component so that it doesn't have politics removed

from its concerns. This, in turn, demands that researchers have at least a basic knowledge of and interest in the popular technologies of content access, the practices of using those technologies, and the kinds of cultural forces that surround them, what we might call a cyberculture or digital culture. To not be attentive to these wider concerns around digital technologies would be like studying Victorian novels without considering Empire, industry, or urban sprawl; it would be like studying Shakespeare's manuscripts without thinking of where the plays were performed and how they were received. At this stage, then, DH in English departments can't be just reading literature with new methods, *or* making new things, *or* talking about new things in new ways—it must be 'both/and', it must be 'all'.

The tent, then, isn't big; it's vast, drawing on everything available to ask what makes the digital distinctive as an object or method or product of study. We might find that what this means is that we can all do DH, all contribute, if we're not already, to a project that may end up increasingly delineated and coherent, with less mutable values and practices. Or, instead, we're already finding ourselves on a path to where the Digital Humanities simply become the Humanities, the same plural concerns and methods made a little better, a little richer, and more able to deal with the realities of increasingly ubiquitous computing.

Notes

1. For a snapshot of the mid-nineties critical theoretical responses to hypertext and electronic reading environments which laid the groundwork for Dreyfus' pronouncement see the Landow edited collection *Hyper / Text / Theory*.
2. Matt Hayler further explores this history of metaphors inherent in the digital in an unpublished section of his doctoral thesis (Hayler, 2011).
3. The project is funded by REACT, an AHRC knowledge-exchange hub that aims to unite academic researchers with non-academic research partners.
4. For an example of the kinds of effect, though achieved by a slightly different method of projection, see their *The Ice Book* project (www.theicebook.com).

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10
The Contribution of Children's Literature Studies

Dena Attar and Janet Maybin

Introduction

Children's Literature Studies is currently thriving, established as a subject in its own right which is taught in universities around the world. Variously offered as part of programmes in English, Education or Library Studies, it may also include work on publishing and creative writing for children, and illustration. As an academic subject in higher education, however, it emerged relatively recently in the UK and the US in the mid-twentieth century, when literary studies were opened up to social theory and cultural studies. At this point, children's literature and other 'popular' forms became serious objects for academic research and teaching. On both sides of the Atlantic, the study of children's literature was first incorporated as a strand within courses for teachers and librarians, and it has always maintained strong links with pedagogy. However, interest in children's books and in children's literature study has hugely increased over the last twenty years and the subject is now well established and thriving at both undergraduate and postgraduate level with its own encyclopaedias, scholarly journals, academic conferences and funded centres of research excellence.

The burgeoning of children's book publishing and the expansion of children's literature study at university have been accompanied by some re-evaluation of what was traditionally seen as a marginal area of literary studies. Children's literature was relatively neglected in theoretical movements such as New Criticism, Post-structuralism, Post-colonialism and New Historicism, which swept through the academy in the second half of the twentieth century (Clark, 2003). Often seen as less intellectually heavyweight than other areas of English Studies, it is sometimes to be found listed under 'period studies', or 'popular fiction' in English

degree programmes. In this chapter, however, we argue that the subject of Children's Literature has much to offer other areas of English Studies, as we discuss in detail below. As a developing area of study, we also suggest that it currently offers rich opportunities for cross-disciplinary work, for instance, forging productive links between literature, language and childhood studies as well as with literacy and education. There are thus a number of ways in which Children's Literature Studies could complement and enhance elements of the expanding curriculum envisaged by Carter and add additional dimensions to Pope's revolving compass of Language Studies' interdisciplinary connections (both this volume).

As an evolving subject, Children's Literature has its own distinctive, quite profound, areas of contestation with continuing, lively debate about its nature, purposes, boundaries and audiences. These debates, and the questions they raise, are particularly pertinent in relation to a number of current shifts of focus in English Studies: from texts and language to practices and discourse, from distinctive genres to narratives across genres and media, and from paper-based text and face-to-face talk to electronic texts and virtual communication (see Pope, this volume). Children's literature has also been the focus of substantial work on visual texts, and this work now contributes to the increasing interest within English Studies in multimodality, which is particularly important in online and multimedia texts. In summary, the subject of Children's Literature makes significant contributions to the following areas of English Studies:

- debates about the changing nature, purposes and boundaries of literary arts. Children's literature has arguably always included a wide range of genres (for example, stories, poems, pantomime, puppet performances, pop-up books, comics), which raise questions about what exactly counts as literature, and its boundaries with other cultural phenomena;
- questions of audience and address. These are particularly complex in relation to the pedagogic associations of children's literature, its complicated relationships with both adults' and children's interests, and changing and contested ideas about what these might be;
- continuing anxieties and debates about quality and value. This particularly applies to popular children's fiction, generically hybrid material and digital and online texts;
- new approaches to analysing and interpreting multimodality in texts (that is, the ways in which different modes such as words, images,

colour, sound and movement intersect and interact to produce meaning). There are many adventurous contemporary children's picturebooks which use ingenious combinations of modes to complicate and enrich their interpretation, and foreground the nature of books and of reading itself.

We discuss below how these various areas have been explored within Children's Literature Studies, and briefly consider the challenges and advantages of an interdisciplinary approach. We then consider current trends in the study of children's literature, and their potential contribution to English Studies. Finally, we return to the question of the place of Children's Literature Studies in the wider academic context discussed in this volume. We use the term 'children's literature' to refer to those books and other literary material that are commonly assumed to be directed at children and young people. We focus particularly on the Anglophone tradition, which has always included translated materials as well as literature written originally in English, although only a small proportion of contemporary children's literature in other languages is currently translated for English language markets.

Children's literature as a field of study: questions and issues

Towards a more practice-orientated definition of children's literature

The nature, purposes and boundaries of children's literature are not clear-cut, but are closely connected with changing ideas about education, literacy and childhood. A useful way of addressing these interconnections is to conceptualise literacy (including both writing and reading) as social practice, imbued with beliefs and values. Thus, children's literature acquires its meaning through different kinds of activities embedded in social institutions such as school, the family, libraries or the academy, and a practice-orientated approach to its study emphasises the importance of understanding what children and adults actually do with books, and the values and beliefs they associate with these activities. Generally speaking, within Children's Literature Studies as within Literacy Studies more widely, there has been a shift from a focus on texts and authors to a more practice-orientated approach.

Children's literature has often been defined in terms of its distinctiveness from adult literature, and particularly in relation to its implied child audience. The traditional view has been that texts directed at

children first appeared in England around the eighteenth century, alongside the emergence of a new middle class and modern beliefs that childhood was a distinct phase of development separate from adulthood. In tandem with changing beliefs about how children should be treated and shifting conceptions of childhood, children's literature was initially characterised by improving, instructional stories written by eighteenth-century Puritan authors. It then became influenced in the nineteenth century by romantic conceptions of childhood as a time of goodness and innocence, and evolved in the twentieth century to become more playful and entertaining. This view of the development of children's literature highlights a gradual historical shift in its purposes, from instruction to entertainment, with Lewis Carroll's anarchic and subversive stories about Alice (1865, 1871) seen as an important turning point within this trajectory.

To a considerable extent, the account above focuses on the texts themselves, and the purposes of the adults who produced them within a particular historical context. Recently, however, there has been increasing interest in how these texts were actually read and used, by children and adults, in so far as this can be historically reconstructed. While ideas about child readers in previous centuries were often traditionally based on adult memoirs, or derived from their fictional representations, recent researchers have used material evidence from surviving reading materials and their annotations by childreaders, together with knowledge about the historical period and census data, to reconstruct how children acquired and actually interacted with literary texts (Grenby, 2011). This shift in research focus has challenged some traditional views concerning the development of children's literature. The 'instruction to entertainment' trajectory now appears too simplistic a view, and researchers are producing a rather longer and more complex history of children's reading, and of the materials prepared for them by adults. For instance, there is evidence that reading materials were given to children in ancient Greece and that alphabet primers and home-made pedagogical materials for children in the eighteenth century also incorporated entertainment. It has been argued that publishers like John Newbury, whose *A Little Pretty Pocket-book* (1744) is often cited as the first modern book designed specifically to appeal to children, were in fact appropriating practices of writing for children that had already existed for centuries before.

This focus on children's and adults' contextualised reading practices also challenges the generic definition of 'children's literature' as books with a presumed child audience, since historical evidence shows that children have always read a much wider range of material (depending

on access) than the texts designed for them. Indeed, the boundaries between children's and 'adult' literature are porous in many ways. For instance, literature traditionally enjoyed by both children and adults includes inter-generational myths, legends and folktales. A number of works originally written for adults have migrated, or been adapted, to become part of 'children's literature', for example, *Robinson Crusoe, The Pilgrim's Progress* and *Gulliver's Travels*. Similarly, children's poetry anthologies have appropriated traditional rhymes and poems that are enjoyed by all ages, rather than only including those originally directed at a child audience. This fluidity suggests that definitions of children's literature, and the idea that children's literature constitutes a specific genre, need to take into account children's and adults' actual literacy practices, around specific texts. The Bakhtinian conception of genre is useful in this context. Bakhtin (1986[1953]) argued that genres emerge in the course of habitual human activity, which results in the temporary coalescence of specific language forms and style, content themes and evaluative perspectives within a particular set of textual material. This view of genre as dynamic and emergent suggests that reading and pedagogic practice will continue to change and may often challenge existing assumptions about the nature of children's literature. For instance, the current success of cross-over texts enjoyed by both children and adults, such as J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series, Philip Pullman's *His Dark Materials* trilogy and Mark Haddon's *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time,* raises questions about changing criteria for age-appropriacy, the contemporary boundaries between children's and adults' literature, and current beliefs concerning the nature of childhood and adulthood.

The patterning of themes and evaluative perspectives, which Bakhtin identifies as an intrinsic part of generic development, is made more complex in children's literature through its pedagogic associations, and its relationships with assumptions about adults' and children's interests. There is continuing debate about whether children's literature is less about children themselves, and more about adult investments in children and childhood. The multiple address of children's literature, to children and adults, further complicates the notion of an inscribed reader, making these materials an interesting site for examining dialogic complexity. Picturebooks and stories have often included humorous touches, intended to be appreciated by the adult who is reading aloud, rather than the child who is listening. Of course, such 'double audience' books may make assumptions about children's interests, and about their lack of literary sophistication, which may not actually be true. Some contemporary books that assume a high level of sophistication in child

readers have been very successful with child audiences. For instance, B.J. Novak's *The Book with No Pictures* (2014), which has no narrative and indeed no pictures, relies for its considerable comic effects on both adults' and children's willingness to knowingly challenge their allotted roles and play with 'reading aloud' conventions.

Even within literature that seems unequivocally directed at children, there are varying degrees of orientation towards adult reading and interests. Many critics have pointed out that *t*he writing of children's literature is often coloured by adult nostalgia for the loss of innocence and youth and, indeed, some authors talk explicitly about a desire to recreate, or re-experience, a remembered childhood. While all literature conveys societal norms and values (as well as on occasion challenging these), in children's books the underpinning values have been presumed, and often explicitly intended, to have a socialising and instructional function. This may be central to the author's purpose in writing, or emerge through the very fact that these books are written by adults for a different social group, that is, children, who are perceived as less powerful and more malleable. Finally, in addition to being influenced by the interests and intentions of adult authors, literature is mediated for children by the literacy practices of family members, teachers and other adults who buy, give or recommend books, read them aloud to children, and read and talk about books and other literary materials alongside them. The interweavings of adult and child interests, and changing assumptions about what these might be, play out in the contents of books and in the ways in which they are used. Dynamics between different interests and assumptions complicate the notion of a specific genre of 'children's literature' and raise questions about authorial address and purposes, and their mediation within literacy practices, which are also being debated in other areas of English Studies.

Multimodality, interactivity and questions of value

Children's literature provides rich resources for students and researchers across English Studies who are interested in 'multimodality', and in how authors and artists manipulate the interaction between different modes within texts and other literary material. One of the most striking and significant multimodal forms of children's literature and also one of the oldest is the picturebook. Often characterised by high-quality artwork, picturebooks frequently incorporate sophisticated interplay between words and pictures, sometimes also incorporating play with other material aspects of the book, for instance, margins, page turns, font and colours. Contemporary picturebooks such as Emily Gravett's

Wolves (2005) and *Little Mouse's Big Book of Fears* (2007), Drew Daywalt and Oliver Jeffers' *The Day The Crayons Quit* (2014) or Sally Grindley and Peter Utton's *SHHH!* (1991) also provide interesting examples of creative transgressions of the boundaries between content and form, text and illustration, characters and audience, and real and imaginary worlds.

In addition to the long tradition of multimodal picturebooks, children's engagements with literary materials have always included a wide range of modes involving varying degrees of interactivity, and of textual fixity or fluidity. From the beginning, spoken verbal art and performance which incorporate sound, gestures and movement have been important, for instance, in story-telling (which is experiencing a recent resurgence at schools and literary festivals), puppetry, pantomime and children's own staging of pageants, nativity and school plays. These live performances often involve retellings and elaborations of core texts, which are reconfigured on each occasion, for instance, through the interaction between storyteller and audience, or in a local adaptation for a school play. Children's stories have also frequently migrated across modes and media. Within the multimedia landscape of children's literary arts, texts range from book versions of old and newer classics, from *Alice* to *The Paper Bag Princess* and *Tom Sawyer* to *Little House on the Prairie,* through influential stage and film adaptations (for example, Michael Morpurgo's *War Horse* and J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter)* to child-authored fiction on social media and the most informal and ephemeral playacting among friends.

Children's literature in its many varied modes, and its uncertain literary worth in the eyes of many adults, throws into relief questions about the boundaries and purposes of what counts as literature within English Studies more generally and how this might be rapidly changing. The range of what can be studied in children's literature now includes creative experiments with digital stories. Many young children currently get their first experience of literature on a screen rather than in a printed book, and interact with stories at the level of text, as well as through adult mediation, right from the outset. In digital picturebooks, very young children can tap on images of animals to hear the sound they make and what they are called, manipulate objects by tilting the screen and blow into a microphone to scatter the three little pigs' straw house. For older children, story worlds are often created over a variety of media platforms involving different kinds of artefacts. For instance, the popular British television series *Dr Who* has a connected website with spin-off stories, video diaries, computer games where it is possible to become the Doctor and face typical challenges, a virtual tour of the Tardis time-machine and cybermen masks.

This digital and interactive literary material is reconfiguring relationships between children and literature, and also challenging the canonical forms and structure of literature which has formed the backbone of English Studies. New kinds of interactive and transmedia story-making are replacing children and young people's traditional linear experiences of narrative with more rhizomatic, intertextual sampling of interconnected forms and activities where reader/viewers may also be authors and multimedia creative artists. Online transmedia worlds provide an interconnected network of sequels, prequels, backstories, games and puzzles and, increasingly, materials produced by young people themselves. For instance, postings to fan sites of popular series like *Harry Potter* include young people's imagined profiles as friends or relations of existing characters, parodies, and remixes of computer animation and video games. In the light of these rapidly evolving digital practices, English Studies will have to review and reconfigure some aspects of the English Literature curriculum in response to future students who come to university from a background in these new kinds of narrative and literary experiences, and who may not expect to view static printed texts as representing the only authentic originals. These digital activities again press against the precise limits of what counts as literature in terms of mode (its boundaries with games, puzzles and toys, for instance) and in terms of value (whether it can include ephemera or texts produced by readers as part of an online story world).

Questions about quality and value are also raised in relation to the commercial adaptation and transposition of children's texts, for example, regarding the relative merits of the 2013 Disney 3D computer-animated musical fantasy *Frozen* in relation to Hans Anderson's (often translated) original fairy tale, *The Snow Queen,* or what is gained or lost in complexity and nuance when comparing the 2012 and 2013 film versions of *The Hunger Games* with Suzanne Collins' original books. Such issues are also associated with questions about audience and address, and with adult assumptions concerning children's needs. The notorious discrepancies between adult critics' and children's valuing of particular texts have themselves been explored. For instance, while Enid Blyton's books have sold over 400 million copies worldwide, Hunt (1995) found very little secondary material on Blyton (seen as trash by many literature specialists) in contrast to the huge amounts of critical discussion he came across about Kenneth Grahame, a 'classic' author. To take a more recent example, literary critics have tended to treat Pullman's *Northern Lights,* with its intertextual links to Blake and Milton, as serious literature, whereas the best-selling *Harry Potter* (with links to fairy and school stories and Dungeon and Dragon games) has been often dismissed as a popular

phenomenon, a 'second-rate fetishized fantasy' (Zipes, 2001). Pullman's work won the Whitbread Book of the Year prize in 2002, but *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* was merely shortlisted for the 1997 Carnegie Medal, although it won other awards directly involving child judges.

Interdisciplinary possibilities

We would argue that the questions and issues which currently surround children's literature as a field of study, and its multimodal and multimedia nature, are particularly amenable to an interdisciplinary approach. As we mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the study of children's literature has long been associated with education and literacy. One of the best established journals on children's literature in the UK is *Children's Literature in Education,* which has been running since 1970. There is a longstanding rich tradition of pedagogic research although, ironically, at the time of writing children's literature is optional or non-existent in teacher training in the UK, USA and Europe (Arizpe et al., 2013). There are also important connections to be pursued with language/linguistic studies and childhood studies. In particular, language studies now incorporates multimodal or semiotic analysis of images and relationships between verbal and non-verbal material which can inform study of picturebooks and multimedia material for children, and approaches from childhood studies provide insights about how, as a cultural phenomenon, children's literature is shaped by changing beliefs about the nature of childhood.

Firstly, we want to argue that children's literature should be studied through a multimedia approach. Students need to experience and compare different forms of engagement with diverse sources, from museum artefacts like the small illustrated cards Jane Johnson designed to teach her children literacy in the eighteenth century, to contemporary picturebooks, and from stage productions and story-telling to films and online interactive material. Audiovisual material can include these original works and also interviews with authors, critics, publishers and children themselves on a wide range of literary examples. Authors' comments about why and how they work often link with questions about the nature and purposes of children's literature discussed above, and accounts by picturebook authors of how they use text and images to produce a narrative illuminate broader discussions of multimodal meaning-making. Finally, stylistic analysis of authors' techniques, for instance, in the production of realism in young adult novels, or linguistic analysis of the poetic techniques in poems collected in children's anthologies, can illuminate literary approaches more generally, as well as throw light on beliefs about children's aesthetic interests and perspectives as readers.

There has been considerable work in childhood studies on the variability of beliefs about childhood, and the different expectations of children, across history. Students' understanding and appreciation of classic children's books is enormously enhanced by an understanding of the specific assumptions about the nature and needs of children which they encode, and the particular models of childhood which they present. Thus, for example, students may consider critical readings about the construction of girlhoods, and of a literature for girls, in connection with their study of *Little Women* (1868), and then trace how this tradition has developed, up to the present. Similarly, the reading of *Treasure Island* (1883) can be enriched through reading about the shaping of young British Imperialists via vicarious experience of the masculine trials of physical and moral strength portrayed in this and other adventure stories in the 'desert island' genre, with their echoes in later classics such as *Swallows and Amazons* (1930). Debates about morals and censorship in children's literature are intimately connected with beliefs about the nature of children's rights and needs, as well as with questions about the purposes of children's literature. Students can examine and enter into these debates, alongside their reading of texts such as Melvin Burgess' young adult novel *Junk* (1996), with its controversial accounts of drugs and sex. Burgess' arguments for realism in teen literature can generate considerable discussion among students, and heighten their awareness of authors' and critics' assumptions about what is suitable and desirable literature for children and young people, and why.

Cross-cultural studies of children's literature can also highlight such assumptions, and models of childhood, in particularly striking ways. For instance, in a chapter about the success in China of the *Harry Potter* series (translated into Chinese), Gupta (2009) argues that its popularity is partly due to the recent cultural switch in China from the 'we' generation influenced by communism, who grew up pre-1980, to an 'I' generation growing up the 1980s and 1990s, who are exposed to more individualistic, western-orientated, models of childhood. China's embracing of the Harry Potter phenomenon, including films, fan-sites and artefacts, reflects a growing interest in western models of childhood, and is part of the opening up of China to the rest of the world and its engagement with processes of globalisation. The realisation that conceptions of childhood are socially constructed, that these can change and are reproduced in texts via language and literary techniques, and that all this impinges centrally on so many aspects of children's literature study, is often reported by students, in our experience, as a key insight into the field. This understanding, we would suggest, derives

from the combination of literary, language and childhood studies, and provides evidence of the powerful potential of interdisciplinary work.

Emerging trends and their potential contribution to English Studies

The scope of Children's Literature Studies is still expanding. While specialisms may be based on genre, geographical regions, historical periods, significant or popular authors, topical content or the representation of specific childhoods, there is greater interest in empirical data and in theorising uses and practices. The following sections look at some departure points for re-examining existing concepts and approaches. Together they represent an increasingly fluid and open approach to thinking about Children's Literature Studies and its role in relation to continually changing ideas about texts, young readers and practices.

Bringing children into Children's Literature Studies

While historical research has added to our understanding of literacy practices around texts, discussion of actual child readers has been fraught and often avoided (Gubar, 2013). Critics tended to insist—with good reason, originally—that Children's Literature Studies dealt with constructions rather than actual children. This was only ever partly true, as discussions of the child constructed *in* the text often tended to slide into assumptions about the child constructed *by* the text—with the implication that we can determine how real children are influenced by their reading. The idea of a 'constructed reader' is now less taken for granted as simple or explanatory (Rudd, 2013), as researchers look into the gap between the text and its various critical interpretations on the one hand, and the ways actual readers encounter and experience it on the other. This work is strongly connected to contextualised approaches in language studies and literacy practices research, and the ideas of theorists such as Bakhtin (1986[1953]) on dialogicality and genre.

   In addition to continuing work on children's practices around texts, inside and outside classrooms, recent contributions from the cognitive sciences (Nikolajeva, 2014) have been assessing evidence of the effect of reading fiction on adolescent development. These cognitive studies add significantly to earlier work exploring the effect on children's self-images and self-esteem of being exposed only to literature featuring privileged, mainstream images of childhood while minority experiences were absent. They represent a marked turn from abstract debates about constructed, idealised childhoods, and instead seek empirical evidence

to address widespread anxieties about the influence on the young of texts viewed as reinforcing negative stereotypes, or as troubling. At the same time, contemporary children's literature is still being studied, both as texts in isolation and in contexts of use, as potentially therapeutic. Textual evidence can be used to examine how the tradition of didacticism in children's literature continues but is being transmuted; empirical studies may take up seriously the idea that through these texts young identities are being constructed for good or bad. Studies of 'problem' literature for the young (books often marketed as such and followed up with school project work, such as the US author Laurie Halse Anderson's 2009 novel *Wintergirls* about anorexia) offer perspectives on what reading about experiences or characters 'like oneself' may mean for young readers whose cultural, gender or sexual identities, histories of mental or physical illness, abuse or dislocation are not well represented in the generality of children's literature. Locating Children's Literature Studies within English Studies can provide the criticality which might otherwise be missing from these more instrumental approaches, which contextualise some works of children's literature as 'bibliotherapy', viewing non-normative texts as needing only strategies for practical use rather than according them equal critical attention.

As those working in the fields of language studies and literacy practices would expect, Children's Literature Studies cannot take anything for granted about reading and readers, and needs to be cautious in assuming the influence of any text on any individual. Grounded research has usefully moved us on from an earlier position where Children's Literature Studies were mostly cut off from studies of actual child readers. For instance, textual analyses of multimodality, whether of picturebooks or of digital texts along with all their affordances, can be set alongside studies of how such texts are used, disregarded, manipulated or reconfigured as young readers apply their own skills and ideas. As argued above, the skills and experiences of younger readers pose a challenge to many of the earlier assumptions about their lack of sophistication, which have been associated with the positioning of children's literary texts as 'simple', within English Studies.

Digital texts, emerging literacies and adult anxieties

Discussion of adult anxieties about childhood has long featured in Children's Literature Studies, often in relation to innocence, sexuality and a presumed need to protect children from premature knowledge, along with a countering concern about how children and young adults can best be prepared for their future worlds. In the twenty-first

century, a relatively new dual set of anxieties has arisen with a focus on changing literacies, their values and effects: how is the world of digital texts affecting children and their literacy development, and how can children's literature prepare young readers for digital literacy competences they might need now or in future? In a US study, Alper (2013) comments that historically the literature on children and digital or non-digital media has mostly dealt with negative effects, rather than considering what young readers may be gaining.

As Alper and others have commented, adult anxieties have contributed to a marginalisation of children's digital literacies in school. A substantial proportion of literature aimed at children in the past supported a traditional formal or informal reading curriculum, providing vehicles for teaching and practising reading. Digital texts of all kinds are now, often explicitly, enabling young readers to develop and practise new skills. A growing number of studies, across a wide age range, describe emerging practices in this area and analyse texts in response to a wider discourse that remains divided between encouragement and alarm, along with concern about inequality of access to digital technologies. English studies, education and children's literature students alike need to become familiar with a wide variety of digital texts, and need the skills to approach them critically.

A text's original form has arguably become less important. Authors writing for children and young adults in the twenty-first century can assume knowledge of a newer kind of contemporary canonical literature, in which images, computer games, cartoons, film and books all converge. The intertextual references, visual and verbal, saturating texts of all kinds for young readers today are wide ranging and multimedia. Cultural knowledge indexed in the texts can be highly specific and local, or generalised and global. The boundary between reading and writing is another partially dissolving distinction, with growing interest in how young readers' social engagement, especially online and via social media, involves the production as well as the reception of texts, for example, in the writing of fan fiction. This active involvement gives rise to a new slant in the study of children's literature, emphasising young readers' agency and their constructions of texts—rather than the construction of young readers by texts.

Visual literacies

Children's book illustration is now a field of study in its own right in higher education. Visual literacies and the analysis of picturebooks have become particularly rich fields for research, both in terms of the

texts available for study, which as well as picturebooks include comics and sophisticated graphic novels, and for developing new perspectives and tools for analysis. Picturebook 'competence' can be analysed as an emerging skill, with studies focussing on how it is fostered in adult–child reading generally, or in more formal educational settings. The critical role of Children's Literature Studies should include developing better understandings of the semiotics of more visual texts, involving but not limited to analysing communicative 'codes' of design and expression (Moebius, 1986). Picturebooks continue to be recognised as sites for experiment. Directions in research include exploring how images can represent a child's perspective and how picturebooks teach visual narrative effectively.

Arguably, picturebooks are also particularly inclined to address dual audiences (that is, where adults and children are simultaneously addressed) or double audiences (where the implied reader shifts between child and adult). However, the question of whether visual 'address' can be distinguished meaningfully and reliably is also contested (Rudd, 2013). For other critics, multiple address in picturebooks is real, intentional and provides an opportunity for adult–child dialogue and the scaffolding of understanding (Melrose, 2012). The connection between picturebooks and teaching narrative to young children has been repeatedly made, although perhaps more emphasis still needs to be given to how, in Anglophone literature at least, this often involves the child's recognition of humorous effects produced through dissonance between pictures and text. Picturebooks have been claimed to present specific analytic challenges. For instance, Nikolajeva (2008) argues that postmodern picturebooks have 'increasing potential for conveying complex mental states, when illustrations can be used when words are no longer sufficient to depict characters' inner worlds'. Picturebooks and comics alike, according to Nodelman (1988), involve very different ways of reading the page, in contrast to engaging with verbal print, though he argues that comics are more complex structurally. Analyses of the potentialities of reading paths in comics and graphic novels draw substantially on studies of multimodality elsewhere in English Studies (for example, Jewitt & Kress, 2003). Here, the encounter between children's literature and English Studies demonstrates the fruitful meeting of texts and analytic tools.

A longstanding critical strand in children' literature has been concerned with identifying normative images, the perpetuation of stereotypes, and the pervasiveness of a limited and constricting view of childhood. It has been claimed that what is at stake is nothing less than a child's self-image, an even more acute argument in relation to visual images. One response has been the provision of literature reflecting

more diverse experiences of childhood. An alternative response is the creation of predominantly visual 'universal' texts, which appear unfixed and open in meaning. The Australian picturebook author Shaun Tan, for instance, uses experiences of migration and crossing linguistic borders in his work, aiming to avoid images of culturally specific places, objects or beings. This deliberately creates texts that are half-finished so that readers can become co-creators. There is scope to explore the use of these and similar texts, and to consider whether they encode newer types of pedagogy. A further question concerns whether verbal art and typography, often foregrounded in children's picturebooks, reflect specifically English linguistic and cultural conventions.

Towards the future

The role of pedagogy in children's literature is an inescapable issue, even when considering Tan's apparently less fixed and 'half-finished' texts. At the time of writing there are intense debates circling young adult fiction, concerning whether it is delivering helpful lessons on contemporary anxieties and issues, offering dystopian visions that arguably mirror and transform adolescent insecurities and fears, or unfairly burdening young readers with adult pessimism. None of these debates are new of course, whether in the study of literature for adults or for children.

Childhood studies also deals with some of these issues, particularly when it is proposed that experiences of childhood have now changed so profoundly around the world that the frankly disturbing—to many adults—nature of young adult fiction matches the violently disturbing lives and futures of contemporary adolescents. It follows that lessons for young readers are not to be found in happy endings, and readers are expected or required to derive their own through grappling with texts. This still assumes, of course, that children's literature carries a weight of pedagogic responsibility which distinguishes it from literature in general. Some contemporary authors explicitly accept that responsibility while others—occasionally notoriously—refuse it. An author's apparent refusal of a pedagogic role or of any moral instruction, and challenges from teen fiction to the long-established romantic image of childhood in children's literature, may or may not convince us that children's literature, especially for older readers, is losing all distinctiveness. Historically informed studies of children's literature can help us see when didacticism, or romanticism in a contemporary form, still lingers on and whether the traditionally hierarchical relationship between adult author and younger reader has merely been obscured.

This leads back again to the distinctiveness of Children's Literature within English Studies. The ineradicable assumptions—regardless of what self-proclaimed radical authors of children's literature might occasionally argue for their own works—remain that one way or another, constructions of childhood and young adulthood, and relationships between adults and children, are always implicated. At one end of a continuum of children's literature today are texts with implied readers who either have very specifically imagined identities, or have a need to understand that they share their world with those who have such identities—texts for specific readers, and texts with specific purposes. At the other end are texts, often picturebooks, which attempt to evade the limitations of depicting persons and places, and strive either for full inclusion or for universality. Both these kinds of texts, however they are presented and marketed, can still be seen as taking their pedagogic responsibilities very seriously whether explicitly or not, in relation to the 'humane' purpose of English as it persists within English as a school subject, with its use of texts geared to solving problems or for supporting the development of identities.

Questions about what texts are for, what they represent, what they do, how they do it, and what is done with them, all questions that matter to English Studies generally, are crystallised in Children's Literature Studies and often take on urgency in this context. In educational studies the current focus is more relentlessly on literacy as a skill, so there is less assurance that children's literature can be studied there with breadth and criticality. Studies of children's literature, young readers and their literacy practices add depth to essential discussions within English Studies about the changing nature, values and purposes of literature, and can furnish productive examples of both texts and the practices around them. Within English Studies there is a space where such critical ideas can still be aired and where many of the tools of analysis and criticism exist, and are being co-developed. Children's Literature Studies in turn owes significant debts to studies of both English literature and language, employing and also developing the tools and approaches held in common by these overlapping fields.

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11

On Collaborating with Shakespeare's Globe: Reflections on the Future of Postgraduate English

Gordon McMullan

In this chapter, I will offer an account of the history of a taught postgraduate degree—the MA in Shakespeare Studies that has been offered jointly for over a decade by the Department of English at King's College London and Globe Education, the teaching and research wing of Shakespeare's Globe.[1] This case study is designed to illuminate a range of issues about the pedagogical possibilities of collaboration at Master's level between universities and cultural/creative organisations, as well as some of the challenges associated with such partnerships, and I hope it will be of interest to everyone with an interest in the future of postgraduate study in the arts and humanities. Citing interviews with former students and with employees of Globe Education, I will consider the experience of the students taking the degree, studying as they are in the context of a university on the one hand and of a theatre on the other, a theatre that is in multiple ways remarkable—for its extraordinary level of educational activity, for its status as a major London creative organisation operating independently of public funding and for the postmodern 'early modern' building that is both the basis of its attraction for the public and the ongoing object of scholarly debate. Ten years is a lengthy period for a taught Master's degree to survive—enough time, I hope, to enable me to do three things in this chapter: to reflect in as unbiased a way as I can manage (within the limits of such a claim) on the value and impact of a degree taught collaboratively by a university and a theatre, on the intersection it represents between higher education and the cultural industries, on the global nature of the annual cohort it attracts, on the extent to which the collaboration might or might not be replicated or adapted for other institutional and geographical conditions, and on the implications of the collaboration

for the definition of English as a university subject, particularly in the context of the limited definition of 'impact' that determines an increasing proportion of access to public funding for UK higher education institutions.

Shakespeare's Globe

Shakespeare's Globe is no ordinary theatre and responses to it are rarely, if ever, straightforward. How could they be, when its focus is a postmodern building created as a 'reconstruction' (*not* a 'replica', note—Globe employees never use the word) of an early modern building that has not existed for 400 years but is not in any reasonable sense either that building or 'Shakespeare's'? Critically speaking, the reconstructed Globe is not so much a theatre as an incitement to riot—but it is also, happily, an incitement to a wide array of more constructive activities, of exploration, experiment and education. It is crucial to remember that the Globe project began as an educational as much as a theatrical project, and it was for a long while *only* an educational project. As its longstanding director Patrick Spottiswoode points out, 'Globe Education was founded in 1989, eight years before the theatre opened, but Sam Wanamaker had experimented with theatre, education and exhibitions on Bankside since 1972'.[2] It was from the determination of Wanamaker—a visionary American actor and director whose persistent belief in the idea of reconstructing the Globe drove the project to a fruition he would, sadly, not (quite) live to see, and after whom the Globe's indoor theatre, opened in 2014, is named—to build what Spottiswoode calls 'a maverick theatrical experiment with education at its heart' (Carson & Karim-Cooper, 2008, p. 134) that Globe Education emerged; its role was, and is, to create new ways of teaching the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries at primary, secondary and degree level, and it is from this vision that the MA, catalysed by the emerging partnership between Shakespeare's Globe and King's College London, emerged.

   I first visited the Globe site in 1986, when I was writing a doctorate on Jacobean theatre and thought that, not being a Londoner by birth or experience, I should go on a field trip to see where it had all happened. So I took the train to the capital and wandered along the South Bank, and I found myself in a sort of wilderness of barbed wire and run-down warehouses with the crumbling remains of a huge power station as backdrop, and I wondered why someone didn't make something desirable out of it all. After all, I thought, the view of St Paul's and the City skyline across the river was truly superb…. A little further along was an

expanse of rubble next to the local council's yard for rubbish trucks, with a chain-link fence around it and a little sign in optimistic felt pen announcing that 'We hope to rebuild the Globe here one day'. And not a soul about, apart from the occasional jogger. It is hard to imagine this now, with Tate Modern firmly established in the rebuilt power station, the offices and restaurants and bars and luxury apartments crammed claustrophobically around the Globe, the dismal alleyways past the former Clink and Winchester House all converted, restored and buffed, and the Shard looming jaggedly over it all. But you have to know what it was like in the Eighties to have any idea of the physical transformation the Globe project has brought in its wake.

The Globe is an institution that rarely produces neutrality in commentators. As Robert Shaughnessy phrases it in his preface to Rob Conkie's *Globe Theatre Project:*

> [a]s a cross between theme park, permanent exhibition, monument, and living museum, the Globe is simultaneously an item on any self-respecting tourist's itinerary; […] a seriously scholarly resource and centre of a busy educational outreach network; [and] finally, […] a professional theatre that, unlike the other major British Shakespeare-producing organisations located just up the river in London and, further afield, in Stratford, operates entirely without the benefit of state support. (Shaughnessy, 2006, p. iii)

For the academics who have spent time there, the impact of the Globe has been immense and, in some cases, life-changing. For myself, I now know what the tiring-house, the lords' room, the galleries, all looked and felt like—I have a sense of the physical existence of the first Globe theatre—or at least part of me thinks I do, even while the rest of me knows that this simply cannot be true. But I am unlikely ever to shrug off that vision because I have walked in and on it, through and around it, enough times for it ('it'—that is, the reconstruction, the postmodern/early modern performance space) to be ingrained on my mind in scale, dimension, feel, aural quality. As Conkie notes, this is Baudrillard country par excellence—the 'precession of simulacra' with a thatched roof—as the copy is deployed for the complex purpose of 'enabl[ing] understanding (and experience) of the lost original'.[3] The imagining of the relationship of what exists now to the original, long-gone building is simultaneously valuable and fraught, and the questions we need to ask are perhaps more about the 'third kind' of knowledge to be derived from the reconstruction, which might or might not tell us about the original

but which certainly tells us *something* we would not know without it. The King's/Globe MA is inevitably bound up with issues specific to the Globe enterprise—the nature of the collaboration with Shakespeare's Globe is arguably different from a putative equivalent relationship with other theatres—and I want to reflect on why this might be the case and on the possibilities and limits of the programme as a model.

My questions, then, are these. To what extent has this collaboration at taught Master's level been a success? What, if anything, differentiates the MA from other programmes in Shakespeare studies? What, more generally, are the advantages and disadvantages of running an academic programme in collaboration with a theatre? And is the model applicable in other geographical contexts? To help me address these issues, I conducted a number of informal interviews with students who have taken the MA in recent years and with members of Globe Education, including Patrick Spottiswoode, Director of Globe Education; Dr Farah Karim-Cooper, Head of Higher Education & Research; and Madeline Knights, a former student from the early phase of the MA who subsequently became Globe Education's Courses Manager. By way of these interviews I will consider the opportunities offered, and the issues raised, by the MA and what it might tell us about the possibilities for collaborations between universities and cultural organisations elsewhere.

Creating the degree

I first began to discuss the idea of the MA in Shakespeare Studies with Patrick Spottiswoode in 1999. I had arrived at King's four years earlier and had become a regular attender at Globe events—by which I do not mean the theatre, which was still being built, but rather the range of events created by Globe Education: conferences, visiting speakers, above all the ongoing series of staged readings called 'Read Not Dead', an ambitious project to stage and record rehearsed readings of every extant early modern English play. Getting to know Patrick Spottiswoode was an inevitable result of participating in these events, since he was always there, enthusing, energising, engaging. When I first met him, he was Head of Education and Events at Globe Education's predecessor, the Shakespeare Globe Museum, a tiny education centre consisting of three rooms containing a poster and model exhibition about London theatres from 1576 to 1642, a scale model of an Elizabethan theatre and a life-size prop bear. By the time we started the MA, Globe Education had acquired a permanent staff of six; it now employs more than 35 permanent and over 100 freelance staff, and it teaches at all levels, from

pre-school to doctoral, collaborating with universities to facilitate its work at tertiary level—an extraordinary history of growth. The alliance with King's enabled the Globe to work stably in post-18 education in a way that it had not previously been able to do.

The degree emerged from conversation and a shared educational vision. But with the subsequent governmental emphasis on 'impact'— defined loosely by the UK Research Councils as 'the demonstrable contribution that excellent research makes to society and the economy' and more precisely (in this case by the London School of Economics) as *'a recorded or otherwise auditable occasion of influence from academic research on another actor or organization'*—and on 'knowledge transfer'— defined by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) as 'strengthen[ing] the impact of arts and humanities research by encouraging researchers to disseminate and transfer their knowledge to other areas where it can make a difference'—it turns out to have been something of a prescient move. We could not have known this at the time, however: for us, the primary motivating logic was the pedagogical benefit the collaboration seemed to offer.[4] Moreover, there is a twist: bizarrely, 'impact' and 'knowledge transfer' are not officially considered to happen in the teaching process. Thus, any 'impact' King's may wish to claim in respect of its close relationship with the Globe must stem from something other than the shared MA.

But these were not our concerns at the outset. I had suggested fairly casually to Patrick Spottiswoode that we might think about running a joint MA. He said yes, he had been wondering the same thing and wouldn't it be fine, but he couldn't see how he could afford to employ appropriate staff to teach it. The undergraduate teaching the Globe offered at this stage (mainly to Study Abroad programmes from the United States) was done by himself or freelance tutors and was self-funding, and I said, ah, but think about the potential income of an MA. And what became clear when we sat down and projected figures for fee income was that the programme, if it could bring in ten or so students a year (with a proportion paying the increased fees charged by UK universities to students coming from outside the European Union), would generate enough funds to cover if not all then enough of the salary of an early career lecturer for the risk to be worth taking. Spottiswoode notes that: for Globe Education,

> the MA was pragmatically and ideologically a sound idea. Our undergraduate programme was increasing, and Globe Education needed an in-house scholar to develop courses that would incorporate the discoveries that were being made from the newly opened

Globe and its productions. It had also always been our ambition to be a breeding-ground of scholars whose training was imbued with the experience of early-modern playhouse practice. It has been an extraordinarily successful partnership. Jointly-supervised PhDs then followed. None of this could have happened, however, without the seed funding income from the MA. The MA didn't cover the entire salary and overheads of the lecturer post; that came from the other courses that the post-holder was then teaching. The added value of having an in-house scholar that other areas of the department and organisation could turn to was an important additional result. It is impossible to think of the Globe today without a resident scholar— or, in fact, two, as we now have.

The foundational value of the programme, then, for the Globe was the projection of fee-income that would enable Globe Education to appoint a tertiary-level lecturer—someone with the qualifications to be a strong candidate for a university post but who would value the opportunity to work as the in-house academic at this unique theatre. Madeline Knights, former Courses Manager, notes that '[f]inancially, the MA is the highest income provider within the Higher Education area of Globe Education', but she stresses the impact of the programme on several levels: 'It's important to us financially, but it's important to us most of all as our only graduate-level English department programme; and it's our only group of students creating research into the theatre for us'. Of the students, she notes that '[t]hey're part of the texture of the Globe: what the MA has done is join everybody together, create a dialogue between academics and practitioners, and the students feel they're part of that dialogue'. For Farah Karim-Cooper, '[t]he MA is the nucleus that keeps everything going'—quite a role, in other words, for an academic degree in the context of a theatre.

The programme is offered full- and part-time. A full-time student takes two modules, one offered by Globe Education, one by King's, in semester one (late September to Christmas), two King's-taught modules in semester two (mid-January to late March), and he or she then produces a critical survey preliminary to the dissertation in mid-May, writing the dissertation (of 15,000 words) between then and early September. A part-time student takes the first-semester Globe module in the first year, the first-semester King's module in the second, and takes one second-semester optional module at King's per year. In the current model (we are at present embarking on a structural reorganisation of the degree to embrace the new possibilities created by the opening of

the indoor Sam Wanamaker Playhouse), the first-semester modules are compulsory: 'Early Modern Playhouse Practice' is taught at the Globe by Karim-Cooper and team; 'Working with Early Modern Literary Texts' is run at King's and is team-taught by the Shakespeareans in the English department. Karim-Cooper's module uses Globe resources to introduce the students to the practicalities of the production of early modern plays and the difference these practicalities might make to interpretation of the texts; the King's module addresses the range of critical approaches to early modern texts and provides an introduction to textual studies, palaeography and the editing of early modern plays. The second-semester optional modules at King's include 'Global and Local Shakespeares', 'Shakespeare on Screen', 'Family Politics in Early Modern Texts' and 'Theatre, Gender and Culture in Jacobean London'; each seeks to develop knowledge acquired both at the Globe and at King's in the first semester. The choice of dissertation is refined by the students' experience in those modules, appropriate supervisors are assigned—at the Globe or at King's, depending on the topic—and dissertation workshops help the students make the transition from essay-writing.

The degree normally accepts 15 or so students a year. We have until recently operated on the basis of a ceiling of 18 for reasons of space and resource but the actual numbers have varied between 10 and 22: a workable number, in other words, if not immense by the standards of some MA programmes in more recent literature (but, I am aware, enviable figures when viewed from other geographies). However, as I write (in mid-2014), for reasons that are unclear, we have had a marked increase in applications—bucking the post-undergraduate-fees trend of declining MA numbers—and we will be running two MA groups for the coming academic year. Whether this increase in numbers is sustainable, given both the impact of fees and of competition in the area of Master's degrees in Shakespeare Studies both locally and elsewhere in the UK, remains to be seen. But the implication would appear to be that a degree that offers a range of career-path possibilities over and above progression to the PhD may be in a position to resist the undermining effect of undergraduate fees (introduced in 2004 and increased by the government from £3000 to £9000 per annum in 2012) on the financial ability of students without independent means to continue to study at postgraduate level.

For the university, the partnership with a renowned non-HEI is crucial in attracting students: the opportunity offered to King's—control of a major segment of the market share in the tertiary study of Shakespeare and his contemporaries in the UK in general and in London in

particular—by our sharing with the Globe brand is considerable, and we should never forget that without the Globe the MA programme would lose much of its appeal, removing our main advantage in relation to other Master's degrees in Shakespeare studies and leaving the long-standing and highly successful collaboration between the University of Birmingham's Shakespeare Institute and the Royal Shakespeare Company in Stratford-upon-Avon as the only Shakespeare-centred non-HEI/university joint project in the UK. The students accepted on our degree are a mix of home and overseas, predominantly women, a blend of those who aim to go on to the PhD, those who want to work in the arts either creatively or administratively, and those who simply wish to develop their knowledge of Shakespeare and early modern English drama. Global applications come, in rough order of numbers, from the United States, Canada, Taiwan, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Korea, Germany, France and Switzerland—and the degree also attracts an unusually wide range of home applicants, including a good proportion of mature students. What attracts them all, of course, is the theatre. 'The Globe was definitely a pull', recalls one of the former students. In fact, the one consistent factor in the admissions process is that applicants invariably say how keen they are to study at Shakespeare's Globe: an English department involved in a programme of this kind necessarily learns a certain humility. The collaborative model has, moreover, subsequently become something of a trademark of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at King's: the MA in Shakespeare Studies is now only one of several collaborative one-year Master's programmes taught jointly with London's major cultural institutions (e.g. the MA in Early Modern English Literature: Text and Transmission, taught with the British Library, and the MA in Eighteenth Century Studies, taught with the British Museum).

The value of the teaching and learning environment provided by Globe Education must not be underestimated. It would be very difficult indeed for a university to find a partner institution that cares as much as the Globe does about the education of students. One of the key factors is the Globe's treatment of the MA students as important members of the theatre's community, and this is not just fostered as a warm, glowing feeling: the degree is woven into the work of Globe Research and thus into that of Globe Theatre. Not that this is necessarily always as fully appreciated as it might be. The students I interviewed had rather complex reactions to the question: 'Is the teaching element the Globe provides academically valuable?'. Some enthused; others had initially been less certain. Former student Kate Smith noted that the material

about playhouse practice in the first semester, so different from what she had been taught as an undergraduate, had not, to begin with, seemed 'academic enough', but 'later in our written work they had their effect'; 'it took me a little while', she commented, 'to see the intellectual underpinning of what initially just seemed like "Here's a prop"'. 'That', said Sarah Dustagheer:

> combined with the first-semester module at King's, was one of the strongest parts of the MA for me, because it radically changed the way I conceived early modern drama, in terms of thinking about the journey from playhouse to printing house, the practicality and materiality of theatre, which I really hadn't looked at as part of my undergraduate degree. It means that now when I sit down to read an early modern play, that's something I can't switch off.

And she added:

> While the King's modules were excellent, I think in the end I got more from the Globe simply because in the first semester that was where we bonded as a group and so our identity as a set of students was shaped by that—and then in the summer when I was working on my dissertation it was all at the Globe and I didn't come into King's at all.

Moreover, for many of the students, it is neither King's nor the Globe, but London itself, that makes the difference. For Hayley Jones, a New Zealander, '[t]hat MA year was probably the best year of my life. It was great moving to London: suddenly I was going to parties with all these people who were bright and articulate and wanted to talk about books'.

Still, for all the advantages of London student life, there are certain quite specific aspects of the MA experience that need touching on. One is the research internships offered to the students by Globe Education. This is an element created by Farah Karim-Cooper who, as Head of Higher Education and Research, leads one of three areas, alongside Learning and Public Events, that comprise Globe Education. Karim-Cooper has embedded the MA within Globe Research by creating intern posts each year for which MA students can apply. 'The MA interns work one day a week', she notes:

> unless they feel they can provide another day—but as their tutor I keep my eye on dissertations and make sure they're doing

things right. So one of them this year has been research assistant to the designer for one of the productions, and she has pulled that material together. And another got asked a question by one of the directors that's become her dissertation topic, she got so interested as she wrote the report.

Thus the intern work can feed back valuably into the academic experience. For Dustagheer, 'doing an internship as an MA student works to reinforce the teaching in the first semester to get you to think about the text as performance', and she notes the opportunities this provides for the interns to interact with the creative process. 'You're very aware when you're answering directors' questions', she says:

> … that question you asked me about Roman government; *here's* the answer; *there's* what Shakespeare would have known about that; so you're doing a kind of double work; you're saying 'look, you've asked me this question, but there's perhaps a more interesting question that you might ask too…'.

And she continues:

> Interns do the end-of-season research, the interviews which, for instance, informed the PhD chapter I was writing on plays written for the new Globe space. That's the exchange: interns do the research for the directors during the season and at the end of the season we have access to the cast and directors for interviews. From 2006, we have had end-of-season interviews for most of the actors, all the directors and with the artistic director, which are then available in the archive.

The interns thus provide a valuable role in respect of the theatre's archive as well as its productions. 'Without the MA', I asked, 'could that happen?' 'Well, yes', says Knights, 'because you'd get interns from wherever. But the key thing for us is that it ensures quality control'.

The internships thus offer an advantage for a subset of the students taking the degree—a more focused version of the advantage the programme offers to all the students, that is, the ongoing value of involvement with Shakespeare's Globe for subsequent non-academic employment as much as for academic. Globe Education itself now employs a number of graduates from the MA, and others have worked at the Barbican, Royal Opera House, English National Opera, National

Theatre and other established London cultural organisations. So does the degree make a difference to employment prospects in the arts? I met a former student from the MA at a play and learned what she was now doing—working as an assistant producer at a small theatre in west London—and I asked what difference the MA had made to her in achieving this role. 'Nothing', she said, a little crushingly, 'Absolutely nothing'. Dustagheer, though, sees it differently:

> The Globe connection definitely helps. When I went to do bits of work in theatres during my MA year, they let me in the door to an extent because I had the Globe on my cv, and then when I explained what it was they were very surprised, because they don't have that academic model. At one prominent London theatre I was talking to one of the guys in the education department and describing the set-up at the Globe, and he thought it was amazing: he said 'we would have no way to use an academic'. They can't work out what an academic is doing in a theatre context.

So it helps, and it doesn't help—and it also puzzles people in potentially productive, barrier-removing ways.

The value of the MA can also be measured beyond its impact on the students themselves. The role of Karim-Cooper as an academic who works at the Globe—and whose post would not have existed without the MA—is a fascinating one, and it has made her career very different from what it would have been if she had taken a post instead in a university English department. Her profile is unique, as is that of Dustagheer, who—having gone on from the MA to do a PhD thesis co-supervised by Karim-Cooper and me, funded through the AHRC's Collaborative Doctoral Awards (CDA) scheme—emerged with both a doctorate and a level of theatrical, organisational and educational experience that would be unimaginable for most other PhD students, and it has paid immediate tangible dividends in her recent appointment to a permanent lectureship at the University of Kent. Karim-Cooper, having co-supervised Dustagheer and subsequently other PhD students (including a further AHRC-funded CDA student), is in the position, although she is employed by a theatre, of having co-organised and taught a significant component of an MA programme and having supervised at doctoral level. In other words, the MA has arguably helped develop a particular kind of academic, one equally at home in the context of a university and of a theatre education department—someone who, in UK literary-academic terms, is a hybrid. Both Karim-Cooper and Dustagheer are

embedded in theatrical thinking, even though neither acts nor directs and has had English-department, not Drama-department, training.

I have already slipped over into the other half of the equation: that is, the value of the MA for the theatre. The constitution of Shakespeare's Globe is key—its origins in the desire of a visionary theatre practitioner to create both a reconstructed playhouse and an education centre and thus his need to work with academics, with theatre historians and with archaeologists, in a way that meant that literary- and theatre-historical research and the structures of academic life—seminars, conferences, guest lectures—were intrinsic to the creation of the reconstructed theatre. As Spottiswoode notes:

> Education has traditionally been 'tacked on' to arts organisations to attract sponsorship or secure government funding. Sam Wanamaker was ahead of his time in building a Centre that included education, performance and exhibitions. So Education underpinned the work from the get-go. Hence Globe Education was founded eight years before the Globe theatre opened.

To my suggestion that it is obvious what the advantage is for a university in working with a theatre, but less so the other way round, he does not hesitate:

> Shakespeare's Globe was constructed out of a series of conversations between theatre and theatre building historians, craftsmen and theatre practitioners. Actors and scholars alike have been eager to test and learn from the architecture. Globe Education has always sought to engage as much as possible with the academy. We also want to involve as many scholars as possible in our work to 'make scholarship public' at the Globe. For Sam it was about sharing, expertise, enthusiasm and passion; today it is called, more prosaically, 'impact'.

However, he adds a warning:

> I think it'd be a mistake for an arts organisation to look at a model and say, ah, right, well, let's start an MA programme. That way it'll die within a year, it just won't survive. It's got to grow out of the work they do; it's a slow burner. Globe Ed had existed for ten, fifteen years by the time we started the MA. And we've grown alongside it. There's no point a university approaching an arts organisation and saying let's have an MA or a programme together if education isn't

part of that organisation's mission. We are fortunate that Shakespeare is so widely taught across ages and nationalities. We are fortunate too that our Centre finds itself in a metropolis. Both have helped attract students at all levels. But the MA with King's depends on a shared vision and good working relationship between both organisations.

He sums up: 'It is a happy blend of "gown and clown". Joint MAs between HEIs and cultural institutions are worth exploring, but they depend on the cultural institution having education as part of its DNA.'

The degree as model

This raises the question of the reproducibility of the experience the MA offers. Is it of any value as a model, or is it simply a one-off? Can this kind of programme exist elsewhere, or does it only work because King's, a university with a strong commitment to cultural partnerships, and the Globe, a unique combination of theatre and educational establishment, are half a mile apart along one of the world's great rivers? Asked if such a degree could exist in, say, Australia, former student Hayley Jones observed that 'what's crucial' about the degree

> … is the iconic building. You can imagine an MA, say, that's linked to the Sydney Opera House about opera history because people would go across the world to do an MA run by the University of Sydney music department and the Opera House for the same reason that people come to London to do the King's/Globe degree. It's not so clear there's an equivalently iconic theatre building there [in Australia] or not at least one that would logically have a Shakespeare MA attached to it.

Sarah Dustagheer, however, notes that 'the other model is Blackfriars in Virginia'—that is, the American Shakespeare Center in Staunton, Virginia, with its reconstructed early modern indoor theatre (designed as a reconstruction of Shakespeare's company's indoor theatre space at Blackfriars), which offers an MLitt/MFA programme with nearby Mary Baldwin College. At the same time, she observes that the Virginia Blackfriars, unlike the Globe

> is *not* actually site-specific, has no sense that Shakespeare is *down there* somewhere. But they have a reconstructed theatre, and they have great interaction between academics and practitioners because

> Ralph Cohen [director of the American Shakespeare Center] is both an academic and a theatre director. So they have their 'Actor's Renaissance Season' where the actors have cue-scripts and put on productions after limited rehearsal, and then every week the people doing the MA meet with the actors so there's more of an interaction between the different sides.[5]

For Knights, too, geography is not really the point: 'What's key for anyone looking to replicate what we do here is the opportunity a programme such as this offers to its students'. And Spottiswoode argues that distance does not have to be destructive:

> As for the question of geography, you say that we're very lucky because King's is on the doorstep of the Globe and vice versa, but we're also providing MA modules for the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, and it does work. The students are here for four weeks of tuition prior to a performance on the Globe stage. The Globe also provides distance learning and blended courses, especially at secondary/high school level for teachers. A Globe Education Academy based at UC Davis involving the University's theatre and School of Education is now in its ninth year and involves high school teachers within a hundred-mile radius of Davis attending workshops prior to a summer intensive at the Globe. The teachers return to their classroom and immediately put into practice what they have learned at the Globe, involving their students in a Fall Shakespeare Festival. It's a fabulous model for a blended course and one that could be replicated for HEIs.

Former student Kate Smith, however, makes two key points about the MA as a model for university/theatre interactions. First of all, she notes the advantage inherent in the fact that Shakespeare's Globe, as its name insists, is a *single-playwright* theatre, which makes such a tightly focused MA possible; and, secondly, she notes the size of Globe Education in comparison with other theatres' education sections. Economies of scale operate, very clearly: just as a university department with only one Shakespeare specialist would be unable to run a Shakespeare MA, so a theatre education department needs to be a certain size before it can be an effective collaborator with a university.

The 'single playwright' point is significant, not least because that playwright is Shakespeare, the most canonical figure in the literary and theatrical worlds, the most 'global' of British writers, and the *genius loci* of the Globe. An anthropological reading of the Globe

is always tempting because of the barely submerged ritual/religious qualities of the site, its nature as a locus of cultural pilgrimage and the determination of some of its admirers to insist on its embodiment of 'authenticity'. The Globe itself habitually and understandably sidesteps some of the more limiting implications of these associations, though there have been moments at which the organisation's self-awareness has expressed itself in appropriately tongue-in-cheek ways, notably when a performance of *Henry VIII*, the play that was responsible for the burning-down of the first Globe in 1613 when a blank charge from a prop cannon set the thatch on fire, was preceded by Globe employees dousing the theatre's walls with bottled water. Many of the same issues, of course, apply also to theatrical activity, and to related academic programmes, in Stratford-upon-Avon, locus of the other 'sacred' Shakespearean sites, the birthplace and grave. Yet it is arguable that a simulacrum in a location that cannot claim any 'originality' in relation to Shakespeare—the Virginia Blackfriars being one such instance—has just as much of a right (or absence of right) to construct itself on the basis of 'authenticity' as does the Globe, which is itself a postmodern, not an early modern, structure.

At the same time, there is no question that the specific identity of the King's/Globe MA stems from the reconstructed nature of the theatre, from the debates about the conditions of early modern playing that drove its creation—the desire to reproduce as closely as possible the original physical context for performance in a wood-and-plaster, open-air-and-thatch amphitheatre and thus recreate the experience of seeing and hearing Shakespeare's plays as the Elizabethan and Jacobean audiences would have done. In this sense, the MA is unique because its driving premise—as expressed in the degree's core module, 'Early Modern Playhouse Practice'—is to extend the logic of the reconstructed Globe by introducing the students, as their first graduate-level intellectual engagement, to the evidence for the theatrical conditions and contexts within which the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries were first performed. This is by no means all that the degree offers—the second-semester optional modules are divided between those that focus on early contexts (e.g. 'Theatre, Gender and Culture in Jacobean London') and those that examine more recent phenomena (e.g. 'Global and Local Shakespeares')—but it is the opening gambit of the programme, and it unquestionably provides the motivation for many applicants to choose the MA over its competitors.

Thus it is the cultural partner in this collaboration at least as much as the university that drives the pedagogical agenda: the theatre's

role in the degree is not simply instrumental, an aid to sustaining application numbers; on the contrary, it provides the defining component of the intellectual logic of the degree. This is enhanced, as it happens, by the particular engagements of the Shakespeareans at King's: we belong to an English, not a Drama, department, and only one of us could be considered primarily a theatre historian, which means that the teaching we offer has a usefully complementary relationship with that provided by Globe Education. Moreover, the MA directly addresses the 'third kind of knowledge' with which I began my discussion—the knowledge that the Globe is precisely *not* authentic, that being within it and learning about the logic of its creation gives the students not so much a sense of what it would have been like to attend a theatre in Shakespeare's day as a temporally hybrid sense of then-and-now which is also a sense of neither-then-nor-now and is frequently the impetus for imaginative student metacriticism. Both in the Globe's teaching and in the King's component of the degree, then, the students are challenged to confront the philosophical issues that the existence of the Globe provokes and to reflect on what studying in such a location in the early twenty-first century might mean for the work they produce.

The degree is thus both site-specific and free from site-specificity; it is probably best described as being *in dialogue with* site specificity. It both requires the students to immerse themselves in the Globe ethos and to be aware of the forms of cultural production that have determined that ethos. It encourages them to engage with, to interrogate and to deploy the spaces and working premises of the Globe in practical and intellectual ways (the most straightforwardly practical way stemming from the access the students have to the Globe stage for two often chilly hours on winter Wednesday evenings for whatever exploration they wish to pursue), and it seeks to ensure that students taking the degree emerge with an awareness of the complexities of reimagining and reconstructing a lost past of performance events. Clearly relationships with a certain equivalence exist elsewhere already (most obviously in Stratford-upon-Avon and, at a further remove, in Virginia), and the experience of certain of the challenges and benefits of HEI/cultural organisation collaborations will be shared across these instances.

What matters for the context of this chapter, however, are the implications of the degree for the future shape of English studies. Very clearly, the MA emerges from highly canonical activities—on the one hand, the analysis of the Shakespearean text in the context of an English department with a long history of work in the field and, on

the other, the production of Shakespearean drama in a mainstream London theatrical space—and in this sense it appears, in disciplinary terms, wilfully conservative. Yet for an increasing number of academics in English departments, 'conservative' seems to be less a claim about one or other critical position than a general dismissal of those who seek to sustain the study of pre-Romantic literature in a context in which, increasingly, a false application of the idea of 'student choice' promotes in UK English departments a destructive imbalance towards the contemporary—or at least towards the study of literature from Dickens to the present—at the expense of any coherent sense of the long trajectory of writing in English and its predecessor languages from the early Middle Ages onwards. Increasingly, it seems, it is radical—in the literal sense of going back to the roots of English literature and theatre—to insist on the study of the earlier periods. Thus a degree that could easily be dismissed in a superficial way as conservative or even reactionary in fact has certain radical implications, and not only because of its negotiation with issues of postmodern interest such as site-specificity. It serves as an active reminder that the study of the past is also always the study of the present, it represents new possibilities both for the relationship of English departments to practical theatre and for the future shape of an academic career in English, and it offers one possible template for resisting the undemocratic impact of undergraduate fees on the likelihood that students in the UK—for whom fees, without the prospect of salaries that will enable the repayment of those fees within any reasonable time frame, are an imposition guaranteed to privilege the independently wealthy over those who need to earn a living—will continue to see tangible value, both for education pure and simple and for future employment, in postgraduate taught programmes. I hope that as an example of collaborative pedagogical activity it provokes further developments in contexts as yet unimagined; I also hope that it exemplifies both what is valuable, and what remains to be achieved, in postgraduate taught education in the UK. The discipline of English studies has lately been claimed by some—particularly in the US and, to a lesser extent, the UK—to be in decline, to be past its best—which strikes me, bluntly, as nonsense. The field has a vast amount of scope for new discoveries and new opportunities, not only in the study of emerging fields but in the reimagining of traditional fields and periods. I hope the emergence of new models for pedagogy in the field—such as the collaborative MA in Shakespeare Studies offered by King's College London and Shakespeare's Globe—serves to underline the ability of the discipline both to sustain what it does best and to keep finding

new ways to engage future generations with the critical, and thus the pedagogical, questions that matter.

Notes

1. This essay is a personal reflection. The views expressed are my own and not necessarily those of the individuals I interviewed in the process of writing the chapter or of the organisations in question. I am very grateful to Patrick Spottiswoode, Farah Karim-Cooper, Madeline Knights, and the former MA students—notably Sarah Dustagheer—who kindly agreed to be interviewed for this essay. I hope they feel I have represented their views fairly. NB 'Kate Smith' and 'Hayley Jones' are pseudonyms: I interviewed the students when they were completing their degrees but have not subsequently been able to contact them to ask permission to use their actual names. I am also grateful to Clare McManus (her real name!) for reading a draft of this chapter and offering valuable comments.
2. See Carson and Karim-Cooper (2008), Part II, 'Globe Education and Research', 127–174. See in particular Chapter 10, 'Contextualising Globe Education', by Patrick Spottiswoode, 134–145; see also my 'Afterword', 230–233.
3. Conkie, 2006, p. 3; the reference is to Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulations,* trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994).
4. For these definitions, see www.ahrc.ac.uk/What-We-Do/Build-the-evidence-base/Pages/Pathways-to-Impact.aspx, blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/introduction and www.ahrc.ac.uk/news-and-events/publications/documents/knowledge-transfer-strategy-2008-2011.pdf (all accessed 29 October 2014).
5. For further information, see www.kcl.ac.uk/artshums/depts/english/study/pgt/progs/shakespeare/index.aspx (accessed 29 October 2014).

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12
English Language Studies from Rhetoric to Applied English

Peter Stockwell

Defining origins

Perhaps more than almost any other subject, the study of English language in a native-speaker context has been much debated, ideologised and caught up in issues of morality, citizenship, nationalism, liberty and identity. It is interesting to think why. The most obvious reason—and unlike almost every other field—is that the 'English language' is both the object and the medium of study. This also means that every speaker feels that they have a legitimate and valid opinion on language matters: everyone feels that they are an expert in a way that does not generally happen with physicists, surgeons, historians or philosophers.

It might be argued that the sense that a commentary on English language is open to all, regardless of training, is a consequence of its uncertain and fragmented disciplinary status (see Carter and Pope, this volume). In general, three areas have emerged as relevant to this discussion, all of them part of 'English': the study of English literature, the formal linguistic study of the language, and a third area which has come to be called 'English Language Studies'. This last area combines the first two and views language as a discourse, in the sense that it explores the contexts, purposes and effects of linguistic form. This last area is the topic of this chapter. I hope to set out its value and distinctiveness, and I argue, with a detailed example, that the field has an established history and is a discipline for the future.

'English' only developed as a university subject in the beginning of the twentieth century in the UK, where it exclusively meant the appreciation and study of Literature (with a capital 'L'). Issues in language study were part of philology and were largely restricted to the scholarly pursuit of the Germanic and Romance development of earlier

English: English language study thus remained primarily historical. In order to study (the history of) the English language, you were probably already working within the Germanic philological tradition of Friedrich von Schlegel and Jacob Grimm. You would have had a detailed knowledge of Latin, Greek, and the medieval forms of French, German and the Scandinavian languages. You would have been mainly interested in sound-changes over the centuries, syntactic patterns, and the etymology of words and their cognates (related forms across different languages). Though you may well have been an enthusiastic reader of literary works, you would have regarded this part of your life as recreational and cultural, rather than scholarly or serious—a gentlemanly pursuit (and you would almost certainly have been a man). If university was beyond your means, your only study of English would have been as one of the two-thirds of all working class children learning to read at Sunday school, or (after the 1870 Education Act) as part of compulsory elementary literacy. After that, you might have studied Great Works of the English literary tradition at a Mechanics Institute or Working Men's College in the evening (see Eagleton, 1996).

In the UK, the prominence of English (by then associated almost entirely with the study of literature) from the 1920s onwards can be attributed to a variety of factors, in particular as a symbol of national pride and as a suitable subject for women. Anti-German feeling after the Great War of 1914–18 meant that the more recent Englishness of English rather than its philological Germanness came into focus. The economic rise of women in the paid-workplace also meant that female literacy and women's education expanded. Women were formally allowed to graduate from Oxford from October 1920. Arthur Quiller-Couch established English Literature as part of a degree subject at Cambridge from 1912 with a series of lectures 'On the Art of Writing'. His audience was unusually largely composed of women, even though he customarily addressed them as 'Gentlemen' (according to Sinfield, 1992, p. 211). His ambivalence towards 'EngLit' as a properly manly subject can perhaps be felt here, but English even under the male oversight of influential figures like I. A. Richards and F. R. Leavis became established at university and still remains a predominantly feminine academic subject (see also Palmer, 1965).

Though both Richards and Leavis emphasised the importance of the 'close reading' of literary texts as a means of supporting aesthetic judgements, the practice remained intuitive and impressionistic rather than analytical. This is not largely their fault, since the descriptive models of language that were available to them were still either etymological

as mentioned above, or consisted merely of labelling parts of speech based on Latinate grammatical rules. The shift in language study from philology to structure was only just contemporaneously being undertaken by key figures such as the Swiss scholar Ferdinand de Saussure, or the Americans Edward Sapir and Leonard Bloomfield—and the modern discipline of linguistics was being born.

For a short period—around the 1940s and 1950s—the study of literature and the study of its language were regarded by many as inseparable. The British legacy of close reading and the emergence of New Criticism in America offered an integration of literary appreciation through the form of the text's expression. However, the study of language and the study of literature were about to diverge into a social science on the one hand and arts scholarship on the other. To simplify the period, we can even pinpoint the moment of divergence to 1957 and the publication of Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* and Northrop Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism*. Though both essentially *structuralist* in approach, these works marked a disjunction with the broad field of 'English' as it had existed up until then.

Modern linguistics from this point onwards has generally aimed at universal rules, principles and parameters. Any particular peculiarities of a singular instance of discourse have been set aside as merely a surface realisation or social 'noise' that was obscuring the underlying rules of language. The oddity and uniqueness of a literary text certainly had no place in this enterprise. Within what became the mainstream Chomskyan approach to linguistics (most influentially in the US), matters of context, discourse, interpretation, aesthetics, intention, creativity and dialectal variation were assigned to other fields, and removed from the object of study of linguistics proper.

On the other side, Frye's structuralism aimed to move on from the reliance on taste and sensitivity towards a more rigorous and theoretically sophisticated account of literature and its types. Though later poststructuralist developments in literary studies can be seen as reactions against this sort of classificatory impulse, throughout the widespread theory debates of the last half-century, literary criticism largely moved away from the text itself and towards a broad form of cultural studies. Even the historical work of archivist scholars and those who worked with manuscript editions seemed to have relatively little interest in developments in contemporary linguistics.

Over the second half of the twentieth century then, to study English anywhere in the world has largely meant either a study of the formal descriptions of linguistics, or else a theory-driven mode of

cultural studies. For linguistics, literature and its contexts were largely set aside as an object of study. For literary studies, the text itself became increasingly decentred, with interest in canonical literature being widened to include other literary work, popular and marginal literatures, world literatures, multimodal work, and so on. Literary critics could be found commenting on cookery, advertising, cinema, politics, journalism, and the discourse of the world in general, but without much awareness of any linguistics after Saussure. Linguists modelled different ways of accounting for the formal features of many languages, but largely ignored the cultural significance attached by the users of those languages to their own speech. The most valued form of language—literature—was mainly ignored by descriptive linguists.

So what happened to the older, more integrated tradition of 'English Language Studies', as the field seemed to bifurcate into two separate domains?

English language as applied English

The account given above of the divergence of language and literature studies into science and culture is of course overly simplistic, though I think the tendencies pulling in each direction are real. This polarisation of the scope of language study indeed is a peculiarly twentieth-century phenomenon. The broader and integrated study of language has been a feature of literate societies for as long as records are available, encompassed within the terms of *rhetoric* in most of the western world over four millennia (see also Russell, this volume). Rhetoric in the ancient world encompassed the study of the linguistic form and meaning (*logos*), the nature of the authority of the speaker (*ethos*), and the emotional effect of the discourse (*pathos*). In rhetorical studies, form and meaning were not separated, and neither were the intentions of the speaker/writer nor the persuasive or emotional effects on the audience/reader (Cockcroft, 2003). Rhetoric might best be defined as the practical exploration of discourse.

Both the descriptive linguistic aspect and the aesthetic value aspect of the study of English can be discerned in the field of rhetoric—both typology and artistry—but it seems to me that the most significant dimension of rhetoric is its practical aspect. Students and politicians learned rhetoric over the millennia in order to be better speakers and writers. They studied the rhetoric of great speakers and writers in order to appreciate their craft and emulate them. Rhetoric was artisanal and practical, firstly about craft and technique and only consequently

about art, value and universal rules. So I would like to argue that, in the twentieth century, the spirit of rhetoric was not replaced by linguistics and literary criticism directly; in their decontextualised or detextualised forms they have become intellectually and historically marginal ideas (though they have been institutionally mainstream and overfunded). Where linguistics treats language as discourse, and where literary criticism pays systematic attention to language, then a broad and modern rhetoric can be discerned (Eagleton, 1996, makes a comparable argument). For me, this is the field of 'English Language Studies'. It is not antagonistic to the two other, partial fields (literature and linguistics): it encompasses them to a large extent.

The rise of 'English' (Literature) and 'Linguistics' as separate fields in general still left a lot of activity in which the spirit of rhetoric has remained alive as 'English Language Studies'. The activity goes by a variety of names, but it can generally be characterised in terms of a combination of most of the following features:

- a close attention to the stylistic patterns in a text;
- a concern to draw on our best current understanding of language and mind;
- a systematic application of concepts and agreed technical terms;
- an empirical and evidential base;
- a concern for linking style with social and psychological effects;
- an emphasis on the analysis of language as discourse;
- an interest in the specific value of a text as well as its place in a typology;
- a commitment to clarity and transparency in method and expression.

Subjects in which these characteristics feature prominently include stylistics, literary linguistics, rhetoric, cognitive poetics, composition, cognitive rhetoric, discourse analysis, critical linguistics, critical discourse analysis, language awareness, and a host of other names. Overall, they constitute what I would see as the central concerns of English Language Studies, a field with a consistent thread running back into the history of rhetoric.

It should be apparent that there are many sub-disciplines of linguistics which are not as formally decontextualised as I have sketched above. My characterisation refers to what is known in the world as 'Theoretical linguistics', or 'General linguistics', or 'Pure linguistics'. Theoretical linguists of this persuasion would characterise all other forms of the field as 'Applied Linguistics'. However, Applied Linguistics in course

and department titles round the world often refers to the teaching of the English language to non-native speakers and the scholarly study of its principles and pedagogy. To a 'pure' theoretical linguist, though, all the other sub-disciplines such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, pragmatics, second language acquisition research, and others would be varied forms of Applied Linguistics.

Equally there are some approaches within literary studies which engage more readily with matters of textuality: literary stylistics, cognitive poetics, corpus stylistics, empirical poetics, and even creative writing as an academic subject. These more discourse-driven fields constitute the central territory of English Language Studies, with a literary flavour.

'English Language' as a discipline has a particularly British perspective, perhaps. At the present moment, it might be seen as a sort of discourse-oriented form of Linguistics. There are historical and political reasons why this area of discourse analytical studies came to be called 'English Language'. In the UK, the examinations at the end of secondary school were called Ordinary, or O-levels, from 1951 until they were replaced by a new qualification from 1984 onwards. Within the subject of English, there were two papers: English Literature, and English Language. The latter was largely a literacy examination, testing comprehension and composition, with an element of close-reading and commentary on language. It could not be characterised as Linguistics in any sort of scholarly sense. A student would typically take one or both English O-levels at age 16, and might then go on to a two-year Advanced, A-level course in English Literature. From 1984, some of the examination boards in England and Wales introduced an A-level in what was essentially Linguistics: the syllabus included the areas of language acquisition, language variation and change, the history of English, an outline of language theories from phonology to syntax, both literary and non-literary stylistics, and a fieldwork research project. In order to capture those students who had done the O-level, the course was entitled 'English Language'. It was also felt that 'Linguistics' would be too off-putting and technical, perhaps too foreign-sounding and theoretical, and not tied closely enough to the Englishness of 'English language'.

In 1984, I was one of the first of 200 students to follow this course. Over the last 30 years it has been one of the fastest growing school examinations. Of the roughly 250,000 students taking A-levels each year, around 16% take English Literature (40,000), with 8% taking English Language (20,000) and nearly 6% (15,000) taking a combined Language and Literature course that is essentially a programme in

stylistics (figures from Gill, 2012, p.6). The Russell Group (2011) of UK research universities identified 'facilitating' subjects: those which offered the widest access to University degree programmes—one of which was 'English' (their term which fudged the issue of whether they meant language or literary study). In the press at the time, the other sense of 'facilitating' as 'empowering and enabling' was applied: it is hard to argue that the narrow study of a handful of texts in the English Literature A-level is as enabling as the broad skillset that is offered by the English Language or combined courses. In my experience, students arriving at University with English Language are actually better able to cope with the degree-level study of literature.

So there now exists a sense, especially in the UK, that English Language is a discourse-oriented version of Linguistics, with an emphasis on context, choice and effect. 'Linguistics' is reserved for specialised university courses. It might seem peculiarly British, though I have seen the subject area used in this sense in Australia and New Zealand, across India and southern Africa, and parts of south-east Asia—perhaps unsurprisingly those parts of the world with historic connections with the British Commonwealth and the English language. In spite of this international usage, it certainly does often cause confusion. A reviewer of my co-authored textbook, *Introducing English Language* (Mullany and Stockwell, 2010), read the title as an introduction to second-language learners learning about English for the first time, and so produced a rather eccentric account. In fact, the phrase was being used in the title in this disciplinary sense: the book could equally have been called 'An introduction to key ideas in linguistics and discourse analysis'—and it was part of a series of 'English Language Introductions' to a range of areas such as the history of English, world Englishes, media discourse, pragmatics, and so on.

The defining sense of English Language Studies is the attention that is paid to the context, purpose and effects of the language under investigation. This sense takes it away from the core work in theoretical linguistics. It also treats all texts as instances of language in use, so literary works are explored using the same methodological tools as any other sort of discourse. This makes English Language Studies very attractive and empowering for students, since the path from new training to expertise is really quite short. Students of English Language find they have the means of interrogating any text fairly rapidly after exploring it for the first time.

By analogy with Applied Linguistics, we might conceive of what I am positioning as the central territory of English Studies as a sort of Applied

English. This is a term that my former colleague at Nottingham, Julie Sanders (2012) coined in order to encompass the connected but richly diverse ways in which English language and literature studies relate to the world. Built on a discourse-sensitive and contextualised principle, we could characterise Applied English as the singular central discipline of English Studies, whether the language being studied is individual, social, private, public, commercial, religious, journalistic, institutional or literary in nature. An Applied English approach to any text in context would start from the language and would draw on both linguistic and cultural knowledge to build up a picture of how that text worked and what its significance was to its creators and audience. Since the approach—whether you call it English Language Studies or Applied English—is principally practical, what follows is a demonstration by way of example.

A stylistic account of a text: between linguistics and literary history

In order to demonstrate in concrete terms the key characteristics of an Applied English approach to a text, here is a celebrated poem that has a history, context and reception that are interesting for our purposes.

Bread and Roses

As we come marching, marching, in the beauty of the day,
A million darkened kitchens, a thousand mill-lofts gray
Are touched with all the radiance that a sudden sun discloses,
For the people hear us singing, 'Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses.'

As we come marching, marching, we battle, too, for men—
For they are women's children and we mother them again.
Our lives shall not be sweated from birth until life closes—
Hearts starve as well as bodies: Give us Bread, but give us Roses!

As we come marching, marching, unnumbered women dead
Go crying through our singing their ancient song of Bread;
Small art and love and beauty their drudging spirits knew—
Yes, it is bread we fight for—but we fight for Roses, too.

As we come marching, marching, we bring the Greater Days—
The rising of the women means the rising of the race—
No more the drudge and idler—ten that toil where one reposes—
But a sharing of life's glories: Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses!

<div align="right">(James Oppenheim, 1882–1932)</div>

What would a linguist do with this text? The first thing to observe is that this text would be unlikely to appear at all in any scholarly paper within modern formalist linguistics! This is a field which either invents well-formed sentences in order to demonstrate the accuracy of a theoretical model of syntax, say, or draws on examples from very large digitised corpora of millions of sentences collected from many sources, in order to discover generalisable patterns of usage. There *are* some striking linguistic features that a linguist would find it impossible to ignore, at different linguistic levels. At the phonological level, there are end-rhymes, alliterations, and a basic iambic heptameter metre with disruptions. At the lexical and semantic levels there are repetitions, reference to work and religion, and a prominence of the continuous forms of verbs ('marching', 'singing', 'rising'). At the syntactic level there is a great deal of noun-phrase modification and qualification ('million darkened kitchens'), complex clauses, some archaic syntactic ordering ('a thousand mill-lofts gray'), and a high occurrence of prepositional and adverbial phrases. At the pragmatic level there is a delineation of 'we' and 'they' in various different patterns.

The task of the formal linguist, however, is to identify such patterns for their linguistic importance, rather than their interpretative significance. By contrast, the literary critic would be mainly interested in interpretation, and would be concerned with locating the text in its original cultural context. So, we need to know that there is an interesting historical account of the poem that goes as follows (see Robbins, 2012). In 1912, textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts in the USA went on strike. They issued a statement that was widely reported across the country:

We, the 20,000 textile workers of Lawrence, are out on strike for the right to live free from slavery and starvation; free from overwork and underpay; free from a state of affairs that had become so unbearable and beyond our control, that we were compelled to march out of the slave pens of Lawrence in united resistance against the wrongs and injustice of years and years of wage slavery.

In our fight we have suffered and borne patiently the abuse and calumnies of the mill owners, the city government, police, militia, State government, legislature, and the local police court judge. We feel that in justice to our fellow workers we should at this time make known the causes which compelled us to strike against the mill owners of Lawrence. We hold that as useful members of society and as wealth producers we have the right to lead decent and honorable lives; that we ought to have homes and not shacks; that we ought to have clean food and not adulterated food at high prices; that we ought to have clothes suited to the weather and not shoddy garments. That to secure sufficient food, clothing and shelter in a society made up of a robber class on the one hand and a working class on the other hand, it is absolutely necessary for the toilers to band themselves together and form a union, organizing its powers in such form as to them seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

(*New York Times*, March 14, 1912, p.8)

The strike lasted for three months while the protesters, most of whom were women working in the cotton and wool industry, went hungry through a harsh winter. The mill-owners and local police and militia repressed the strike with great brutality, imprisoning and torturing the leaders, and clubbing women and children at a mass demonstration in the town. Many children were evacuated out of the area as a result. Women at the demo carried banners with the slogan 'We want bread and roses', a phrase attributed to a speech given to the textile workers of Lawrence by the feminist and socialist Rose Schneidermann:

What the woman who labors wants is the right to live, not simply exist—the right to life as the rich woman has the right to life, and the sun and music and art. You have nothing that the humblest worker has not a right to have also. The worker must have bread, but she must have roses, too. Help, you women of privilege, give her the ballot to fight with.

(Quoted in Eisenstein, 1983, p. 32)

The resonant phrase was taken up and turned into Oppenheim's poem above, and published a few years later in 1915. Set to music, it has become an anthem of working-class movements particularly for the Industrial Workers of the World, a revolutionary socialist labour union (also known as 'the Wobblies'). The poem has been sung by Mimi Fariña, Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, Judy Collins, John Denver, and others. It

was the title of a film directed by Ken Loach in 2000, and it was sung by striking Welsh miners in the 2014 film *Pride*.

The problem with this romantic account is that much of the early chronology is not true. Oppenheim actually published his poem in *The Atlantic Monthly* in December 1911, and it was only anthologised four years later. If there were banners at the Lawrence strike with 'Bread and roses' on (and there is no documentary evidence attesting to this), then they were quoting the poem, which had become very popular across the country by then. Rose Schneidermann must also have been alluding to the poem in her speech, which was in fact given later in 1912 to a meeting in Cleveland, Ohio. The inaccurate popular account given above, in which the poetic phrase emerges directly from the working-class struggle, is part of the myth-making power of twentieth-century politics (see Altman, 2011).

Notice that this literary critical history—interestingly distracting though it is—has not really mentioned the text of the poem itself at all. Of course, I am caricaturing both the formalist linguist and the literary cultural critic, but it does seem to me that there is a core of true representation in the two ways these traditions would approach the poem, as I have sketched out here. What would happen if we looked directly at the poem and produced a third analysis, this time based on an Applied English, or English Language Studies approach, and keeping stylistics as the central method? What if we started by paying attention to the language?

The iambic heptameter in which the poem is mainly cast is most often associated with the English ballad form of narrative poetry, or as a 'fourteener' (in terms of syllables) in the 'common metre' form of traditional hymns. These two metrical echoes might be regarded as a blend of the everyday, prosaic narrative account with a more poetic, religious and aspirational larger struggle. Indeed this is the key theme of the poem itself. The Christian religious flavour can be discerned in the allusions evident in 'give us bread' (from the miracle of the loaves and fishes, and from the Last Supper), 'touched with all the radiance' is a transfiguration, 'toil' ('they toil not, neither do they spin', Matthew 6:28, Luke 12:27), the religious flavour of 'glories', and of course the repetition of 'rising'. However, this spiritual dimension is tempered by the prosaic, industrial and everyday material struggle of 'darkened kitchens', 'mill-lofts gray', 'the people', and 'drudging'. There are also military evocations in the repetitive (and phonetically iconic) 'marching, marching', as well as in 'battle' and 'unnumbered women dead'.

The self-consciously poetic tone can also be seen in some of the phrasing. The post-modifications of 'mill-lofts gray' and 'women dead' are in a sequence that not only preserves the rhyme-scheme but is echoic of an archaic and highly poetic Miltonic word-order. The close positioning of 'million darkened' and 'thousand mill' is not only phonetically echoic but might also evoke Blake's 'dark satanic mills'. Many of the lexical choices draw on forms with an archaic flavour: 'discloses' in this sense, 'ancient', 'drudging / drudge', 'idler', 'toil' and 'reposes'. But these are mixed up with word-choices that seem more modern, colloquial or are semantically basic (that is, they are the most common everyday words): from 'kitchens' and 'mill-lofts' to 'sweated'; and 'birth' and 'life', 'men' and 'mother' and 'women' and 'children', and so on. The subject-matter of a political demonstration and strike is combined with ornamental and poetic devices such as rhyme, regular metrics, and phrases (such as 'beauty of the day') that are at first incongruous and so are striking in the other sense. The opening stanza in particular is striking in this perceptual sense: the light is dimmed down in 'darkened' and 'gray', so that the instant flash of light of the third line is all the more resonant. This trans-figurative moment is underlined iconically by being enacted with the main verb ('touched', with a suggestion of personification), and the alliteration of /d/ and /s/ in 'radiance that a sudden sun discloses'. In other words, the poem does in its form what it says it is doing in the meaning.

Metonymies (part for whole) and metaphors (as symbols) also co-occur. The darkened kitchens and the mill-lofts are metonymic expressions of working-class (female) domesticity and industry in general. 'Hearts' is a metonym for 'artistic sensibility' and the quality of life. Men are mothered again and rendered metonymically as children to be protected. Whereas the 'sudden sun' is a metaphor for socialist revolution, perhaps, and 'rising' certainly (and conventionally) is. The central refrain, 'Bread and Roses', of course, combines a metonymy (bread for all food, and by extension all material needs) and a metaphor (roses as emblematic of art, culture, aesthetics, 'love and beauty').

The syntactic progression that the linguist would have noted across the poem is subtle and meaningful in itself. The whole first stanza is a single complex sentence, with phrases that ground the main clause 'kitchens / mill-lofts' occurring both before and after the central predication 'Are touched'. These circumstantial elements, preposi-tional phrases, adverbial phrases and/or locatives (depending on your grammatical approach) all serve to ground what is a revelatory and

transfiguring image in the material, concrete and measurable ('million / thousand') facts of everyday life. By contrast, the second stanza can be regarded as being composed of four independent clauses, not necessarily marked by standard full-stop punctuation. For example, the em-dash at the end of the first line precedes the continuation of the clause 'For they are …'. However, the em-dash at the end of the third line acts as a clause boundary, with the clause 'Hearts starve as well as bodies' being a complete sentence. The colon that follows this can also be treated as a clause boundary before the final imperative clause 'Give us Bread …'.

The syntax of the third stanza almost matches the second in terms of clause-boundaries. The first two lines are a single clause (even though it ends with a semi-colon). The third line is another complete clause (ending with an em-dash). In the final line ('Yes, it is bread we fight for—but we fight for Roses, too'), the two clauses are separated by an em-dash but linked with a conjunction. There is a pattern emerging in these two middle stanzas in which the formal structures of the poem (its poetic quality) are being subverted by the breathless and insistent form of delivery—and this increases as the poem progresses. So complete clauses are not bounded by full-stops but by other linking punctuation devices. The fragmentation reaches its greatest expression by the final stanza: the first line is a complete clause, the second line is a complete clause, the final two lines shake off the clause structure altogether, losing their main verbs to be manifest as four exclamatory noun-phrases. The pattern overall is of a subtle balance: the prosaic and the poetic; the transcendent and the everyday; darkness and light; birth and death; metonym and metaphor; the spiritual and the struggle; regulation and disruption; ballad and hymn; bread and roses.

The poem situated as a discourse

The analysis so far has tied together the main formal linguistic features with the interpretative thematic force of the poem. However, it strikes me as a stylistician that the most important aspect of the poem is not really the most deviant or prominent linguistic patterns, nor the contextual background that serves to historicise the poem to a particular moment in time. For me, the poem has a resonance that makes it more than a nice piece of craft and more than a historical curiosity—and my sense of the timelessness or continuing relevance of the text seems to be borne out also in the appreciations of the poem that can be found by a

simple search in blogs, reposts and commentaries across the world. The poem cannot properly be seen either as a historical curiosity nor simply as a text, but as a piece of discourse with social force. This resonant power that renders the poem emotionally moving, for me and others, is mainly driven by a stylistic feature that probably would not be the most prominent in a formal linguistic description: the positioning of speakers through *deixis*.

The deictic features of a text or utterance are those that define and position the different consciousnesses involved, including speaker/author and hearer/reader, as well as the various levels of narrator, addressee, character, different moments in a character's existence, and so on. Using my own scheme (Stockwell, 2009, p. 128, Stockwell, 2013, p. 271), we can set out several facets of deixis that can be explored in more detail:

- Perceptual deixis (encoded in pronouns, demonstratives, definite articles and definite reference, and verbs of mental states and emotions, etc.)

Examples: *I, you, those, this, believed, imagined* …

- Spatio-temporal deixis (locatives, spatial and temporal adverbs, distal demonstratives, verbs of motion, tense and aspect)

Examples: *here, there, far away, in the distance, those, come, return* …

- Social deixis (encoding the positioning of social relations by naming, register choice, formality features, etc.)

Examples: *Mr, mate, oy, my dear,* formal syntax and word-choice …

- Compositional and textual deixis (self-referential textuality, iconicity, a sense of texture and other interpersonal extratextual features)

Examples: *Reader I married him, Chapter 4,* a narrator's voice, verse-forms, rhyme …

The most obvious delineation in the poem is the initial perceptual declaration that 'we come marching', which establishes group solidarity and a collective mind as the poem's narrator. The reference to 'the people', though, makes a distinction between the marchers and the other mass of humanity: the marchers are active, marching and singing, while everyone else are hearers (and by extension, readers). At this point, the phrase 'Bread and Roses', repeated, is part of a song, and it is presented in direct speech-marks—definitively part of the perceptual

deixis of those singing marchers we are about to discover are women. So in the second stanza, 'we' are further specified by contrast with 'men' and in collocation with the verb 'mother'. It strikes me that the referent of the pronoun in 'Our lives' gathers together men, women and (by suggestion) children into a single first-person plural group. The possessive aspect of the pronoun also asserts ownership over the workers' lives, too, of course. By contrast the faceless capitalist mill-owners have their agency deleted in the passive ('be sweated'), as a result of the prophetic lexis and tense of 'shall': 'Our lives shall not be sweated'. The two sides in the struggle are deictically delineated economically by these perceptual markers over the first two stanzas of the poem.

However, there is an interesting spatial perspective here that implicates the reader on the side of the marchers too. The choice of the verb 'come' (in 'As we come marching') deictically marks a spatial position proximal to the hearer rather than the marchers: they are marching towards the locating position of the hearers (and by extension, the reader of the poem). You are being implicated on the side of the women, and the direct address to you is enacted in the imperative form that begins as a report of direct speech but ends the second stanza as a free-form and emphatic direct instruction to you: Give us Bread, but give us Roses! The deictic binary of 'come' is 'Go', and this distal spatial form appears in the third stanza, where it aligns with a shift in the temporal deictic progression of the poem.

Temporally, the poem moves from the present in the first stanza (continuous 'As we come marching', iterative in 'Are touched', and simple present 'hear us') to two different profiles of time in the second and third stanzas. The second stanza compresses birth, life and death into the aphoristic and proverbial universal present 'Hearts starve as well as bodies'. The biblical, prophetic tone of 'shall not' here is not so much an aspect of the future as an assertion of moral weight: the meaning is that our lives *should not* be sweated. The third stanza profiles a historical sweep from 'ancient' and 'dead' to the ongoing present 'crying through our singing'. The word-order also serves a positioning deictic function here too: reversing the standard syntax of 'their drudging spirits knew small (i.e. little) art and love and beauty' serves to place their former state of existence in the past—as you read through that impoverished state to reach the more positive present 'Yes, it is bread we fight for'. The final stanza—in losing the main verbs from the closing lines—transcends either sort of temporal profiling upon the arrival of 'the Greater Days'.

The blending of apparently contrary features throughout the poem (as I sketched out above) is part of the compositionality of the text. These complementaries can be seen as a sort of dialectic which moves the situation towards a progressive resolution. The progression is manifested in compositional terms by having a dramatised collective speaker (the women marching and singing) organised by a poet who sets up rhymes, metrics, syntactic iconicity, and so on. There is even a hint of the structural planning in the arithmetical progression from 'million' and 'thousand' in the second line, to 'ten' and 'one' in the second-last line (division by 1000, 100, 10 respectively), set against the 'unnumbered' women at the literal centre of the poem. The dialectic could gesture towards Hegelian or Marxist philosophy in those readers disposed to such things, but the dialogism inherent in this form of presentation is also present and countered by the demotic and conversational tone of other parts of the poem: 'Yes, it is bread we fight for'.

Observing the progression of the poem at a compositional level takes us back to the perceptual deictic aspect again. I noted above that the first iteration of 'Bread and Roses' occurs as direct speech. It is located within the collective consciousness of the marching singing women, and is heard by 'the people'. In the second stanza, the phrase is freed up from this deictic centre. The exclamation mark and the strongly prototypical sense of a speaking consciousness in the imperative could be said to categorise this as a free form of direct speech (see Leech and Short, 2007). After 'Hearts starve as well as bodies', and without the restricting speech-marks, the phrase becomes more universal and proverbial, though still recognisably uttered, imperatively, by them to you. Note that the addressee has shifted from the third-person people to the second-person you. In the third stanza, the phrase becomes part of a dialogue ('Yes, it is bread we fight for …') and part of the universal history of humanity—now you are not a separate addressee but are included with us.

At the end of the final stanza, the phrase 'Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses' has become part of the narratorial level of the poem, rather than exclusively part of the deictic centre of the marchers singing as in the beginning. The phrase itself has shifted deictically from its first stanza iteration to the last stanza, though the words are essentially the same. The poem in between has enacted this transformation, not only on the phrase but by implicating you as a reader in the reading. The transformative shift is subtly realised iconically enacting the socialist revolution. *Bread and Roses* is a fundamentally socialist poem: it is written

into its linguistic form as well as in the sentiments of its meaning. I can reasonably safely say that this was its intention and motivation, and it has largely been the purpose to which the poem has been put for the last hundred years.

Refining English language studies

The account of *Bread and Roses* as situated discourse features several things that might be recognisable or of interest to the linguist and literary historian, but the questions it asks and the procedure it follows are not central to those fields. On each hand it is too interpretative and dependent on readerly perception or too concerned with micro-linguistic features. However, I have been able to address issues such as its historical reception, theme and cultural significance, intention and creativity, aesthetic purpose and effect. These matters of context are not separate in a modern stylistic analysis: in fact, the stylistic sensibility required for such an account can shed light on these interpretative and cultural matters. Equally I have had to develop an aspect of linguistics (here, the deictic system) in ways that are far more subtle because of the requirements of the literary frame than would normally be the case with other, everyday, non-literary language.

For these reasons, this exploration of the language of a historical literary document seems to me disciplined. It draws on the descriptive systems of linguistics, and draws on the historical and cultural and interpretative concerns of literary criticism. But in placing the text and its language and the perceptions of the language user at the heart of the analysis, it becomes a practice in its own right. I have treated the poem not simply as a text, nor simply as a historical artefact, but as a communicative discourse. In fact, viewed from this perspective, an approach based firmly in English Language Studies makes linguistics on the one hand and literary cultural studies on the other appear rather partial ways of exploring a literary work and its reading.

English Language Studies as a form of applied English is a discipline that has a set of fairly consistent principles and a history that reaches back into antiquity. Where its practices lean towards the social sciences, it manifests as critical discourse analysis. Where it leans more towards the concerns of arts scholarship, it appears in the form of a literary stylistics. But there is no question that it sits at the centre of the full range of subjects that are learned, taught, studied and researched as 'English'.

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13
Interdiscipline English! A Series of Provocations and Projections

Rob Pope

Prelude

Here are three ways into the subject—and out again:

(i) The point about 'English' as the name of a subject is that it is an adjective being made to serve as a noun. So 'English' is always pointing to an absence—the noun. Is the subject English literature, language, society, culture, people?

> Colin Evans, *English People: The Teaching and Learning of English* (1993, p. 184).

(ii) Clearly the proper study of literature is—everything else!

> Peter Widdowson, 'W(h)ither English?' in Coyle *et al.* (1990, p. 1228).

(iii) It would be more accurate to call the predominant activity of contemporary literary scholars *other-disciplinary* rather than interdisciplinary [...] what we need is more theoretical, historical and critical training in our own discipline.

> Marjorie Garber, 'It Must Change' (2006) in Moran (2010, pp. 170–171)

This chapter is all about relating the internal variety of the subject called 'English' to a variety of subjects that go by other names. The perspective is therefore not just *inter*disciplinary but also *intra*disciplinary, and the process involves working inside-out as well as outside-in. Indeed, it is precisely through the constantly renegotiated relation between English and its various 'selves' and 'others' (internal and external) that

the subject continues to develop dynamically, reinventing itself even while becoming other things. In short, this is an evolutionary view of English and other subjects—with some revolutionary implications. *Interdiscipline English!* should therefore be read both as an imperative and an exclamation. It urges action and more or less free association, but also invites (and expects) scepticism and surprise.

The three opening quotations indicate the main directions and dimensions in which we shall be moving. They all in one way or another come down to a couple of questions: 'What is the relation between English and other subjects?' and 'What is English in itself?' But each speaks from a different position for a different conception of the subject. Reviewing them in turn will help gauge what English actually means and might yet become in relation to its many others, within and beyond the current subject of that name.

Colin Evans, quotation (i), was both a teacher of Creative Writing in English and a lecturer in French, and he became a university-wide director of curriculum development. He was therefore well placed to see English close up and at a distance, outside-in as well as inside-out. Evans puts the apparently simple question from which most of the complex answers—and most of the relations with other subjects—flow: 'Is the subject English literature, language, society, culture, people?' He also reminds us that, grammatically, the adjective 'English' has constantly to be attached to and informed by whatever is understood by such nouns as 'language', 'literature' and 'culture'. (I shall stick with just those three for the moment, subsuming his 'society' and 'people' under the last.) The theoretical dynamic of this triad is worth clarifying. What is at issue is the fact that the insistent *presence* of 'English' as a linguistic, literary and cultural construct has constantly to be underwritten by a whole host of partial and potential *absences*. For of course, while such activities (and categories) as language, literature and culture cut across and are very variously configured in whatever we mean by 'English', they extend all around and way beyond it. Indeed, historically, as is well known, English is a composite of French and Latin overlaid on a Germanic base, along with traces of other languages ranging from Spanish to Russian, Japanese, Hindi, Xhosa and so forth. As a result, English is itself one *and* many, and thereby, so to speak, both 'its self' and a selection of 'its others'. In Evans's terms, it is a varied and variable *presence* carrying traces of a succession of far-flung *absences*.

Having got some preliminary bearings 'within' English, we can now turn to the writers of the other two quotations and the prospects beyond. If Evans posed the question that English is always already

interdisciplinary, then Widdowson (ii) and Garber (iii) would evidently respond in very different ways. At face value at least, the former appears to be saying: 'Go on—get more interdisciplinary. Just see what else you can make of English!' And in a sense he was. For Peter Widdowson— the editor of an early, highly influential volume devoted to *Re-reading English* (Widdowson, 1982, and more recently Widdowson, 2004)— was writing provocatively and to some extent polemically at another moment of perceived disciplinary crisis, in the last decade of the 20th century. ('Crisis', by the way, is such a recurrent cry with respect to the disciplinary state and status of English over the past hundred years that it is much better viewed as the rule rather than the exception, an ongoing process of emergence not a sudden state of emergency. Its consideration across the decades is exemplified in works by Wellek and Warren (1963), Graff (1987), Kress (1995), Scholes (1999), Doecke et al. (2006) and Moran (2010). In 'W(h)ither English?', the quizzically challenging essay from which Widdowson's declaration has been plucked, its author was clearly playing devil's advocate. He was suggesting that because literature talks about and plays around with all aspects of the world, including language, then naturally its study potentially involves 'everything else!' Now, some people will find this injunction unexceptionable; after all, the traditional appeal of 'doing English' is that you get to read books about all sorts of things. But others will still find the proposition ridiculous, or at least mischievous, especially if taken as a serious proposition about the limitlessness of the subject.

That brings us to 'Interdiscipline English!' as an exclamation, perhaps even a stifled explosion. 'The very idea! Whatever is English coming to!' Such a view could be aligned, again at least at face value, with that expressed by Marjorie Garber in the third quotation. She was speaking as President of the Modern Language Association in America in the first decade of the 21st century. But she was also a professor of visual and environmental as well as literary studies, so Garber's scepticism about 'other-disciplinary' work at the expense of specifically 'literary' attention to texts sounded an informed note of caution about work across disciplines. It was also an influential rallying call for work within and around English literature. In the latter, she argued for a decided turn— in part a return—to the aesthetic homeland of literary studies: *poetics*.

The present writer aims to have it all three ways and more. Widdowson and Garber both have concerns and aspirations that I share, however contrary that may seem: English can be in touch with 'everything else' but it also needs some guiding principle of its own, perhaps even a 'poetics'—in the root sense of 'makings' of all kinds. At

the same time it's crucial to keep the 'language' and 'culture' aspects of English (highlighted by Evans) firmly in the picture, whether in the foreground as objects of study in their own right or as an essential background to all other studies. By extension, it is worth observing that if the English language in some shape or form (literary or otherwise) is not a key component in interdisciplinary ventures involving 'English', then the subject's contribution is likely to be indistinct and its links with other subjects weak. What's more, it's the critical understanding and creative use of the language that's crucial. That is what 'English' has to bring to the party—potentially any party. And it is demonstrated as well as defined in the next section.

Meta-English: extending 'discipline', exploding 'subject' …

> Q. What did the language say when it met-a-language?

> A. Search me!

> Academic linguist's joke. (It only works in English.)

What follow are some strategies for exploring key terms and concepts in the area of interdisciplinary study, including some that will emerge here. The aim is to develop a flexible and capacious working vocabulary, along with a method for constantly refreshing it. Given the eclectic and opportunistic nature of most things interdisciplinary, the words used to describe it tend to be a heterogeneous mix of the intellectual and institutional, the considered and the convenient. Aside from *discipline* and *interdisciplinary* and the like, the terms involved range from roughly interchangeable synonyms like *subject*, *area* and *field* to more or less formal designations such as *department, faculty* and *centre*. These in turn connect to overarching categories such as *arts*, *humanities* and *sciences* and underpinning institutions such as *university, college* and *funding council*. We shall concentrate on the verbal history and vexed senses of 'inter/disciplinarity' to begin with, and then move to 'the subject of subjects'. Other terms make brief yet provocative appearances in an interlude. But first it's worth deepening our sense of what is distinctive about 'English', and most immediately what it has to contribute to the present investigation of terms and concepts.

It all revolves on the fact that 'English' as a subject is typically *about* English and *in* English. That is, English features both as a *what* and a *how*, object and medium, ends and means. This is such a fundamental 'given' in the subject that it tends to get overlooked or taken for granted. Yet the fact is that 'doing English' does indeed mean what we do as well as what we study, and this is a core aspect of the subject's

power and pleasure. Of course, this double-edged, Janus-faced aspect is not in principle unique to 'English'; it occurs whenever a language and literature are the medium as well as the object of study: 'French' in France, 'Chinese' in China, and so on. But it is worth stressing that this is not at all the case with most other subjects, from History and Politics to Physics and Life-Sciences or Law and Engineering. In all of those the *objects* of study (what happened in the past, or happens inside an atom or organism, or how a legal system or building is structured) are notionally quite distinct from the means and medium (words, numbers, codes and diagrams). But in the teaching and learning of English, especially in countries where English is a first language, the situation is quite different. 'English' is then a kind of compound subject-object, how-and-what. What's more, English is unique, as both language and educational subject, in its historical and global reach and its ready connectivity with other subjects. This makes all the difference to what it is and can do. In countries and educational contexts where English is not the main medium of instruction the situation is obviously different. Nor is this to minimise the importance of educational work about English in other languages. But the overall point still holds, especially in tertiary education and academic publication: the preferred medium of instruction and professional communication is English. *The European Journal of English Studies*, for example, though written mainly by and for academics from continental Europe, is published in English.

The crucial and constitutive dimension of 'English on English' is what is here called *Meta-English*. The term is formed readily enough by analogy with *meta-language* (language about language) and *meta-fiction* (fiction about fiction); it draws on the sense of the Greek-derived prefix *meta-* meaning 'across' or 'beside' and is equivalent to Latin *trans-* (hence Greek *meta*morphosis, Latin *trans*formation). In a simple and obvious sense, Meta-English is what practitioners of English do whenever they use more or less technical and specialist language: whether to analyse a text or discuss the structure of a sentence, develop a critical theory or explore the composition of a piece of creative writing. 'Pronoun', 'discourse', 'subject-object relation', 'point of view', 'dramatic monologue' and 'free verse' are all obvious instances of meta-English vocabulary. They are the kinds of word that crop up in class, seminars, essays, analyses, and more or less specialist publications. Meta-English, then, is the most obvious mark of 'doing English'.

More generally, however, and just as importantly, Meta-English is the pervasive activity of reflecting on English in English: exploiting the reflexive capacity of the language to explore itself, being critical *of*

English even while being creative *in* it. (The critical-creative core of the subject is expressly highlighted in Scholes, 1999; Knights and Thurgar-Dawson, 2006; Pope, 2012.) In its most formal and self-conscious guise, Meta-English is what happens to English when it enters the Academy. More widely, for practitioners of English at all educational levels, what this means—to accent the plural as well as the positive—is that *MetaEnglishesЯus*! The implications for the subject's contribution to interdisciplinary work are profound. The rest of this section is a seriously playful demonstration of what *Meta*-English can bring to the elucidation of 'interdisciplinarity' as term and concept.

Into discipline or interdiscipline?[1]

Discipline nowadays has a rather archaic and forbidding ring to it. Apart from its specifically *academic* application, its primary association is with *military* discipline (where 'order' is enforced and 'orders' are the characteristic speech-acts). From there it has extended to any kind of highly organised, impersonal regime requiring automatic compliance or complete obedience, often backed by a threat of punishment—notably in prisons, the police, the church and schools (see Foucault, 1977). In modern Western, broadly liberal and individualist circles all this has tended to stack the odds against a positive valuation of 'discipline'. In an educational context, perhaps unsurprisingly, 'school discipline' (meaning orderly conduct in and out of the classroom) has vaguely carried over to notions of 'academic discipline' (typically characterised as 'rigorous', 'systematic' and 'methodical'). As a result, by an understandable but not particularly productive convergence of association, academic *disciplines* (i.e. areas of expertise, subjects) are primarily expected to be *disciplined* (i.e. ordered and orderly, and perhaps subject to a higher authority).

All this has significant implications for the professional standing as well as popular understanding of 'English' as a discipline. Is it really that 'orderly', 'systematic' and 'methodical'? Can such 'order' be imposed from above? To what higher or deeper principles of knowledge can the subject be subject? There is often at least an implied contrast with the *sciences*. There, it is assumed or asserted, the emphasis on 'scientific method' and specific experimental and observational procedures seems to make them 'harder' subjects—and therefore more 'disciplined' disciplines. History, similarly, because purportedly more 'factual', is often projected as the 'hard' nut on the Humanities block—as are Economics in the Social Sciences, and Physics in the Natural Sciences. Can English readily make such claims, except in certain empirical areas such as,

say, corpus linguistics (data, statistics) and editing (textual facts)? Or is English—if not a soft option—a subject with a 'soft-centre'? These are anxieties sometimes felt by practitioners within the subject and not just imposed from outside.

But such a caricature of 'English' is obviously crude and far from complete. It also depends on an understanding of 'discipline' that is etymologically inaccurate and educationally inadequate. For 'English' clearly has plenty of hard facts and systematic thinking of its own: facts about language and history, authors and periods, and thinking about grammar and genre, the nature of texts and the conditions of verbal communication. So there need be no undue anxiety on not being 'disciplined' (i.e. orderly) in that sense. What's more, the currently dominant view of discipline is far from the whole story of 'discipline' as either historical term or educational concept. And this is precisely the kind of area in which 'English' comes into its own with pertinent facts about language and revealing insights about culture.

In short, 'enter *Meta-English*'! For the root and stem of *disc*ipline has nothing directly to do with 'order' but everything to do with 'learning'. The word comes from *disco* (Latin) and *didasco* (Greek), both of which mean 'I learn'. A *discipulus* was therefore a Roman pupil or student, one who followed a master, hence Christian *disciple* (Old English *discipul*). By the same token, *disciplina* was the Latin for 'learning in general', whence it narrowed to Medieval French *discipline* referring to scholarly, ecclesiastical and military instruction, from which Middle English got the word with a similar range of meanings. The overall trajectory of the term is worth stressing. The ancient emphasis on things 'discipular' is on *learning* and being a *learner* following a teacher. The modern 'disciplinary' emphasis is on the *form of instruction* and *ordering of conduct*. Significantly, none of these senses has anything to do with content and substance—with knowledge and subject-matter, for example. All have to do with human relationships and formal relations.

A radical approach to *discipline* therefore means neither more nor less than 'learn from a teacher'. It's the educational equivalent of an apprentice-master model, the interpersonal dimension of what's currently dubbed 'the teaching and learning experience'. What's more, despite its potential shortcomings in terms of dependence and patronage, the grateful memory of an influential teacher or mentor is still what most people carry with them from their experience of school or college. (The present writer is no exception, as my parting dedication of this piece attests.) In fact, you don't have to be a pure disciple, a mere follower, to be 'disciplined' in the best educational sense. For as every good

teacher or scholar knows, the point is to encourage and enable others to make their own ways, not merely to follow but to go beyond—in current parlance 'to become independent learners'. Indeed, the future health of genuinely independent disciplines depends on precisely such things. For all these reasons, 'English' can confidently claim to be a well-grounded educational *discipline*: to have a *human* centre dedicated to *learning*, along with a subject-base revolving around English as language, literature and culture. What's more, through Meta-English, we can show that we know this.

Interdisciplinary, as a term, is first recorded in the US in the 1920s and became increasingly common in educational circles from the 1960s onwards, when it was chiefly associated with the liberalisation and recombination or replacement of older disciplines. Nowadays, too, the promotion of 'interdisciplinary initiatives' is a fashionably upbeat alternative to talk of 'disciplinary' ones (especially amongst university managers and funding councils). Though there is also a growing suspicion that this can be a cover for hyper-flexible staffing and code for economies of scale. Interdisciplinary then comes to mean 'readily redeployable' and 'low individual unit cost' (see Moran, 2010, pp. 165–76; also Monk *et al.,* 2011). That aside, there are some strong intellectual and educational reasons why interdisciplinary perspectives should be not just entertained (as fashionable or expedient) but actively engaged with (as necessary and indeed natural). To indicate the full range of options, first in theory and then later with examples, here is a working-over and playing-around with other possible prefixes for 'disciplinary'. They are distinguished as actual and potential (Tables 13.1 and 13.2).

Table 13.1 Common actual terms using 'disciplinary'

inter-	DISCIPLINARY	between and among, ideally integrated
multi-		many and various, often more or less separate
cross-		more the latter than the former
trans-		supposedly a superior synthesis

Table 13.2 Uncommon and potential terms using 'disciplinary'

hetero-	DISCIPLINARY	emphasising variety and variation
intra-		the 'internal' dynamic
extra-		outside the discipline, or disciplines in general
post-		'after and continuing' and/or 'after and distinct'

Interestingly, there is no single term in common use to express the *mono*disciplinary or *uni*disciplinary nature of particular disciplines. Linguistically speaking, 'interdisciplinary' is the marked optional term against the unmarked norm. And that is why, whatever the rhetoric, the currently dominant single-discipline option is often the default position when institutional push comes to intellectual shove. Certainly, funding bodies for teaching and research *can* be innovative and adventurous. More usually, however, they are conservative and cautious. After all, most members of their committees are virtually by definition senior academics with established reputations in existing disciplines. They tend to be 'into discipline' rather than 'interdiscipline'.

The subject of 'subjects'

Subject has a wide range of meanings—grammatical, ideological and social-scientific as well educational—but it is this last that most immediately concerns us. English, then, is the name of an educational subject, like Art, Biology and Mathematics. What I particularly want to do here is give the term and concept of *subject* a good shake-up: to disturb the complacent sense that we all naturally know what an educational subject is, and to help reconceive the process of *subject-making-and-breaking* from the base up. My base in this case is the stem of the word sub*ject*, which has the root sense of 'thrown': the *–ject* part comes from Latin *iacere*, 'to throw', past participle *iectum*, 'thrown'. (Hence pro*ject*ile and pro*ject*ion 'things thrown forwards'—a missile or a light, for instance.) The *sub-* part of *sub*ject means 'under', of course; so a 'subject' in some sense deals with whatever is 'thrown under' it. And by extension practitioners of a subject are in large measure *subject to* whatever is thrown their way. But obviously there are all sorts of ways and many directions in which things can be *thrown*—up, down, in, out, away, behind, forward, and so forth. So again, as with *inter*disciplinary, we shall start with some seriously playful alternatives to the prefix of *sub*ject—*ob*ject, *pro*ject and so forth. And again it is the apparently small changes in words that make big differences to the worlds they help realise. The basic contention with 'subject' is quite simple and can be expressed as follows:

> An educational *subject* is composed of a number of *objects* which are *project*ed—or *reject*ed—so as to form a *traject*ory across a domain of knowledge and experience and thereby define it. In the process a number of strange things happen which tend to get ignored—and these are registered here by such oddball terms as *abject*, *deject* and *eject*.

Don't be too thrown by these last! Their basic meanings, like those of their more familiar counterparts—subject, object, project, and so forth—depend upon the particular prefix to signal what kind of 'throwing' is reckoned to be going on, and in what direction ('up', 'down', 'away', etc., as explained below.) The important point is that all these *'ject'* words can help prompt fresh thinking about what goes into the *making* of any particular educational subject (and by extensions any subject at all). Equally importantly, they help generate awkward questions about what gets actively, or accidentally, 'thrown' away (aside, back, even forwards) in the ongoing process of making *and breaking* subjects. Here the focus is naturally on 'English', with other subjects on the edges. But obviously a shift or switch of focus would bring those other subjects to the centre and put English on the edge. This is an overall dynamic explored in the final section. But as always the devil and the delight are in the detail. So here, by way of provocation, are some cryptic observations about what has gone into and come out of the process of making and breaking the modern subject called English. (I leave it to the present reader to add examples or counter-examples, refine the categories, or recast the terms of engagement completely.)

- *Rejects* ('thrown back'): older parts such as Old Norse, older aspects such as Literary Appreciation—left to Scandinavian languages and the Literary reviews.
- *Projects* ('thrown forward'): newer parts such as Corpus Linguistics, newer aspects such as Ecological and Environmental approaches—brought in on the back of new technologies and social agendas.
- *Ejects* ('thrown up and away'): reverence for—along with substantial ignorance of—ancient Greek and Latin languages and literatures (better left to Classics); likewise the Bible and Koran (better left to Theology and Religious Studies). Sometimes 'ejects' get readmitted in Translation and Comparative Literature. Meanwhile, certain canonical authors and whole literary periods (e.g., Bible-laden Bunyan, Dryden the neo-classicist, the later 17th century at large) may get given up as too difficult or ideologically awkward or left to bigger English departments in older institutions.
- *Dejects* ('thrown down and away'): such as comics and graphic novels (leave them to Media or Cultural Studies) and Children's Literature (leave it to Education and Teacher Training).
- *Abject* ('thrown away'): all-but unmentionable things because almost unthinkable (except virtually) such as real poverty, widening

inequality, injustice, privilege, religious intolerance, environmental degradation…, the Earth without humanity (again)?

Meanwhile, throughout:

- *Objects* ('thrown in the way') are all those materials and models (texts, theories, authors, genres, periods, etc.) that 'English' works on and with. These are all typically in English; so the subject-object relation is basically 'English-on-English' (i.e. Meta-English). Objects from other languages and cultures are usually translated into English and thereby assimilated.

And, also pervasive:

- *Trajectories* ('thrown across') are local-global concerns or emergent cultural phenomena that many people might recognise but few have got round to thinking about studying coherently. The actual provenance and symbolic meaning of just about everything we eat and wear is one such local-global concern; 'Adaptation' (page-stage-screen) is one such steadily emerging academic field (see Sanders, 2006). By definition, such trajectories cross many territories and have many passing contacts but no single point of departure or arrival. They are inherently interdisciplinary and therefore studied in parts by many subjects but as a notional whole by none. When first recognised such trajectories tend to crystallise as one-off *projects*. When fully grasped they may become fresh departments, even whole programmes.

That, then, is one way of talking about changes in and around English as a *subject*. It's another instance of Meta-English in action. The next section offers a more institutional perspective at the level of course titles and programme design.

Changing courses—some trends

There are some broad trends discernible in and around 'English' over the past thirty years (see Scholes, 1999; Peel et al., 2001; Moran, 2010, Epilogue; Pope, 2012). Figure 13.1, a simple and rather schematic diagram will help set the scene. (The list invades the margins and is unevenly staggered to represent the fact that trends are like this.) By and large, the movement (⇨) has been in these directions:

Text in itself', words on the page – Language ⟶	Text-in-Context, words in the world --Discourse
'Standard' Englishes(British and American) ⟶	Regional 'Varieties', 'Global English'
English Literature ⟶	Literatures in English
Classic, 'Canonical' writers ⟶	'Open Canon', Alternative voices
Paper-based text and face-to-face talk ⟶	Electronic text and 'virtual' communication
Manuscript and Print-based word ⟶	Multi-media and Performance-based speech-act
Single, dominant, 'natural' interpretation ⟶	Plural, contested, 'theorised' interpretation
Story, history, anecdote, novel, film . . . ⟶	*Narrative* across genres, media, discourses and disciplines
Conversation, debate, drama, novel, film . . . ⟶	*Dialogue* across genres, media, discourses

Figure 13.1   Changing trends in English

But of course the flows are not all one-way; there are numerous cross- and counter-currents and not a few swirls, eddies and standing (if not stagnant) pools. Put another way, and to switch metaphors, it's not always a matter of 'Fast forward'; there are also 'Pauses', 'Reverses'—innumerable 'Re-mixes'—and the odd, seemingly endless 'Replay'. One thing's for sure: there isn't a 'Stop' button.

The above, however, is obviously a series of global snapshots, an attempt to catch a big and moving picture. Down on the ground, 'English' can look and feel very different. Much depends, of course, on institutional as well as national cultures, and on local associations and personal relations. For these are what actually mediate and can actively express what otherwise may appear to be vast and apparently impersonal global movements. The relation between secondary and tertiary 'English' is a crucial but often neglected interface in this respect (but see Carter this volume). For while there is usually more autonomy and still a degree of 'academic freedom' in the design of courses and programmes at tertiary level, the power of self-consciously 'national' curricula at secondary level is immense and can be decisive. This is the case in the UK and Australia at the moment, and has been for a while (see Peel *et al.*, 2001; Pope, 2008). Meanwhile, in UK schools at the 16–18 years range, the introduction of 'A-level' (Advanced) courses in 'English Language and Literature' and 'Creative Writing' alongside traditional courses in 'English Literature' is currently tending to increase demand for and provision of university programmes in 'English' more capaciously conceived rather than 'English Literature' alone. This naturally affects the relative openness of university English to combination with other subjects as well as its own internal configuration. Again, the external–internal dynamic—like that between secondary and tertiary Englishes—is fundamentally constitutive not merely

additive. English 'itself' is braced by its 'others'—outside-in as well as inside-out.

The changing names for 'English' in prospectuses and on corridors and letter-heads do not tell the whole story. But they do offer clues as to how the subject wishes to project itself and they point the ways in which it appears to be moving. For example, in the UK alone, there has been a tendency for some university departments of 'English Language and Literature' (mainly in older universities) to rename themselves 'English Studies' or just 'English', while others (mainly in newer universities) have explicitly gone for a double-barrelled 'English and ...' designation: 'English and Cultural Studies', '... Literary Studies', '... Film Studies', '... American Studies', or 'English and Drama' or 'English and Comparative Literature'. A currently favoured and particularly significant configuration is 'English and Creative Writing' (of which more later). A further complicating factor is the relation between 'English' and 'Education', which may or may not be registered in the course or programme title. It depends whether the institution has a broad educational or teacher-training dimension, and how far qualifications in English Language Teaching (ELT) are handled on a departmental or institution-wide basis. Meanwhile, in Australia and the USA, while 'English' remains in the names of plenty of courses and departments, there is a tendency for it to occur alongside—or give way completely to—such designations as 'Rhetoric and Composition' or 'Writing and Communication'. This is in response partly to more overtly multi-lingual populations (where English is not the assumed norm) and partly to perceived vocational needs (see also Russell, this volume).

The overall projection for 'English' *and* or *as* other subjects is therefore richly complex and highly variable. Nonetheless, the global trends presented above are clearly discernible. In fact, if names are anything to go by, 'Interdiscipline English' is already a reality. So we should probably stop being surprised (drop the exclamation mark) and get on with reviewing the present with a view to the future.

There follows a brief interlude which sports with other key terms and airs some outstanding concerns. It's a poetic response to institutional pressures—which is also a very 'English' way of going about things.

Interlude for the institutionally perplexed ...

The Field cannot well be seen from within the Field.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Circles* (1841)

And what should they know of 'English' who only 'English' know?

> Rudyard Kipling, 'The English Flag' (1891): 'English' for Kipling's
> 'England'

So why should earlier education take place in a school (singular)

>   but a university be divided into academic Schools (plural)?

And why *uni*versity? Why not a *multi*versity? Or even a *heteroversity*?

>   (There were and still are *poly*technics after all)

But whatever you care to call it … them … be sure to use *all* your
Faculties

>   because

Humanity is not limited to 'the Humanities'

Latin *humanitas* meant being 'fully human', 'civilised', in their case
'Roman'.

Science is not limited to 'the Sciences'

Latin *scientia* meant any kind of systematic 'knowledge', from *sciens*,
scientis, 'knowing'.

Nor Art limited to 'the Arts'

the root is Latin *ars*, *artis*, which covered any kind of systematic
'making'.

Nor Poetics to 'Poetry'

the root is Greek *poieisis*, also meaning 'making', the counterpart of
Latin *ars*.

So if all these things are not limited in their initial meaning

>   how come they are so limiting in most institutions?!

Perhaps, then, we had better think not of 'limits limiting'

>   but of 'liminal' and 'preliminary' spaces

>   from Latin *limen, liminis*, meaning 'threshold'

Because

a 'field of study' or 'field of enquiry' is much more
like a flexible and far-reaching

      force …………………………………………………………….. field

      than a farmer's field enclosed by hedges and fences.

                  More like a magnet with

opposite   poles

                that

attract >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>><<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< repel

        So it all depends what people find attractive or repulsive

      personally and professionally speaking in the first place

              then

practically agree-able institutionally speaking

      amongst colleagues and on committees

         But still

      meta-linguistically speaking   the immediate question
remains:

         Interdiscipline English?

         You must be joking!

'English' at the centre …?

You could see your own house as a tiny fleck on an ever-widening
landscape, or as the centre of it all from which the circles expanded
into an infinite unknown… At the centre of what?

                Adrienne Rich, *Notes towards a Politics
                of Location* (Rich, 2001, p. 64).

This last section is a parting gesture to help plot the relations between
English and other subjects. It is organised around a four-line diagram
(Figure 13.2) that might be viewed as a *compass* or a *steering-wheel*—but
it is clearly not a *map*. That is, it is designed to help people get their

bearings in and around the subject (like a compass) and then head off in whatever directions they decide to go (by turning the steering-wheel). But it deliberately does not offer to 'map' the educational landscape by determining particular shapes and configurations as fixable 'areas' or 'territories'. (How could it? They change and move all the time, relative to one another and particular people and places.) So this is all about setting off and travelling but never absolutely arriving. Genuine learning, like life in general, is like this.
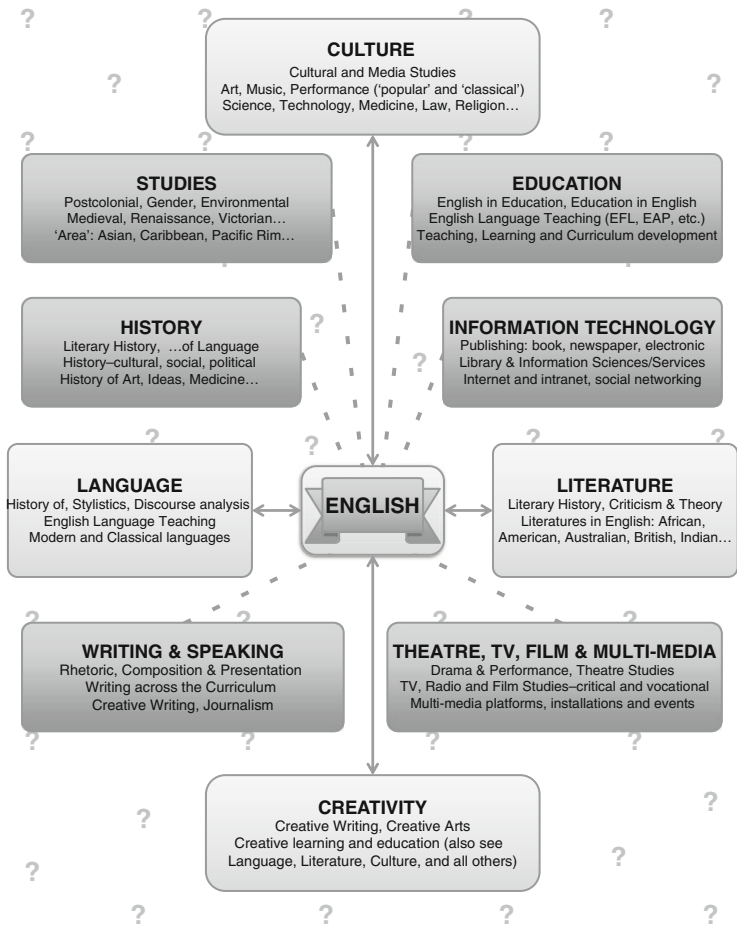
Figure 13.2 'English' and 'other subjects': a steering wheel or compass—but not a map

It is worth pointing out that this diagram can be used at a variety of levels:

- *individually*, to check where one's own present interests lie and to gauge where they may be going next and in the longer term
- *institutionally*, to review the present emphases and tendencies of a particular programme and to project some likely and desirable configurations
- *in broader intra- and interdisciplinary terms*, to help get an overall sense of the current shape of 'English in itself' ' and to try to discern some of the shapes to come in relation to its many 'others', internal and external. (The '?'s are a reminder about *gaps*, both omissions and opportunities).

The main thing is to set the compass or turn the wheel to suit yourself.

A little more explanation about the precise design and rationale of this summary diagram is in order. At the beginning of this chapter 'English' was provisionally projected in *intra*-disciplinary terms as a three-in-one configuration of **LANGUAGE**, **LITERATURE** and **CULTURE**. These aspects are represented by three points of the compass, or arms of the steering-wheel. But now a fourth aspect is added, **CREATIVITY**, represented by the remaining point/arm. This last aspect has been strongly implicit and frequently referred to throughout the present piece; so now its presence as a crucial and constitutive dimension of the subject is made explicit. In consequence, English can now be fully grasped as an intrinsically heterogeneous subject constituted by the complex interplay of *Language-Literature-Culture-Creativity*. This may sound a monstrous mouthful, but in fact it's just like actually occurring materials and machines of all kinds—a lump of earth or a computer, for example. They are made up of complex molecules (not single atoms) and physical mixtures as well as chemical compounds, some of them organic (not isolated and inert elements). It should be stressed, therefore, that in reality each aspect of the subject partakes of the others. CREATIVITY, for instance, obviously includes 'Creative Writing', but it also includes creative dimensions of Language, Literature and Culture, and it extends to creative practice within Education and beyond (see Dawson, 2005; Knights and Thurgar-Dawson, 2006; Pope, 2010; Swann *et al.,* 2011; Harper, 2015).

That brings us to the expressly *inter*-disciplinary aspects of the diagram. These are represented extensively—though far from exhaustively—round the edges. EDUCATION, HISTORY, INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY, and so forth, gesture to readily recognisable and immediately relevant categories of knowledge and expertise, without being exclusively tied into educational subjects as such. *ENGLISH*, meanwhile,

sits at the notional centre of this diagram, meaning whatever you here care to make it mean. For there are still plenty of wide open spaces for questions (?) and further suggestions round the edges. And there is always the possibility of a slight shift or radical switch of perspective. 'At the centre of what?'—as the above reflection by Adrienne Rich puts it. Margin-centre, background-foreground relations are always flexible and, under certain conditions, can sometimes flip completely. *ENGLISH* occupies pride of place here with good reason. Many people would see it differently, also with good reasons.

Finally, it is worth considering some of the many other ways in which the relations between English and other subjects might be realised. For good interdisciplinary work should be a party that all parties want to come and contribute to. And the above model has all the strengths and weaknesses of a fixed plane surface diagram with a single centre. In a more openly interdisciplinary perspective this could be replaced by a physically flexible and multiply centred model that changes over time. This might be done 'virtually' with a 4-D computer programme, or 'actually' through face-to-face discussion. Perhaps best of all, it would give way to a cunning combination including video-conferencing and things to eat and drink (i.e. a modern 'symposium'). That's just the kind of party 'English' is well placed to help organise—along with others.[2]

Notes

1. The perspectives adopted here are both historical and theoretical; they require verbal knowledge as well as know-how. There has therefore been frequent recourse to such essential—and essentially meta-linguistic—resources as: *The Oxford English Dictionary* and online supplements (*OED*, 1989—; also Ayto, 1990); influential collections of *Keywords* (Lewis, 1960; Williams, 1983; Bennett *et al.*, 2005; also Bennett and Royle, 2009); and an international update of a classic thesaurus (Roget 2011). A key reference on interdisciplinarity in general is Frodeman (2010) and another on interdisciplinarity and English in particular is Moran (2010); Griffin (2005) is good on English and interdisciplinary research. Meanwhile, the present author and others have often traversed overlapping terrain with similar apparatus and various aims e.g.: Stacey, Pope and Woods (2002); Pope (2006, 2008, 2011, 2012); and Swann, Pope and Carter (2011). These references should be understood throughout but, for the sake of readability, are not registered at every turn.

2. This essay is offered in memory and celebration of four former teachers. Each would have had their own very different and equally provocative views of the matter: Gwyn Jones through Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse; Elizabeth Salter through Late Medieval Literature and Art; Colin Evans through Modern Languages, Creative Writing and Curriculum Development; and Terry Hawkes through Critical Theory and Shakespeare Studies. *Vivent les différences!*

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