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To steal past watchful dragons:  
cultural hegemony and ideology  
transmission in children's fantasy  
literature 1900-1997

**Thesis submitted by**

**Natasha Anne Giardina BA (Hons), Grad Cert Ed *James Cook***

**in March 2010; revised submission April 2011**

**for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the School of Arts and Social Sciences**

**James Cook University**

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I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

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## STATEMENT ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF OTHERS

I would like to acknowledge the following contributions:

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- Associate Professor Stephen Torre
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## Abstract

This study examines the ways in which children's fantasy fictions transmit ideologies, and how the matter of these ideologies and the manner of their transmission relate to adult-child power relations. It begins from the premise that the relationships between childhood and adulthood are political and problematic, both conceptually and in the lived experiences of children and adults. This idea has been the focus of increasing scholarly interest in recent years, particularly with regards to its potential impact on understandings of children's literature. Yet while many researchers have acknowledged that children's literature fulfils a socialising function and some have explicitly theorised that children's literature does transmit ideologies, the mechanics of how such transmission might occur remains underexplored.

This study uses Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony to understand the politics of adult-child relations and Louis Althusser's work on ideology and interpellation to suggest how ideologies may be reproduced. This study contends that children's literature is a cultural institution existing within an adult hegemonic system, a communiqué from a group in power to a subordinate and potentially resistant group. As an Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) according to Althusser's definition, it seeks to support the status quo by socialising children within the hegemonic system, both to accept a current subordinate position and also to learn the values and knowledge required to maintain the hegemony over time. Applying Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony to children's literature also raises the question of how the literature overcomes the potential ideological resistance or counter-consciousness that children may have towards the adult hegemony and its ideologies.

The central hypothesis of this study is that children's fantasy literature transmits ideologies to implied child readers using a specific interpellative mechanism I define as a Trojan Horse mechanism. The term "Trojan Horse" evokes the Trojan Horse of Greek mythology, a construction designed to slip past Troy's defences, appearing innocuous but concealing and carrying oppositional elements. In a similar way, the Trojan Horse mechanism uses hailing devices that evoke signs of childhood, adult-aligned ideologies and values which aim to socialise the child reader within the adult hegemony, and strategies by which those ideologies are concealed in the text. This kind of covert



ideological transmission was described by one famous children's author, C.S. Lewis using the phrase, to "steal past those watchful dragons" ("Sometimes" 37).

In order to test this hypothesis, the study examines eight texts of fantasy literature published between 1900 and 1997, aimed at an implied readership of children aged between approximately six and fourteen years. These texts are, in chronological order: L. Frank Baum's The Wonderful Wizard of Oz (1900), J.M. Barrie's Peter and Wendy (1911), Enid Blyton's The Adventures of the Wishing-Chair (1937), C.S. Lewis's The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe (1950), Roald Dahl's Charlie and the Chocolate Factory (1964), Susan Cooper's The Dark Is Rising (1973), Philip Pullman's Northern Lights (1995), and J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone (1997).

Trojan Horse mechanisms were evident in all of the texts in the study, which suggests that these ideological structures may be intrinsic to the nature of children's fantasy literature in the twentieth century. However, due to the texts' differing contexts of production, plot structures and ideological foci, no two texts executed Trojan Horse mechanisms in exactly the same way. Hailing devices focused on physical markers of childhood, the representation of children's cultural artefacts, play or peer interactions, or ideas such as child empowerment and evasion of adult supervision. Concealed ideologies usually supported the existing adult hegemony by naturalising good child behaviour and children's dependence on adults, and by creating an apprenticeship space in the text where the values and knowledge of adulthood within the system could be learned and practised. One text of the group created a different ideological arrangement, using the structure of the Trojan Horse mechanism to critique hegemonic assumptions and offer a more radical apprenticeship. Analysis of the texts also revealed additional ideologies transmitted within the Trojan Horse mechanism and often related to adult-child power relations, including ideologies of gender, race, religion and imperialism.

Significant avenues for future research include broadening the scope of analysis in order to discover whether the findings are relevant across the corpus of children's literature, as well as determining whether more recent texts from the twenty-first century extend the trends noted in this study's texts. Furthermore, an analysis of the ways that children read and understand the texts may assist in ascertaining the extent to which child readers internalise, ignore or reject the attempted socialisation of Trojan Horse mechanisms.

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# Introduction<sup>1</sup>

## Theoretical framework

In recent years, studies of children's literature have increasingly raised, debated and reflected on the complexity of the relationships between adults and children, and between the concepts of adulthood and childhood as they are expressed and mediated through text. This study examines the ways in which twentieth-century children's fantasy fictions transmit ideologies, and how the matter of these ideologies and the manner of their transmission relate to adult-child power relations. To explore this issue, the study uses a largely Marxist theoretical platform, together with elements of reception theory and archives of children's cultural artefacts. This theoretical framework informs a close textual analysis of eight children's fantasy chapter books from 1900 to 1997, analysed chronologically in order to determine the existence – and explore the development – of ideological structures in the texts, including trends in these structures over time.

This study begins from the premise that the relationships between childhood and adulthood are political and problematic, both conceptually and in the lived experiences of children and adults. This idea has been the focus of increasing scholarly interest in recent years, particularly with regards to its potential impact on understandings of children's literature. For example, Laurie Ousley contends that “[c]hildhood is an important site of political debate, and children often the victims or beneficiaries of adult uses of power” (xv). Roger Cox draws on a Foucaultian perspective to suggest that “even the earliest and most intimate relations between child and adult are, in some sense, relations of power” (6), while Perry Nodelman, drawing on a postcolonial framework, similarly acknowledges an imbalance of power: “our attempting to speak for and about children ... will always confirm their difference from, and presumably, inferiority to, ourselves as thinkers and speakers” (“The Other” 29). However, while

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<sup>1</sup> Parts of this chapter have been previously published:  
Giardina, N. “Across the Great Divide: Trojan Horse Mechanisms and the Cultural Politics of Children's Fantasy Fiction” in *Children's Fantasy Fiction: Debates for the Twenty-First Century*. Ed. Nickianne Moody. Liverpool: Association for Research in Popular Fictions, 2005. 267-284.

many researchers have acknowledged that children's literature fulfils a socialising function and some have explicitly theorised that children's literature does transmit ideologies, the mechanics of how such transmission might occur remains largely unexplored.

In this chapter I set out my theoretical framework, summarise the work of important theorists in their fields, especially Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser in Marxist theory, and define the critical terms for this study, such as hegemony, ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). Next I draw evidence from the socio-historical context of adult-child power relations in Western societies to support my argument that these relations exist within a hegemonic system. From there I consider the ways in which children may express a counter-hegemonic consciousness according to Gramsci's definition, with evidence from archives of children's cultural practices as collated and analysed by Iona and Peter Opie and others. The next part of the analysis explores the role of children's literature in adult-child power relations and reviews key studies of the field which discuss this issue. I then offer my own hypothesis of how ideology transmission may occur and conclude by outlining the parameters by which I will test this hypothesis.

This study uses a Marxist theoretical framework because Marxist theorists are concerned primarily with the power relations that exist between groups. The concept of hegemony provides a useful starting point, and may be broadly defined as "the varied techniques by which ruling classes secure the consent of their subordinates to be ruled" (Eagleton "Introduction" 13). Gramsci's work is of prime importance to this study, as he emphasises the cultural context of hegemony, where power is exercised and hegemony established within the state and civil society (Bocock 35).

For Gramsci, hegemony is the ongoing process by which groups in a society negotiate, establish, maintain or contest relations of power. A hegemony exists when one group becomes dominant over others, and the dominant group's interests "determine the direction of the productive forces for development" (Gramsci 210). Gramsci's original motivation was to interrogate the structures of class and politics, although his ideas have since been used to talk about groups in cultures more generally. Using the rise of the Moderate Party in nineteenth century Italy as a case study for analysis, Gramsci

concludes that “the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as ‘domination’ and as ‘intellectual and moral leadership’” (57), the latter referring to the idea that the ruling class leads the society by propagating its interests among all groups.

Gramsci argues that hegemonies may be maintained by a “dual perspective” of coercion and consent (169-170), but Gramsci’s emphasis is on consent: he suggests that coercion or domination mainly comes into play when consent fails (12). Steve Jones questions whether this dual perspective is useful for categorising all hegemonic processes, especially given the “high level of consent” often given to the police and other coercive forces (51). Instead, Jones follows Pierre Bourdieu in describing a more likely kind of force in hegemonies as “symbolic violence”, including shaming, silencing, taste judgements, ways of living, and unequal distribution of educational qualifications (52).

According to Gramsci, a socio-cultural hegemony relies on “The ‘spontaneous’ consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group” (12). This observation highlights two features of hegemony which will be essential for this study. Firstly, Gramsci’s statement implies that hegemony is about more than power: to paraphrase, it is “the general direction [of] social life”, or as Raymond Williams explains, “the whole lived social process as practically organized by specific and dominant meanings and values” (109). This social life, or social process, is not only established by State activities, such as the education system or the courts, rather, it exists in “a multitude of other so-called private initiatives and activities ... which form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes” (Gramsci 258). This idea was significant for Althusser’s development of the concept of the ISA, a point to which I shall return shortly.

Secondly, Gramsci’s statement demonstrates that “consent” is not merely the consent to be governed, but an acceptance of the dominant group’s intellectual and moral leadership: the dominant group must convince the subordinate groups that it represents their interests and the status quo is mutually beneficial. Yet this consent is not garnered once and for all, but must be continuously negotiated: there is “a continuous process of formation and superseding of unstable equilibria ... between the interests of the fundamental group and those of the subordinate groups – equilibria in which the interests of the dominant group prevail, but only up to a certain point” (182).

Gramsci's theory incorporates the idea of struggle and resistance when subordinate groups question the moral or intellectual leadership of the dominant group; he notes that social systems contain "situations of conflict between 'represented and representatives'" (210). Thus, "while by definition [hegemony] is always dominant, it is never either total or exclusive" as subordinate groups may develop counter-consciousnesses against the ideologies of the dominant group (Williams 109, 13), although this consciousness may be "fissured and uneven" (Eagleton Ideology: An Introduction 118).

Gramsci's concept of hegemony provides a useful framework for understanding the social context of adulthood and childhood, and the power relations that have developed between them as expressed in the lived experiences of adults and children. In this context, adults represent the dominant group, whose moral and intellectual leadership determines the directions of social and cultural development. As per Gramsci's theory, the power of adults is primarily a cultural rather than repressive hegemony. It is wielded through the State and civil society, including private initiatives and activities; thus adults control the legal system and the education system, but also family structure, art and literature, and constructions of childhood such as commonly held values about what children are, what is appropriate for children to do and see, how to keep children "safe", and what adult responsibilities to children should be.

The adult hegemony seeks to secure the consent of children to be governed and also to have them accept adult-aligned ideas, values and ways of looking at the world, including the maintenance of the status quo. At this point, however, the unique socio-biological aspect of adult-child relations complicates the application of Gramsci's theory. To some extent, it is necessary for adults to rear children and to make decisions about children's lives during this time when children are in the process of developing their physical control and cognitive faculties.

A second issue arises in the establishment of a status quo. Unlike relations between capitalists and the proletariat, where the proletariat class may never assume power, children will inevitably become adults: they may exist in a state of presentness in childhood, but they are also in the transitional process of becoming adults (Hollindale Signs 12-13). Consequently, I contend that the status quo of adult power is ideological:

adults seek to instil in children ways of looking at the world that will support the reproduction of the hegemony when those children become adults themselves.

This kind of education may include teaching children the proper values, beliefs and ideologies of the society; that is, those defined according to adult sensibilities. Here, I draw on the work of Raymond Williams to suggest that this education is a process of socialisation, in which a selective range of meanings, values and practices is associated with “necessary learning” to “constitute the real foundations of the hegemonic” (117). Specifically, in the case of children, this socialisation has two parts. Firstly, it positions the child to accept the dominant flows of power existing in their society. A significant part of this may include teaching the child to accept adult controls, guidance and values and to see these things as in the child’s best interests; however it may also include other kinds of relations of power defined according to class, age and gender. Secondly, as the child will inevitably become an adult, it positions the child as an apprentice adult, teaching the child the skills and knowledge he or she will need upon reaching adulthood. This may include understanding and reproducing the adult’s position of power in social relations, also shaped by class, gender and other factors specific to a particular society.

Children may potentially resist this socialisation and the controls of adults over their lives in ways that echo Gramsci’s theory; even the hegemony of adults cannot be total or exclusive. However, I suggest that this resistance may take largely symbolic forms because of the socio-biological imperative. This counter-consciousness will not, however, be organised as children are unlikely to share an articulated political manifesto. Individually, their resistance may change over time and take many forms, or it may not exist at all. Later in this chapter, I will examine this aspect of potential resistance in more detail, and explore both children’s potential expressions of resistance and adults’ responses to it using the medium of children’s literature.

Aspects of control, normalisation and reproduction are at the heart of this cultural hegemony in the sense that adults largely control and define children’s experiences of childhood, normalising the status quo in ways that children are positioned to accept, and in the process of socialisation, training the next generation of future adults to reproduce the existing power relations. From an adult perspective, this may appear to be similar to



the relationship between a master and an apprentice. From a subaltern perspective though, these attempts to socialise and control may well seem hegemonic, even in the oppressive sense, and therefore children have the potential to develop a counter-hegemonic consciousness.

While this study concentrates mainly on the cultural aspects of hegemony and power, expressed in the social aspects of adult-child relations, it also recognises the fundamental economic dimensions to such structures of power. David Oldman's consideration of childhood as a mode of production is particularly useful for highlighting these often-naturalised economic dimensions. Oldman contends that the economic significance of adult-child relations lies in the ways that adults "monitor and control what children can do, and what they actually do" (154-55). This results in "childwork", which is "work done by adults on the organization and control of children's activities" (155-56). The child, then, is constituted as an active subject whose own "work" – defined as the activities performed in the process of "growing up" – becomes the object of adult labour and thus open to exploitation (155).

Oldman argues that the relations between adults and children are framed within "systems of differential power and corresponding inequality" of the same basic kind as other stratification systems such as employer-employee relations or relations between genders (153). Analysing these relations in terms of class, Oldman identifies some distinctive features of adult-child relations, including the production of human as well as economic capital, the reproduction of adult society as well as the capitalist mode of production, and relations which may be confrontational in terms of attitude but also potentially materially exploitative (157-59). These findings highlight the indivisibility of the economic dimensions of hegemony from their socio-cultural dimensions, especially in the case of adult-child relations, and as this study will later demonstrate, children's literature mediates and reproduces these unequal economic and socio-cultural relations of power.

Ideology and its transmission are important aspects of the establishment and maintenance of hegemonies (Eagleton "Introduction" 13; Williams 109). Eagleton's working definition of ideology – "a set of discursive strategies for legitimating a dominant power" ("Introduction" 8) – reveals the ties between ideology and hegemony,

although Eagleton admits that “[n]o single conception of ideology ... has commanded universal assent from those at work in this field” (“Introduction” 14). Another useful definition of ideology is “a relatively formal and articulated system of meanings, values, and beliefs, of a kind that can be abstracted as a ‘world-view’ or a ‘class outlook’” (Williams 109), as here Williams places the emphasis on ideology’s important role in shaping a group’s ways of looking at the world.

Althusser’s work is also significant for this study because he posits ways in which ideologies are reproduced and how they are communicated. For Althusser, ideologies are intrinsic to social transactions: “man is an ideological animal by nature” and we live “‘spontaneously’ or ‘naturally’ in ideology” (171). This does not mean we are always conscious of the ideologies which surround us; indeed they may be accepted as an “obviousness”, to use Althusser’s terminology, which is “the elementary ideological effect” (173). Pierre Macherey similarly maps ideology through its silences and absences: “one can establish the existence of [an ideology’s] limits because they are encountered as an impassable obstacle; they are there, but they cannot be made to speak” (132).

Althusser argues that ideologies are propagated within societies by two kinds of State Apparatuses, either primarily repressive or primarily ideological, and it is the latter – the ISA – which is of primary relevance to this study. Althusser’s notion of the ISA contends that the cultural institutions of a society, such as the education system, religion, art, literature and the family, transmit ideologies that support the ISA’s ongoing existence and reproduction (142-49), thus, in Gramsci’s terms, supporting hegemonic relations. These institutions “function massively and predominantly by ideology” (149), but also contain the capacity to function by repression, even if only in attenuated, concealed or symbolic forms (145).

Althusser’s understanding of ideology and the concept of the ISA are relevant to the study of adult-child relations and their mediation through children’s literature. This study has already demonstrated the relevance of Gramsci’s concept of cultural hegemony as a way of understanding adults’ dominance over children in Western societies, and the ideologies of this hegemony provide the “discursive strategies” by which it is legitimised. The idea that adults are socially and morally responsible for the

proper raising of children, that children need guidance and education, that children should eat certain foods, that there are age-appropriate bedtimes, that children have special psychological and emotional needs, even that children should be “good”; all these beliefs and values (and many more) constitute a world-view that articulates the power of adults over children as “normal” and “natural” – having an “obviousness” (Althusser 171). Moreover, these are exactly the kinds of hegemonic assumptions which, in Oldman’s terms, ensure the continuance of “childwork” in a range of professional and non-professional fields and therefore the fundamental maintenance of childhood as a mode of production (Oldman 155-56). These ideologies are communicated to adults and children alike through ISAs like the family, the education system and literature, including children’s literature.

Very importantly for this study, Althusser also addresses the specific problem of how ideologies are transmitted to an individual subject and describes the process as “interpellation” or “hailing”. This, according to Althusser, is the way ideologies address individuals, by offering them a position or role as subjects within a particular ideological scheme. If the receiver recognises the hailing and accepts the position or role, he or she is then interpellated into the world-view posited by that ideology (170-72).

Wolfgang Iser’s theory of aesthetic response offers additional insights into the process of ideology transfer, which are useful in considering the process in terms of literature and other texts. Iser suggests that meaning, as it relates to text, is not an act of direct transfer or internalisation, as some Marxist theorists may suggest. Instead, it emerges *both* from what is contained within the text and from what the reader brings to the text (107). Iser’s theory discusses both sides of this process, but in his analysis he suggests that an important way that the text communicates with a reader is by offering him or her a particular role to play, a role which he calls the “implied reader” (34-5). This implied reader is a construct; it is the idea of the reader that the text addresses (Wall 6-7), or in other words, a reader-shaped “space” in the relationship between the real reader and the text, which the text invites the reader to occupy. This space is not neutral: it is the writer’s idea of the reader as informed by his or her ideologies, values, beliefs and experiences. By inviting the reader to occupy the space, I suggest that the text is interpellating the reader to accept these ideologies. The concept of the “implied reader”

is used frequently in this study. In the case of children's literature, these ideologies may support the adult hegemony by transmitting ideas and values about what childhood is and should be, and how adults and children should relate to each other.

One aspect of this process remains unanswered, at least insofar as children's literature is concerned: how does children's literature overcome the potential ideological resistance or counter-consciousness that children may have towards the adult hegemony and its ideologies? This study hypothesises a solution to this problem in what I term a Trojan Horse mechanism: a kind of subtextualisation that uses aspects of children's experiences, culture and counter-consciousness to camouflage and carry adult-aligned ideologies. In order to understand how this may work in practice, it is first necessary to understand the socio-historical context of adult-child power relations and children's literature.

### **The socio-historical context of adult-child power relations**

Seen through a framework of cultural hegemony, the historical development of ideas about childhood and the treatment of children reveal values, ideologies and flows of power which support this study's premise that the state of childhood is an ideological construction. These values and ideologies are evident especially from the seventeenth century onwards in the growth in interest in the lives of children, their education, their moral upbringing, their rights, and their role in Western societies, and have had a significant impact on the emergence and evolution of literature for children.

Scholarly debates over the origins of the concept of childhood have been contentious and long-running (H. Cunningham 4). One history which captured popular and academic interest was Philippe Ariès' L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime, or, Centuries of Childhood (published in French in 1960, and in English in 1962). Ariès' study takes as its main theme the premise that "ideas or concepts of childhood have not remained constant, and do have a history" (H. Cunningham 7), and to explore this, it examines historical artefacts relating to or discussing childhood in France from medieval to modern times. Ariès draws the conclusion that the modern idea of Western childhood was a product of the Enlightenment. Specifically, Ariès suggests that the

modern idea of childhood as a unique period of life began to develop amongst the French middle classes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and this resulted in a new respect for childhood, including notions of childhood as a state of innocence, and the reorganisation of the family around the child (24-5, 106-08).

Ariès' central thesis – that there was a significant change in sentiment and social attitudes towards children in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – became a cornerstone of “the sentiments approach” to the history of the family, whose writers also included Lloyd de Mause, Edward Shorter and Lawrence Stone (H. Cunningham 11). However, this approach has been critiqued by later historians, many of whom have criticised Ariès' selective and atypical use of data and have aimed to show that the concept of childhood did exist in some form during earlier eras (see for example Heywood; H. Cunningham). Linda Pollock, in particular, challenged many of Ariès' assumptions and those of his contemporaries. Pollock draws on evidence from adult and child diaries, autobiographies and historical media sources to argue that there was little change in the ways that parents cared for their children between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries (268), a point which she uses to refute Ariès' thesis. However, Pollock admits “an increased emphasis on the *abstract* nature of childhood and parental care from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards” (269, italics in original), which would seem to support the notion that the concept of childhood and its place in Western societies was changing significantly during this time.

Other perspectives have focused on the ideological implications for childhood of the growth in the middle classes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Andrew O'Malley, for example, contends that the modern child is a subject category which emerged because of the burgeoning middle class culture of that era, which “generated the vast majority of the pedagogical and pediatric literature, as well as the children's books proper, which defined the child-subject and situated it within a changing set of discourses” (1). Taking a Foucaultian perspective, O'Malley suggests that the increasing social interest in childhood during the late eighteenth century was part of a wider trend in discourses of normalisation, which enabled the middle classes to perpetuate their ideologies and social position by shaping ideas about childhood (11).

Roger Cox, analysing trends and common findings in the historiography of childhood, draws together three major conclusions from “the legacy of Ariès” (that is, Ariès as well as his followers and critics):

First that childhood is a socially constructed concept which varies by time, geography, culture, and economic and social status. Second that the relationship between the biological child and the social construction of childhood is complex and produces the varied lived experiences of children, difficult to assess in the present, frequently deeply inaccessible in the past. And third, that we can attempt to understand our current preoccupations, ambiguities, and anxieties about childhood by seeing them as part of a legacy from the past, a past which seems to exert a hold upon us whether or not we would wish to be free of it. (5)

These three conclusions demonstrate the ongoing relevance of Ariès’ ideas, at the very least in the sense of the debates they continue to prompt. Each is relevant for the study of adult-child relations as mediated through text, and poses important questions which this study will address. Firstly, the notion that “childhood is a socially constructed concept” prompts an inquiry into the politics behind such constructions: why is it happening, how does it occur in practice, and who benefits from these constructions? Secondly, the complex relationship between childhood and “real” children cannot easily be resolved; therefore, to what extent can an adult author of children’s books, literary critic, historian or thesis writer understand the “varied lived experiences of children”, and what are the assumptions and values consequently inherent in any writing about children? And finally, if discussions about childhood are contextualised in the present but irrevocably shaped by the past, to what extent do trends in these ideas endure over time, and in what forms do they assert themselves?

Evidence for the inherent power relations between adulthood and childhood may be found in historical sources, even from early civilisations, where philosophical reflections, legislation and social commentary shed light on the place of children in their societies and adult attitudes to them. For example, Hammurabic, Biblical, Confucian and Roman laws reveal an emphasis on maintaining family and social cohesiveness by enforcing children’s obedience (Stearns Childhood 19). In these civilisations, childhood was often defined in economic-, gender- and class-based terms rather than simply age-based ones. The Roman law of *patria potestas*, for example, established the legal and financial power of the father over his children even into their adulthood, although in

practice most adult children would likely have been legally independent at a relatively young age (Harlow et al, 8-9).

During the Enlightenment, the move towards science and rationality prompted new thinking about childhood and the needs of children. Consequently, during this time adults' power over children took on additional ideological dimensions and corresponded to an increase in "childwork" (in Oldman's terms), a trend which continues to the present day. These new ideological dimensions are evident in the kinds of educational philosophies emerging during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. John Locke's Some Thoughts Concerning Education (1693) may be famous now mainly for the concept of the child's mind as a *tabula rasa*, but his treatise begins by advocating "A sound mind in a sound body" and also emphasises throughout the need to instil virtue into the young (s. 1). Taken together, Locke's ideas place adults, especially parents, as centrally important to children's physical, moral and psychological development into adults, and relate this task to a wider social responsibility. Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Émile: or, On Education (1762) similarly argues that adults need to educate the young in order to produce good adults, although he focuses on ameliorating the corrupting influence of society. The influence of John Locke and Jacques Rousseau on children's education is widely recognised, but their writings were part of a larger European flowering of educational texts and guidance, including writers such as François Fénelon, Mary Astell, William Cadogan and Johann Krueger. These new pedagogical theories influenced other fields of their era, including medical and psychological theories of childhood, and affected the place of childhood within Western societies (O'Malley 124).

Childhood has been constructed within religious and moral frameworks, which have reflected the institutionalisation of adult controls over children's lives. Romanticism and Puritanism were two popular historical frames of reference, both emerging from Christian doctrine. Wordsworth's "Ode: Intimations of Immortality From Recollections of Early Childhood" (1807) is a classic example of the Romantic perspective, reflecting a view of childhood as a state of innocence because the child is closer to the divine. This sentimental approach, though idealising childhood, arguably also delimited it. A puritan perspective, as exemplified by authors like Mary Martha Sherwood, saw

childhood as tainted by original sin, and children as in need of salvation and moral education:

All children are by nature evil, and while they have none but the natural evil principle to guide them, pious and prudent parents must check their naughty passions in any way they have in their power, and force them into decent and proper behaviour and into what are called good habits. (Sherwood cited in P. Hunt Introduction to Children's Literature 48)

Public policy, particularly from the nineteenth century onwards, also demonstrates the increasing institutionalisation of childhood. Many of the nineteenth century reforms, in, for example, Britain and to a lesser extent, the United States, centred on the related issues of child welfare and child labour, where governments passed legislation to limit the working hours of children, improve their working conditions and give them access to education and protection under the law (see for example James and James 21; H. Cunningham 137-70; L. Rose). By the early twentieth century, a range of new professional discourses of childhood began to emerge, influenced by fields and industries such as medicine, psychology, education and the law.

In the twentieth century, the emerging field of developmental psychology came to have an influence on constructions or understandings of the child and theories of education. Developmental psychology has claimed to offer an objective perspective on children, using a scientific approach to define the meaning of childhood and construct the child as a knowable subject who can be studied and hence understood. G. Stanley Hall's child study approach was one early school of developmental psychology particularly influential in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development had a strong impact on the dominant pedagogies of many Western societies throughout the twentieth century (Baker 473-85; Crain 114-16). Later critics of developmental theory and developmental psychology have argued that this approach obscures the ideological basis of definitions of childhood, as well as the complex set of adult and class interests benefiting from defining the child in these ways. Valerie Walkerdine, for example, claims that developmental psychology is "premised on a set of claims to truth which are historically specific, and which are not the only or necessary way to understand children", so that children are constituted as subjects within the terms of its own discourse (149). John Morss is also critical of developmental theory, arguing that "the unreflective use of that



word development is a step away from reality. It gives the false impression that some particular events have been connected up with some general pattern, explained perhaps as a quasinatural phenomenon” (153). However, the idea that there is a natural process to the development of the child, and that it can be studied scientifically, has been widely accepted in popular discourses of childhood in the twentieth century, evident in children’s education, parenting manuals, popular debate and, as this study will demonstrate, children’s literature.

### **Children’s culture as a counter-hegemonic consciousness**

More evidence of the political aspect of adult-child relations appears in observations of children’s social practices. Under an adult hegemony, particularly as defined under Gramsci’s theory, it is normal and right for adults to take charge of children, to rear them, educate them and make decisions for them, and to reward and punish them according to an adult-derived code of conduct. However, Gramsci’s theory also supposes that no hegemony can be complete, as a powerless group may attempt to express resistance to the hegemony – a counter-consciousness – using available means (Williams 109, 13).

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that children in Western societies may exhibit a counter-hegemonic consciousness. One excellent example can be seen in their lore and language, or what may also be termed “children’s culture”. Here, I follow Mathew Davies’ general definition of culture as “an abstraction derived from a collection of individuals’ consciously and/or subconsciously interpreted experiences of the possible range of acceptable, correct or objective-oriented behaviour, given certain situations or circumstances” (Davies 312). From this, I take a more specific definition of children’s culture as a collection of cultural practices and artefacts unique to child social groups and passed between children over time (Opie and Opie Lore and Language 1-16). It should be noted that Bernstein describes the social relations of children in terms of a “sub-culture” according to sociological parameters (72); however, as this study does not take a strict sociological or linguistic framework, I have chosen to follow the Opies’ deliberate choice of the term “culture” to describe children’s social practices and forms of expression (Lore and Language 2). Opie and Opie’s research found most evidence of

children's cultural activity in the social interactions of children aged between six and fourteen years approximately (Lore and Language v).

Basil Bernstein has reviewed Opie and Opie's seminal work on children's culture, The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren, to understand how the artefacts they have collated may reflect sociological practices. His review finds that the language used in these artefacts is public language, as it "continuously signals the normative arrangements of the group rather than the individual experiences of its members" and the impersonality of the language "opens the way for rigid adherence to standards and ritualization which reinforce almost a tribal, mechanical solidarity" (73). This kind of language use, Bernstein suggests, "makes the child sensitive to the significance of role and status and also to the customary relationships, connecting and legitimizing the social positions within his peer group" and use of the language strengthens the social ties within the peer group (74).

By reinforcing group norms and tribal solidarity, as well as strengthening social ties with peers, children's culture may be understood as a way for children to establish a micro-society separate from hegemonic structures. In this space, adults can be excluded and children can exercise power, if only over themselves and other children. As Opie and Opie show, in this cultural space, children learn from each other, rather than from adults, and regulate each other according to child-derived rules and codes of conduct (Lore and Language 1-3, 121-53). Thus, while children may have little power in adult-controlled institutions such as the family and the school, this is offset by the child-controlled social structures within their own cultural space.

Children's desire for power and control over their own lives has been recognised not only by scholars of childhood studies, but also, tellingly, in the marketing industry, where this desire is understood as an emotional driver (Walker; no pagination). Writing in the New York Times, Rob Walker observes that children hunger for control and empowerment "since their days are spent being told when to go to bed and when to do their homework", and notes that advertising which responds to this is often successful with children, a point which to which I shall later return.

Children's culture is articulated through cultural artefacts like rhymes, games, riddles and customs, which, in content, form and style, link directly to the main ideology of their culture: resisting their position of powerlessness in the adult hegemonic system. Hollindale describes these artefacts as "an oral culture largely directed at mockery of the adult status quo: the flourishing literary underclass of the school playground" (Hollindale Signs 11), in other words, the political literature of childhood. Examples of children's rhymes and songs, to take one kind of cultural artefact, can range from the merely rude "I see England, I see France, / I see [Mary's] underpants" (Lurie 201), to the positively murderous:

Twelve and twelve are twenty-four,  
Kick the teacher out the door.  
If she tries to come back in,  
Throw her in the garbage bin,  
If she tells you "Don't do that,"  
Hit her with a baseball bat. (Lurie 200)

Or one from my own childhood (to the tune of "Old Smoky"):

On top of the school-house, all covered in sand,  
I shot my poor teacher, with a big rubber band.  
I shot her with pleasure, I shot her with pride,  
I couldn't have missed her, she was forty feet wide.  
I went to her funeral, I went to her grave,  
Some people threw flowers, I threw grenades.

These examples highlight resistance to adult authority. The first rhyme may be simple, but showing one's underpants might definitely count as something of which one's parents would not approve (as would gloating about spying them). The second and third rhymes are much more overt; here, the teacher – a controlling adult authority figure – is subjected to ridicule, violence and even death, and the savage joy evident in the rhymes speaks volumes about the attitude of the poets to the teacher, as well as the cultural context in which the rhymes are performed. Yet the rhymes have additional layers of complexity. The second rhyme plays on the rote learning patterns teachers have commonly used to teach mathematics, and thus subverts an activity teaching adult values (learning maths, paying attention, being passive, doing as one is told) to express resistance to adult control. In the third rhyme, the American folk tune "Old Smoky" is re-envisioned as a farce. The first act sees the child narrator kill the teacher by shooting her with a rubber band. Rubber band weapons are popular with children, but usually outlawed by teachers and schools (including my primary school) because of the risk of

injury; consequently, this is a highly ironic act. These rhymes espouse one of the defining characteristics of children's culture: "a subversive sense of humour, a delight in mocking and actively undermining the powerful, oppressive majority" (McDonnell 28).

Researchers commenting on the culture of childhood often use the terms "resistance", "subversion", "power", "oppression" and "carnavalesque" (Thomas; McDonnell; Lurie). These terms highlight just how problematic and politicised adult-child relations are, and support an understanding of children's culture as evidence of children's counter-hegemonic consciousness within Gramsci's terms. Indeed, Thomas asserts that the poetic tradition of children's culture signifies on adult culture (152); in Gramsci's terms, as a counter-consciousness, it takes its meaning from the hegemonic system in which it exists (Williams 114).

Kathleen McDonnell draws on Jerome and Dorothy Singer's idea in The House of Make Believe that the subversive quality present in many children's play activities allows them to create social situations in which they can break the rules imposed by adults in power, and she suggests that children's humour is based on "speaking the forbidden" and redressing unequal adult-child power relations (McDonnell 33). Archives of children's culture compiled by researchers over the last fifty years and by non-professional archivists prior to this period affirm McDonnell's assertion, as far as it goes. However, the evidence collated in these archives suggests that the desire to subvert the adult hegemony and gain some power or at least autonomy is a key theme throughout children's culture, not limited to humour, and that the articulation of taboos is simply one outward expression of this desire. For example, Iona and Peter Opie's records of children's social practices show evidence of resistance and subversion in hand-clapping games, in the children's calendar of significant dates, in the nicknames given to unpopular children, in secret languages, in pranks, and in their code of oral legislation (Lore and Language; Children's Games; The Singing Game). The archives have illuminated the complexity and resilience of that culture, especially with regards to the ways in which the artefacts of children's culture create limits and define identity, both of which are affected by ideology. This may be seen particularly strongly in archives of children's oral legislative codes, where, for example, being a cry baby, a sneak, or a teacher's pet may result in verbal censure or physical punishment:

Cry, baby, cry,  
Put your finger in your eye,  
Tell your mother what you've done  
And she'll give you a sugar plum. (Opie and Opie Lore and Language 188)

Claik-pie, claik-pie,  
Sits in the midden;  
Licks up my dirt  
And daes my biddin'. (Opie and Opie Lore and Language 191)

The objects of these forms of rough justice must surely feel a certain amount of peer pressure to cease aligning so closely with adult authority figures and to maintain the cohesion of the child group.

These archives raise another issue in the consideration of children's culture as both socially-constructed evidence of children's cultural "otherness" and as an expression of resistance to adult control: that is, that the archives have solely been compiled, analysed and framed by adults. In the nineteenth century, an upsurge of popular interest in British and American folklore generated inquiry into the social lives of children, expressed by writers including Alice Gomme (The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1894-8) and E.W.B. Nicholson (Golspie: Contributions to its Folklore, 1897), and in America by William Wells Newell (Games and Songs of American Children, 1883). This continued into the twentieth century; for example, in Norman Douglas's London Street Games (1931) and in the extensive work of Iona and Peter Opie, and others (see, for example Delamar; Lurie; Thomas). The process of selection, editing and analysis of these archives, as well as their targeting at an implied adult audience, is potentially part of that hegemonic system, and their existence suggests that children's culture and its political implications have been recognised and understood by adults for a significant period of time.

### **The place of children's literature in adult-child power relations**

Children's literature provides an excellent example of the economic and social dimensions of adult-child relations in action. Literacy has become entrenched in Western societies as a key indicator of "prosperity" part of the fundamental work of childhood, especially as conceived within middle-class liberal and capitalist

frameworks. Adults in a range of industries from publishing to education profit materially from the activity of children's reading, and the activity also develops the human capital required within Western societies. From a socio-cultural perspective, children's literature is one of a range of ISAs adults use to socialise children and support the status quo, and this is evident even in the ways that researchers have defined the genre.

Definitions of children's literature are undeniably problematic, not least because the term "children's literature" implies a false sense of ownership or agency (Zipes Sticks and Stones 39-40); this is a genre defined by its audience rather than its authorship (such as "Australian literature") or content (such as "true-crime fiction"). Darton's definition from Children's Books in England has influenced generations of subsequent children's literature scholars: "By children's books I mean printed works produced ostensibly to give children spontaneous pleasure, and not primarily to teach them, nor solely to make them good, nor to keep them *profitably* quiet" (1; italics in original). Darton's definition may appear commonsensical, but still reveals the political motivations of the genre, if only by implication, in the discussion of pleasure, teaching, and making children good.

Moving to more recent perspectives, Peter Hollindale acknowledges that the political implications of childhood impact on children's literature in his definition of the genre: "the only secure grounds for definition [of children's literature] are those that rest in the exchange between adult author and child reader of complex constructions of childhood" (Hollindale Signs 23). Nodelman's definition of children's literature as "the body of texts ... produced by professional publishing houses: writing for young people by adults" (Nodelman The Hidden Adult 3), emphasises the adult-centred and institutional nature of the genre, aspects which I suggest characterise an ISA. Nodelman's definition also contains more detail about the adult-aligned ideologies operating in children's literature, in that the genre contains adult ideas about "what children might like to read or be able to read or need to read – what children are" (The Hidden Adult 5). This I contend is an indication of an ISA at work. Whether this is intended by adult authors is, I suggest, beside the point: given the hegemonic power relations between adults and children and the need for adult authors to relate to their child readership, this socialisation process is arguably almost inevitable.

The function of ideology transmission from adults to children has been evident throughout the genre's history, in constructions of childhood according to contemporary adult perceptions, as well as in the educational and socialising aims of the texts. Townsend identifies two branches in what he describes as the prehistory of literature for children: "story material handed down over the centuries but not meant specially for children, and material that was meant specially for children but was not story" (676). The first category describes genres such as myth, fable, legend and folk tale, but it is the second category – the category of instructional texts written specifically for children – which I suggest heralds the start of children's literature as defined in Nodelman's terms, because it was the first kind of literature constructed specifically for a child readership.

In the 1600s and 1700s, children's literature aimed to educate, civilise and evangelise young people, but arguably the didactic impulse aimed to bring children into the adult hegemony by naturalising dominant ideologies and positioning children as apprentice adults. Although these texts often contained elements of story or fiction, they could also be overtly instructional. To give one example: Janeway's classic, A Token for Children (1672), aimed to impart both moral and religious instruction in a way that young people could understand whether they enjoyed the lesson or not, an aim overt even in its subtitle: Being an Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives and Joyful Deaths of Several Young Children.

Although much children's literature continued to be mainly instructional, even into the nineteenth century (P. Hunt Introduction to Children's Literature 42-9), the concept of the children's book as a pleasurable experience for young readers gradually gained currency, quite possibly due (at least in part) to the influence of John Locke's notion that entertaining books reward and encourage children's efforts in reading (s. 156). According to Julie Cross, this change included the development of "a more child-friendly narrative embrace" in fictional works, which could facilitate instruction, especially in "the sorts of values society holds dear, all through the delights and pleasures of story" (55-56). This aspect of children's literature has become so pronounced that critics now acknowledge instruction and entertainment as the genre's key "aims" (Townsend 676-7) or "defining principles" (Paul 222), although twentieth century children's fiction rarely exhibited the same overtly instructional tones as books

from, say, Janeway's or even Fairchild's eras. Nevertheless, as Cross observes: "[b]earing in mind children's literature's traditional brief to instruct and guide, it should not be any surprise that contemporary children's literature is still considered didactic" although she contends that this often occurs in ways that are "subtle, implicit and inescapable" (55-6).

The purpose of this didacticism is arguably socialisation, a point acknowledged in an historical context by O'Malley (11), and in a contemporary context by Cross (55). These writers use the concept of socialisation to mean the values and norms of the society, especially as defined by adults. Drawing on Williams' Marxist perspective, I have already defined the concept of socialisation more specifically, encompassing the idea of "necessary learning" (Williams 117) which constructs the child as powerless and as an apprentice to adulthood. Thus, I would argue that socialisation may be viewed as a strategy for replicating structures of social power, including when it occurs didactically or otherwise, and this supports the argument that children's literature functions as an ISA.

The subtlety Cross observes in the didacticism of contemporary fiction may indicate a degree of subterfuge in the socialisation process, but why such subtlety exists, and how it contrives to be "inescapable" (if indeed, it can do so), are questions Cross leaves unresolved. For now, I will simply suggest that the trend in the twentieth century (and even into the new millennium) has been the outward ascendancy of the pleasure motivation, concealing but not suppressing the didactic motivation that is at the heart of the socialisation process.

### **Evidence of ideology transmission in children's fiction**

The idea that children's literature has a socialising aim is part of the larger issue of the politics of the genre, and how children's literature mediates the power relations between adults and children is an issue that many children's literature researchers have contemplated. A range of studies using a variety of theoretical perspectives explicitly acknowledge the role of children's literature as a tool of adult power, normativity and



control, and as I will demonstrate, these findings may be interpreted according to a Marxist perspective, especially in terms of ideology and hegemony.

Jacqueline Rose's book, The Case of Peter Pan, or the Impossibility of Children's Fiction, was one of the earliest studies to focus on the politics of adult-child relations as mediated through children's literature. Taking J.M. Barrie's Peter Pan story in all its forms as a case study, Rose examines children's literature as a mechanism by which adults define, shape and control children, as implicated in the study's key premise: "this book has asked what it is that adults, through literature, want or demand of the child" (137). For Rose, the term "children's fiction" is impossible because the acknowledged difference between writer and addressee manifests in a literature which purports to belong to children but which places children as outsiders to its process (1-2). Rose sees children's literature as "something of a soliciting, a chase, or even a seduction" as the text constructs a child inside the book to attract and even capture a child outside the book: "Children's fiction draws in the child, it secures, places and frames the child" (2). I suggest that Rose's argument may be understood in terms of ideology and hegemony, where children's fiction operates as an ISA to socialise child readers.

Perry Nodelman's essay "The Other: Orientalism, Colonialism and Children's Literature" argues that children's literature establishes and maintains unequal and oppressive relations of power between adults and children, which can be understood in terms of colonisation and examined from a postcolonial theoretical framework. To demonstrate this, the essay applies Edward Said's precepts of colonialism to child psychology and children's literature to find sixteen major similarities between colonial and adult-child relations. These similarities are both telling and confrontational for an adult reader, as they challenge the assumptions of adult benevolence towards children, and suggest the possibility (if not the actuality) of systemic child oppression. For example, Nodelman's study finds that both discourses purport to speak for an inferior other, an approach which refers to a "state of innocence" which nevertheless renders the subject "not quite human" ("The Other" 29). Additionally he argues that in both discourses, the gaze of the dominant group is subjective and distorted by their own socio-historical context and concomitant assumptions, and that the representations this group makes benefits the status quo, with, for example, children's literature teaching children to be more docile, obedient and in need of adult guidance ("The Other" 30).

Furthermore, he asserts that the discourses function as a mechanism for wielding power over the subordinate group, and serve to replicate these relations of power over time (“The Other” 31-3).

While Nodelman’s critique takes a postcolonial focus, it can easily be interpreted in Marxist terms. In fact, Robert Young has observed that “[p]ostcolonial theory operates within the historical legacy of Marxist critique” (5). However, a postcolonial focus is limiting in some aspects; for example, as Nodelman himself acknowledges: “Orientals do not turn into Europeans who then oppress a new generation of Orientals. What distinguishes our thinking about childhood from other discourses about otherness is that in this case, the other does quite literally turn into ourselves” (“The Other” 33). This problem is more easily addressed within a Marxist perspective: ISAs can potentially reproduce power relations between generations, and the adult hegemony may seek to socialise children and reproduce the hegemonic status quo by offering the possibility of future (adult) power. The other limit to Nodelman’s study is its inability to address potential resistance or counter-consciousness of the oppressed group. If children’s literature is indeed a vehicle for socialisation, it must overcome children’s potential resistance to the process.

Nodelman’s most recent work, The Hidden Adult: Defining Children’s Literature, takes a slightly different focus; in this text Nodelman begins from the same premise as Jacqueline Rose in “hop[ing] to develop useful knowledge of how [children’s] literature does or might operate as an adult practice with intentions toward child readers” (The Hidden Adult 4). He attempts to develop this knowledge by defining children’s literature as thoroughly as possible, with reference to its textual features, its assumptions, its status as a genre, and its field (an area of human interaction, according to Bourdieu).

Nodelman returns to the key idea of his essay, “The Other: Orientalism, Colonialism and Children’s Literature”, in his discussion of the “hidden adult” in children’s literature. He concludes that childhood and children’s literature exist as “Others” because they take meaning from what they are not – adulthood and adult literature – and are constructed by adults and shaped by adult worldviews (The Hidden Adult 340-41). Nodelman observes that there is a paradox in children’s literature: the books teach

children how to be more adult-like even as they “teach children how to be childlike by providing them with images of childhood and secretly or not so secretly recommending that child readers maintain or adopt them” (The Hidden Adult 167). These aims can appear contradictory, but I suggest they fit the kinds of things that adults need from children (to borrow from Rose) in terms of Gramsci’s theory: adults need children to accept adult controls over their lives as normal and natural, as defined by the kinds of childhood the texts portray. Adults also need to shape children’s growth into adulthood in order for the hegemonic system to be reproduced or maintained.

In The Hidden Adult, Nodelman does address the potential resistance of children. He suggests that children’s literature responds to children’s potential resistance and creates an implied reader position which it invites readers to occupy: “it [children’s literature] offers what children presumably like by describing characters and telling stories that fulfil theoretically childlike wishes for power and independence” and “[imagines] a fictional child reader as a model for actual child readers to adopt” (The Hidden Adult 242-43). While Nodelman does not delve into the mechanics of how this may work, his acknowledgement that this process could exist supports the theoretical position of the present study.

Peter Hollindale has offered a number of perspectives on children’s literature and its ideological implications. In “Ideology and the Children’s Book”, he contends that ideologies do not simply exist side by side in children’s books but that different kinds of ideologies may appear as different layers within texts. His article outlines three levels of ideology that might be found in children’s books. The first is the explicit beliefs of the individual writer consciously included in the text. Underneath this are the individual writer’s unexamined assumptions, and the deepest level contains the general ideological context in which the author and the text exist (“Ideology” 27-33). While Hollindale’s scheme is a viable way of exploring the sources of ideologies to be found in children’s books, its assumption of the existence of ideologies does not explain if and how they may influence implied child readers, especially in light of the power relations inherent in such texts and their contexts.

In his later work, Signs of Childness in Children’s Books, Hollindale moves his focus to the construction of childhood and its impact on children’s books. Specifically, he

considers how the construction and articulation of childhood in children's books is part of the wider political act of writing for and about children (Signs 11). Hollindale revives the archaic term "childness" to represent "the quality of being a child – dynamic, imaginative, experimental, interactive and unstable" (Signs 46). Moreover, childness may be defined according to child *and* adult perspectives, or in phases, as Hollindale sees them. The first is rooted in the presentness of experience and the second draws from memories, beliefs, values and expectations emerging from the continuity of experience between one's child and adult selves (Signs 49, 76). Children's literature contains the adult definition of childness, but "the *event* of children's literature lies in the chemistry of a child's encounter with it" (Signs 49; italics in original).

Hollindale's findings are significant to the present study for a number of reasons. His discussion of the various ways of defining and describing the state of being a child emphasises how ideological these definitions are, and how adult-centred. The concept of childness represents his own attempt to transcend the power relations signified by similar terms like "childish" and "childlike", but the fact that the signs of childness in children's books are written by adult authors means that the concept and its expression must necessarily convey ideology. Hollindale proposes that "[t]he childness of the text can change the childness of the child" (Signs 47); in other words, that adult ideas about what it means to be a child can shape children's worldviews. Hollindale sees this as important and generally benevolent; I suggest that this shaping of children's ideas of themselves is very likely to support an adult hegemony, however benevolent that may be. Finally, in offering a set of focus questions for identifying signs of childness as they may appear in children's texts, Hollindale outlines the ways in which children's books may construct messages about childhood for implied child readers. The fact that children may recognise and respond to these signs suggests that this might be an "interpellative" process, in Althusser's terms.

The observation that children's literature can contain subversive, anti-hegemonic material forms the basis of Alison Lurie's book, Don't Tell the Grown Ups: Subversive Children's Literature. Lurie acknowledges the imbalance of power relations between adults and children, but she posits that children have their own unique culture which is resistant to adult control and ideologies, and she acknowledges that children's literature can be a political communication. Lurie's study also identifies elements of some

children's texts which she suggests are subversive against adult authority, values and ideologies, and she links this in-text subversiveness to children's culture.

Lurie's argument implies that there is an ideological position or a hegemonic process to be subverted, but does not clearly define what is being subverted or how. At times, her argument suggests that capitalism may be the object, at other times it could be "establishment culture", "the status quo", adult control, or rationality (4-15). Lurie implies that subversiveness may be achieved when writers "continue to see the world as boys and girls see it and to take their side instinctively" (14). I suggest that Lurie has to some extent grasped the political implications of children's literature, and has identified elements in texts which reflect and respond to the ideologies of children's culture. However, the present study interrogates the position of adults speaking to, for, and about children, which aims to answer this unresolved question in Lurie's study.

In the introduction to the anthology, To See the Wizard: Politics and the Literature of Childhood, Laurie Ousley takes on the idea of children's literature as a socialising mechanism to explore the ways in which ideologies of gender, culture, class, race and nationalism are potentially transmitted to child readers. Ousley's introduction is not a study, per se; instead it sets out some ideas about politics and children's literature which frame the studies that follow. Like Rose and Nodelman, Ousley focuses on the power and dominance of adults, and the ways that adult motivations, desires and systems of power seek to shape child readers. Her essay asserts that the socialising function of children's literature needs to be interrogated precisely because it is so politicised and contested (xv). Ousley does not argue that this process of socialisation is always deliberate on the part of the author: it may also be an unconscious process. This possibility of deliberate or unconscious ideology transmission supports Hollindale's concept of the three levels of ideology within a text. However, Ousley does not discuss the possibility of child resistance to interpellation, or suggest how ideology transmission may occur in the texts.

Like Ousley, Joseph Zornado is deeply critical of the role of children's literature and other texts in legitimising unequal and potentially oppressive power relations between adults and children. Zornado's work draws explicitly on Marxist theory in ways very similar to this study's own perspective, at least in its starting points. Researching the

ideological content of a range of different cultural products aimed at children including folk tales, children's literature and Disney cartoons, Zornado argues that "[t]he vast majority of children's stories invite the child to identify with the adult's idea of what the child should be, leaving unquestioned the authority structure of adult and child always implied in the text" (xv). Like the present study, Zornado understands this process as hegemonic, in that it "reproduce[s] the dominant culture's ideological status quo" (xv). Furthermore, he echoes Althusser in suggesting that the ideology reproducing relational domination of children by adults is largely inescapable: children are born into the dominant culture with its structures of power already defining their relations with adults (xvi-xvii). Resistance, for Zornado, as for Gramsci, is thus shaped by the dominant ideology (xvii), although Zornado only describes adults as capable of counter-hegemonic resistance (xvii). Thus, while Zornado's ideas support the Marxist framework of my own study, he does not explore how children may resist the adult hegemony or examine the ways that children's literature may take this resistance into account.

The wide range of perspectives on the politics of children's literature suggests that there is some consensus on the premise that children's literature contains adult values and functions as a tool for socialisation; however there remains no easy answer to how, specifically, the mechanics of ideology transfer may occur. On a more fundamental level however, the continuing currency of the debate supports the notion that flows of power between adults and children exist and exert influence in a range of social fields. I suggest that the debate about adult-child power relations reveals its own inherent political context: writers, critics and theorists of children's literature are adults themselves, and therefore, though they may try, cannot stand outside the subject to examine it objectively. I too am an adult speaking about childhood and children's literature, and my position influences my perspective on adult-child power relations. Therefore, I am careful in this study to explore only the production aspects of such literature and refrain from assumptions about how children may read the texts. Specifically, this study concentrates not on what children are, or how they read, or even what children's culture is, but on how adults have understood children, childhood, children's culture and the power relations between adults and children, and how all these understandings permeate children's literature.

Drawing on this study's Marxist framework, I suggest that children's literature is a cultural institution existing within an adult hegemonic system. It is a communiqué from a group in power to a powerless and potentially resistant group, and as an ISA of the hegemony, it seeks to support the status quo by socialising children into accepting a currently powerless position but also positioning them to accept a role as apprentice adults. Thus, an examination of children's literature should potentially reveal something of the hegemony within the texts, whether that is in the construction of childhood as a mode of production, the transmission of cultural values pertaining to childhood, the adult perceptions of childhood presented, or in overt or covert attempts to socialise the implied child reader within the hegemonic system. At the same time, the text may also reflect the individual author's perceptions, beliefs, values and messages, which may or may not match the broader hegemonic aims of children's literature as an institution. A significant problem arises, however, when we consider the potential resistance of the intended readership. In other words, how might a text surmount or ameliorate the resistance of its readership to the hegemony in order to transmit its message and maintain the status quo?

### **Trojan Horse mechanisms**

This study examines the mechanics of ideology transfer in children's literature: specifically, how the use of concealed ideology establishes adult-aligned values and perceptions of childhood and adulthood as norms for implied child readers. It thus follows the Marxist ideas of Gramsci with respect to a cultural hegemony and Althusser's concept of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) to convey those ideologies. The central hypothesis of this study is that twentieth century children's fantasy literature acts as an ISA and transmits ideologies to implied child readers by stealth using a specific structure of subtextualisation that I will define as a Trojan Horse mechanism.

The Trojan Horse of Greek mythology was a construction designed by the Greeks to slip past Troy's defences and finally end the ten year siege of the city. The horse was sacred to the Trojans and a symbol of their city; they aligned with it. It was also presented in the absence of an overt Greek presence as the army had feigned retreat. Therefore the horse was accepted into the city carrying its hidden oppositional elements.

I use the metaphor of the Trojan Horse in my study in order to evoke the characteristics of the outward appearance aligning with the ideology of the targeted recipients, the obvious resistance of those being targeted, and the concealed cargo. It should be noted however that while the Greeks used their Trojan Horse with obvious intent to deliver soldiers, it is difficult to determine the extent to which children's authors create their "Horses" with explicit intent, especially because, as Hollindale has observed, authors may not consciously be aware of many of the ideologies and values shaping what they write for children ("Ideology" 27-33).

The Trojan Horse mechanism appears in the text as a collection of elements that combine throughout the text to socialise the implied child reader within a system of adult-aligned ideologies. These elements include "hailing devices" which usually signify on childhood in some way (the outward appearance of the Trojan Horse), concealed adult ideologies and values (the hidden cargo), and concealment strategies (aspects which may camouflage the cargo). The text positions implied child readers to recognise the hailing devices and accept the text as emerging from a child-aligned position, but then also to accept the adult-aligned ideologies and socialisation which the text conceals and transmits. This kind of covert ideological transmission process was described by one famous children's author, C.S. Lewis, using the phrase, to "steal past those watchful dragons" ("Sometimes" 37).

The first element – the hailing device – appears primarily as a sign of childness articulated in literary terms, designed to appeal to the implied child reader and create an empathic or ideological connection. Here I have drawn on Peter Hollindale's concept to refer to "the quality of being a child" and specifically, the rendering of that quality into literary form by adults for ideological purposes (Signs 46, 49). These hailing devices aim to foster a connection to the implied child reader by constructing a sense of being a child that the reader will recognise and find familiar. Signs of childness may evoke children's experiences or culture in different ways, which, for the purposes of analysis, may be categorised as shown in Table 1 below.<sup>2</sup> In addition to being hailing devices, signs may also act as concealment devices, a point to which I will shortly return.

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<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that signposts may fall into more than one category.



**Table 1**

**Categories and examples of hailing devices**

Category	Examples
<p>Evokes or represents something of the general nature of childness or children’s culture</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• descriptions of child characters looking like “normal children”: physical appearance, dress, size, growing older and larger, approaching adolescence</li> <li>• the construction of child voices: first person child narrator, language, slang, speech patterns, vocabulary, idiosyncrasies</li> <li>• child characters located and acting within family and peer groups</li> <li>• child characters playing with other children, making friends and enemies</li> <li>• children attending school</li> <li>• focalisation on a child character’s perspective</li> </ul>
<p>Evokes or represents the concept of child resistance to adult dominance and control</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the negative construction of adult characters, especially adult authority figures</li> <li>• mocking or besting adult authority figures</li> <li>• carnivalesque inversions of power</li> <li>• spaces where child characters can evade adult gaze and control; spaces devoid of adults or spaces in which the power of adults can be contested</li> <li>• children keeping secrets from adults</li> <li>• children disobeying adults</li> <li>• depictions of children’s social groups including hierarchies and boundary-setting</li> <li>• children occupying positions of social power</li> <li>• children gaining magical powers, either via magical objects or innately</li> <li>• children gaining power in relation to other characters, especially adults</li> <li>• children breaking school or family rules</li> </ul>
<p>Evokes or represents the concrete artefacts of children’s culture in form and/or content</p>	<p>As taken from archives of children’s culture, see (Doulgas; Factor <u>Captain Cook</u>; Factor <u>Far Out</u>; Factor <u>Roll Over</u>; Lurie, McDonnell; Opie; Opie and Opie <u>Lore and Language</u>; Opie and Opie <u>Children’s Games</u>; Opie and Opie <u>The Singing Game</u>; Opie and Opie <u>Children’s Games with Things</u>; Thomas).</p> <p>Due to the extensive range of these archives, a limited list is given here:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• depictions of children’s games</li> <li>• depictions of make-believe and other kinds of children’s play activities</li> <li>• rhymes or other linguistic styles which are similar to children’s rhymes, songs and chants</li> <li>• representations of juvenile justice codes</li> <li>• depictions of children’s lore and traditions</li> <li>• aspects of children’s humour including toilet humour and other humour of rudeness</li> </ul>

To give one example: as noted earlier, aspects of children's culture may be understood as a public language, according to Basil Bernstein, expressing group membership and reinforcing group solidarity (73). To a large degree, the expressions of children's culture (when expressed by children) are restricted codes of communication, identifying the speaker as a member of the group (77-8). The games, lore, rhymes and traditions of children's culture support the child social group as a cohesive unit, identifying the group as separate to grown-ups. When these restricted codes appear in children's literature, I suggest that they act as a hailing device. Children's familiarity with them means that children will, hypothetically, be likely to accept that these signposts are codes functioning within their own culture, hailing them as subjects within that culture. This, it should be said, also implies, potentially, resistance to adult ideologies and socialisation.

The second element of the Trojan Horse mechanism is the adult-aligned ideological content and values. Such ideological content may be intentional or incidental and be present as multiple layers within the text. Because authors of children's literature are adults, who exist and operate within the wider adult hegemony, adult values and ways of looking at the world will almost necessarily permeate the text. Ideologies and values may also be shaped by specific discourses such as gender, class, or race. For example, children's literature has historically been a middle-class enterprise and so often middle-class worldviews are normalised within these stories. The adult-aligned ideological content focuses on socialising the implied child reader in relation to the people and institutions around him or her, according to an adult perspective. In other words, this positions the child within the adult hegemony as described by Gramsci in his theory of cultural hegemony. Therefore it may construct the child in a normalised state of relative powerlessness in his or her relations with adults. In contrast to other hegemonies however, the adult-child hegemony is dynamic in that, inevitably, the child will become the adult. As such, the concealed ideologies may also construct the child, as an apprentice adult, learning the ways of viewing the world that will be appropriate for future mastership within the hegemony.

Adult-aligned ideologies may reflect contemporary (up to the time of writing) notions of the nature of childhood: what children are and should be, what children need, the role of adults in children's lives, how children should be educated, and so on. These

ideologies may also include other related ideological content, such as ideologies of class, race, nationalism, gender or religion. This is significant because the process of socialisation of the implied child reader occurs within a broader social system: readers may be socialised not merely as children and future adults, but as class subjects, members of a culture, or gendered subjects, who are also children and future adults. Adult-aligned ideologies may appear in children’s literature in a variety of ways – overtly, covertly or symbolically – and I offer some possible examples in Table 2 below:

**Table 2**  
**Categories and examples of adult values and ideologies expressed in children’s literature**

Category	Examples
Constructions of adults	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• adults who know best and have children’s best interests at heart</li> <li>• links between age and wisdom or power</li> <li>• bad adults who are a danger to children</li> <li>• construction of a benevolent adult narrative voice speaking authoritatively about child characters</li> <li>• Adult narrative voice addresses implied child readers directly</li> </ul>
Constructions of children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• children requiring guidance, assistance, direction or rescue</li> <li>• children seeking adult approval, or who inspire pride in adult authority figures</li> <li>• children as helpless, ignorant, inadequate or at risk</li> <li>• children as obedient, good, innocent, well-behaved, kind, helpful, courteous, careful</li> <li>• children who learn skills necessary for certain kinds of adult roles, such as leadership skills, or who learn how to take on a dominant hegemonic role in relation to other children and symbolic children</li> </ul>
Constructions of institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• education for children as necessary and/or beneficial</li> <li>• families as nurturing units</li> <li>• notions of idealism in constructions of home</li> </ul>
Constructions implicating other (interrelated) systems of power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• constructions of children as class-subjects</li> <li>• child characters who display or develop national or cultural qualities or skills</li> <li>• portrayals of children in gendered terms, for example, in their development of esteemed “masculine” or “feminine” skills.</li> </ul>

The adult ideologies and values are transmitted in association with the third element of the Trojan Horse mechanism: the concealment strategy. This is a critical part of the

Trojan Horse mechanism, and may be understood as any kind of obfuscation, misdirection, or concealment which attempts to make the adult ideologies and socialising process seem innocuous, appealing, normalised or less apparent to implied child readers. A significant area of concealment that this study will explore is ideological concealment or misdirection, particularly as this may relate to the use of the signs of childness. These signs may act as interpellative or hailing devices, according to Althusser’s theory, but they may be used more extensively to conceal adult ideologies and recruit the implied child reader to the normative hegemony. Others may include strategies which use the structure of the narrative to camouflage adult power in the text, strategies by which adult voice and presence may be concealed, or strategies which use common generic tropes to obscure hegemonic shaping; these are set out in Table 3 below:

**Table 3**  
**Categories and examples of concealment strategies**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Hailing devices concealing adult-aligned ideology transmission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Resistant child characters naturally or spontaneously espousing adult-aligned values or modelling behaviour expected of children by adults</li> <li>• Use of children’s cultural artefacts or humour to promote an adult-aligned worldview</li> </ul>
Structural concealment strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Narrative gaps, focalisation, crisis resolution, story beginnings and endings or other aspects of the story’s structure</li> </ul>
Concealment of adult voice and presence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adult authority figures appearing in ways that camouflage their role, for example, as animals or fantastic creatures</li> <li>• Adult characters whose influence in the story is concealed by their apparent distance from the action</li> </ul>
Genre-based concealment strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Using generic tropes, for example, linguistic and structural signifiers of the fairytale, to draw attention away from ideological content</li> </ul>

To give a simple hypothetical example of a Trojan Horse mechanism, a recognisably childlike character who finds that she has liberating magical powers may require the ongoing guidance of a wise and powerful adult to learn how to use those powers in “appropriate” ways (that is, a process of socialisation). This concealment of adult ideologies and socialisation beneath signs of childness (the focalisation of the child-character’s experience and the magic which empowers the child) produces a Trojan Horse effect. The implied child reader is positioned, through this Trojan Horse, to

recognise the similarity of experience to the child character and the ideology of counter-hegemonic resistance evoked by the character's use of magical powers: this is the hailing device at work. In the same way that advertising which acts on children's desire for empowerment is often successful with children (Walker, no pagination), it is possible that children's literature containing signs of children's culture and experiences may also successfully interpellate child readers. Yet the need for adult guidance to use those powers conveys ideology in a way that is obscured by the hailing device, naturalising the dominance of benevolent adult authority figures and socialising the child character and, by implication, implied child readers, into a hegemonic system.

Determining what constitutes signs of childness (including artefacts of children's culture), or an adult-aligned or child-aligned ideology is a difficult and potentially subjective task, but is important for this study because it influences what is taken as evidence in a close textual analysis. To establish the boundaries of children's culture I have drawn extensively on Iona and Peter Opie's archives, commentary and analysis of children's cultural practices (see for example Lore and Language; Children's Games; The Singing Game; Children's Games with Things; and Iona Opie's The People in the Playground) and to a lesser extent, additional archives and analysis compiled by other researchers in the field, including Alison Lurie and Kathleen McDonnell. The work of Iona and Peter Opie is particularly relevant because they not only archive the games, rhymes and lore of British children but also the provenance of these cultural artefacts.

Evidence for adult ideas, values and ideologies of childhood, as well as adult treatment of children appears in a range of sources from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including childrearing manuals, legislation, educational treatises, theories of childhood development, moral and educational guides, and debates in popular media. From these sources a number of scholars have acknowledged the existence of an adult hegemony and its general motivation (see, for example M. Abbott; Ariès; R. Cox; H. Cunningham; James and James; Kincaid; Marshall; J. Rose; Zornado). I have used these sources to help identify likely adult ideologies being sublimated in the chosen texts at the time of their writing.

This study will firstly attempt to identify the three main elements of Trojan Horse mechanisms and analyse their functions within the selected texts. Subsequently, it

determines how useful this method of analysis is to explore the power relations between adults and children as mediated through children's fantasy literature. Based on the premise that children's literature and social perceptions of childhood may have changed during the course of the twentieth century, texts are examined in chronological order, except for the final two texts, which were published at almost the same time. Each analysis begins by locating the text within its socio-historical context to shed light on the kinds of broader social trends which may have influenced the production and content of the text, its ideas about childhood, and its method of connecting to the implied child reader. The study then uses close textual analysis to determine the existence of Trojan Horse mechanisms by locating the three elements of the mechanism: the signposts of childhood (as outlined in Table 1 above), the adult-aligned values and ideologies (Table 2), and the strategies by which ideologies may be concealed.

The analysis will draw on the work of other researchers in the field who may have identified hailing devices, ideologies, concealment strategies or the broader issues of adult-child power relations implicated in the texts. Analysis may include the text's portrayal of childhood as it is evident in the construction of the fictional child as a subject, a person, and a player in relationships with other adult and child characters, in addition to wider values relating to what children are or should be, and what childhood is for. It may also seek to identify ideologies which do not specifically relate to adult-child power relations, such as ideologies of gender, nationalism or class, which could form part of the text's attempted socialisation of implied child readers. Subsequently, the analysis will determine whether the elements present in the text may constitute a Trojan Horse mechanism; that is, whether they work to transfer adult-aligned ideologies by hailing implied child readers with signifiers of childhood and then concealing those adult-aligned ideologies. This analysis will also consider how the ideologies reflect and indeed, promote particular ideas about childhood and adult-child relations, and how this view may be influenced by the socio-historical context within which the text is produced.

The presence (or absence) and function of the elements of a Trojan Horse will contribute to an understanding of the mechanics of ideology transmission operating in each text, which can be compared to preceding texts in the study. Such a comparison

will enable the possible identification of emerging trends or anomalies particular to certain texts. Each chapter concludes with an evaluation of the ideological structures at work in the text and their relationship to the text's socio-historical context, and a short discussion of the significance of these findings. The study's overall conclusion reflects on the development of perceptions of childhood and ideology transmission within children's fantasy texts over the course of the twentieth century. It proposes possible directions for the use of Trojan Horse mechanisms for ideology transfer in twenty-first-century children's fantasy fiction, based on the trends identified in the sample group of texts, and suggests avenues for further research.

### **Choice of texts and time period:**

To remain manageable in size, this study concentrates on eight texts of fantasy literature published between 1900 and 1997, aimed at an implied readership of children aged between approximately six and fourteen years. These texts are, in chronological order: L. Frank Baum's The Wonderful Wizard of Oz (1900), J.M. Barrie's Peter and Wendy (1911), Enid Blyton's Adventures of the Wishing-Chair (1937), C.S. Lewis's The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe (1950), Roald Dahl's Charlie and the Chocolate Factory (1964), Susan Cooper's The Dark Is Rising (1973), Philip Pullman's Northern Lights (1995), and J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone (1997).

In theory, most – if not all – subgenres of children's literature may contain layers of ideologies. However, this study concentrates on one subgenre and one time period – fantasy fiction from the eve to the end of the twentieth century – mainly to limit the scope of analysis and to provide some points of parity across the texts. There is much to recommend fantasy fiction as an excellent “case-study” subgenre, including its resilience and stability as a textual form across the period of the study, especially in comparison with other popular twentieth-century forms, such as the children's picture book, the graphic novel, the verse novel and the multiple story-path book, which mainly emerged during the course of the century.

Fantasy fiction for children emerged from forms such as the hero-quest, the religious myth and the fairy tale: these forms are ancient and clearly defined, and children's

fantasy often holds to these stable narrative patterns, tropes and themes. Farah Mendlesohn's work on the rhetorics of fantasy fiction suggests it is ideally suited to ideology transfer and thus also, for the purpose of this study, to test Trojan Horse analysis. Mendlesohn observes that fantasy fiction "is a fiction of consensual construction of belief", and has specific rhetorics which "deliberately or unavoidably support ideological positions and in so doing shape character, or affect the construction and narration of story" (*Rhetorics* xiii, xvi). The present study aims to explore this influence of ideology on narrative in children's fantasy, particularly in relation to the ideological ramifications of adult-child power relations.

Fantasy literature for children was already well-established, not to mention popular, in the nineteenth century, thanks in no small part to groundbreaking British texts, especially Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There* (1871), and George MacDonald's various stories for children, including *At the Back of the North Wind* (1871) and *The Princess and the Goblin* (1872). At the end of the twentieth century, fantasy was arguably more popular and more central to children's literature than ever, with one scarred and bespectacled boy-wizard claiming the world's imagination. In the intervening years, different types of children's fantasy developed, including animal fantasy, comic fantasy, high fantasy, domestic fantasy and stories of the supernatural. The fantasy stories chosen for this study do not conform to a single type or even a single category in Mendlesohn's taxonomy of portal-quest fantasies, immersion fantasies, liminal fantasies and intrusion fantasies (*Rhetorics* xiv), but all texts feature human protagonists of similar age to the texts' implied readerships. This similarity within the group of texts allows for a more detailed comparison between texts chronologically.

The twentieth century is a useful period for analysis because of the social context of adult-child power relations during this period. The twentieth century has been called "the century of the child" (Key, cited in R. Cox 163) and arguably by this time the idea of the separateness and uniqueness of childhood had gained widespread currency in Western societies. Children's lived experiences were established topics of scholarly and popular interest, and this served to define a cultural space belonging to children. As part of this process, there were also growing concerns about perceived threats to childhood, the possibility of the extinction of childhood and concomitant desires to safeguard



children's "rights" to childhood (James and James; Postman). Constructions, issues and values of childhood during this time also occurred within the wider context of national and international events, including two world wars, the fall of the British Empire, second-wave feminism and the rise of the Internet. These events may have influenced adult-child relations and understandings of childhood, and it is possible that these influences may be evident in the text's ideologies.

In choosing texts aimed at implied readerships of children aged between six and fourteen approximately, I considered that, if the artefacts of children's culture are used to interpellate child readers, the age group most strongly implicated with child culture will be the publisher's and author's prime target, and this, according to Opie and Opie, is six to fourteen years (Lore and Language v). However, Opie and Opie's age grouping was relevant at the publication of Lore and Language in 1959, and since then perceptions of childhood have continued to change. The children's publishing industry has evolved as well, with the new category of teen fiction emerging only in the second half of the twentieth century (Eccleshare 543). These days, thirteen- and fourteen-year-olds are now perceived as "teens" or "young adults" while those below that age are sometimes called pre-teens or "tweens". The books in this study have been chosen because they usually appear in bookseller lists marketed to this pre-teen group: for example, in Angus and Robertson Bookworld's 6-12 years reading stand, Amazon.com's 9-12 category, and other booksellers' (including Dymocks) 8-12 age grouping.

Nevertheless, it remains difficult to determine exactly which age group any particular book is written to (as opposed to "marketed at"), and any decisions are necessarily generalised. I looked at several key factors, including whether other researchers have described the book as being intended for the pre-teen age group, the age or other identifying characteristics of the main character(s), whether the book is placed in an appropriate pre-teen bookstand in bookshops, and any historical evidence of the book's actual or intended readers. One invaluable source of information on this last point is Children's Reading Choices by Christine Hall and Martin Coles. This study is the end product of a number of surveys carried out in the 1970s and 1990s. Although the study only records the reading habits of children in England, it is still a useful resource for the current study. Apart from the two most recent texts (published after Hall and Coles'

data collection phase), the other texts of this study all appear in the findings as books that preteens chose to read.

Another consideration was popularity. Marginal, obscure or experimental texts were deliberately avoided in favour of texts which were more likely to have been read by large numbers of children. I considered that enduring popularity may signify that the ideological structures of the texts continue to engage child readers despite the passing of time. The use of popular, mainstream primary sources also works to ensure validity, as popular texts are more likely to contain the most common trends of the genre over time. This study uses currency as the key determinant of popularity: all the texts in this study, even the earliest ones, remain on sale in the 6-14 year (or equivalent) sections of bookstores in Britain, the United States and Australia today. Other ancillary factors include any records of children favouring the texts (in surveys and studies, academic texts or children's choice book awards), multiple editions, adaptations to stage or screen, ubiquity or popularity of the author, merchandising and media attention. One consequence of this decision to seek highly popular children's fantasy texts has been the unintended Anglo-centrism of the text group. With the exception of one American text and one Anglo-American text, all the texts were written by British authors. This is not to say that non-British authors of children's fantasy literature have not been popular, but that the most ubiquitous texts of the genre in the twentieth century were often British.

Finally, in an attempt to gain an accurate impression of trends in ideology and mechanisms of ideology transmission over time, this study uses texts which span the course of the twentieth century; specifically, these texts are written from the very eve of the twentieth century (1900) to its closing years (1997). Where possible, I have tried to space the texts evenly, but this has not always been practicable. Most significantly, in choosing the final texts, I deliberately chose two books which were published around the same time: Northern Lights by Philip Pullman (1995) and Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone by J.K. Rowling (1997). These two texts have been massively popular and controversial since their publication, they have both been adapted for stage and/or screen, they both feature pre-teen protagonists and they are both aimed at a similar implied readership in generational and cultural terms. However their content and style differ significantly, and as they were both published in the final years of the

twentieth century, their dual inclusion allows a deeper consideration of future trends in the transmission of ideology in children's fantasy fiction.

## Chapter One

### **On the Frontier: constructing the young America(n) in The Wonderful Wizard of Oz (1900)**

L. Frank Baum's The Wonderful Wizard of Oz (1900) (hereafter referred to as The Wizard of Oz) tells the story of Dorothy Gale, a young orphaned girl who lives on a Kansas farm with her aunt and uncle. When a cyclone takes her to the magical Land of Oz, Dorothy must interact with the Land's strange inhabitants in order to find a way home. Along the way, she meets three companions – a Tin Woodman, a Cowardly Lion and a Scarecrow – who accompany her to the Emerald City to petition the ruler, the Great Oz, to send her back to Kansas. Although Oz is eventually revealed as a sham, Dorothy overcomes trials and hardships and eventually finds a way to return to her aunt and uncle. Baum's tale was arguably one of the most popular fantasy stories of its era, and while its popularity has been cemented in new editions and adaptations into film, musicals and television series, its influence has also extended much more widely into popular culture and, arguably, also into American national identity. (Q. P. Taylor 413).

In this chapter, I will explore how the text of The Wizard of Oz structures ideologies and how the different kinds of ideologies and discourses at work in the text may influence the messages and values which emerge. To achieve this, I will first consider the social context within which Baum was writing in order to understand what sorts of ideologies and value systems may have influenced his text, especially as they may relate to hegemonic power relations. Here, I will focus particularly on the ideologies of childhood, femininity and American national identity which were dominant in the late nineteenth and very early twentieth centuries. From there I will examine the text for evidence of the three elements of a Trojan Horse mechanism: hailing devices, adult-aligned ideologies and concealment strategies. In my analysis, I will concentrate primarily on ideologies concerning children, childhood, adult-child relations and feminine gender roles as they are transmitted through the depiction of Dorothy, and her relationships with adult authority figures, and consider these in light of the story's socio-historical context. Additionally, I will explore how ideologies of American

nationalism and national identity are transmitted and how this may relate to the text's motivations *vis à vis* childhood.

### **Socio-historical context**

Baum wrote The Wizard of Oz in America at the end of the nineteenth century and as such the story is influenced by societal norms of the time as well as by contemporary ideas and issues such as ideas about childhood, femininity and national identity. The idea of childhood as a life-stage stage distinct and separate from adulthood emerged in America in response to social and economic changes and can be seen in the increasing focus on childhood in American legislation throughout the 1800s. Laws enforcing school enrolment were enacted from the 1830s, the growth in secondary education institutions followed from the 1840s, and laws restricting and controlling children's labour began to appear from the 1850s (Stearns Childhood 55, 59).

The characteristics of a uniquely American childhood were observed by European commentators even as early as the late eighteenth century. Peter Stearns suggests that American children "were less rigorously disciplined and given more voice in family affairs than was common in the old world", their relations with authority were more democratic and less hierarchical, and their parents were likely to be "very sensitive to their children's health and happiness" (Anxious Parents 13). Viviana Zelizer argues that between the 1870s and the 1930s, a fundamental shift occurred in the predominant adult view of childhood in America, where the economically useful child of the nineteenth century was redefined in more sentimental terms as "economically useless but emotionally priceless" (209).

In the late nineteenth-century America, children had come to be "viewed as complex beings with unique needs that differed from their adult counterparts and whose development was undoubtedly worthy of study" as proven by the significant growth in psychological literature on child development during this time (K. Taylor 380). Like commentators today, American writers and child experts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were concerned with many aspects of children's lives, including the influence of society and popular culture on children, children's psychological

development, their moral and practical education, as well as their physical health and welfare (see, for example: J. Abbott; Alcott; Holt; Kellogg). These experts and writers, in turn, influenced generations of American parents and moreover, wider American perceptions of childhood and adult-child relations (Stearns *Anxious Parents* 42).

Of course, the experience of childhood in late nineteenth-century America was certainly shaped by factors such as gender, class, race, ethnicity and even geographical location. Debates about models of femininity, for example, were highly contentious in the nineteenth century and influenced the place of girls within their society and girls' understandings of femininity and appropriate gender roles. One fashionable trend from the antebellum era became known as "The Cult of True Womanhood": it made popular the idea that true women were physically and psychologically submissive, timid, delicate and weak, and was based on the belief that women suffered from their biology and reproductive systems (Cogan 29-30). This notion was brought to physical reality by styles of dress requiring tight corsetry which restricted movement (and indeed, breathing), and could have long term health consequences.

There were, of course, reactions against this view of femininity; for instance, what Cogan calls the idealisation of "real womanhood" during that century, where medical experts, writers and commentators advocated for women's "intelligence, physical fitness and health, self-sufficiency, economic self-reliance, and careful marriage" (Cogan 4). The tomboy ideal was another reaction to "True Womanhood" emerging around the mid-nineteenth century in writing about femininity and literature for girls. Tomboyism as an ideological institution was aimed at young girls, but although it appeared to challenge traditional roles and heteronormativity more generally, its primary aim was to produce quality wives and mothers of the future by inculcating resilience, confidence and capability (Abate 45). As I will explore in this chapter, the construction of Dorothy as a young American girl reflects and responds to these competing ideologies of femininity, especially as these ideologies intersect with visions of national identity.

Childhood became an object of philanthropic endeavour and public action during the nineteenth century (H. Cunningham 137-8), which suggests that adults during this time were also re-evaluating notions of what childhood should be and what adults'

responsibilities towards children might entail. Undoubtedly, this growth in public reforms and charitable interest in childhood had a strong impact on the lives of children, especially the urban poor and working class. For example, Charles L. Brace, founder of the Children's Aid Society, addressed his philanthropic efforts to the problem of immigrant, vagrant and working children in New York and other urban areas. His concern was both for the welfare of the children and society as a whole, based on the assumption that children exposed to corruption would be likely to reproduce it: "They will influence elections; they may shape the policy of the city; they will assuredly, if unreclaimed; poison society all around them" (Brace, cited in *The Children's Aid Society* 4). The Children's Aid Society and other similar charitable institutions sought to educate these children and where possible, remove them to the country, where they could receive moral training and good work habits (McGowan 27; *The Children's Aid Society* 31-34). As I will show, the construction of Dorothy as an orphan sent to the country may well relate to these discourses of childhood and the hegemonic power relations such charitable schemes naturalised.

Beyond perceptions of childhood, other aspects of nineteenth-century American identity were changing as a result of social and economic factors. Waves of immigration, slave emancipation, gold rushes, Homesteading Acts, agricultural innovations and the construction of the railroad contributed to a spread of the population to the rural Midwest and West and their aspirational dream of financial success: a form of the emerging American Dream (Cullen 141). However, the realities of farming and the fickleness of the gold rush, together with natural disasters like the decade of drought from 1887 made rural life extremely difficult, and many family farms and related businesses failed (R. D. Hunt 178-79). Baum himself witnessed this hardship when he lived in Aberdeen, South Dakota, which may have influenced his perception of the American Dream and its articulation in *The Wizard of Oz* (Culver 100). Yet, while the reality of American frontier life was often grim, the American dream of success proved resilient even after the pioneer era, as late nineteenth-century writers like Frederick Jackson Turner envisaged new symbolic frontiers emerging in the future (Cullen 141-44; F. J. Turner, no pagination). As I will discuss in this chapter, in *The Wizard of Oz*, the dream of a prosperous, productive America is considered in light of the realistic struggle of American rural life, in part of a larger ideological lesson in American nationalism aimed at young readers.

## **Hailing devices**

By the time of publication of The Wizard of Oz, authors of children's literature on both sides of the Atlantic were including many different signs of childness in their texts. British children's authors of the nineteenth century, particularly authors like Catherine Sinclair, Lewis Carroll, Rudyard Kipling and E. Nesbit, and American authors such as Nathaniel Hawthorne and Mark Twain depicted children who looked and spoke like children, played games, engaged in make-believe, cooked up schemes, flouted authority and kept secrets. These were children with recognisably childlike qualities, emerging, I would suggest, from their authors' perception of childhood as a distinctly different kind of life to adulthood, even perhaps to an understanding of the social and ideological characteristics of children's culture and peer relations.

In The Wizard of Oz, the signs of childness operating as hailing devices in the text appear mainly in the construction of the heroine, Dorothy Gale. Dorothy's portrayal may well have been influenced by previous child heroines, most notably Lewis Carroll's redoubtable Alice from Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (1865) and Through the Looking Glass (1872). Baum revered Carroll's construction of Alice because "she [Alice] was a real child, and any normal child could sympathise with her all through her adventures" (Baum, cited in Attebery 96). Like Alice, Dorothy's portrayal marks her as a recognisable child with whom implied child readers can identify; the strongest markers of her childness include her youth, her size, her girlhood (as a gendered marker of childhood), her ability to play, and the flows of power which are implicated in her relations with adults.

Dorothy's recognisably childlike qualities are established from the very beginning of the story, both in Baum's text and in the original illustrations by W.W. Denslow. Visually and textually, Dorothy appears to be about six or seven years old (Vidal 52; Culver 99). Denslow's illustrations depict her as small, plump in a way that evokes infancy (with its emphasis on roundness of face and body), and dominated by her long, thick braids which connote her femininity (see, for example Baum 94, 100, 09). In the written text also, Dorothy's size is the main indicator of her age: the text constantly



refers to her as “little”, and together the images and text positions implied child readers to recognise Dorothy as a child just like themselves.

Dorothy may be an orphan, but the text shows she lives in a family with her Uncle Henry and Aunt Em. The text does not elucidate whether Dorothy’s guardians are blood relatives or foster carers (especially given the traditional appellations of Aunt and Uncle as a child’s address for adults who are close but not related), but both situations were reasonably common living arrangements for children of the era. It was during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that charitable institutions like the Children’s Aid Society sent urban orphans by train to carers in the rural Midwest, where their labour would be useful and their moral education better provided for, at least in theory (The Children’s Aid Society 33-34; Torigoe, no pagination).

By the turn of the century, play was widely recognised as a normal part of children’s lives (Stearns Anxious Parents 173), and the text refers to Dorothy’s play in the opening chapter, noting that although Dorothy has no other children to play with, she does play “all day long” with her dog, Toto (Baum 97). This mention of play may act as a signifier of Dorothy’s childness, and is made more significant because the placement of this sign appears as part of the text’s introduction to the character. However, the lack of any detail about the play and the passing nature of the text’s reference to it suggests that play is not a significant part of the text’s construction of childhood, and as I will discuss later in this chapter, this may relate to adult-aligned ideologies of childhood.

A more complex and detailed hailing device appears in Dorothy’s relations with adult authority figures in the primary world of Kansas and the secondary world of Oz. To begin, Baum’s text does not explore the power relations between Dorothy and her carers in any great depth; however, it may be reasonably inferred that she occupies a subordinate position of power within the family unit, as would be normal for a young child. Yet as soon as Dorothy lands in Oz she appears to gain social power, particularly in her relations with the adult authority figures of Oz: the four witches and the wizard.

Many stories feature oppositional spaces, such as an opposition between “home” and “away”, but in fantasy fiction, these spaces have often taken the form of distinct primary and secondary worlds. Historically, in fantastic stories like The Wizard of Oz,

the primary world is associated with the “real” or non-magical world, and the secondary world is the home of magic, unbounded by at least some of the rules of reality. Consequently, this secondary world can function as a carnivalesque space (Bakhtin 9-10): a space where the normal rules of society do not apply and where subversive, counter-hegemonic impulses and desires can be expressed. Symbolically, this shift in space and power relations invokes the counter-hegemonic position of childhood: within the family, it is difficult for a child to contest the status quo, but escaping from those controls, perhaps to a child-aligned space like a backyard, playground or even a make-believe, imaginative space, allows the possibility of attaining more power. In the Wizard of Oz, Dorothy’s move to the Land of Oz depicts this situation occurring as she moves from the primary world to the secondary world and consequently becomes powerful even over many adult characters. Importantly, from an ideological perspective, this power is not gained through magic or the fantastic but through the necessity to establish new power relationships (she is in a new world) which is accomplished simply by her timely and confident assertion of innate abilities brought from Kansas. The inversion of power over adults thus acts as a hailing device evoking the experience of childhood and relations with adult authority figures, although as I will demonstrate, this can also conceal hegemonic ideology.

Details in the construction of Dorothy’s relationships with Oz’s adult authority figures reinforce this child-aligned ideological position. The wizard and witches all seem to be powerful, each using magic (or the semblance of magic) to control his or her own portion of the Land of Oz. Moving between their spheres of influence, Dorothy must negotiate her position with each new authority figure. These interactions show that Dorothy is in some respects more powerful than most of the authorities. For example, she easily kills the Wicked Witch of the East, albeit unintentionally, when Dorothy’s house squashes her. This gives Dorothy immediate status with the Munchkins whom the witch had enslaved, and this is reinforced by the acclamation of the Good Witch of the North, who hails Dorothy as “most noble Sorceress” (Baum 103). In this incident, the text’s emphasis that the Munchkins are “about as tall as Dorothy” although “many years older” and that the Witch of the North is “doubtless much older” than the Munchkins, plays on the concerns of size, age and power which are central themes in children’s culture (Corsaro 134-35).

Dorothy's ability to kill both wicked witches is a feat apparently beyond the Wizard of Oz and either of the two good witches. When the wizard first asks Dorothy to kill the Wicked Witch of the West, she retorts with some anguish: "If you, who are Great and Terrible, cannot kill her yourself, how do you expect me to do it?" (Baum 190). The subversive sign of childness operating here is that Dorothy can kill the witch because she is more powerful than the wizard, despite the fact that he is an adult and she is only a small child.

Vidal has observed the interpellative power of inverted power relations for children in Baum's work, noting that "Baum knew that nothing so pleases a child as a situation where, for once, the child is in the driver's seat and able to dominate adults" (64). I concur with Vidal and suggest that this vision of child power may represent a symbolic redressing of hegemonic power relations in the same way that children's rhymes and games can symbolically counter the power of adult authority figures. I suggest Dorothy's increased status and power thus appears in the text as a hailing device, signifying on the counter-hegemonic consciousness of childhood. By depicting a child who suddenly becomes more powerful than many of the adults around her, the text articulates a child-aligned ideological sentiment which implied child readers may find familiar and indeed, appealing.

### **Concealed ideologies**

Scholars of Baum's Oz series have identified a number of ideologies present in the texts (including in The Wizard of Oz). Many of the identified ideologies relate to the texts' social context, such as the contemporary American political scene (Littlefield; Dighe; Q. P. Taylor; Ritter), a sense of nationhood and national identity (Attebery), contemporary anxieties and visions of utopias (Wagner; Karp), and contemporary attitudes towards children and orphans (K. Taylor). Other critiques have focused on the author's ideological motivations and subsequent effect (Culver; Vidal), or on the ideologies carried within the structure and linguistic mode of the text as a portal or quest fantasy (Attebery; Mendlesohn Rhetorics). However, although many ideologies have been identified in The Wizard of Oz, there has been relatively little scholarship considering the ways in which ideologies in the text may attempt to shape an implied

child reader, particularly from a hegemonic perspective, or the process by which such ideologies may be transferred, and in the following discussion I will consider these aspects in some detail.

Any exploration of ideologies in The Wizard of Oz must first consider Baum's explicit ideological motivation, as stated in the introduction (90). Baum asserts that "every healthy youngster has a wholesome and instinctive love for stories fantastic, marvelous [*sic*] and manifestly unreal", but that it is now time for these old-style fairy tales to make way for new "wonder tales", like the author's own modest contribution. Baum's idea of the modern wonder tale for children contains no "horrible and bloodcurdling incident ... to point a fearsome moral", and he asserts that as morals are included in modern education they are unnecessary in modernised fairy tales, so The Wizard of Oz exists "solely to pleasure children of today" (90).

Baum's introduction reflects the social context within which he was writing and the dominant ideologies current at the time. For example, his desire to produce a fantastic tale without "bloodcurdling incident" corresponds to an emerging perception in America at the turn of the century that children were emotionally vulnerable (Stearns Anxious Parents 176). This was reflected in popular commentary of the time, which advocated that adults should prevent children experiencing "overexcitement and excessive stimulation" especially from fear or violence (Anxious Parents 176). By reflecting this idea in his introduction, Baum not only reproduces an ideology of childhood, but uses this as a marketing tool aimed at the potential adult purchasers of this book who may share the belief. Indeed, as Peter Stearns argues, the notion of children's vulnerability created a parental anxiety which fostered the professional industry of childhood experts and advice manuals (Anxious Parents 40), and by demonstrating knowledge of what modern children need, Baum constitutes himself as an expert in this area upon which anxious parents could rely.

Baum's introduction also refers to the appeal of the fantastic to child readers, and implies that children are likely to be more receptive to ideas presented to them using the tropes of the fantastic. This suggests that Baum understood the power of fantasy as a device which can conceal and carry ideology, especially in light of his stance against the moral content of old-style fairy tales. Moreover, although Baum openly disavows

placing morals in his own work, Gore Vidal notes that the Oz books do contain “a certain amount of explicit as well as implicit moralizing” (51).

The construction of Dorothy is one of the most important aspects of the story where hegemonic ideologies appear. These ideologies are concealed by her apparent childness, which establishes an empathetic connection or identification to implied child readers; however, these markers also act as concealment devices, carrying adult values and ideological content. A simple example of this may be seen in the way the text uses Dorothy as a focaliser: although there is an omniscient, and implicitly adult, narrator, through much of the story, implied child readers approach the action from Dorothy’s point of view. As Andrew Karp finds in his exploration of Baum’s utopian vision, this device allows for a specific ideological message to be communicated to implied child readers: specifically, the ideologies implicit within the adult vision, which appear to emerge from a childlike perspective (104). As I will demonstrate, the text’s use of Dorothy’s point of view to espouse and thus normalise adult-aligned ideologies about childhood, femininity and national identity constitutes a concealment device which is part of a Trojan Horse mechanism.

The text’s descriptions of Dorothy also transmit concealed ideologies. I have already noted the ways in which Dorothy appears physically childlike, but descriptions like “little girl” carry additional layers of ideological complexity. Ian Jackson acknowledges that “diminished size and stature are universally acknowledged as the most immediate perceptual indices of childish status” (39) but argues that popular adult use of the term “little” when discussing childhood functions as a bromide (50). Drawing on Jackson’s work, I suggest that the various usages of “little” Jackson discusses support the adult hegemony by constructing children in ways that actively deny them power. These include the construction of children as short in stature (41), young (43), the object of endearment or belittlement (44-45), small or amusing (46), inferior (47) or contemptible (47). These meanings may be operating under the surface of Dorothy’s construction, so that while implied child readers may recognise her diminution as being like their own, the text is also reifying hierarchical and hegemonic power relations.

The text usually describes Dorothy’s size in tandem with her gender by referring to her as a “little girl”, and thus implies a stereotypical link between smallness and the female

gender. Significantly, Dorothy's impression of the Good Witch of the North as a "little woman" supports this hypothesis (Baum 103, see the quotation below). By aligning "littleness" (in the senses Jackson explores) with femininity, the text may be promoting a masculine and hierarchical perception of gender carried under the surface of Dorothy's appearance as a female child.

A more subtle form of ideology transmission occurs in Dorothy's self-descriptions: while the narrator simply refers to Dorothy as a girl or little girl, Dorothy adds the adjectives "innocent, harmless" (103), "ordinary" (114) and "helpless" (189) either in explicit statements or in implied thought. This represents a concealed layer of ideology carried under the physical sign of Dorothy's childness and also concealed by Dorothy's point of view. The text positions implied child readers (and perhaps especially female ones) to identify with Dorothy, but because she describes herself according to adult-aligned ideologies of childhood and femininity, she legitimises this adult-aligned discourse, which then positions implied readers to see themselves in these adult-defined terms.

The process of concealed ideology transfer occurs over three separate episodes. The first occurs when Dorothy meets the Good Witch of the North:

Dorothy listened to this speech with wonder. What could the little woman possibly mean by calling her a sorceress, and saying she had killed the Wicked Witch of the East? Dorothy was an *innocent, harmless little girl*, who had been carried by a cyclone many miles from home; and she had never killed anything in all her life. (103; emphasis added)

While this passage is conveyed by the third-person narrator, I suggest that its structure focalises Dorothy's perspective: by showing Dorothy's reaction to the speech and then posing the question she asks herself, the next sentence appears to be what Dorothy thinks of herself, rather than what the narrator thinks of her. Despite this apparent child-focalisation, the ideologies inherent in the phrasing align with contemporary hegemonic views of childhood. The word "innocent" emerges from Enlightenment and Romantic discourses of childhood, but also relates to American adult perceptions of childhood of the nineteenth century, when "a dominant image of children's innocence emerged" as beliefs in original sin declined (Stearns *Anxious Parents* 21). In context, the word "innocent" also takes on the added meaning of "incapable of murdering the witch". The

accompanying term, “harmless”, seems to imply good behaviour, as in “not creating harm” or, in context, “not intending to kill the witch”. I would argue, however, that the true import of the term is as a negation of agency, as in “innocuous”, and indeed, Dorothy really is “harmless” in this matter, because she was not in control of the cyclone-borne house that killed the witch. That Dorothy would use the terms “innocent” and “harmless” together with “little girl” to describe herself, aligns her firmly with an adult worldview.

Additional adult-aligned ideologies emerge in the next episode, which occurs when Dorothy meets the rich Munchkin, Boq. Boq has studied Dorothy’s clothing to come to the conclusion that Dorothy is a great sorceress:

“My dress is blue and white checked,” said Dorothy, smoothing out the wrinkles in it.

“It is kind of you to wear that,” said Boq. “Blue is the color of the Munchkins, and white is the witch color; so we know you are a friendly witch.”

Dorothy did not know what to say to this, for... she knew very well she was only an *ordinary little girl* (Baum 114; emphasis added)

As with the terms “innocent” and “harmless”, the text here implies that “ordinary” is Dorothy’s perception of herself. Dorothy uses the term to contrast herself with the witches, ostensibly signifying that as an “ordinary little girl” she is “without magical powers” and by implication “powerless”; however, as I have previously discussed, the text reveals that Dorothy does have significant power in Oz. I suggest that Dorothy’s ordinariness operates as a sign of childness, a concealment device and a marker of adult ideology. As a sign of childness, Dorothy’s ordinariness signifies a similarity to implied child readers. As a concealment device, her ordinariness complies with fairy tales and the English tradition of fantasy, in which the normal, ordinary protagonist operates as a lens “through which the reader can view the unfamiliar without having to lose his orientation in the familiar” (Attebery 95). Finally, Dorothy’s ordinariness may also represent an adult view of childhood normalised within the text, as it means “without pretensions or artifice”. This connotation recurs later, when the Wicked Witch of the West looks into Dorothy’s eyes and “saw how simple the soul behind them was” (207). In this case, the word “simple” is used in a similar manner to “ordinary”, and together they paint a picture of youthful virtue: ordinary, simple, wholesome and good. These traits, like Dorothy’s innocence, correspond to contemporary views of childhood by

adults in America. Stearns argues that until about 1910, children's natures were seen as basically reliable, that children automatically had good natures unless somehow corrupted, and that girls in particular "were by nature pure, even-tempered, prepared for the roles that awaited them as women" (Anxious Parents 21).

Other contemporary ideas about girlhood and femininity also may have also influenced Dorothy's construction, particularly the competing discourses of True Womanhood and Real Womanhood and the trend of tomboyism (see for example, Abate; Cogan). When Dorothy asks the Great Oz to send her back to Kansas, the text seems to invoke the True Womanhood model as Dorothy describes herself as a "helpless little girl":

"Why should I do this for you?" asked Oz.

"Because you are strong and I am weak; because you are a Great Wizard and I am only a *helpless little girl*," she answered. (Baum 189; emphasis added)

Of the three descriptive phrases, "helpless little girl" is by far the most self-deprecatory, especially as it is linked to the word "weak" and contrasted against the terms "strong" and "Great Wizard" (where masculinity is a component of the Wizard's identity). "Helpless", like "harmless", signifies passivity, but I suggest Dorothy's statement expresses frustration and expectation which relate to a child-aligned perspective. Dorothy is acknowledging that this adult authority figure is far more powerful than she is and is therefore obligated by this power differential to act. Her words evoke the frustration of the child faced with a task that an adult – with greater size, strength, skill or knowledge – could complete more easily, and therefore this frustration may function as a hailing device.

Sometimes Dorothy does seem helpless in her journeys: her three companions protect her and give her food, carry her when she cannot walk, and find her places to rest, even though she performs no reciprocal functions for them. Dorothy also appears helpless against the Wicked Witch of the West: upon capture, she meekly follows the witch's orders and in essence becomes her slave. Appearances are deceiving, however: the child manages to sneak food to the Cowardly Lion despite the witch's prohibitions, and she is ultimately responsible for the witch's watery demise. Even more importantly, once the witch is dead, Dorothy calmly and capably cleans up the mess, and then helps to direct



the Winkies in the rescue and restoration of her friends the Scarecrow and Tin Woodman.

Finally, there are also some moments where Dorothy is conspicuously *not* helpless, such as when she is swept up by the cyclone. Instead of being terrified and emotional (although the text off-handedly mentions that she “[gets] over her fright” (98)), she is calm, rational and even serene, competently rescuing Toto and closing the dangerous trap door. An even more telling example occurs when Dorothy first meets the Cowardly Lion:

Just as he spoke there came from the forest a terrible roar, and the next moment a great Lion bounded into the road. With one blow of his paw he sent the Scarecrow spinning over and over to the edge of the road, and then he struck at the Tin Woodman with his sharp claws ...

Little Toto, now that he had an enemy to face, ran barking toward the Lion, and the great beast had opened his mouth to bite the dog, when Dorothy, fearing Toto would be killed, and heedless of the danger, rushed forward and slapped the Lion upon his nose as hard as she could, while she cried out:

“Don’t you dare to bite Toto! You ought to be ashamed of yourself, a big beast like you, to bite a poor little dog!” (140)

The Lion’s sudden, vicious attack on the group would be likely to make anyone in Dorothy’s position feel helpless or incapacitated by fear, but instead, Dorothy courageously protects Toto and even hits the lion in the face.

I contend that these vacillations between helplessness and capability arise from the text’s competing constructions of childhood and femininity. As implied by Dorothy herself, small size and youthfulness – the markers of childhood – are associated with helplessness. However, Dorothy appears helpless primarily when acting assertively would require unfeminine behaviour. The examples above show Dorothy conforming to traditional nineteenth-century expectations of the female role, in which women lack aggression and avoid traditionally male activities. In the incident with the Wicked Witch of the West, Dorothy cooks and cleans for the witch after she has been captured. The only way Dorothy can free herself is by accident and emotional excess. Dorothy’s role in the companions’ quest reveals a similar pattern. Dorothy is the only female of the group, and her companions take care of her. Her femininity also excludes her from some traditional masculine activities: she does not chop down trees, hunt game, think up clever plans, kill the wildcat or fight the Kalidahs.

At the same time, the text demonstrates that Dorothy can still be heroic and act courageously and capably when doing so conforms to the text's ideas of femininity. There are two related kinds of femininity possibly invoked here. Brian Attebery's analysis of Dorothy suggests that her construction may relate to the image of the American pioneer woman idealised at the time of the story's publication (98), while Frances Cogan's exploration of the ideal of Real Womanhood in nineteenth-century literature for young people also identifies the traits of capability and resourcefulness in the terms of that ideal (5). Within this framework, Dorothy is a character of great strength, perhaps also like the suffragists with whom Baum was closely associated (Ritter 178). This may explain Dorothy's calm forbearance, resourcefulness and self-sufficiency when she is swept away by the cyclone, for example. Similarly, Dorothy can stand up to the Cowardly Lion in her defence of Toto because Dorothy's relationship to Toto is like that of a mother with her child. Although at the beginning of the story Toto functions as a substitute playmate for Dorothy (Baum 96-7), the relationship gradually evolves into a parental one: she treats him less like a playmate and more like her baby or young child, carrying him in her arms, feeding him and cosseting him.

These "capable" roles of household manager, pioneer woman and mother are visions of adult American femininity, and from a Marxist perspective, it would seem that Dorothy is taking on an apprenticeship to adulthood and practising her possible future roles, as advocated in literature which promoted the Real Womanhood ideal (Cogan 30). The fact that she is preparing for adulthood implies that she is already inculcated into the hegemonic structure. Using the signs of childhood such as youth, size and powerlessness, as well as gender, the text positions implied child readers, especially female ones, to see Dorothy's example of apprenticeship as a normal and natural purpose of childhood activity, thus reinforcing hegemonic relations.

The sources of Dorothy's power also reveal adult-aligned ideologies of childhood and possibly American national identity. Firstly, by contrasting Dorothy's wholesomeness and youthfulness against the humbug from Omaha and the old wicked witches, the text invokes a discourse of childhood innocence as it sits in opposition to the corrupting influence of age and maturity. Dorothy's ordinariness is another source of her power: she does not rely on magical artifice and will not shrivel up in the sun or dissolve in

water. Compared to this, the magic and trickery used by the authorities are weak. This is not to say that magic is useless in Oz – some magic is very important, like the silver shoes that take Dorothy home – but the underlying ideology promotes self-reliance, hard work and good-naturedness. These are aspects which may relate to an idealised image of the American pioneer and the real American woman, but more importantly, they are attributes the text is positioning child readers to cultivate as part of their apprenticeship to adulthood.

Dorothy's interactions with Glinda the Good Witch of the South re-establish the hegemonic status quo at the end of Dorothy's time in Oz. While the other witches and the wizard are revealed as less powerful than Dorothy, Glinda retains her power, which comes not so much from magic as from knowledge and wisdom: specifically, Glinda can tell Dorothy how to get back to Kansas. Although Glinda cannot send Dorothy home (only Dorothy's magic shoes can do that), her knowledge – the type of power anyone can attain – provides the solution. Here, the structure of the story works to conceal the ideology: Dorothy attains social power from the commencement of her time in Oz, Glinda's retention of benevolent power and control at the end of the story normalises an adult hegemony, suggesting that while children can play at being powerful, adults are ultimately required to solve the big problems they may face. Additionally, the fact that Glinda's power comes from knowledge may suggest an ideological message about the benefits of learning and life-experience: ideologies which adhere to a hegemonic worldview.

The final part of the story sees Dorothy reunite with her Aunt and Uncle in Kansas, thus fulfilling her singular desire to return home. Considered within its socio-historical context, Dorothy's desire to return to her adoptive family may relate to the charitable and sentimental adoption trends of the late nineteenth century (The Children's Aid Society 32-34; Torigoe, no pagination). Kristin Taylor also identifies possible ideological ramifications of this construction, suggesting that metaphorically, Dorothy's journey allows her to accept her place within her adoptive family, and thus "integrate the reality of adoption into ... her psyche" (381). From a Marxist perspective, the construction also normalises the family as a locus of hegemonic relations, where Dorothy's desire to return home teaches young readers to see membership within the family positively, even in preference to independence.

Baum's construction of "home" in The Wizard of Oz also relates to ideas and ideologies of American life and the American Dream. These concepts are explored in the dynamic of the primary and secondary world spaces: the everyday America symbolised by Kansas and the magical world of Oz. These ideologies are concealed not only by the fantasy form of the story, but also by the story's focalisation on Dorothy, whose childlike perspective shapes the implied reader's experience of these spaces.

The construction of Oz as a distinct, fantastic secondary world is a significant milestone within the tradition of American fantasy literature. As distinct from the British and European fantasy tradition, where fantastic secondary worlds were already well-established in texts such as Charles Kingsley's The Water Babies (1862), Lewis Carroll's Alice books and fairy tales by Hans Christian Andersen, secondary worlds in American fantasies in the nineteenth century were arguably less common. Although there were some American contributions to children's fantasy literature in the nineteenth century, even by opponents of fantasy, such as the children's authors Samuel Goodrich and Jacob Abbott (West "Toward a Reappraisal" 142-5), these fantasies tended toward the prosaic and made limited use of primary-secondary world dynamics. This began to change in the later years of the nineteenth century; for example, Nathaniel Hawthorne created an alternate space in A Wonder Book (1852) and Tanglewood Tales (1853) by retelling Greek myths in a New England setting (Griswold 875). Similarly, Palmer Cox placed fantastic brownies in the domesticated American landscape in The Brownies, Their Book (1887), and Frank Stockton dispensed with America altogether in the medieval European setting of The Griffin and the Minor Canon (1900). Yet, as Brian Attebery has argued, Baum's text was significant because it created a fantasy world which was distinctly and idiosyncratically American: "Before 1900 [and The Wizard of Oz] there was no coherent American fantasy world; afterward there was" (84), and consequently, the ideological construction of this new type of American world is particularly important to this study.

One influential interpretation of ideology in The Wizard of Oz was Henry Littlefield's essay, "Parable on Populism" (1964), which viewed the landscape of Oz as a metaphor of the contemporary political and economic scene. More recent theorists have tended towards cultural readings, looking at the way the text promotes the reality of American

life over the opiate of the American Dream (Lanes 91-111; Attebery 83-108). As I will show, there is ample evidence of this ideological message in the construction of the primary and secondary world spaces, which seeks to shape child readers as young pioneers and future leaders of the nation, even as the ideology itself is concealed by the fantastic metaphor and by Dorothy's childlike perspective. And yet, Baum's view of American life also contains a sharp critique, revealing the great distance between the promise of the American Dream and the reality, a critique which may relate to Baum's own experiences of rural life. As I will argue, it is within this distance between dream and reality that the text places implied child readers: like Dorothy, readers are ideologically prepared by the text to develop the values and skills required to influence the America of the future.

The text begins its ideological shaping by using sensory descriptions to highlight the differences between Kansas and Oz, and to position implied readers to prefer the secondary world to the primary one. Yet Oz and Kansas exist as two sides of the same coin, and the dynamic between them, focalised by Dorothy's experiences, carries ideologies which aim to shape the implied reader's understanding of America. Even in the very beginning of the story, the utilitarian description of Dorothy's home as a poverty-stricken farm constructs a bleak vision of Kansas. The text creates a sensory experience focalising on Dorothy's view from the doorway: Kansas is "nothing but ... great gray prairie", "flat", "baked", "burned", "blistered" and "dull" (Baum 96). The prairie seems unable to support much life, but instead appears to steal the life from its inhabitants. This is most apparent in the text's poignant description of Aunt Em, whose hard life on the farm has turned her from "a young, pretty wife" into an unsmiling woman who is "gray ... thin and gaunt" (96). A feeling of grim resignation pervades the opening scene: Dorothy seems to have no joy in her life apart from Toto (96-97).

The key features of Kansas are barrenness, poverty and unhappiness, but also reality. Arguably, Kansas represents the lived experience of rural Midwest Americans, who, as Baum saw firsthand, experienced the 1890s as "a period of upheaval, depression, and crisis" (Zipes Fairy Tale 121). Baum's portrayal contradicts popular contemporary constructions of America as a land of opportunity, and Daniel Mannix links the failed promise of the fictional Kansas prairie to events in the author's own life: his failed

businesses and his interactions with rural Americans for whom the American Dream had also hidden a much more brutal reality (25-7).

If Kansas represents the real America, especially rural America, then Oz is the American Dream: an idealised secondary world which symbolises America's potential, and thus also a place where the subconscious desires of Americans can be articulated. When Dorothy goes to the Land of Oz, the contrasts with Kansas are magnificent: Oz is a magical place filled with colour and life, "a country of marvelous beauty" (Baum 101). The initial description of Oz evokes sensory riches in its "stately trees bearing rich and luscious fruits", "Banks of gorgeous flowers" and "birds with rare and brilliant plumage" (102). These sights, the text emphasises, are "very grateful to a little girl who had lived so long on the dry, gray prairies" (102).

The two sensory descriptions of Kansas and Oz prompt a response in implied child readers in order to make readers react positively towards Oz and negatively towards Kansas. Though Dorothy's adventures in Oz are sometimes dangerous, overall, they are exciting and appealing, in great contrast to the barren life she endures in Kansas. Attebery sums up the relationship between Oz, Kansas and America as a whole by saying that

Oz is America made more fertile, more equitable, more companionable, and, because it is magic, more wonderful. What Dorothy finds beyond the Deadly Desert is another America with its potential fulfilled: its beasts speaking, its deserts blooming, and its people living in harmony. (87)

Despite this, Oz is not completely perfect. There is evil in Oz in the form of the two wicked witches, and yet unlike the problems Kansas faces, Oz's demons are easily vanquished. Dorothy manages to kill the Wicked Witch of the East upon her arrival, and the Wicked Witch of the West is dispatched with a bucket of water.

Dorothy's attitudes to the two worlds are essential to understanding the ideologies at work. Like any classic quest hero, Dorothy leaves her home, has an adventure in a faraway land and then returns home. In symbolic terms, Dorothy leaves the grim reality of American life, experiences an embodied vision of the American Dream and then returns to reality because "there's no place like home" (Baum 122). The text's underlying message here is apparently simple: however far the reality of life in America

may be from the American Dream, it is in the real world – home – where America’s potential must be realised, and that this task is somehow worth the effort. But is it? Deeper analysis of the two spaces reveals ambiguities in their construction: Dorothy’s much-vaunted home is bleak and barren, and her relatives seem distant and unloving. Laura Barrett and Gore Vidal have suggested that Dorothy’s desire to return home makes no logical sense given her experiences there (Barrett 153; Vidal 53). However, I suggest the promotion of home – even a flawed home – forms part of the text’s nationalist shaping. This is most evident in Dorothy’s conversation with the Scarecrow in the fourth chapter, which demonstrates the ideologies of America at work in the text, as well as the text’s projected role for implied child readers.

“Tell me something about yourself, and the country you came from,” said the Scarecrow, when she had finished her dinner. So she told him all about Kansas, and how gray everything was there, and how the cyclone had carried her to this queer land of Oz. The Scarecrow listened carefully, and said, “I cannot understand why you should wish to leave this beautiful country and go back to the dry, gray place you call Kansas.”

“That is because you have no brains,” answered the girl. “No matter how dreary and gray our homes are, we people of flesh and blood would rather live there than in any other country, be it ever so beautiful. There is no place like home.”

The Scarecrow sighed.

“Of course I cannot understand it,” he said. “If your heads were stuffed with straw, like mine, you would probably all live in the beautiful places, and then Kansas would have no people at all. It is fortunate for Kansas that you have brains.” (Baum 122)

Dorothy’s love for her homeland may be seen as emotional and idealistic - a sense of nationalism - while the Scarecrow is logical and objective. The Scarecrow may be a character without a brain, but his questioning is insightful and lingers on despite his swift retraction in the face of Dorothy’s conviction. While Dorothy tries to sell the deep ideological message about the validity of American life, the Scarecrow’s questions expose its logical flaws, suggesting, as Jack Zipes has argued, that “Baum himself sensed the failure of the promise of America to become paradise” (*Fairy Tale* 128). Nevertheless, I contend that the final sentence of the exchange above reveals the text’s ideological resolution: just as it is fortunate for Kansas that Dorothy wants to live there, so it is fortunate for America that the rising generation – filled with ordinary American virtues like Dorothy’s – will lead the nation forward. In other words, Baum’s text

positions implied child readers within an apprenticeship to nation-building, accepting that American may not yet be equal to its promise, but there is still no place like it.

Summing up the ideological structure of the Kansas-Oz dynamic, I suggest that the construction of the two spaces in sensory terms positions implied readers to prefer Oz over Kansas, and on a deeper level to subscribe to the text's idealised image of America's potential: the American Dream. Dorothy's unwavering desire to return home constitutes an ideological message that America's potential cannot be fulfilled in a fantasy: that the real world is where such potential must find form. This message is particularly potent given the text's implied child readership: through Dorothy, readers are hailed as young pioneers *in potentia* and as America's future. It is within this rising generation that ideologies about America must be replicated, perhaps, as Baum does, using ISAs like children's literature.

### **Summary of concealment strategies**

As discussed, Baum's text uses a number of strategies to conceal the adult-hegemonic and nationalist ideologies transmitted to implied child readers. Most prominent among these are the signs of childness used as hailing devices, for example, the use of Dorothy's childlike perspective on events as a focaliser which conceals the adult-aligned ideological import of what she sees, experiences and learns. This concealment strategy is supported by the other signs of childness evident in Dorothy's construction, which operates to confirm her status as a fellow-child with implied child readers. In a similar vein, Dorothy's descriptions of herself may appear to come from a child's position, but actually conceal and normalise gendered, hegemonic ideologies aligning with adult values. The treatment of power and authority in the primary and secondary worlds also conceals ideology transfer: Dorothy's move away from her foster-parents to Oz seems to signal an empowering independence for the child, a construction supported by Dorothy's power over many of the adult authorities in Oz. Yet this portrayal draws attention away from the text's hegemonic shaping of implied child readers. Firstly, Glinda's power and authority in the text is confirmed rather than contested, secondly, Dorothy's focus on returning home to her aunt and uncle undermines the prospect of child independence, and most importantly, Dorothy's experiences in Oz combating



adversity and adversaries constructs an apprenticeship for readers in the kinds of skills and values the text wants its future American leaders to develop. Finally, the use of the fantastic metaphor of realistic primary and magical secondary worlds conceals the ideologies of nationalism explored and transmitted through the juxtaposition of American life and the American Dream.

## **Conclusion**

Analysis of The Wizard of Oz reveals that all three elements of a Trojan Horse mechanism are present in the text: hailing devices aimed at implied child readers which incorporate signs of childness both physical and ideological, ideologies aimed at shaping implied child readers and strategies by which these ideologies are concealed. Baum's introduction to his modern wonder-tale suggests that he instinctively understands the usefulness of hailing devices, and specifically, the use of fantasy, to position child readers to accept certain ideas and values, and moreover that he was able to promote an ideology of childhood which would have been recognisable to contemporary adult purchasers of his book.

The research indicates that many of the ideologies at work in Dorothy's construction and the portrayal of Oz and Kansas reflect and respond to the text's social context, such as the construction of a childhood in keeping with contemporary views, and the construction of femininity which reflected a particular vision of womanhood popular at the time. By showing Dorothy practising the attitudes, skills and roles promoted by the text as a vision of ideal American womanhood, the text constructs an apprenticeship to adulthood which implied readers are invited to take on. Furthermore, the construction of Dorothy's character and growth and her constant focus on returning home – despite the apparent bleakness of everyday American life – imbue the text's apprenticeship with nationalist dimensions, working to create a rising generation who will cope with the challenges America faces.

## Chapter Two

### **Hearing the sound of the surf: childhood and constructions of desire in Peter and Wendy (1911).**

J.M. Barrie's Peter and Wendy (1911) is a classic, "Golden Age" English children's story. It tells the story of the three Darling children, Wendy, John and Michael, who live in Edwardian London. Their staid, middle-class existence is disrupted by the appearance of the fantastic boy Peter Pan, who helps the children escape from their nursery and takes them to the magical Neverland. On that magical island they have adventures with the Lost Boys and battle dastardly pirates under the leadership of the fearsome Captain Hook, but ultimately triumph before the children return home to their grieving parents, Mr and Mrs Darling.

Barrie's story, like The Wizard of Oz, has retained its popularity since its original publication, and has had a strong and lasting impact on popular culture. Barrie's story has a complex history: it was first performed as a children's play (similar to the classic pantomime) in 1904, but by then the germ of the play had already appeared in Barrie's novel for adults: The Little White Bird (1902).<sup>3</sup> The story of Peter Pan, however, transcended any one format: the play was often adjusted, edited and rewritten by Barrie during its run, and chapters 13-18 of The Little White Bird were edited and republished by Barrie in 1906 as Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens. The plot of the original play took further shape in Barrie's prose retelling, Peter and Wendy (1911, also published under the title Peter Pan), which was subsequently abridged in 1915 and published as Peter Pan and Wendy. Barrie did not publish the actual play until 1928, when it was given extended stage directions.

Peter Pan's popularity has endured beyond a hundred years thanks in no small part to the wide variety of adaptations and re-envisionings of the story. These have included rewritings by other authors as well as a host of theatrical and cinematic adaptations. Some of the most well-known adaptations and retellings are the animated Disney

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<sup>3</sup> Despite its marketing as a children's play, the audience on opening night was almost exclusively an adult one (J. Rose 32).

version of 1953, the 1991 film adaptation titled Hook, the animated sequel Peter Pan: Return to Never Land (2002), the live-action film Peter Pan (2003) and the most recent semi-biographical film of Barrie's life, Finding Neverland (2004) (Hollindale "A Hundred Years" 198). The wide variety of Peter Pan retellings suggests that the myth of Peter Pan – "the eternal boy" ("A Hundred Years" 199) – exists independently of any one version. This study bases its analysis on the prose version Peter and Wendy, first published in 1911, which is, according to Jacqueline Rose, "the only attempt which Barrie ever made to write Peter Pan as a narrative for children" (66).

In this chapter I demonstrate that a Trojan Horse mechanism in Peter and Wendy ostensibly promotes the idea of childhood resistance to adult controls, while on a deeper level naturalises adults' ambivalence to childhood and children's understanding of their own childhood as a perfect but powerless state. Furthermore I suggest that this deeper level of interpellation reproduces hegemonic relations by offering implied child readers the possibility of future power as adults in compensation for the loss of perfection.

### **Socio-historical context**

Barrie's Peter Pan – story, character and myth – emerged at a time when childhood was "a subject of deep concern, fascination, and even obsession" (Gavin and Humphries 1), and arguably it contributed significantly to this social focus. The late Victorian and Edwardian eras witnessed an increasing recognition of childhood as a state distinct from adulthood, and this was reflected in legislation, social welfare, education, family relations as well as in literature both for and about children.

From a legal, scientific and institutional perspective, childhood was regulated to an extent never before seen in Britain. For example, compulsory attendance at schooling was enforced from 1880, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) was founded in 1883, the State awarded children a measure of legal protection in the Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children Act (1889), and the Children's Act (1908) sought to limit the exploitation (and participation) of children in the workplace as well as to protect their moral welfare (Gavin and Humphries 37; Hey 29, 113; "Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children Act"). The Child-

Study movement was also influencing parents in the Edwardian era (Hendrick 27) and as expounded in the research of William James, G. Stanley Hall and James Sully, among others, was the first scientific approach to childhood. It related both to Rousseau's idea of the child as being close to nature and the natural state, and Darwin's theory of evolution, interpreted as ontogeny repeating phylogeny (Cleverley and Phillips 49-50). This new scientific approach to childhood was influential in legitimising childhood experts on whose advice parents could rely and provided impetus for the ongoing regulation and standardisation of childhood in the Edwardian era and beyond (Stearns Anxious Parents 40-42). I suggest that the regulation of childhood which was a feature of the Edwardian era created new dimensions to hegemonic power relations between adults and children, where childhood was constructed as a fleeting and vulnerable – albeit important – period of life, and adults became the moral and legal protectors of this state.

To a large degree, it was the middle-classes who provided the impetus for these kinds of movements to standardise and institutionalise childhood, and whose perceptions of childhood were normalised within the culture and its artefacts. Harry Hendrick argues that middle-class attempts to define childhood according to a domestic ideal and to provide a “proper” childhood for every child represented a plan to normalise those ideas within society, and especially amongst the lower socio-economic strata (11). This may be interpreted in Gramscian and Althusserian terms as an attempt to normalise middle-class, adult interests within a hegemonic framework and promulgate a status quo. Here, while Repressive State Apparatuses (in the form of the law and the criminal justice system) were employed, the popularisation of specific notions of childhood and the family and their normalisation within education, scientific discourse, art and literature shows the hegemonic system mainly supported by Ideological State Apparatuses.

The Edwardians' idealisation and sentimentalisation of childhood has been widely acknowledged (see, for example: Gavin and Humphries; Kincaid; J. Rose). I suggest that this corresponds to Viviana Zelizer's description of the development of a distinct twentieth-century childhood emerging around the turn of the century, which she defines as an “economically useless but emotionally priceless child ... [who] occupied a special and separate world, regulated by affection and education, not work or profit” (209) . While Zelizer's argument may have been made in an American context, it arguably also

applies to middle- and upper-class English childhoods of the era, although working-class childhoods were still “conditioned by financial and labour consideration” (Hendrick 19).

A proper Edwardian childhood, according to the middle-class ideal, should centre on play rather than labour, and this corresponded not only to a sentimental view of childhood but also to a more general fashion for games and sports which was a feature of the era (Heath 89-90). At the same time, play was envisaged as a way to teach the skills, knowledge and even attitudes necessary for adulthood. Games manuals of the era published by adults for children include many games which mimic domestic duties, especially for girls, including games on “Taking Father’s Tea”, “Washing One’s Self” and “Laying the Breakfast Table”, and these games represent adult attempts to shape children’s development for adult purposes (95). The gendered hegemonic dimensions of play were often quite explicit: boys were encouraged to develop physical skills through toys like balls and hoops, while girls were given domestic tools and dolls, the latter being thought to “awake the desire for motherhood in young girls” (Hamlett 125).

The sentimental approach to childhood was also evident in the domestic arrangements of the middle-class Edwardian household (the fictionalised version of which appears in Peter and Wendy). Children in these households had their own space – the nursery – distinct and separate from the adult spaces, and children and their parents often lived quite separate lives (Hendrick 26-27). Autobiographical accounts of childhood during the era reveal complex relations of power at work in middle- and upper-class Edwardian homes: the control over the domestic spaces and the relations between the family and servants both reproduced and challenged class relations and structured specific forms of intimacies between and among children, parents and servants (Hamlett 114-15). The representation of a middle-class domestic life was normalised in late Victorian and Edwardian children’s literature. Barrie’s Peter Pan story is one example of this, but other popular authors including Edith Nesbit and Frances Hodgson Burnett also portrayed middle-class families in their stories for children.

More fundamentally, the idealised Edwardian childhood was also reproduced in children’s literature, as children were constructed in terms of their difference from adults and their antithesis to an urban industrialised existence (Petzold 33). Children

were depicted playing, free from social constraints, often in gardens or other idyllic settings, with siblings or peers, and away from adult control (Gavin and Humphries 11-13). Yet both the notion of childhood and literature for children became commodified within the era's middle-class consumer society: if childhood was an "unreachable" state (Gavin and Humphries 13), it could nevertheless be desired, explored and captured through children's literature (McGavock 38; Kincaid 198; J. Rose 2-4). This kind of desire and longing, as some critics have noted, was a complex concept, problematic not only in a contemporary sense, but perhaps even more so today, when ideas about adult desires regarding children carry negative connotations in the popular media. Karen Coats applies her own definition of desirability (of children or childhood) in this era as "garden variety ... something deliciously yummy, something worth having, worth preserving in its current form" (5), and Roger Cox suggests it was an "adult desire to respond to the sensuality of the child" (162). This idolisation often took the form of writings about childhood which emphasised the physical beauty, innocence, purity and attractiveness of children, as well as artistic renderings of the child in various states of (un)dress (153-61). These constructions of childhood support an adult hegemony by naturalising children's perfect but powerless state, while allocating to adults the powerful role of protecting and desiring them. The implications of this construction for implied child readers are significant; I have already introduced this concept in general in the introduction to this study, and will now consider it in greater detail.

Scholars of the Peter Pan story in all its forms have recognised the influence of the socio-historical context on the texts' themes and ideologies. However, while these critiques have generally focused on what the texts say to implied adult readers about childhood and adulthood, there has been little focus on what Barrie's story may say to implied child readers and how these messages to child readers may be transmitted.

### **Hailing devices**

Peter and Wendy is rich in hailing devices aimed at implied child readers; however, there are significant class dimensions to this hailing process. As I have already discussed, the movement to define and regulate childhood in the Edwardian era was primarily a middle-class enterprise (Hendrick 2-3, 11), and children's literature of the

era often normalised a middle-class perspective. Peter and Wendy conforms to this trend. The Darling family's portrayal carries many middle-class signifiers: Mr Darling works at a bank, Mrs Darling is a lady of leisure, the family has a servant and a nanny and the children spend their time in a nursery (see Hamlett for a broader discussion of the middle-class Edwardian household). Consequently, the text depicts a childhood existence most recognisable to middle-class implied child readers, although as I will argue later in this chapter, the normalisation of the middle-class perspective is part of a larger process of ideology transfer which may also potentially interpellate other kinds of implied readers.

Three aspects of the text which exhibit child-directed hailing devices most markedly are the narrator's address, the construction of the child characters and the dynamic between the primary and secondary spaces. The hailing devices occur throughout the text but are most evident in the early part of the story, when it is most important for the text to establish a connection to the implied child reader. The narrator's address forges a connection to implied child readers both by its direct mode of address and by the way it takes on a childlike position, as demonstrated by its register. As I will discuss later in this chapter, the narrator's address is often erratic, and this has implications for ideology transfer; however, there are distinct moments when the narrator connects to child readers as a child (or at least child-analogue), thus establishing his credentials as a member of this exclusive club.<sup>4</sup> For example, when discussing Wendy's first meeting with Peter Pan, he observes: "When people in our set are introduced, it is customary for them to ask each other's age, and so Wendy ... asked Peter how old he was" (Barrie 92). The phrase "our set" here includes the implied child reader and the narrator in an insider's club. A similar inclusion occurs in the narrator's direct address to child readers when describing the Neverland:

Of all the delectable islands the Neverland is the snuggest and most compact; not large and sprawly, you know, with tedious distances between one adventure and another, but nicely crammed. When you play at it by day with the chairs and table-cloth, it is not in the least alarming, but in the two minutes before you go to sleep it becomes very nearly real. That is why there are night-lights. (Barrie 74)

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<sup>4</sup> As I shall explain later in this chapter, I have chosen to refer to the narrator as "he" because of elements in the voice and content of the address which signify the masculine gender.

In this passage, the text constructs the narrative to align with children, as evident in the repeated use of the second-person pronoun, the colloquial language which suggests a childlike voice (“snuggest”, “sprawly”), the emphasis on imaginative play (“with chairs and table-cloth”), and the consideration of night-time as a cause of anxiety. This is arguably a middle-class childhood the narrator depicts, recognisable to children who have the time and leisure to make furniture islands and who have night-lights in their nurseries. Consequently, this address constitutes a hailing device, positioning implied (middle-class) child readers to accept the narrator as a childlike person and inviting them to enter into a relationship with him.

Another set of hailing devices are evident in the portrayal of the child characters in Barrie’s story. This portrayal is rich in signs of childness that middle-class children especially would be likely to recognise, including depictions of the child characters’ social interactions, familial and peer relations, play activities, interests and attitudes. These signs draw on the artefacts of children’s culture as well as anti-adult ideologies and realistic depictions of childhood play, and thus arguably reflect the strong Edwardian interest in childhood as a distinctive state and the recognition that children could occupy a counter-hegemonic position (Briggs 168; Gavin and Humphries 4; Petzold 34). Barrie’s extensive use of children’s culture and its counter-hegemonic consciousness in all the various forms of the Peter Pan story indicates that he was not only aware that children’s culture existed separately and in opposition to the dominant adult culture, but also that he deemed this opposition to be important, and perhaps even vital, to the process of writing literature for and about children.

The Darling children – Wendy, John and Michael – are the first child characters readers meet. They are recognisably childlike even a hundred years after their creation: they look and speak like children, interact with other children, play games and resist adult authority. The portrayal corresponds to the kind of “heightened realism” typical of depictions of children and the child’s point of view in Edwardian fiction, and is reinforced by the way they interact with each other as a sibling group – also a feature of Edwardian fiction (Gavin and Humphries 5, 11). This is obvious from very early in the story, when Wendy and John play “Mothers and Fathers” and Michael tries to resist his bath and bedtime (Barrie 80). Here, Michael’s plaintive cries clearly evoke both the register and the sentiment of the small child forced to do two things that many small



children hate to do, and implied child readers may recognise both the situation and the tyranny of inescapable adult authority imposed on the powerless child:

“I won’t go to bed,” he had shouted, like one who still believed that he had the last word on the subject, “I won’t, I won’t.” Nana, it isn’t six o’clock yet. Oh dear, oh dear, I shan’t love you any more Nana. I tell you I won’t be bathed, I won’t, I won’t!” (Barrie 80)

The children’s interactions with their parents in the early part of the story also exhibit the complex kinds of intimacies which were common for middle- and upper-class families in the era. As evident in the excerpt above, the domestic drudgery of raising children is left to the nurse, but the Darling parents visit the children on their way to a party, clad in their finery. The text notes that Wendy loves to see her mother dressed up and that she offers to lend her mother her own jewellery. This scene echoes the autobiographical accounts of Edwardian childhood compiled by Jane Hamlett. Analysing these, Hamlett argues that such events developed children’s “sense of their own identity and position within an adult gendered hierarchy” (120). In Gramscian terms, this may be interpreted as supporting particular hegemonic relations within the household. In Barrie’s text, these interactions also act as a hailing device, creating a family structure that would have been familiar to many child readers of the era.

At the same time, there is a subversive undercurrent to the text’s depictions of the children’s parents, which appears as a hailing device signifying counter-hegemonic (or even anti-adult) ideologies. Mr Darling as a father and adult authority figure is the object of a large amount of narrative ridicule; in the early part of the story the text focuses on his interest in stocks and shares, his desperate need for respect from his wife and servants, and his predilection for meaningless account-keeping. Mr Darling’s parental authority is further undermined in the early episode with the medicine bottle: while attempting to encourage Michael to take his medicine, Mr Darling reveals himself to be a “cowardly custard” in the eyes of his children and by implication, the child reader as well (Barrie 84). Karen McGavock argues that this depiction of adult authority as “incompetent and irresponsible” disrupts conventional constructions of adulthood as part of a larger textual project to subvert the Edwardian sentimental approach (44-45). I suggest, however, that the portrayal of adult authority figures like Mr Darling works as a hailing device for implied child readers. Furthermore, as I shall

discuss later in this chapter, elements of sentimentality which support an adult hegemony exist within the concealed and transmitted ideologies of the text.

Peter Pan is even more closely aligned with child culture and its counter-hegemonic consciousness than the Darling children. Perhaps the most obvious example of a child-aligned hailing device in Peter's construction is his complete rejection of adult authority. Peter does not want to grow up, nor does he want to have anything to do with grown-ups, especially mothers: "Not only had he no mother, but he had not the slightest desire to have one. He thought them very over-rated persons" (90). It should be noted here, however, that Peter's rejection of mothers extends only to real, grown-up mothers: he is more than happy to have Wendy as his pretend mother (162) because this is part of his play, but also perhaps because she has no power to control him or make him grow up. Peter's dislike of grown-ups is even embedded in the lore of his (fictional) child culture:

he was so full of wrath against grown-ups, who, as usual, were spoiling everything, that as soon as he got inside his tree he breathed intentionally quick short breaths at the rate of about five to a second. He did this because there is a saying in the Neverland that every time you breathe, a grown-up dies; and Peter was killing them off vindictively as fast as possible. (167-8)

Such examples of Peter's behaviour legitimise his position as a member of child culture. This works in multiple ways: here, Peter is adhering to childhood lore, he is also, in a sense, playing a game (if one with deadly intent) and at the same time he is articulating an anti-adult stance. These features suggest that Peter is not constructed simply as a child, but as a hero of child culture, a position first foreshadowed by Peter's prominence in the Darling children's dreams (74-6). Moreover, while the text shows all the children playing enthusiastically, Peter plays more consistently and more whole-heartedly than the other children, and certainly far more than Baum's Dorothy. Whether in the real world or in the Neverland, Peter makes little distinction between reality and make-believe. His attitude to play matches Kathleen McDonnell's assertion about the importance of play to children's lives: "[play] is, quite simply, what they [children] would spent [*sic*] all their time doing if they had the choice ... in kids' own minds, play serves no 'function' other than itself, other than living in the present, enjoying the moment" (28). Peter, who plays all the time, thus represents to the implied child reader the ultimate in children. In the text, play is central and represents a basic childhood

activity that functions here as a sign of childness, a marker of children's culture and hence, a hailing device.

Even more hailing devices appear in the interplay between the primary and secondary worlds. As in The Wizard of Oz, the action in Peter and Wendy moves from the real world (Kansas; the nursery) to the fantasy world (the Land of Oz; the Neverland) and back again. In both texts, this move away from home represents a shift from hegemonic controls to apparent freedom in a child-aligned space, which constitutes an appealing hailing device for implied child readers as it suggests a counter-hegemonic resistance to adult control.

The portrayal of the primary world's hegemonic system is more explicit and detailed in Barrie's tale than in Baum's. Whereas Baum's nod to the adult hegemonic system operating in the real world is signified primarily by Dorothy's membership of a family unit, Barrie's text delves into the politics of power and authority operating in the Darling household. For example, like many Victorian and Edwardian households in the upper echelons of the English social scale, the Darling children's nursery appears to be the child-aligned space of the Darling house: it is where the children play, live and sleep. However, a review of the nursery's functions reveals that adult authorities – Nana, Mr Darling and Mrs Darling – have ultimate control over what usually goes on within its walls. Nana's kennel is in the nursery, Mrs Darling enters often to put her children to bed and sew by the firelight, and Mr Darling is free to rush in "like a tornado" (80). The intrusive presence of these adult authority figures in the nursery space would have been a familiar arrangement for many middle- and upper-class children of the Edwardian era. While children lower down the social scale were likely to have time on their own, many middle- and upper-class families had a nanny or nurse, so children "had to work harder to find spaces free from parental [or adult-authoritarian] interference" (Hamlett 123).

Further proof of adult control over the nursery space is evident in the fact that Mrs Darling also uses this room when tidying her children's minds after they fall asleep (72-3). Egan claims that this activity represents the suppression and censorship function of the superego (42-3), but I would suggest that as far as implied child readers are concerned, this episode's significance comes from its overt articulation of an adult

hegemony. The text's treatment of this "tidying" activity takes the form of a direct address to implied child readers:

It is the nightly custom of every good mother after her children are asleep to rummage in their minds and put things straight for the next morning... If you could keep awake (but of course you can't) you would see your own mother doing this, and you would find it very interesting to watch her. (Barrie 73)

This tidying is an overt socialising activity: the narrator plainly states that mothers are free to order their children's minds according to their whims, and children are defenceless against this intrusion. I suggest that the content of this episode, together with the narrator's mode of direct address to child readers, functions as a hailing device. The narrator appears to be fomenting a covert rebellion against the intrusive power of mothers, and tacitly encourages implied child readers to participate, showing them that the nursery is really an adult-controlled space, and thus foreshadowing the Neverland's construction as a preferable child-aligned space.

In contrast to the nursery, the Neverland seems to be an ideal child's world, and its status is reinforced by the manner of the Darling children's journey. The Darlings do not find their own way to the Neverland, nor are they transported, like Dorothy, by a simple act of nature. Instead, the text emphasises the themes of confinement and escape: Nana guards the children in the nursery, Peter Pan, the child-culture hero, arrives and gives them a means of escape (the fairy dust), the children abscond gleefully via the window and their parents are too late to stop them getting away (Barrie 98-101). Thus, the escape appears as a subversion of adult controls, and reinforces the dichotomy between the two spaces. The Neverland is filled to bursting with the artefacts of children's culture, drawn both from popular culture and from children's own play activities, and these reinforce the text's construction of an ideal child-aligned space. For instance, Hook uses the common children's game "Animal, Vegetable and Mineral" (archived in Opie and Opie Children's Games 275) to discover Peter's true identity (Barrie 148). Additionally, the Neverland pirates recall the pirates from Stevenson's Treasure Island (1883) and the Darling children's adventures in Neverland resemble the adventure stories found in the Boy's Own Paper: two publications sure to be familiar to child readers of its era. Indeed, the Neverland not only recalls popular contemporary stories for children, it echoes the ways that such stories can form the basis of children's own games of make-believe. The children on the island certainly show this principle in

action: the geography of the Neverland supplies them with a range of set backdrops for their play, including a jungle for hunting wild beasts and meeting Indian piccaninnies and braves, a lagoon with mermaids, and of course, a sea for fierce pirate battles.

Although children's culture places itself against the adult hegemony, the children express few anti-adult sentiments while in the Neverland. Indeed, Wendy happily plays at being a mother wherever possible. Peter is the only inhabitant of the island routinely to express ire and resentment about adults, which reinforces his position as a hero of child culture. But no overt hegemonic social structure exists on the island, as even the pirates act more like children than like adults; therefore, there is little reason for the child group to establish their opposition to it. This suggests that the Neverland is a kind of children's culture utopia – a world of children – and this idea constitutes a powerful hailing device.

### **Concealed ideologies**

The themes, motifs and ideological complexities of the Peter Pan story (in all its forms) have generated sustained scholarly interest, and a number of researchers have identified ideologies in the story which relate to constructions of childhood, adulthood and adult-child relations. Some researchers have examined the impact of the Edwardian sentimental approach to childhood within the texts, finding aspects of the story which reflect and sometimes subvert the sentimentality of the era (Hudson; McGavock; Petzold). Others have identified contemporary ideologies of class, culture and imperialism applied to the context of childhood and adult-child relations in various parts of the story (Fox; Heath). Some studies have focused on ideologies of gender and gendered childhood which appear in the text; for instance, the elements in the characters of Peter and Wendy which reflect or respond to the idealisation of little girls and boys in popular culture of the time (Kincaid; Roth), or alternatively, aspects of the story which relate to themes of child love or, indeed, child hate (Coats). For many critics, including those mentioned above, the defining issue in the Peter Pan story is the way it deals with the relationships between children and adults, and between childhood and adulthood. As critics like James Kincaid and Karen Coats have found, Barrie's story uses the idea of desire to legitimise specific, unequal relations of power between adults and children

(Coats 4; Kincaid 3-10). Jacqueline Rose takes this argument one step further, arguing that by naturalising desire, stories like Barrie's create a "form of investment by the adult in the child" resulting in an adult demand on the child which "fixes" the state of childhood and the child within it (3-4).

While this body of research has identified the range and complexity of ideologies in the text pertaining to ideas of childhood and adult-child relations, there has been relatively little consideration of the implications of these ideologies for children reading or receiving the story. Jacqueline Rose's work represents an exception to this, given her argument that the text makes demands upon the child (137), but even here, Rose mainly discusses the child as an abstract idea, rather than in terms of the repercussions for potential child readers. I contend that the Peter and Wendy's strong depiction of children, their experiences and their ideologies may appear to promote a counter-hegemonic consciousness, but at the same time, concealed ideologies in the text support an adult hegemony consistent with middle-class Edwardian society and shape implied child readers to accept a role within it. I will focus my investigation on three major sites where concealed ideologies occur: the narrator's address, the construction of the child characters and the primary-secondary world dynamic.

The narrator is a central part of Peter and Wendy, and is certainly a tool for the transmission of ideology. His strong personification and the way his commentary colours and mediates transmission of the story makes the narrator an obvious vehicle for ideology transfer. I have already discussed the way the narrator sometimes invokes a child's linguistic register as a hailing device aimed at forging a connection to implied child readers, but the narrator's address also naturalises hierarchical and hegemonic relations. Barrie's narrator is very strongly personified rather than an impartial guiding voice, and yet as Barbara Wall has noted, Barrie's narrator is "untrustworthy" (25): he chops and changes tone and sentiment throughout the story, intruding to give his own opinion of events, changing his mind, toying with his audience, and exulting and sulking in turns. Thus, even as the narrator sometimes speaks conspiratorially to children from a seemingly egalitarian position, his capricious control over the story being told naturalises a relationship of unequal power over implied child readers. An excellent example of this occurs in the narrator's description of the children's flight to Neverland:

In a tremble they opened the street door. Mr Darling would have rushed upstairs, but Mrs Darling signed him to go softly. She even tried to make her heart go softly.

Will they reach the nursery in time? If so, how delightful for them, and we shall all breathe a sigh of relief, but there will be no story. On the other hand, if they are not in time, I solemnly promise that it will all come right in the end. (Barrie 101)

This is an example of metafiction, and I suggest it serves a hegemonic function: the text places readers in a position of dependence on the narrator, naturalising his role as arbiter of the story. The first paragraph builds tension and brings the reader into close contact with the action, with the narrator retreating into formlessness. But in the second paragraph, the narrator deliberately breaks the tension he has created. The first question: “Will they get to the nursery in time?” may be rhetorical, but its placement ensures that the reader will step back to ponder the answer. The narrator follows with a banality (“If so, how delightful for them”) which is at odds with the preceding section, and then proclaims that “we” will all be relieved if the children do not escape to Neverland. This claim is deeply ironic – the reader’s (and narrator’s) continued enjoyment depends on the children’s escape – but it serves to reinforce the change in the narrator’s treatment of the story. Then comes the veiled threat (“but there will be no story”), which is negated by the story’s very existence in the hands of the reader, before the narrator reveals the final outcome of the whole adventure in advance (“I solemnly promise that it will all come right in the end”). The irony of the narrator’s promise is that children’s stories, especially of this era, nearly always do “come right in the end” whether their narrators solemnly promise or not. Metafictive musings like these prevent readers from immersing themselves in the story as the text makes them conscious of their role as narratees. Consequently, the narrator’s relationship with the reader is thus more central to the story than the adventures of the characters, and that relationship naturalises unequal power relations.

This narrative voice is perhaps the novel’s most troublesome aspect for scholars of children’s literature because it highlights an issue in relation to the text’s intended audience (Wall 23). Michael Egan argues that Barrie uses the narrative convention of the “double address” to speak to child readers and adult readers separately:

the author speaks directly to his principal audience, his voice and manner serious and gentle, even conspiratorial. From time to time, however, he glances sidelong at the adults listening in and winks. Naturally, his jokes and

references on these occasions are not meant to be understood by the children.  
(46)

Barbara Wall expands on Egan's idea of the double address, explaining that "[s]ometimes his [Barrie's] narrator addresses children both covertly and overtly, and sometimes adults; sometimes his narrator addresses adults while pretending to address children" (27). I concur with Barbara Wall's assertion that the narrator's address to children is often self-conscious and lacking in respect (28): at times the narrator sounds like an adult trying too hard (and perhaps not sincerely enough) to speak on a child's level.

The narrator's condescending tone may diminish the effectiveness of the hailing device, but it could also serve a different ideological purpose, tied to the narrator's address to adults. This address often discusses childhood from a distanced perspective and speaks to adult readers directly from an adult position, such as when he asserts (about the Neverland): "On these magic shores children at play are forever beaching their coracles. We too have been there; we can still hear the sound of the surf, though we shall land no more" (Barrie 74). Here, as in other places in the text, the portrayal of childhood is consistent with contemporary Edwardian perceptions: childhood is a place lost to adults, and thus a source of longing and even grief (Gavin and Humphries 5). Adults, the text says, cannot go back to this wonderful time. As Jacqueline Rose and others have argued, such a view of childhood creates a process of commodification where the child is constructed as the object of adult desire (Kincaid 198; McGavock 38; J. Rose 2-4).

The text may position adults to respond to the narrator's address with nostalgic longing for childhood, but a more important query for this study is how the text positions implied child readers to respond to this adult address. I propose that the narrator's address to adult readers may work to shape implied child readers' understandings of themselves, the state of childhood and adult-child relations. In other words, the narrator shows children how adults perceive them and this portrayal may naturalise these adult and hegemonic worldviews, both to shape the child's understanding of him/herself as an object of adult desire, and to influence the future adult's attitude towards children.



Another important site of concealed ideologies occurs in the construction of the child characters. As I have discussed, the construction of the text's fictional children is rich in signs of childness, and their attitudes to, and relations with adults and adulthood exhibit a strong counter-hegemonic consciousness in the ways that adults are evaded, ridiculed and opposed. However, it is important to note that this construction of childhood was also consistent with contemporary Edwardian views; indeed, the construction of children as resistant to adults supports an adult hegemony because it forms part of the wider construction of desire, where the child appears as "insistently Other" and therefore available to be objectified and desired (Kincaid 276). Therefore implied child readers, identifying with the games, lore and other signs of childness of the child characters are also interpellated to understand that play as a marker of (their own) Otherness and accept that role within the adult hegemony.

Perhaps the most disturbing element in the text's construction of childhood is signified by the phrase "gay, innocent and heartless" (226). The narrator is extremely insistent throughout the story that these are the qualities that, above all other attributes, define the true nature of children. But because definitions necessarily exclude as well as include, such a pronouncement constructs children as inherently two-dimensional. The real experiences of children are not spoken or valued, and thus children can only be gay, not sad or serious. They can only be innocent, not experienced or knowledgeable. And because they are heartless they cannot have empathy for others. This definition may be aimed at adult readers, but it also positions children as powerless and objectified, and naturalises this state by describing it as an "obviousness" (in Althusser's terms): this is simply what children *are*. In this way, the narrative voice acts as a tool to transmit ideology, teaching implied child readers to view childhood from this particular adult perspective.

The construction of the two main child characters – Peter Pan and Wendy – transmit two different kinds of ideological messages; in both characters these are camouflaged by the child-aligned hailing devices. Peter Pan is the idealised but impossible child: the concealed ideologies inherent in his construction normalise an Edwardian view of childhood and teach implied child readers how to be both an object of adult desire and also how to be an adult that desires the lost state of childhood. Peter's portrayal enunciates both Platonic/Romantic and Edwardian ideologies about children. Plato's

doctrine of reminiscence, seen through the later lens of the Romantics, is evident in the text's construction of children as gay and innocent, but their heartlessness – their amorality, selfishness and savagery – subverts the sentimentality evident in Romantic writings, such as Wordsworth's "Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood" (Hudson 318-20).

This does not necessarily reduce the effectiveness of Peter's construction as an object of adult desire. Peter, as Hollindale has noted, is the embodiment of *puer aeternus* – the eternal boy ("A Hundred Years" 199) – or what might alternatively be expressed as the adult longing or desire for lost childhood. Mainly, the adult-aligned ideologies are evident in the narrator's perception of Peter, which vacillates between aesthetic appreciation, wonder and awe, desire, envy and resentment. For the narrator, Peter embodies the distilled essence of childhood according to a Victorian and Edwardian adult worldview. He is "gay, innocent and heartless", charming and cocky, beautiful and eminently desirable. Much of this desire is constructed around Peter's physical form: his body is semi-naked, "clad in skeleton leaves and the juices that ooze out of trees", and most exceptionally, all his teeth are baby teeth, which are described as "little pearls" (Barrie 77). These milk teeth allude to and reinforce Peter's asexual nature through their association with the infant form, and Peter's eternal boyhood is proven by the fact that none of these teeth have yet or will ever be replaced by adult teeth (Kincaid 282-3).

Adults within and outside the story may desire Peter because of his physical appearance, but part of his appeal, as I have suggested, must also be his resistance to adult control. Kincaid suggests that this very resistance reinforces adult desire as "[w]e cannot resist the child who is so determined to resist us" (279). And yet, perhaps because Peter is untouchable on his pedestal, and perhaps because the dynamic of desire and idolisation tends to be an exercise in self-abnegation, the narrator's positive feelings towards Peter war with negative emotions like envy and resentment, as in the following excerpts:

It is humiliating to have to confess that this conceit of Peter was one of his most fascinating qualities. To put it with brutal frankness, there never was a cockier boy (Barrie 91)

and

It was then that Hook bit him.

Not the pain of this but its unfairness was what dazed Peter. It made him quite helpless. He could only stare, horrified. Every child is affected thus the first time he is treated unfairly. All he thinks he has a right to when he comes to you to be yours is fairness. After you have been unfair to him he will love you again, but he will never afterwards be quite the same boy. No one ever gets over the first unfairness; no one except Peter. He often met it, but he always forgot it. I suppose that was the real difference between him and all the rest. (150)

These excerpts are aimed at an implied adult readership (note particularly the use of the second person pronoun in the second quote) and are spoken by the narrator as an adult implicated in desire and envy, as evidenced by his self-referential observations. They position adult readers to assume a similar attitude to Peter, and, by implication, to children generally; that is, both desiring and envious. Yet implied child readers will also read these passages and others like them, and it is important to consider what messages may be conveyed to this readership. I suggest that the overall effect may be one of socialisation. Young readers, identifying with Peter, are positioned to see themselves as the text sees Peter: as a passive object of adult desire, resentment and envy. Peter never acts directly upon any adult from the real world; it is they who act upon him, looking at him (which he likes) and kissing him (218, 225). This construction is the “control” aspect of the adult hegemony at work. At the same time, readers are shown how to understand childhood from an adult perspective, which constitutes an important ideological tool for replicating power relations.

As Peter never grows up, there are few overt elements of an apprenticeship to adulthood inherent in his construction *per se*; however, middle-class Edwardian values of boyhood and manhood – specifically, the public-school ethos – do emerge from his relations with others and may interpellate implied boy readers especially. David Hey argues that the public school system in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras fostered the notion of an “exclusive social group” whose values included “courage, good form, leadership and the Christian virtues” and “trained boys to behave like gentlemen, to fight hard but lose gracefully, to become leaders but at the same time to work in teams and remain loyal to friends” (115). Many of these characteristics can be seen in Peter’s construction throughout Barrie’s story: Peter and the Lost Boys form an elite and exclusive, class-based social group, Peter is a courageous leader of this group, he fights fiercely but acts like a gentleman, and even his arch-nemesis Captain Hook recognises in Peter “the very

pinnacle of good form” when Peter, in the midst of their battle, allows Hook to pick up his fallen sword (Barrie 203). Hey proposes that the purpose of the Victorian and Edwardian public school system was to produce leaders and administrators who could support and defend the British Empire at home and abroad (115), and this suggests a purpose inherent in Barrie’s text. In Peter and Wendy, the hailing devices in Peter’s childlike characteristics conceal these hegemonic ideologies, so that implied child readers identifying with Peter receive an education on the kinds of skills and attitudes which the Empire needs in its leaders for its future. This constructs a kind of indirect apprenticeship to adulthood, which is inherent in Peter’s nature but aimed at the reader rather than undertaken by Peter himself.

The construction of Wendy, like Peter, exhibits elements of the Edwardian sentimental approach to childhood: from the very beginning of the story, she is described as “delightful” and, like her siblings, she is “Darling” (Barrie 69). However, while Peter is the idealised child, expressing forever the most desirable aspects of childhood, Wendy is the child in the real world, the one who, as the text enunciates in the opening paragraph, “must grow up” because the lived experience of childhood “is the beginning of the end” (Barrie 69). In this way, she expresses the other side of Edwardian construction of childhood, or to be specific, the “tragedy” of adulthood as an inevitable retreat from childhood’s perfection. The ideological implications of this construction are significant: because Wendy is on a natural continuum towards adulthood, she provides a model of being a child and becoming an adult that implied child readers can actually follow, but at the same time, the process of maturity is depicted in terms of loss rather than achievement. While this sense of loss conforms to Romantic and Edwardian attitudes to childhood, it is possible that there may be a personal dimension at work: Barrie’s own mother was a child who, due to family tragedy, took on the role of housewife (in a domestic sense) and mother aged only eight (Green 24).

Part of the model of childhood inherent in Wendy’s construction is an apprenticeship to adulthood, but this is a gendered apprenticeship, as may be expected in the Edwardian era, when middle-class masculine and feminine social roles were strongly differentiated. Her feminine and domestic play is the key signifier of this gendered apprenticeship: Wendy plays at being “mother”, at being the mistress of a house, at caring for small creatures (including children), and at domestic duties like darning socks. This kind of

play prepares her for her future roles of wife and mother, and thus conforms to adult hegemonic ideologies of the Victorian and Edwardian eras, which saw play as a preparatory activity for adult life (Hamlett 125). Exploring the games manuals of the era, Michelle Heath argues that the popular promotion of play which developed adult skills “represent[s] adult complicity, adult attempts *à la* Foucault to render children’s bodies docile, well-behaved, and ordered in the ways adults want them to be” (95). These findings strongly intimate the presence of concealed hegemonic ideology transfer operating in the promotion of play during the Edwardian era, and Heath’s argument that such play is reflected, although occasionally resisted, in Peter and Wendy (95) suggest that these concealed ideologies may also be interpellating Barrie’s implied child readers.

There are deeper and more complex ideological messages about femininity operating within the construction of Wendy, which are concealed by child-aligned hailing devices. For most of the story, Wendy is a very young girl, and yet aspects of her construction normalise an ambivalent or even negative association between femininity and sexuality, which corresponds to popular ideas at the turn of the century. For example, Christine Roth has traced the construction of girls in Peter and Wendy to the Cult of the Little Girl that was prevalent during the Victorian period. The Victorian obsession with girls centred on the tension between their purity and their corruptibility, and as sexuality was implicated in this construction, there was a “subtle hint of impending womanhood in every little girl” which both titillated adults and inspired anxiety and loathing (Roth 49, 51). Roth suggests that “[a] cultural fascination with the bounds of girlhood drives [Barrie’s] text” (48), but as “[t]he girl figure is always part woman and part child ... she is never completely a child” (54).

The narrator’s commentary on Wendy’s gendered behaviour works to construct the feminine as Other: as different, diminished and sometimes even dangerous. The narrator describes her (and other female characters) with great regularity and in detail but always from an external perspective, and invites the reader to take up this perspective as well. An example of this occurs in his comment on the children’s living arrangements in Neverland: “Wendy would have a baby, and he was the littlest, *and you know what women are*, and the short and the long of it is that he was hung up in a basket” (Barrie

134; emphasis added). No similar comment is ever made by the narrator generalising “what men are”.

Like Roth’s account of the Victorian little girl as an incipient woman, Wendy’s girlhood is conflated with adulthood and adult sexualised behaviour. One striking instance emerges in the narrator’s description of the initial meeting between Peter and Wendy. Here, the narrator describes Wendy as “every inch a woman, though there were not very many inches” (91), thereby implying a kind of psychosexual maturity, whereas Peter, who is Wendy’s size, is always a boy or little boy, but never a youth or a man. When Wendy attempts to garner a kiss from Peter, the narrator labels her as “rather cheap” (92), with the implication that she is somehow sexually promiscuous. Soon after, Wendy tries to keep Peter from leaving:

“Where are you going?” she cried with misgiving.

“To tell the other boys.”

“Don’t go, Peter,” she entreated, “I know such lots of stories.”

Those were her precise words, so there can be no denying that it was she who first tempted him. (96)

The narrator’s comment here is laden with sexual and biblical overtones: Wendy is Eve, tempting Adam (Peter) with the fruit of knowledge (more stories). But unlike Adam, Peter will not fall, although Wendy’s transformation to adulthood in the final chapter is reminiscent of Eve’s fall from grace. Peter is the eternal child; the predatory females that surround him cannot corrupt his innocence. Significantly, the narrator does not describe Peter’s own subsequent temptation of Wendy in sexualised terms. Peter is “greedy”, “cunning” and “sly” (96-7), but these attributes do not relate to a specific masculine stereotype.

Both Barrie and Baum explore the nature of femininity from an external perspective, but the ambivalent portrayal of girls in Peter and Wendy contrasts strongly with Baum’s positive treatment of them in The Wizard of Oz. And yet, close examination of Dorothy and Wendy reveals that both characters play the part of well-mannered, well-brought-up girls. Indeed, both characters even take on the symbolic role of mother: Dorothy with her dog, Toto, and Wendy with the lost boys and Peter Pan. Evidently, the narrators are instrumental in shaping reader perception of the girls: Baum’s narrator uses positive,

simple language to describe Dorothy, while Barrie's narrator uses snide and pejorative language in descriptions of Wendy.

While the differences between the two texts' treatment of their primary female characters may well reflect the authors' own attitudes to femininity, they also reflect the ways that the texts interpret childhood. Baum's view of childhood is as a time of training for, or apprenticeship to, adulthood, so that Dorothy's virtues arise from how well she practises for her future adult roles. Barrie's view of childhood, however, is as a state of grace which will necessarily but regrettably be lost, and only secondly as a time of preparation for adulthood. Wendy is portrayed as less childlike than Peter and already falling from grace, although the fall is not complete until she grows up. In contrast, Peter's behaviour contains no sexual overtones so he appears very childlike. Moreover, he is emphatically *not* practising to be a grown-up: even when he play-acts a father in the home under the ground, he is quick to express doubts about the role and state his wish to be Wendy's son rather than her husband (160-2).

Some of the subtleties of the text's constructions of childhood, gender and sexuality may be more recognisable by adult readers, but these constructions may also interpellate implied child readers within an adult, Edwardian hegemony, both in terms of general ideologies of Edwardian childhood and in the gendered ideologies and apprenticeship models offered to boys and girls. The positive portrayal of Peter Pan and his strong alignment with children's culture position readers to identify more with him than with Wendy, who is less resistant to adulthood. However, by accepting this interpellation, children also accept the deeper, adult-aligned ideas about childhood and gender which permeate these characters' constructions. These also enforce hegemonic relations: implied child readers may come to accept that adults desire or envy them, or that they feel ambivalent towards them, that the feminine rightfully occupies the place of the Other, that children are naturally powerless and that, as adults, it should be natural to think about and relate to children in these ambivalent and hegemonic ways.

A third area of the text which contains concealed ideologies is the dynamic between the primary and secondary worlds, and the construction of the Neverland particularly. These relate to and reinforce the hegemonic shaping occurring in the other areas of the text, although the ideologies are concealed by child-aligned hailing devices, especially

the apparent move away from adult control or interference that the children's flight to Neverland represents, and the detailed construction of the Neverland as a children's culture utopia.

The text describes the Neverland in great detail, and the geography (or psychology) of the space influences the way it normalises ideology and frames power relations. Michael Egan has investigated the physical nature of the Neverland in his psychoanalytic approach to the text, and suggests that while the Neverlands are individualised, "each Neverland participates collectively in the symbolism of its culture" (47). Egan's discussion refers to the internal reality of the story; however, the same theory can also apply to the relationship of the Neverlands to the Edwardian culture from which they emerge. For example, the children's various games, adventures and make-believe in the Neverland are more than simply childlike fun; they convey cultural, racial, gendered, class and imperial ideologies which were current during the era. Paul Fox supports this idea, suggesting that the Neverland "map[s] out the topography of an imperial idyll and the borders of the Edwardian ideal", the evidence for which exists in the "reductive colonial discourses" at work in the relations between Peter, the pirates, the Piccaninnies and the other inhabitants of the island (252).

Karen Coats finds an additional layer of ideology built into the Neverland, suggesting that the construction of this secondary world as a dangerous space for children is a displacement mechanism for the Victorian and Edwardian ambivalence towards childhood: "The fantasy spaces of childhood are not safe places; they are not places where children are universally loved and protected. Instead, they almost always include beings that hate both the state of childhood and children themselves" (3). While Coats' finding relates mainly to an adult perspective, I suggest that implied child readers may also internalise this ambivalent relationship through the Neverland's construction.

Despite the apparent construction of the Neverland as a space for children only, adult forces do operate upon it. The most significant influence is the implied author himself. While child readers may believe or pretend that the Neverland is an actual island – a real physical haven from adult authority – it is, after all, a literary creation. Barrie undoubtedly drew on his personal understanding of children and child culture to create the Neverland; as a child, his "vivid imagination ... found vent in make-believe of



various kinds” (Green 12). However, Barrie may also have been influenced by contemporary (adult) understandings of childhood: by the end of the nineteenth century, make-believe play and imagined worlds “had become part of the adult vision of childhood” (Avery 156-7). Consequently, this children’s utopia is in fact an adult’s idea of what children’s culture is all about.

Another adult presence in the Neverland is the narrator, whose words mediate the readers’ experiences of the wondrous island. The narrator claims that no adults can access the Neverland (74), but evidently this rule does not apply to the narrator himself, who has a voyeur’s vantage point. The narrator watches all the adventures occurring in the Neverland, and he knows in advance what all the outcomes of these adventures will be. For instance, early in the story he sounds a warning to Tootles about the perfidy of Tinkerbell, but then adds: “Would that he could hear us, but we are not really on the island, and he passes us by, biting his knuckles” (113). The narrator is everywhere, like a ghost in the room in the most intense and intimate moments of the story, and his presence allows the implied adult readership to see into this child sanctuary. It is significant here that Peter and Wendy does not ask adult readers to pretend to be children in order to legitimise their access to the Neverland, and this is enabled by the double address narrative, which separates the implied adult and child readerships. Instead, the narrator often addresses adults directly and openly. Adults are allowed to see what goes on in the Neverland because the text constructs the space as much for adults as for children.

Although all these adults have some access to the Neverland, their presence remains invisible to the child characters, who play blithely, unaware of their audience. The voyeurism inherent in this situation indicates an important purpose of the Neverland: as a space where adults can watch children but remain unseen. Children become the objects of a desire removed from the taboo of physical interaction, but not from the caress of the gaze, and the distance imposed by the lack of physical contact legitimises the desire promoted by the text’s construction of its child characters. This situation echoes the operation of Bentham’s panopticon, as Foucault understands it, because while the child characters are unaware of the adults watching them, the text does not hide this from child readers, who may be conditioned to the internal discipline emerging from this gaze (Foucault 201).

In the text, Peter is the primary object of the adult desiring gaze, and so his position in the text defines the ideologies and power structures legitimised by that gaze. Peter leaves the Neverland occasionally, but he never becomes integrated into the real world, and therefore he never grows up. This appears a straightforward expression of an anti-adult ideology playing on the primary-secondary world dynamic, but the adult forces influencing the text have their own agendas. As the eternal child, Peter is an object of nostalgic longing: if he were to grow up, he would cease to be desirable in the way the text has constructed desire. Thus the Neverland becomes symbolically linked to the essence of childhood – the gaiety, innocence and heartlessness the narrator prizes – while the everyday world is linked to aspects of psychosexual maturity, as represented by Wendy, who returns home and does grow up.

The text gives Peter great incentives to stay on the island and remain a child, and these incentives may be appealing to implied child readers. He has the ability to fly, he can play with fairies and other fantastic creatures, he has amazing adventures in which he is always the hero, and he can battle and even kill dastardly foes. Nevertheless, this apparent endorsement of children's culture furthers adult ideologies. Implied child readers identifying with Peter are positioned to see childhood as an ideal state just as the Neverland is a perfect place. However, this state of perfection goes hand in hand with powerlessness. By accepting that they have something that adults value, envy and even desire, implied child readers also, in effect, accept being objectified and rendered as less than fully human subjects. In addition, by demonstrating adult subjectivity and power, the text socialises child readers, offering them a position of power once they become adults, as long as the dominant ideologies of childhood are reproduced.

The Darling children's return to the real world and their parents gives closure to the ideological messages working in the primary-secondary world dynamic. While the flight from home to the child-aligned fantasy world represents a counter-hegemonic theme, the return home re-establishes the hegemonic social order in more ways than one. Not only does this return bring the children back under adult control and supervision, it also represents an acknowledgement that children must inevitably grow up, except for Peter, who stays on the island. Again, there is a sense of loss evident in the fixity of adulthood: as the Lost Boys become integrated into the real world, they

lose the ability to fly, and when they become adults, the narrator accuses them of being “grown up and done for” (Barrie 218-20). Wendy fares even worse: the narrator tells readers rather spitefully that “You need not be sorry for her. She was one of the kind that likes to grow up” (220). Yet despite the negativity associated with maturity, the narrative becomes endless precisely because the children grow up and have children of their own who dream of the Neverland and play at make-believe. In the end, this is the real-world expression of an eternal childhood, but also the reproducing function of an adult hegemonic system.

### **Summary of concealment strategies**

A number of concealment devices work to transmit ideology in Peter and Wendy, and most of the time, these are signs of childhood or other hailing devices relating to children’s culture which conceal a deeper layer of ideology interpellating children within an adult hegemonic system. I contend that the richness of the depiction of childhood, including the large number and variety of childhood signifiers as well as the articulated counter-hegemonic consciousness, may draw attention from the hegemonic shaping generally, but there are specific instances when this concealment or misdirection is particularly apparent. This includes the narrator’s direct yet inconsistent address, which appears to talk to child readers on their own level but often slides into an adult, externalised perspective that naturalises hegemonic ideologies. The depiction of the child characters is very natural: they are recognisable childlike in appearance, action and sentiment, but the narrator’s commentary naturalises an adult perspective of them and this potentially interpellates the implied child reader as a child and as a future adult. Thus, for example, the childness of imaginative play is reshaped as a marker of Otherness, resistance to adult control is redefined in terms of desirability and freedom, and the generalisation of the state of childhood as “gay, innocent and heartless” objectifies and silences the diversity of the lived childhood experience. Additionally, the childness of Peter and Wendy conceals contemporary ideologies of gender, class and imperialism which shape the depiction of their social interactions and attitudes, even as their play conforms to adult theories of child development current at the time. The dynamic between the primary and secondary world also conceals and transmits ideologies. Like The Wizard of Oz, the portal or quest nature of the narrative structure

in Peter and Wendy appears to be a counter-hegemonic adventure away from adult control to a fantasy world aligned with childhood, a space where powerful adults can be evaded or challenged. However, this device conceals a number of hegemonic ideologies inherent in this construction, from the naturalisation of adult voyeurism and desire to the promotion of an imperial ethic and the association of maturity with loss.

## **Conclusion**

As Peter and Wendy contains hailing devices aimed at implied child readers as well as hegemonic ideologies which are concealed within the narrative, it can be concluded that a Trojan Horse mechanism operates within the text. As demonstrated in this chapter, the ideologies other critics have identified in the Peter Pan story are framed and communicated by the text in ways that potentially shape the implied child reader within an Edwardian and middle-class version of an adult hegemonic system.

The text's complex treatment of childhood contributes to its ability to portray child characters with recognisably childlike personality traits and behaviours, which in turn may encourage implied child readers to identify with the characters; in this, Barrie's story goes further than The Wizard of Oz, where the depiction of childhood was not as rich in detail. Yet Peter and Wendy is conflicted in its attitude to childhood, at once idolising and resenting the qualities of childhood it invokes. This attitude reflects contemporary ideologies of childhood operating in Victorian and Edwardian society, and the different cultural context may explain why Baum's text was not similarly conflicted in its treatment of childhood.

In Peter and Wendy, childhood is portrayed as a wonderful, perfect time, but a powerless time as well, and the text suggests that while growing up constitutes a tragic loss of that perfection, there may be compensations in coming to occupy a position of increased power. Barrie's text celebrates the state of childhood, its difference from adulthood, its unique interests, and its freedom. However, the evidence suggests that childhood is often objectivised within the story: the child characters are framed by adult interests but, unlike Dorothy for example, they have little impact on the world around them. As many previous scholars have found, the construction of childhood as an object

of adult desire is strongly embedded in the text, and this chapter has proposed that this fulfils hegemonic functions by shaping implied child readers both as desired objects and as future adults who desire the lost childhood state.

Peter and Wendy constructs childhood in gendered terms, both in the sense that the ideologies promote different gendered roles and apprenticeships to boys and girls, and in the sense that the childhood of boys is depicted as a more pure and perfect state of childhood than that of girls. Despite the relatively close publication dates of The Wizard of Oz and Peter and Wendy, the ideologies related to femininity and girlhood are widely divergent. Both texts show girl characters practising for future adult-female roles, but Baum's text portrays this as a positive apprenticeship, while Barrie's text is ambivalent about these signs of impending womanhood.

Finally, the double address of Peter and Wendy may carry ideologies aimed separately at children and adults, but it remains difficult to determine how the adult aspects of the narrative address may influence child readers. In this chapter I have hypothesised that the text's content aimed at adult readers may also interpellate implied child readers to accept the discipline of the adult gaze as normal, to naturalise children's powerlessness in their relations with adults, and to offer a possibility of future power in adulthood. I suggest that future research into children's reception of this text may also assist in clarifying this issue.

## Chapter Three

### Empires in Fairyland: Building Young Imperialists in Adventures of the Wishing-Chair (1937)

Enid Blyton's Adventures of the Wishing-Chair (1937) (hereafter referred to as The Wishing-Chair) tells the story of two young children, Mollie and Peter, who discover an amazing flying chair in an old shop. The chair responds to their commands or wishes, and takes them to the magical world of Fairyland. Along the way, they rescue a pixie, Chinky, who becomes their friend and comes to live with them in their playroom at the bottom of the garden. Whenever the chair grows wings, the children go off on adventures to Fairyland, all the while keeping the chair a secret from their mother.

The Wishing-Chair is not generally considered one of the great children's fantasy stories of its era, but it has withstood the test of time. It was first serialised in the weekly children's magazine Enid Blyton's Sunny Stories before it was published as a stand-alone text in 1937.<sup>5</sup> Although Blyton was already a popular author, The Wishing-Chair was her first published full-length story; her earlier works consisted mainly of short story collections, poetry and contributions to magazines. Blyton's work has been and continues to be popular with child readers: she wrote over six hundred titles, many of which remain in print.

This is the simplest of the texts in this study both linguistically and conceptually, mainly because it was written for quite young children. Sheila Ray claims that the target age group of Blyton's fantasy stories is seven to nine years (The Blyton Phenomenon 113), which places The Wishing-Chair at the lower end of the age range for the present study. Nevertheless, it will be demonstrated that the various elements of a Trojan Horse mechanism appear throughout the text. In particular, the politics of the text's real and fantasy worlds, the role and purposes of the wishing-chair, the construction of Chinky the pixie, and the construction of secret knowledge are areas of concealed ideology. Together, these elements support the adult hegemonic system by conditioning children

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<sup>5</sup> The edition used in this study is the 1949 Angus and Robertson Special Australian edition, which has an identical text to the original 1937 edition.

to accept adult controls, guidance and notions of good behaviour, while also teaching them the skills and knowledge required to become good adults and good empire builders of the future, reflecting contemporary ideologies of childhood, education and empire.

### **Socio-historical context**

In the twenty-six years between the publication of Peter and Wendy and The Wishing-Chair, the Edwardian era came to an end, along with its sentimental approach towards childhood, and Britain suffered through hardships of the Great War. Yet although the war and the Great Depression of the 1930s took its toll on Britain economically and socially, the nation was still a significant world power, and Dane Kennedy argues that imperialists used the international and domestic circumstances to “place the empire at the very centre of Britain’s strategy for survival” (58). One example of this is evident in the British Empire Exhibition in Wembley (1924-5), which promoted the empire and imperial relations to nearly 30 million visitors. Kennedy argues that this event, as well as others of the period, attempted to “instil in the public a sense of pride in their empire and an appreciation of the benefits it bestowed” as well as “inculcat[ing] a sense of loyalty to the imperial state” (58-59). Children were also targeted in pro-imperial activities: school syllabi were oriented towards imperial themes, schools celebrated Empire Day, and imperial propaganda was used to encourage leadership qualities and a focus on imperial careers, especially in elite public schools (60-61). As I will demonstrate in this chapter, the permeation of this pro-imperial ethos extended into Blyton’s fiction, and had a significant influence on the ideologies presented in The Wishing-Chair.

One common expression of British imperialism during the interwar years was a generalised racial insensitivity, which was “prevalent across the political spectrum” and also naturalised within scientific discourses (Barkan 23-25). This attitude resulted partly from the imperial experience of race relations, but also, as Elazar Barkan suggests, from ignorance, and this led to the generalisation of racial identity, especially insofar as “coloured people” were concerned (23). The concept of race during this era was not limited to larger divisions of colour but also to different European “races”, and even to

the “racial” (ethnic) divisions within Britain (23). I suggest that these contemporary theories and ideologies of race and cultural relations may well have influenced Blyton’s own views during this time, evident, as I will show, in the appearance of ideologies of race, culture and imperialism in The Wishing-Chair.

On the home front, the child continued to be treated as a “priceless” commodity (in Zelizer’s terms) during the interwar years, and families were becoming smaller than ever. Events such as the Great War, the Great Depression and the rise of the old age pension throughout many Western countries encouraged couples to limit their investment to a smaller number of offspring (Stearns Childhood 97). The streets and neighbourhoods remained areas in which children “played out” and socialised up to the Second World War; however, improvements in the standard of living for many families also resulted in an increase in household gardens where, consequently, children played in more controlled environments (Hendrick 83-84; Thorpe 97-99).

English attitudes to childhood in the period between the wars were still strongly influenced by class: working-class parenting styles remained similar to previous generations except for contextual influences like a general rise in wage and housing conditions, but middle-class mothers were spending more time with their children than was the case in the Edwardian period (Hendrick 28). New theories of child rearing arose, although they mainly influenced middle-class families; these included Mothercraft (a scientific approach arising from behaviourism) and the New Psychology (including psychology, child guidance and nursery schools) (Hendrick 28-30).

Friedrich Froebel’s ideas of childhood and education were influential in Britain during this time, especially in the area of infant and nursery education (the British version of the kindergarten). Froebel’s nineteenth-century theories mixed philosophical and scientific ideas and proposed that human growth occurred in distinct stages and education should therefore match those stages (Lawton and Gordon 205). The Froebellian approach to children’s education focused on the importance of play, the development of physical skills, and the lessons learned from interacting with the natural world (205). By the 1930s, the Froebel Educational Institute ran many nursery schools in Britain (Whitbread 56-57), and Enid Blyton was herself a trained Froebellian teacher. (Stoney 36-37).



In children's literature, the period of the 1930s in Britain witnessed an increasing adult interest in the *qualities* of children's books as well as a concern to offer children *quality* books to read. F.J. Harvey Darton's Children's Books in England was published in 1932, the Carnegie Medal was founded in 1936 (the first winner was Arthur Ransome's Pigeon Post), The Junior Bookshelf – a specialist children's literature reviewing journal – also began in 1936, and the Association of Children's Librarians (ACL) was formed in 1937 (Ray The Blyton Phenomenon 21-24). The objectives of these publications and organisations use the language of evaluation to justify their existence: they advocate "maintaining critical standards" (the ACL), "providing only the best in children's books" (The Junior Bookshelf) and rewarding "outstanding book[s] for children (The Carnegie Medal) (The Blyton Phenomenon 21-24).

This evidence signals a continuation of the professionalisation of childhood expertise which was occurring even from the nineteenth century and grew throughout the twentieth century (see Stearns Anxious Parents for a discussion of the rise of childhood experts). It also suggests that adults were increasingly concerned about what books children read and the potential impact they had. From a Marxist perspective this may be interpreted as a primarily middle-class interest in the way that children's literature could act as an Ideological State Apparatus to support an adult hegemony. At the same time, this evidence also suggests an evolution away from Edwardian sensibilities about childhood and literature. Whereas books such as Barrie's Peter and Wendy gratified an adult pleasure in childhood, professional organisations relating to children's literature in the 1930s focused more on what was good for children, even if that measure of quality was still determined by adults.

There was a wide variety of reading material available to British children during the period between the wars: for example, commercial magazines (of which Enid Blyton's Sunny Stories was one) were very popular with boys and girls of working- and middle-classes, although many of the magazines promoted gendered, cultural and class-based ideologies (Hendrick 86-87). Though not popularly considered part of a golden age, children's literature of this era still witnessed some significant evolutionary developments in style. For instance, A.A. Milne's Winnie-the-Pooh (1926) attempted to voice a young child's perceptions of his intermingling domestic and imaginary worlds,

Arthur Ransome depicted the child's point of view in Swallows and Amazons (1930), and J.R.R. Tolkien reworked Norse myth and legend to redefine fantasy for the twentieth century in The Hobbit (1937). Thanks to Sunny Stories, Blyton was already a popular children's writer by the time of The Wishing Chair's publication; however her work was usually ignored and occasionally unfavourably reviewed by the children's literature critics of the era (Ray The Blyton Phenomenon 23-24).

### **Hailing devices**

The "Blyton phenomenon" according to Sheila Ray, usually refers to Blyton's "tremendous output ... her popularity with children and the reaction of many adults to mention of her name" (The Blyton Phenomenon 3). This "phenomenon" has led a number of critics to consider what aspects of her works make them so popular with child readers, especially in light of the fact that adult readers have often found her work lacking in literary merit (for a discussion of Blyton's critics, see Ray The Blyton Phenomenon; Rudd "Paradox"; Tucker). I suggest, from analysis of The Wishing Chair, that many of the aspects of Blyton's stories noted by researchers as appealing to children function as hailing devices. For example, Ray finds that Blyton's stories have an emphasis on wish-fulfilment and escapist reading, a focus on delicious food and eating, simple types of humour like puns, funny incidents and "situations which make the reader feel superior", the use of simple language, a straightforward morality and an "immature child's view" (The Blyton Phenomenon 114-22). These identified textual features may appeal to implied child readers precisely because they signify on childhood in some way; for example, by the symbolic redressing of a power imbalance, by the use of humorous styles recognisable to children, by invoking children's interest in food and eating, or by the creation of a familiar focalisation perspective.

Ray's findings are supported by Jennie Ingham's analysis of the Bradford Book Flood Experiment: a longitudinal study of the effects of book saturation on British children's reading habits carried out between 1976 and 1980. The original study gathered data from children, and Ingham's analysis of the data suggests that children enjoyed the two-dimensionality of the child characters because they could flesh out the details with their own imaginations, leading to better identification with the characters (53). Again, this

finding may indicate the presence of a hailing device, where signs of childness are indicated by the text and potentially enhanced by the reader's own signifiers.

David Rudd identifies even more potential hailing devices in Blyton's works, occurring both in the stories' narrative structure and in their story-telling style. For instance, he suggests that the play between home and away is a dynamic of comfort and excitement, which allows characters and readers carnivalesque spaces in which to resist adult controls ("Paradox" 20, 23-25). As part of this, Blyton "mobilises readers' fantasies and daydreams most of which, for children, revolve around being powerful, popular and capable" ("Ephemeral" 36), which in this study's terms is a hailing device promoting a counter-hegemonic consciousness. Additionally, Rudd finds that Blyton's works fit more easily into an oral tradition of storytelling than the literary tradition (Mystery 169; "Ephemeral" 36-37). This, I suggest, is particularly significant because children's culture is also an oral culture, so the similarity of the linguistic style may well be familiar and appealing to child readers.

Analysis of The Wishing Chair's treatment of the primary and secondary worlds reveals a number of hailing devices including those discussed by other researchers (as outlined above). One significant site of hailing devices is in the dynamic between the everyday domestic world and the magical realm of Fairyland. This dynamic shares some similarities with the treatment of primary and secondary spaces in The Wizard of Oz and Peter and Wendy: the fantasy realm is presented as a child-aligned space and thus functions as a hailing device but, as this analysis will reveal, it also contains ideological content that supports an adult hegemony.

The Wishing-Chair strongly focalises on its child-protagonists, Mollie and Peter, and this shapes readers' perceptions of the primary and secondary worlds. This child-focalisation is used by Blyton in contrast to a personified and omniscient narrative voice of the kind evident in Peter and Wendy. Barrie's narrator considers the child characters from an external perspective and engages with characters' psychological motivations as well as events happening away from the children. Blyton's narrative voice is relatively formless, it uses single address to speak to child readers and it rarely describes the thoughts and motivations of other characters or events occurring away from the protagonists. As a result, implied child readers are positioned to see the everyday world

and the magical world as Mollie and Peter see them in what amounts to an “immature child’s view” in Ray’s terms (The Blyton Phenomenon 116). This perspective constitutes a surface hailing device, interpellating readers with an apparently child’s-eye view, but as I will show later, readers accepting this perspective are also interpellated to accept the adult-aligned ideologies embedded in what they see.

Viewed from the children’s perspective, the everyday world has the playroom at the bottom of the garden as its geographical centre, and because the children spend most of their time here, their world appears to contain few adults. The domestic servants are mentioned occasionally but never actually appear, Mother wanders past the playroom from time to time but usually remains in the house, and the children’s father is completely missing from the story. The semi-supervised environment of the home garden would have been familiar to an increasing number of child readers in the 1930s (Hendrick 84), and here Blyton uses the playroom’s location to promote an idea of child independence, or at least the evasion of adult control and scrutiny. This signifies a counter-hegemonic consciousness which may act as a hailing device.

The children’s playroom appears as a liminal space between the primary and secondary worlds; a construction which relates to children’s own liminality and thus works as a surface hailing device. This interpretation is supported by Lacoss, who observes that “Because children, who are in a transitional stage of life, relate to boundary-crossers, the prominence of such people and things appeals” (68). The playroom is a normal, non-magical space, but its location “at the bottom of the garden” means that it is close to the fairies’ traditional home (Blyton Adventures 14). The placement also implies that Mollie and Peter are themselves border creatures: they can exist and operate in both the everyday world and the magical realm, while fairies and adults are generally limited to one space or the other. For instance, the children’s mother is unaware of the existence of Fairyland, and while the fairies know about the everyday world, they can only go so far as the playroom. Even Chinky, the children’s pixie friend who lives in their playroom, cannot enter the main house, but can only peep in at the windows (Adventures 24, 50).

The children’s movement between these primary and secondary worlds diverges from the portrayal of this kind of movement in the earlier texts to some extent. Blyton’s text constructs the primary world and specifically the children’s playroom as a child-aligned

space already, especially as the children receive little supervision there. However, the secondary world represents a more interesting and exciting play area than their playroom, so the child characters and implied child readers are positioned to find Fairyland appealing. Yet unlike the earlier texts, Mollie and Peter's journeys to Fairyland are not so much flights from adult control to independence as excursions from a secure home base. As part of the text's episodic structure (no doubt influenced by its original serialised publication), the children have a separate adventure in nearly every chapter, and regularly travel between home and Fairyland. Blyton's children are thus more like tourists – even day-trippers – rather than explorers or castaways.

Constructing the two spaces in such safe ways may reduce the textual anxiety for young readers created by a move from the familiar everyday world to an unknown magical world. This view has been proposed by David Rudd, who in his analysis of Blyton's adventure stories concludes that they address readers' psychological need for security through the idea of "home", while fulfilling their need for excitement through the concept of "away" ("Paradox" 18). In The Wishing-Chair, the balance would appear to be in favour of security – more time at home and more returns to home – and less of the anxiety and excitement that comes from being away, which may function to reassure young readers.

Aspects of the secondary world also contain hailing devices, particularly ones that relate to children's culture. For example, the presence and function of magic in Fairyland is not only a defining characteristic of the secondary world, but a fundamental source of entertainment and an important hailing device. Mollie and Peter are automatically powerful in Fairyland because they control a magical device, which gives them leverage as well as mobility. In the parlance of children's culture, they have the best toy in the playground. A number of events in the story indicate the children's powerful status: all sorts of creatures covet the wishing-chair, many try to steal it or buy it, and in one episode, the children's control of the chair gives them entrée to the Magician Greatheart's party (Blyton Adventures 80). Indeed, the children are much more powerful in Fairyland than in the real world, and this reinforces the premise that Fairyland is a land for children: it suggests that in a child-aligned, empowering space, children can take charge of their own destinies.

The construction of Fairyland also engages with the real-world social convention that size and age indicate importance. In the extra-textual, everyday world, children are both smaller and less powerful than adults are, and this relationship has close analogues in Blyton's Fairyland. Here, the wizards, witches and giants are significantly larger, older and usually more powerful than the smaller, more child-like races of fairies, elves and pixies. Mollie and Peter are larger than the small fairy races, so it is no surprise that they are also more powerful (because they own a wishing-chair) and more wise, because they can often solve the fairies' problems. This is a clear example of the hailing device identified by Sheila Ray as "situations which make the reader feel superior" (The Blyton Phenomenon 118), or in David Rudd's terms, an appealing fantasy in which children are "powerful, popular and capable" ("Ephemeral" 36). This hailing device is most evident in chapters like "The Ho-Ho Wizard", where, for example, Peter can easily help the pixies overcome the bad wizard because the text shows that Peter is smarter than they are:

"I say, Gobo, have you by any chance got a spell to put people to sleep?"  
[Peter] asked.

"Of course!" said Gobo, puzzled. "Why?"

"Well, I have a fine plan," said Peter. "What about putting old Ho-ho to sleep?"

"What's the use of that?" said Chinky and Gobo.

"Well – when he's asleep, we'll pop him into the magic chair, take him off somewhere and leave him, and then go back home ourselves!" said Peter. "That would get rid of him for you, wouldn't it?"

"My goodness! That's an idea!" cried Chinky, jumping up from his seat in excitement. (Blyton Adventures 34)

Bad adult characters in Fairyland are treated in the same derisive manner in which children poke fun at unpopular teachers, exaggerating their adult characteristics. For example, the Ho-ho Wizard is obviously a grown-up because he is old, but his age inspires ridicule rather than respect: instead of simply wearing glasses, he illogically wears three pairs, and his long beard is divided into three pieces (Adventures 32). Similarly, the giant (who has Chinky trapped early in the text) is very large, like a grown-up, but the text makes fun of him, showing him to be brutish and stupid; this is made obvious by his inability to work out simple multiplication (Adventures 18-20). He is certainly no match for the two children and their magical chair, who make short work of rescuing Chinky and saving the day. As Ray argues, the childlike sense of humour in Blyton's stories appeals to child readers, and I suggest it functions here as a hailing

device complementing the carnivalesque inversion of power inherent in the portrayal of the bad adults (The Blyton Phenomenon 116).

Blyton's ability to tap into the sentiments of children's culture in this manner suggests that she may have understood its ideological resistance to the adult hegemony. Blyton's parodies are effective because she makes no attempt to sympathise with the victims. A gradual change in adult perceptions of childhood may be evident in this aspect of the three texts analysed so far, especially given the twenty-six years between Barrie's and Blyton's writing, or the thirty-seven years between The Wizard of Oz and The Wishing-Chair.

Another aspect of the text which contains hailing devices is in the construction of the wishing-chair, which, at least on the surface, appears to act as a tool for child empowerment. Ostensibly, the wishing-chair seems a means for children to go their own way without adult control. Mollie and Peter sit in the chair and make wishes to travel to various magical destinations, which the chair obeys. The chair empowers them to move between the primary and secondary worlds, a feat that the text denies adults. Indeed, the fact that the children's mother never knows that the chair has magical powers introduces a subversive element to its construction, adding an additional dimension to the hailing device.

The prospect of adventures excites the children immensely, a point that Mollie makes clear when the children get home from the magical antique shop: "The first real adventure we've ever had in our lives!" said Mollie, in delight. "Oh, Peter, to think we've got a magic chair – a wishing-chair!" (Blyton Adventures 14). The wishing-chair thus symbolises freedom and excitement in terms that children can understand. It is a particularly powerful hailing device when viewed within a 1930s middle-class context: as Harry Hendrick has noted, during this era children were spending more time confined to household gardens (84), so a device which allows a child to escape the garden unsupervised could be powerfully appealing.

Keeping the wishing-chair a secret functions as another hailing device. Keeping secrets strongly influences power dynamics: knowledge may be power, but the concealment of that knowledge from others ensures a balance of power in one's favour. Children are

intimately familiar with this ploy: the learning, keeping and wielding of secrets are popular pastimes within children's friendship groups, and are codified within children's culture in games such as "Truth or Dare", rhymes like "Can You Keep a Secret?", vows and oaths, secret languages and secret hand signals (see, for example Opie and Opie Lore and Language 140-41, 320-22). In a world where adults seem to have all the answers, knowing something adults do not may offer a concrete or symbolic way of resisting the adult hegemony.

The Wishing-Chair is the first of the texts in this study to depict children keeping secrets. In The Wizard of Oz, Dorothy openly admits to her Aunt that she had been in the Land of Oz (Baum 293). Similarly, in Peter and Wendy, Mr and Mrs Darling know that their children have flown away with Peter Pan, and their subsequent return from the Neverland with the lost boys in tow raises no questions as to where they have all been. Blyton was not, however, the first children's author to use the idea of keeping secrets: earlier examples of the device include Ethel Turner's Seven Little Australians (1894), Edith Nesbit's Five Children and It (1902) and Frances Hodgson Burnett's The Secret Garden (1911).

In The Wishing-Chair, the children's attempts to keep their wishing-chair and Fairyland a secret function to hail child readers through a powerful element of children's culture. Mollie and Peter will go to any length to stop grown-ups discovering the chair's magic properties, mainly, it seems, because they do not want to lose the chair, and, by implication, their freedom and access to Fairyland, but also simply because it is *their* secret, and there is power in holding it. Yet the children are in danger of losing their chair and their secret. The first scare comes when Mr Twisty (a "sly" second-hand merchant) sees the chair in the children's playroom and offers to buy it (Blyton Adventures 125-26). Then Mother ends up taking the chair away from the children and installing it in her study, much to Mollie's and Peter's consternation:

Mollie and Peter were very upset. Mother had got their wishing-chair in the study – and if it grew its wings there the grown-ups might see them – and then their great secret would be known. Whatever could be done about it? (Adventures 131)

The chair and the secret are so important to Mollie and Peter that they are willing to appear naughty and endure punishments to get it back, which they achieve by a planned



program of sabotage and destruction (Adventures 131-34). But while this appears to be a determined subversion of adult control, later events in the story re-frame the children's secret-keeping within hegemonic terms, as I will discuss.

Yet another site of hailing devices occur in the construction of Chinky the pixie. Chinky is an important character in The Wishing-Chair, whose main purpose is as a native guide for the children (and implied readers) in Fairyland, explaining what they see and mediating encounters with other Fairyland folk. Where Baum and Barrie needed long descriptive passages or a strong, personified narrator to present their secondary worlds, Blyton uses an insider's knowledge, displayed in action and dialogue. Consequently, The Wishing-Chair remains easily accessible for its younger, less experienced readers, who often prefer reading conversation to descriptive passages (Fine 8), and so may enhance the text's appeal to child readers.

Ostensibly, Chinky appears simply as a childlike character, someone that implied readers may find familiar and appealing, and from the moment the two children rescue Chinky from the giant's castle, the text portrays a strong bond of friendship forming between the characters. Chinky comes with the children on their adventures in the magical chair, the three play games together in the children's playroom, and they even bicker with each other as playmates do. The children and the pixie help each other in their adventures: for instance, Peter helps Chinky's cousin get rid of the bad wizard Ho-ho, while Chinky helps the children find their lost cat. The children actually describe him as "our friend" (Blyton Adventures 46), and also call him a "clever old thing" (Adventures 28). On the surface then, Chinky seems to be an equal and peer of Mollie and Peter, and for his part, he is the ideal playmate: funny, enthusiastic, clever and, most importantly, always available, as he lives permanently in the children's playroom. All of these signs of childhood in Chinky's construction prompt implied child readers to accept him as a fellow child, for all that he is a pixie; thus, his construction forms a hailing device in the text. However, as I will demonstrate later in this chapter, analysis reveals him to be a construction of surprising ideological complexity, carrying a range of adult-aligned ideologies beneath the surface.

## **Concealed ideologies**

Due to the relative paucity of research on The Wishing-Chair, there has been little discussion on the ideologies contained in this book specifically; however, a number of researchers have identified ideological dimensions to Blyton's fiction for children more generally and many of these findings may reasonably be applied to The Wishing-Chair. For example, it has been widely recognised that Blyton's works often contain ideologies of race, class and gender which later generations may find inappropriate (Eales 88-89; Fine 4; Krips 46 n6; Ray The Blyton Phenomenon 104; Tucker xix). These may stem from the context of their publication as well as Blyton's own worldviews, as Ray contends that the values and attitudes present in Blyton's works "are essentially the values of the middle class prevalent in the 1930s" (The Blyton Phenomenon 201).

Derek Eales argues that Blyton's narrative style works to block out worldviews other than the white, middle-class, British worldview foregrounded in her texts, and that this process can be "destructively influential" on the developing human experience of implied child readers (Eales 88-89). Eales' argument suggests an awareness of the influence of ideology on implied child readers, but he does not enunciate how ideologies may be transferred through the text.

In a significant counterpoint to critics like Eales who see Blyton's ideologies as having a destructive influence on implied child readers, Anne Fine posits that children may not necessarily accept the ideologies presented. Examining her own daughter's response to Blyton, Fine notes that her child of the eighties (and the product of a liberal and politically correct education) recognised the ideologies at work in the texts and consciously rejected them while still enjoying the stories themselves. Fine sees this attitude resulting from the passage of time and changing cultural context, and admits that her own generation "must have [absorbed] the sexism and the racism, as unthinkingly as, frankly, they were written" (5). Fine's observations lend credence to the idea that ideology can be transferred through Blyton's texts, but at the same time raise the possibility that although the text may attempt to shape the views of implied child readers, real readers may or may not accept the interpellation.

Blyton, for her own part, clearly defined her audience and her purpose for writing, revealing the possible influence of her Froebellian educational experience on her perception of childhood. She states:

I do not write to entertain, as most writers for adults can quite legitimately do. My public do not possess matured minds – what is said to them in books they are apt to believe and follow, for they are credulous and immature.  
(Blyton cited in Eales 82)

Evidently, Blyton saw the role of an adult author of books for children to be instructional: to teach things – skills, knowledge, ways of looking at the world – that child readers could “believe and follow” or, as Derek Eales interprets, “to teach children to become ‘good’ adults” (Eales 82). With such a conscious understanding of the significance of her role, it is arguable that the ideologies contained within Blyton’s books represent Blyton’s attempt to interpellate child readers within an adult hegemonic system. Nevertheless, if considered in terms of Hollindale’s three levels of ideology, it remains difficult to ascertain which specific ideologies are consciously included and which emerge from the author’s unexamined assumptions or from the broader social context of her writing.

Like the earlier texts in this study, concealed ideologies are present in the construction of the primary and secondary spaces of The Wishing-Chair. For example, Mollie and Peter’s perspective on their domestic world may seem to be a simple child’s view; however, it naturalises middle-class ideologies of home and family. For instance, the presence of the mother and the absence of the father naturalises the idea that mothers stay at home while fathers go out into the public sphere. Similarly, the children’s occasional, off-hand references to the cook and the gardener naturalise a level of domestic affluence and hierarchy; moreover, their absence from view may lead to a subtle dehumanisation of these domestic servants.

Fairyland may appear to be an empowering space for children, and the text’s use of the size-age hierarchy to show the children as larger, wiser and more powerful than the small pixies certainly constitutes a hailing device. But more fundamentally, by placing Mollie and Peter within the size-age hierarchy, the text endorses these determinants as legitimate indicators of power; in other words, while issues of size and age are intimately related to the concerns of children’s culture, the text uses them to reinforce a

hegemonic status quo. This extends to the text's treatment of the adult characters in Fairyland, although the ideological message is disguised by a child-aligned hailing device operating through the bad magical adults.

By lampooning characters like the giant and the Ho-ho Wizard, the text draws attention away from the adult-aligned ideologies operating through Fairyland's benevolent adult authorities: Witch Snippet, the Windy Wizard and the Magician Greatheart. Each has a featured role in the story, which constructs them like a benevolent parent, and their adult characteristics are described with respect rather than ridicule. For instance, Witch Snippet is "an old woman with a red shawl on and a pretty white cap. She had a hooky nose and a pair of large spectacles over her eyes" (Adventures 106); she helps the children after the Polite Goblin makes their chair invisible. The Windy Wizard, who has "long hair and a very long beard" (Adventures 119), calls the winds to fix the face of the children's playmate, Thomas (Adventures 120-22). Finally, the Magician Greatheart, a "tall and handsome enchanter" with a "kind, deep voice" (Adventures 82-83), is benevolence personified, throwing a party for all the fairies in the magical realm, complete with gifts, food and magic tricks. Mollie and Peter share in this generosity, having been invited to attend the party by the elves. These three characters – the witch, the wizard and the magician – are constructed in a similar style to the "authorities" of Oz, with one notable exception: while Dorothy learns and grows from her experiences with the witches and the Great Oz, and is eventually revealed as more powerful than most of them, no such epiphany is permitted to Mollie and Peter. Blyton's children remain deferential to the three benevolent parental figures of the magical realm. The unquestioned superiority of these adults naturalises an adult hegemony and teaches implied child readers that benevolent adult authority figures exist to help, guide and reward them.

While the episodic structure of Blyton's story does not demonstrate any significant psychological development of the child characters, the ending of the story naturalises an adult-aligned ideology of childhood development, particularly with regard to schooling. In the final chapter of the original text, Mollie and Peter learn that they are about to be sent away to boarding schools (Adventures 208-09). While the children have already been attending some sort of day school (possibly a nursery school), the boarding school appears as a more significant kind of schooling, and may be interpreted as the inevitable

next stage of their growth: the freedom of their young childhood is ending, and the time of serious learning and movement towards adulthood is beginning. The children are not consulted on the matter and have no say in their move to boarding school. Although they are “miserable”, they readily accept adult control of their destiny (Blyton Adventures 208-09). This supports the text’s hegemonic shaping, and implied child readers are positioned to accept these effects of the adult hegemonic system as normal and natural. Yet Blyton leaves open the possibility of further fun times as the narrator notes in the closing lines: “Ah – but wait till the holidays! What fine adventures they would all have then!” (Blyton Adventures 216). Indeed, the sequel story, The Wishing-Chair Again, opens with the children’s return from school for the holidays, suggesting to implied readers that the process of maturity is not without further interludes for childlike fun.

The construction of the wishing-chair contains concealed ideologies that relate more to adult controls on childhood than to the process of maturity, teaching implied child readers passivity, obedience and good behaviour. The chair may appear to be a tool for child empowerment, but it functions as an independent character with a very powerful position in the story. The wishing-chair is able to express its own emotions and desires and interacts effectively with other characters. Many fantasy stories and fairy tales feature magical devices, such as Dorothy’s silver shoes or magic cap, Uncle Andrew’s magical rings in The Magician’s Nephew, or Harry Potter’s wand. Yet very few of these magical devices have personalities and emotions of their own. The Sorting Hat from the Harry Potter series is one such object, but unlike that device, Blyton’s wishing-chair manages to convey its personality without the aid of a voice. Instead, the chair’s movements (or lack thereof) signify its emotional state and even its desires to some degree, and the characters or the narrator interpret these movements for the readers’ benefit. The manner of the chair’s flight is often the subject of such interpretation:

Peter and Mollie ran into the playroom. The wishing-chair certainly seemed in a great hurry to go. Its wings were flapping merrily, and it was giving little hops about the floor.

“It thinks it’s a bird or something!” said Chinky, grinning. “It will twitter soon!”

The children sat down on the seat. Chinky climbed on to the back. “To Goblin Town!” he cried.

The chair rose into the air and flew out of the door with such a rush that the children were nearly thrown out of their seats. (Adventures 167-68)

Much more importantly, while other magical devices of children's fantasy fiction cannot resist the will of the user, Blyton's wishing-chair can both resist the children's control and control the children's actions. Thus, even though the chair appears to free the children from adult control, it denies Mollie and Peter agency and conditions them to accept and even relish a passive role. This appears in the wishing-chair's conditions of use, its physically restrictive nature, its unreliability, its penchant for initiating and controlling the children's adventures, and in the children's reactions to this control.

The wishing-chair has conditions of use, and these reinforce the children's lack of control. The main condition is that Mollie and Peter can only use the chair when it has grown small red wings on its legs. However, the wishing-chair grows its wings according to its own whim rather than on demand: if the wings have not grown, the children are stuck in the everyday world. Similarly, if the chair's wings do grow, the children must either leap into the chair as it flies away, or physically restrain it by some means; therefore the children have no control over the timing of their adventures. The physical nature of the wishing-chair also enforces a degree of passivity. Where, in other children's fantasy stories, lamps are rubbed, shoes worn and wands waved, Mollie and Peter must sit still in the chair in order to use it. Here, passivity is rewarded: sitting in the chair, when indicated to do so, is rewarded with an adventure. This conditions the child characters and implied readers alike to associate sitting still and being passive – skills traditionally prized by adult authority figures for children – with positive rewards.

The children may treat the wishing-chair like a tool, but it can be a dangerously unreliable one. For example, in one incident, the chair swings to and fro, jiggles about and does tricks instead of flying normally. The narrator describes the chair as “behaving very foolishly” and being “in a rather silly mood”, while Chinky becomes “frightened” by the chair's actions, and describes it as being “in a dangerous mood” (Blyton Adventures 88). At one point, Chinky orders the wishing-chair to land, and the narrator describes the chair's reaction in emotional terms:

“Go down to earth at once, chair!” [Chinky] commanded. The chair seemed cross. It didn't want to go down – but it had to. So down it went, jiggling every now and again as if it really did mean to jerk the children off. (Blyton Adventures 88)

This episode is one of the very few where the text actively seeks to generate anxiety, not simply because this is the only point in the story where the children are in real physical danger, but also because the text highlights how little control the children have over the chair when it chooses to be contrary. The wishing-chair is not so much a dependable, controllable device as a moody and untrustworthy sentient character.

One other issue of control arises from the relationship between the children and the wishing-chair; that is, the question of who controls the direction of the chair's flight, and thus, the nature of the adventures in Fairyland. Ostensibly, the name "wishing-chair" suggests that the children, with their friend Chinky, get in the chair, make a wish, and the chair takes them wherever they want to go. This procedure does occur in nine of the twenty-one distinct chair-assisted journeys into Fairyland. However, on nine other occasions, the children are merely acquiescent passengers, allowing the wishing-chair to choose their destination. Moreover, the text shows the children enjoy being passengers on the chair's adventures just as much, if not more, than they enjoy directing the adventures themselves. As Mollie exclaims, "Let it take us wherever it wants to! It will be exciting, anyhow" (Adventures 17). In the other three adventures, the chair journeys to Fairyland and has adventures without the children.

In many respects then, the chair is dominant in its relationship with the children. It is thus no surprise that the story's title subtly reflects this power balance: the story recounts the Adventures of the Wishing-Chair, not the Adventures with the Wishing-Chair or even Mollie and Peter's Adventures with the Wishing-Chair. It may seem to be a tool for child freedom and entertainment, but it actually functions a hegemonic tool to condition children to be passive.

There are also hegemonic elements concealed in the way the children keep the wishing-chair a secret. While the children's attempts to keep the wishing-chair a secret from their mother appear to subvert their mother's surveillance and control and thus redress a power imbalance, later in the story the children use their secret wishing-chair to help their mother by finding her lost ring. The chapter ends with a jubilant reunion scene:

Peter and Mollie ran off happily. They called their mother and gave her the ring. "You *had* dropped it in the garden, Mother," said Peter.

“Thank you! You *are* kind children to find it for me!” said Mother. But she didn’t guess that Big-Ears the goblin had stolen it – and that the Snoogle had had it too! No – that was the children’s secret. (Adventures 183)

This episode is significant because it shows that good children like Mollie and Peter freely and naturally choose to use what power they have for good purposes: a key lesson for future adults. Thus, the secret-keeping may appear subversive, but the correct use of the power it engenders reproduces adult notions of good behaviour and prompts implied child readers to see power as a tool for good works within the adult apprenticeship offered by the text.

Ideologies of imperialism and race occur in this story, and these relate both to an adult hegemonic worldview of education and socialisation, and to a British cultural and imperial hegemony operating in Britain at the time. The ideologies in Blyton’s text occur mainly in the characterisation of Chinky the pixie, his relationship with Mollie and Peter, and the role he plays as an intermediary between the two children and the fantasy world. Specifically, the text uses Chinky and his relationship to the children to teach young readers how to be good future empire builders, and this is concealed beneath Chinky’s apparent role as simple friend and playmate to the two children. The text’s imperial project relates to the text’s social context of the 1920s and 1930s which was, as I have discussed, when the empire was still a significant part of Britain’s power base and themes of empire were central to the *zeitgeist* at home. Good empire builders willing to go to the colonies were essential to the empire’s success, and Blyton’s text positions the implied child reader within an apprenticeship to this imperial model. As part of this hegemonic socialisation, the text also endorses and transmits nineteenth and early twentieth century justifications of British imperialism, including concepts such as the “White Man’s burden”, social Darwinism and racial stereotyping.

Chinky’s name is the first indicator of these hidden ideologies. “Chinky” has historically been a derogatory appellation for Asians generally and Chinese specifically. The Oxford English Dictionary records the term’s etymology back as far as 1879, and regularly in a range of citations until the 1950s, all referring in a derogatory way to Chinese people. Though Blyton may not have intended the name as a marker of race, her other works use equally derogatory racial slang-names, including Sambo from The Jolly Story Book (1944) and Golly, Woggy and Nigger from The Three Golliwogs



(1944). In addition, Blyton's prose tends to use relatively little description, perhaps to aid understanding for her young and inexperienced readers. Consequently, the few descriptive terms tend to be defining features, and one of the ways the text describes its characters is through naming: consider the Magician Greatheart, the Chatterboxes, the Grabbit Gnomes and the Ho-ho Wizard who says "Ho, ho!" as he walks. These factors suggest that the pixie is of Chinese or, at the least, Oriental extraction, or that he symbolically represents people of these ethnicities.<sup>6</sup>

Significantly, by using the word "Chinky", Blyton is taking advantage of a feature already present in children's culture, which may operate as a hailing device if children are familiar with it. "Chinky" appears in a children's guessing game called "Chinky, Chinky Chinaman" collected from Perth (Scotland), which is a variation of a game played in various parts of Britain since the early nineteenth century (Opie and Opie Children's Games 280-83). This suggests that British children, at least, may be familiar with the Chinese inference of the pixie's name. In addition, many games, tortures, songs and rhymes use the idea of China and Chinese to represent the Other, such as Chinese Counting (using a prescribed range of gibberish) (Opie and Opie Children's Games 39-54), Chinese Burns (a type of wrist torture) (Opie and Opie Lore and Language 202), Chinese Wrestling/Boxing/Tug (various duelling games) (Opie and Opie Children's Games 212), and Chinese Wall (a catching game) (Opie and Opie Children's Games 126). Conversely, however, Rudd notes that young readers with less cultural literacy may well misread stereotypical associations, shown in an account of three contemporary children's readings of Blyton's Golliwog character (Mystery 136-7). But whether child readers understand the oriental reference in Chinky's name or not, his position in the story and his relationship with the children position readers to see Chinky as a friendly and subservient Other.

Chinky's main relationship is with the children, Mollie and Peter, whose Britishness, though only implied, is naturalised in the story. The text does not name the space of the everyday world: the children simply live in a house near a town. Fairyland is the only

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<sup>6</sup> For the purposes of this study, I have chosen to define "the Orient" broadly, so as to include Asia, the Indian subcontinent and the Middle East, following the terms used by the Oxford English Dictionary: "[t]hat part of the earth's surface situated to the east of some recognised point of reference; eastern countries, or the eastern part of a country; the East; usually, those countries immediately east of the Mediterranean or of Southern Europe, which to the Romans were 'the East', the countries of South Western Asia or of Asia generally".

defined geographical location mentioned in the text, and yet concepts of Britishness subtly permeate every aspect of the story, from British foods to British phrases and British notions of manners, etiquette and honourable behaviour. The text positions readers to accept that British culture is the “normal” and “natural” culture; consequently, other cultures are defined by their difference.

In the 1920s and 1930s, relations between British and Oriental peoples took place mainly within the context of British imperialism. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Britain had colonies in India and the Middle East and significant trading outposts in China. As I will demonstrate, the text articulates Chinky’s relationship with the two children in these imperialist forms, and thus offers imperialist ideologies of race to its implied child readers. I contend that Chinky’s relationship with the two children endorses these ideologies because its power dynamics echo imperial race relations.

Although British-Oriental interactions within the Empire were often far from harmonious, The Wishing-Chair seeks to depict them idealistically. Mollie and Peter are practically perfect, and their relationship with Chinky is almost always harmonious although not necessarily equitable. Once again the indicator of size, so critical in children’s culture, is prominent in establishing a hierarchy. The text describes Chinky as having a “little pointed face” and being “not quite so big as the children” (Adventures 19), although he is bigger than the other pixies in the story (Adventures 67). According to the text’s own conventions, Chinky is less powerful than the children because he is smaller than they are; as a result, the text also places Oriental ethnicity and culture in an inferior position to white British culture.

The idea that non-white people and their cultures were inferior to the British and Europeans was popular in Britain during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Marika Sherwood notes that in texts of this era, “[t]he colonies and India are presented as having had no history prior to the arrival of Europeans, and no rational motives are ever attributed to subject peoples, who were clearly expected to welcome their British conquerors” (185). Arguments of biological determinism were often used to justify British imperialism, as in Lord Milner’s Address to the Municipal Congress in Johannesburg 18<sup>th</sup> May 1903:

The white man must rule, because he is elevated by many, many steps above the black man; steps which it will take the latter centuries to climb, and which it is quite possible that the vast bulk of the black population may never be able to climb at all. (cited in Eldridge 141)

During this era, cultural inferiority was sometimes described in terms of childishness, which may also be a factor in Chinky's size. Robert Bickers draws attention to this association in Rodney Gilbert's book, What's Wrong with China? (1926), wherein Gilbert based his attack on Chinese society on the key idea that "the Chinese are children" (Gilbert, cited in Bickers 28). As Gilbert's book is relatively contemporary to Blyton's story, it may be that the texts share this perception of Oriental peoples.

The Wishing-Chair also contains text that would appear to promote the paternal and benevolent aspects of British colonialism, specifically by teaching budding empire builders how to treat the colonised natives. This lesson begins early in the story, when the children rescue Chinky from the giant in the second chapter. Chinky first appears "running out of what looked like a scullery ... [holding] an enormous boot in one hand, and a very small boot-brush in the other" (Blyton Adventures 19). This scene shows Chinky small and oppressed, living poorly and forced into acts of menial labour that are both demeaning and onerous, as connoted by the size difference between the boot and the boot-brush. Mollie and Peter righteously defy the giant and carry Chinky away to their own playroom in the wishing-chair. In this scene, the children's benevolence is the focus of attention; their subsequent re-ordering of Chinky's life seems beneficial to all parties, but it occurs within a strong paternalistic and imperialist ideological framework. On the trip home from the giant's castle, Peter magnanimously offers the children's playroom as a new home for Chinky:

"We've escaped!" shouted Peter. "What an adventure! Cheer up Chinky! We'll take you home with us! You shall live with us, if you like. We have a fine playroom at the end of the garden. You can live there and no one will know. What fun we'll have with you and the wishing-chair!"

"You are very kind to me," said Chinky gratefully. "I shall love to live with you. I can take you on many, many adventures!"

[...] "You can make a nice bed out of the cushions from the sofa," said Mollie to the pixie. "And I'll give you a rug from the hall-chest to cover yourself with. We must go now, because it is past our tea-time. We'll come and see you again to-morrow. Good luck!" (Blyton Adventures 23)

Since the playroom is the children's space, by coming to live there Chinky accepts not only shelter and succour from the children, but also their cultural conventions. By implication, the Oriental culture he represents acknowledges colonial superiority and accepts both its cultural and political domination. Secondly, Peter's comment: "What fun we'll have with you and the wishing-chair!" has the effect of reducing Chinky's status to the chair's level, seeing both as objects rather than equals. Chinky's speech offers an obsequious gratitude, accepting Peter's plan to install him in the playroom immediately, apparently in preference to his home and family in Fairyland, which are only acknowledged later in the story (Adventures 141-42). Chinky is both enthusiastic and grateful to Mollie and Peter for re-ordering his life according to their whims. This symbolically reinforces the ideology of British racial hierarchy over Oriental ethnicities and cultures. It is strongly idealised from the coloniser's point of view, showing that the colonised subject is not only docile, but grateful for his annexation.

These ideologies are developed and reinforced at the beginning of the third chapter, which establishes the pattern for the three characters' interactions. Mollie and Peter visit Chinky in the playroom on a daily basis. Chinky refuses to eat anything given to him by the children, as he says the fairies in the garden will bring him anything he needs. This intriguing titbit of information has startling ideological implications: if Chinky is indeed a symbol of the colonised Oriental cultures, then his refusal to accept British food implies that ideal colonies are not only docile, subordinate and grateful, they are also self-supporting, thus alleviating a key part of the imperial burden. Mollie then asks Chinky for a favour, which in the context of his rescue and the children's benevolence, he is not in a position to refuse:

"Chinky, will you do something for us?" asked Mollie. "You know we can't be with the magic chair always to watch when it grows wings, but if you could watch it for us, and come and tell us when you see it has wings, then we could rush to our playroom and go on another adventure. It would be lovely if you could do that."

"Of course," said Chinky, who was a most obliging, merry little fellow. "I'll never take my eyes off the chair!" (Adventures 24)

In return for the children's protection, the pixie must stay in the playroom watching the wishing-chair constantly. Although the task might seem to be a heavy burden on the poor pixie, Chinky himself is quick to show willing, and the text emphasises this by calling him "a most obliging, merry little fellow": imperialist-style terminology, which

is apt for an ideal colonised subject. The pixie cannot move further into the children's world than the playroom: as noted earlier, he can only peep in at the windows of the house. If the interpretation of this character being a subjugated Oriental Other is correct, this may well constitute an example of a social taboo: the children can move freely within Chinky's magical world because they are powerful colonisers, but he has no reciprocal freedoms in theirs.

Of course, Chinky gets to go on the adventures with the children; as their native guide, he often suggests destinations or gives advice on how to behave in the places to which the wishing-chair takes them. Significantly, Chinky never gets to sit on the chair: this honour is reserved for Mollie and Peter, while Chinky's place is hanging off the back of the chair: a much more precarious position. In one episode, Chinky actually falls off after a passing aircraft clips the chair, but no real damage is done, as Chinky's magical powers allow him to turn himself into a snowflake and land unscathed.

The ideologies apparent in these incidents focus mainly on the benevolence of British imperial aims. The concept of the "White Man's burden" was a preoccupation frequently voiced by imperialists, from governors to poets to politicians:

But if the standard which the white man must set before him when dealing with uncivilized races must be a high one for the sake of his own moral and spiritual balance, it is not less imperative for the sake of the influence which he exercises upon those over whom he is set in authority. The white man's prestige must stand high when a few score are responsible for the control and guidance of millions. His courage must be undoubted, his word and pledge absolutely inviolate, his sincerity transparent. (Lugard (1922), cited in Eldridge 119)

and

We feel that it would not only be impolitic, but highly immoral to suppose that Providence has admitted of the establishment of the British power over the finest provinces of India, with any other view than that of its being conducive to the happiness of the people, as well as to our national advantage. (Owen (1877), cited in Eldridge 121)

These excerpts depict the British-Oriental relationship in a way that is very similar to Mollie and Peter's relationship to Chinky. The text shows children's care of Chinky to be conducive to his happiness, and through Chinky's subsequent instatement as the guardian of the wishing-chair, the relationship also benefits the children.

The fact that Chinky is a creature of Fairyland could imply that this space also represents the Orient. In his book, Orientalism, Edward Said observes that “European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self” (3). In other words, historically Europeans used the idea of the Orient as an exotic “Other” space in much the same way that children’s fantasy literature often uses fantastic “Other” spaces: to reflect and explore real-world issues in a safe, fictional setting. Yet, while the ordinariness of the text’s everyday world seems to be highlighted by its contrast to the fantastic realm, the Fairyland space is only exotic because it is magical, not because it is significantly un-British in a cultural sense. Fairyland characters still speak and act in typically British ways; the only significant differences are created by the influence of magic.

Overall, the story manages to endorse the key ideologies of the British imperial period, and significantly, Blyton’s text never questions these imperialist ideals, even by inference. I would suggest that this is not simply due to the era in which she was writing, as earlier texts, such as Frances Hodgson Burnett’s The Secret Garden (1911) and many of Rudyard Kipling’s stories for young people explore some of the issues of imperialism. The Secret Garden, for example, subtly critiques the British presence in India through its depiction of Mary’s parents. Mary’s father works for the English Government which makes him “busy and ill”, while her mother enjoys the “parties” and “gay people” of the expatriate social set (Burnett 1). Similarly, The Jungle Book (1894) manages to valorise a non-European Mowgli without needing to place him in a subservient relationship to a British character, and Puck of Pook’s Hill (1906), while ultimately endorsing the aims of British imperialism, is nevertheless able to sympathise with the plight of the conquered people. Blyton’s text, in contrast, portrays imperialism as unequivocally positive, and seeks to equip its implied readers with the appropriate leadership skills and ideologies to take up the mantle of empire building.

### **Summary of concealment strategies**

In Blyton’s story, hegemonic ideologies are mainly concealed by the child-aligned hailing devices occurring in the text. Thus, for example, middle-class domestic life is naturalised by the child’s viewpoint, the wishing-chair’s ability to free the children from

the constraints of the home and garden camouflages its role in teaching the characters and implied child readers to be passive and obedient, and Chinky's childlike appearance and friendly interactions with the children conceal deeper ideologies relating to British culture, imperialism and race. As in the earlier texts of this study, the fantasy genre may also act as a concealment device: what appears to be occurring in a safely unreal fantasy-land nevertheless has a potential impact on the implied reader. More fundamentally, the story's apparent simplicity, as indicated by a range of factors including its use of language, camouflages the wide range of ideological messages transmitted in the text. I suggest this may be at least part of the reason why the story has remained under-analysed by critics.

## **Conclusion**

Blyton's story contains hailing devices as well as ideologies which are concealed by various strategies, and this indicates the presence of a Trojan Horse mechanism. Significantly, this is the first of the texts in this study to have a body of scholarly research that concentrates on the hailing devices, even if they are discussed in terms of simple appeal to child readers. Scholars of Blyton have been interested in hailing devices as a way to explain her popularity with young readers because her work is unappealing to adult readers. That this is the case indicates that Blyton's hailing devices are both successful and specifically targeted to her audience.

The ways that hailing devices and concealed ideologies operate in Blyton's text highlight some significant differences to The Wizard of Oz and Peter and Wendy. For example, Blyton seems much more at ease with the child's-eye viewpoint than Barrie, using a narrator that has far less personality and influence. Blyton's text has nothing to say to adults: it pitches morals, lessons and sensibilities solely to the implied child readership. Furthermore, while the sincerity of Blyton's narrative may echo the tone of Baum's story, unlike Baum, Blyton uses children's culture freely and adapts the artefacts of the culture for ideological purposes. Put simply, Blyton's text appears much more comfortable with its child readers and how to address them. Yet the three texts do contain some similar ideological structures: all three books attempt to promote the secondary world as a space for child empowerment in contrast to the adult-aligned

primary world, and in each text, children operating in the secondary world are actually under the influence of disguised adult authority figures.

The Trojan Horse mechanism in Blyton's story is usually clearly articulated and simple, especially compared to Baum's and Barrie's stories, and this may be due to the single narrative address. The child's perspective and the construction of the secondary world as a child's world obscure the adult values and hegemonic structures operating in the primary and secondary worlds. The construction of the wishing-chair and its function in the story provide a particularly subtle form of concealed ideology, apparently offering freedom but actually teaching passivity. Similarly, the depiction of secret-keeping appears subversive, but is used to do good works in ways that conform to adult notions of good behaviour. The text's most elaborate structure of concealed ideology occurs in the relationship between Chinky and the children, which provides an excellent example of Blyton's ability to load simple prose and elementary plots with complex ideological freight. The interplay of the child-culture hailing devices and the hidden adult-derived ideological content in this particular site of the text is almost seamless, and this may be because Blyton does not seek to question the imperialist ideologies that her text transmits; in fact, it would seem she champions them.

These stylistic and ideological features of Blyton's text suggest that the ways of writing for children and addressing implied child readers may have evolved since Baum's and Barrie's stories. This may be partly due to the fact that Blyton had a larger tradition of children's literature upon which she could draw, including pivotal authors such as Edith Nesbit, Beatrix Potter, Frances Hodgson Burnett and Arthur Ransome: writers whose works attempted to engage with the child's experiences and perspective. While Barrie, if not Baum, may have also been able to draw on Nesbit and Potter, Blyton's style appears more similar to these writers', especially in terms of narrative voice, direction of address, and depiction of childhood.

The ideologies of The Wishing-Chair, especially those related to class, race and imperialism, are predominantly products of their time, and their continued transmission in reprints and new editions of the texts raises an important issue. It may be that these ideologies are interpellating generations of readers well beyond the social currency of the ideologies themselves. While readers may not rush out to become tomorrow's



empire builders, it is possible that aspects of these worldviews may influence current readers' own developing understandings of race, class and culture, although as Anne Fine has argued, this may not always occur. Similarly, the ideologies relating to adult-child relations may continue to influence how today's children view themselves, the adults around them and the nature of childhood itself.

## Chapter Four

### **Past Watchful Dragons: Christianity and controlled apprenticeship in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe (1950)**

The Narnia Chronicles by Clive Staples Lewis was an important building block for the second golden age of children's literature, an age which would last from approximately 1945 to 1970 (P. Hunt "Children's Literature and Childhood" 65). Lewis was a renowned Christian scholar, a professor of medieval literature and an author of science fiction. Yet he was to earn his greatest fame through the seven stories about the fantastic world of Narnia among his child readership, Christian groups and the academic community. The Narnia Chronicles continue to enjoy widespread popularity among young readers, and The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe (1950) has been adapted for stage, cinema and television since its publication, including the most recent major film release: The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe (2005).

The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe is the oldest of the Narnia Chronicles, and tells the story of the four Pevensie children – Peter, Susan, Edmund and Lucy – who are sent to stay with an old Professor to escape the bombing raids on London during the Second World War. While playing in his house, the youngest child, Lucy, discovers a wardrobe that acts as a portal into the magical world of Narnia. Edmund follows, meeting the evil White Witch, and soon all the children are in Narnia. While there, they find that prophecy links their arrival to the fall of the Witch. They seek the rightful ruler, the lion Aslan, and fight on his side to vanquish the Witch, while Edmund, whom the Witch has ensnared, must be saved. The children finally become kings and queens of Narnia; after ruling there for many years, they find the door back to the real world and, upon entering it, are drawn back to take up their lives as children once more.

In this chapter I examine a range of hailing devices operating in Lewis's text, including signs of childhood as have been evident in the previous texts of this study, but also some hailing devices which appear in this study for the first time, such as the use of

sensory imagery combined with strong focalisation on the child characters' perspectives. I then consider the ideologies present in the text. To a greater extent than any of the previous authors in this study, C.S. Lewis has reflected on the process of writing for children and the ideologies he consciously chose to include in this story. I will therefore consider Lewis's ideas in the context of examining The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe for elements of a Trojan Horse mechanism, as well as the ideologies that other researchers have identified in the text, and those that appear through close textual analysis. These include ideologies of childhood which relate to hegemonic adult-child relations, ideologies which relate to nationality, class, gender and race, and ideologies of Christianity although, as I will demonstrate, many of the differing worldviews implicit in the text are nevertheless used in mutually-reinforcing ways. Finally, I will examine the concealment strategies operating in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, again with reference to Lewis's own writings on this topic before reflecting on the ways that these aspects of the text may form a Trojan Horse mechanism, particularly in comparison to the previous texts in this study.

### **Socio-historical context**

C.S. Lewis describes having his first idea of Narnia when he was around the age of sixteen; however, he began writing an initial idea for The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe during the Second World War and completed the story in the years after the war's end (Downing 29-30). This time in Britain was a period of social and economic upheaval which had a strong impact on the ways that Britons thought about themselves, their society, and their nation's place in the world. These ideas arguably influenced thinking about childhood and the future of Britain, and were reflected in Lewis's story as well as in British children's literature of succeeding generations.

The Second World War had a monumental impact on Britain's economy and society, and the repercussions of the war continued well into the 1950s. Britain's war debts totalled £4.7 billion, much of its infrastructure had been destroyed by the war, and its status as a world power was "undeniably diminished" (Kennedy 86). The immediate post-war period in Britain was thus defined by austerity, especially as experienced by many average families. Brian Harrison paints a bleak picture of Britain in 1951:

Wartime urban austerities—queues, prefabs, drab colours, rationing—accompanied smoke-blackened buildings, second-hand clothes, slag-heaps, pawnshops, cheerless pubs, fog, neon lights unused, slot machines decayed and empty. (14)

Foodstuffs and materials, especially building materials, were even scarcer after the war than during the conflict, and rationing continued until well into the 1950s (Marwick 18; BBC News). As I will demonstrate in this chapter, Lewis's story arguably responded to these harsh realities of post-war life, especially in the hailing devices aimed at implied child readers.

The economic and social repercussions of the war were compounded by the decline of the empire in the post-war period, which also had an influence on British national identity. The independence of India and Pakistan in 1947 was particularly demoralising for Britain, given the significant wealth and influence the region had given to the empire for many generations, and in the following year the independence of Burma, Ceylon and Palestine reinforced the empire's decline (Porter 324-25). The contraction of the empire certainly had economic repercussions for Britain, but arguably the social impact was just as significant, if not more so (326). As discussed in the previous chapters, imperialist ideologies were deeply embedded in the British social structure up until the Second World War, including in education and in popular culture (see for example Hey 115; Kennedy 58-59). Bernard Porter argues that the loss of empire therefore affected the livelihoods of many Britons, especially those in the middle- and upper-classes and impacted national morale (357-58). The loss of empire and the Second World War brought questions of British national identity to the fore in the post-war era, framed both by the loss of imperial certainties and by the challenges and adversities of war that the British people overcame (Kennedy 86; Porter 358). This issue of identity was reflected in children's fantasy fiction not only of the post-war era, like The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, but also in the decades that followed, as this study will show.

Many traditional values and worldviews prevailed in the years immediately following the war. For example, despite the working roles that many women had taken up during the war, post-war propaganda and popular literature promoted a domestic ideal and the education system actively sought to prepare girls to be future home-makers (Summerfield 61-62). Class also remained an important feature of post-war British

society and public records and studies of the period demonstrate that Britons understood their own and others' social class in terms of employment, background, education, dress, worldview and speech styles (Marwick 40-42). While the middle class represented only about 30 per cent of the population in the immediate post-war era (37), it was a vital and influential part of post-war British society (Harrison 20); for instance, as before the war, much of the child-rearing advice of the era was produced and consumed within this class (Thom 263-65). Michael Paris notes that the rise of the Labour Party in the post-war era created "widespread and deeply entrenched" anxieties in the middle- and upper-classes who were concerned about a possible loss of status (300). These anxieties, Paris finds, were reflected in popular culture and literature of the time, and specifically the traditional masculine ideal (the ex-public school hero), which represented "part of a middle-class counter-attack by authors and filmmakers against the dominance of the common man" (300). As I will discuss in this chapter, a traditional masculine hero appears in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, and may relate to this contemporary political and social situation.

The education system continued to function as an Ideological State Apparatus which reproduced the class structure, especially through the "eleven plus" testing instigated as part of the 1944 Education Act. Students were streamed early into academic, technical or functional educational strands, and those from better schools – and from the middle- and upper-class families who could afford such an education – were most likely to do well on the tests (Hendrick 69-70; Quinault 18). In effect, "Only a small proportion of young people went to university and most were middle-class males who had often been privately educated" (Quinault 18). As a university professor and a successful product of a middle-class upbringing himself, Lewis would have been intimately familiar with the worldview and class-aligned education system operating in the post-war era, and his views on women may also relate to this context.

The Second World War had had a catastrophic effect on the lives of children across the class and cultural spectrum both at home and abroad. Hugh Cunningham reflects on the irony of Ellen Key's optimistic proclamation of "the century of the child" in 1909, suggesting that after the war "It was a mockery to invoke 'the century of the child' when so many of them were killed as a matter of state policy" (187). He suggests that attitudes to childhood in Western societies began to change after the war because people

began to doubt that it was possible to preserve in any integrity the territory mapped out as childhood. Invasions threatened from every quarter, and childhood, so it was argued, could no longer survive. In consequence children themselves became alien creatures, a threat to civilisation rather than its hope and potential salvation. (187)

While I do not suggest such an attitude was in any way widespread at the time Lewis was writing the Narnia Chronicles, it is nevertheless significant that events like the Second World War played a part in these changing perspectives of childhood.

Many child readers in 1950 would have been too young to remember much of the British evacuations of children during the war; however, the evacuations certainly influenced British families, attitudes to childhood, and social policy of the post-war era. Well over a million children were evacuated from at-risk areas to the British countryside (and some to overseas locations), often without family members (Hendrick 53-55). C.S. Lewis himself hosted evacuated children, and while he found the experience “delightful” (Lewis, cited in Downing 29) not all hosts or children had such positive experiences. Public policy after the war responded to the issues raised by and resulting from evacuation, with family cohesion becoming a primary policy concern, especially in the 1948 Children’s Act (Harrison 30).

Cunningham argues that the period of childhood was prolonged after the war: as the popular view maintained that the end of schooling represented the end of childhood, the raising of the school leaving age to 15 in 1944 signified an extension of the definition of childhood (181-82). During this time, childhood also came to be seen as “an existence in tandem with adulthood”: a time for the young person to learn the qualities necessary for maturity while still enjoying the experience of childhood (Egoff 9).

The year 1950 marked the approximate beginning of what would be called children’s literature’s second golden age, lasting from around the end of the Second World War to 1970 (Hollindale and Sutherland 256; P. Hunt “Children’s Literature and Childhood” 65). The end of the war also marked the beginning of a convergence in the traditions of British and American children’s fiction, although this was by no means well-established by 1950 when The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe was published (Hollindale and Sutherland 252). While children’s literature no longer portrayed children as idealised

innocents, these fictional youngsters nevertheless retained a kind of innocence, based primarily on a sense of decency and wholesomeness, and often this wholesomeness was reflected in the worlds they inhabited. Sheila Egoff observes that the texts of the second golden age express a general sense of security: although children often act outside adult supervision, adults move on the peripheries, offering unobtrusive support (9-10). Egoff suggests that the child characters in these books “enter only the adventures for which they are prepared” (9), which implies that the texts may contain a kind of controlled apprenticeship, where child characters are carefully guided and educated for the challenges they may face. The inherent safety, tranquillity and predictability of most children’s books in this period arose out of contemporary perceptions of childhood and “writers portrayed behaviour that society hoped for from its children” (11).

### **Hailing devices**

As in Peter and Wendy, the narrator’s address in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe exhibits hailing devices aimed at implied child readers. Also like the earlier story, this text uses a third-person, omniscient narrator who is strongly personified in the story and often addresses readers directly, although unlike Barrie’s narrator, Lewis’s narrator uses a single address which is aimed solely at implied child readers. The appeal and engagement of the narrator’s address forges a connection with readers. For example, the narrator frequently uses the second-person pronoun inclusively and exclusively, implying a sense of egalitarian familiarity, as well as a similarity of experience and outlook, as in the phrases “there’s nothing to beat good freshwater fish if you eat it when it has been alive half an hour ago” (The Lion 71) and “[p]erhaps it has sometimes happened to you in a dream” (The Lion 65). Sometimes the narrator explicitly aligns himself with children by acknowledging the controls that adults place upon them. An example of this occurs when the narrator describes the subjects and allies of the White Witch who are present at Aslan’s death:

Ogres with monstrous teeth, and wolves, and bull-headed men; spirits of evil trees and poisonous plants; *and other creatures whom I won’t describe because if I did the grown-ups would probably not let you read this book* – (The Lion 138, emphasis added)

Glen Mynott recognises the hailing device in the narrator's aside to child readers in this excerpt, observing that "[b]y referring to the restrictions imposed on him by adults, the narrator cleverly reinforces his relationship with the child reader by presenting himself as one of them" (43). This is not to say that Lewis's narrator is a child: the excerpt above clearly depicts a friendly adult who is not a defined adult authority figure. This construction conforms to Lewis's reflection on the position of a children's author in relation to children, in his essay "On Three Ways of Writing for Children": "An author, as a mere author, is outside all that [the "difficult relations" between parents and children]. He is not even an uncle. He is a freeman and an equal, like the postman, the butcher, and the dog next door" ("On Three Ways" 34). While this works as a hailing device – and arguably a more cohesive one than Barrie's double address – there are hegemonic ideologies implicit in Lewis's attitude to childhood and in the expression of this attitude in his adult characters including the narrator, which I will examine later in this chapter.

Lewis's child characters are recognisably childlike, and like the previous texts, this functions as a hailing device, prompting readers to identify with the Pevensie children. Like Barrie's and Blyton's children, Lewis's children are siblings, and the text capitalises on this aspect to show the children interacting in realistic ways which would be familiar to implied child readers with siblings of their own. The children have natural conversations and even bicker occasionally, and they entertain themselves by playing common children's games like hide-and-seek (The Lion 29).

The children's construction also contains a hailing device which evokes children's resistance to adult controls by promoting the idea of independence from adult supervision; in essence, an expression of counter-hegemonic consciousness in Gramsci's terms. The children begin the story far from their parents, who remain out of sight and largely out of mind throughout the tale. The one significant, real-world adult in the story is the old Professor, who does not supervise them; in fact, he seems to live in his study. Implied child readers are positioned to see this situation positively: a holiday from school, parents, and adult supervision. This interpellation is reinforced by Peter's exclamation: "We've fallen on our feet and no mistake ... This is going to be perfectly splendid. That old chap will let us do anything we like" (The Lion 9).



The construction of the secondary world reinforces this hailing device because, as in the previous texts, the children's move to the secondary world represents a move even further away from adult authority figures and adult supervision into a world that appears to be aligned with childhood, magic and adventure. Narnia is much more vivid and exciting than the primary world, and this also functions as a strategy to engage child readers. Some of this excitement is created by the strong use of sensory language and imagery, which gives implied readers an almost physical experience of Narnia. This is established in the first chapter when the narrative focalises on Lucy during her first visit to Narnia and her experiences mediate readers' perceptions of that magical place. The description of her first journey through the wardrobe is arguably one of the most famous passages in children's literature, and the following extract highlights the powerful sensory imagery:

Looking into the inside, she saw several coats hanging up – mostly long fur coats. There was nothing Lucy liked so much as the smell and feel of fur. She immediately stepped into the wardrobe and got in among the coats and rubbed her face against them ...

Then she noticed that there was something crunching under her feet. "I wonder is that more mothballs?" she thought, stooping down to feel it with her hand. But instead of feeling the hard, smooth wood of the floor of the wardrobe, she felt something soft and powdery and extremely cold ...

Next moment she found that what was rubbing against her face and hands was no longer soft fur but something hard and rough and prickly. "Why it is just like the branches of trees!" exclaimed Lucy ... Something cold and soft was falling on her. A moment later she found that she was standing in the middle of a wood at night-time with snow under her feet and snowflakes falling through the air. (The Lion 12-13)

This sensory imagery acts as a hailing device, positioning readers to identify with Lucy as a fellow child-adventurer and giving readers a sensory experience of Narnia, which draws them into the magical secondary world, a point also noted by Peter Schakel (45). It is a device used often in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, engaging child readers by provoking a sensory and often emotional response, and as I will discuss later, it also conceals and carries ideological content within the story.

The text describes Narnia like the real world, but with all the sensory outputs amplified, and other critics have noted that this feature of its construction is engaging and appealing (Vallone 51). Spring awakens with fecund splendour, and even winter is an awe-inspiring panorama of ice crystal sprays and snow-laden trees. This fantastic realm,

inhabited by talking animals and creatures out of myth and legend, is an attractive and exciting place for the Pevensie children, and evidently for child readers as well. The author Laura Miller has related that, as a child, she longed for Narnia to be real: “It seemed to me that the need (my need) for Narnia’s existence was so great that the place had to be real, somehow, somewhere. There had to be something more than the world I was stuck in” (Miller, cited in Rudd “Myth-Making” 33). The descriptions of Narnia would likely have been most appealing to British child readers of the era, especially urban ones: Narnia’s verdant beauty would have sat in stark contrast to the familiar war-torn and decayed urban landscapes of Britain as described earlier in this chapter (Harrison 14).

When benevolent adults appear in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, the text uses strategies to make them appear aligned with childhood and unlike adult authority figures. These strategies constitute hailing devices in a manner similar to the construction of the narrator. One example of this occurs in the portrayal of the old Professor, in whose home the children are residing during the war. When Peter and Susan approach him for advice because Lucy keeps insisting on the existence of a magical land through the wardrobe, he observes that Lucy is not mad, and is probably telling the truth. His argument is based on logic, and he also takes a position against the education system: “Why don’t they teach logic at these schools?” (The Lion 47). The idea that such a man of logic would so readily believe that a small child had visited a magical world through an old wardrobe is unrealistic, but serves in this case to persuade readers that this particular adult is completely unlike parents and teachers.

Another important adult character in the story is Aslan the Lion, the rightful king of Narnia. As Schakel has observed, the text makes Aslan appealing to child readers even before he appears by creating gaps of meaning which readers want to fill. Aslan is a mysterious name, he is “on the move”, he is “not often here” – and these gaps engage readers by creating mystery and excitement (Schakel 46-47). The text uses sensory imagery in its descriptions of Aslan, and here, as well as provoking an emotional response, the imagery also fulfils a cognitive and conceptual function by creating metaphors: explaining ideas or situations which may be unfamiliar to child readers in terms that they can understand. This use of imagery enables an implied child reader to engage with the content presented, and its child-friendly format constitutes a hailing

device. For example, when the child characters hear Aslan's name spoken for the first time, the narrator describes their reactions in terms of child-appropriate emotions and sensory experiences:

At the name of Aslan each one of the children felt something jump in its inside. Edmund felt a sensation of mysterious horror. Peter felt suddenly brave and adventurous. Susan felt as if some delicious smell or some delightful strain of music had just floated by her. And Lucy got the feeling you have when you wake up in the morning and realize that it is the beginning of the holidays or the beginning of summer. (The Lion 65)

The text uses the same type of imagery and child-friendly language to describe the children's reaction to Aslan:

People who have not been in Narnia sometimes think that a thing cannot be good and terrible at the same time. If the children had ever thought so, they were cured of it now. For when they tried to look at Aslan's face they just caught a glimpse of the golden mane and the great, royal, solemn, overwhelming eyes; and then they found they couldn't look at him and went all trembly. (The Lion 117)

Aslan's physicality is equally potent; for example, when the text describes the sensation felt by Lucy and Susan riding on Aslan's back across Narnia. Here, the imagery starts by a comparison to riding a horse, and then highlights how much more exciting, terrifying and wonderful Lucy and Susan's experience is than a mundane horse ride (The Lion 149-50). Throughout the story, readers are repeatedly given a personal and child-aligned experience of Aslan, and this fosters a strong connection to the fictional character.

Another hailing device in Aslan's construction is his speech style. Aslan's speech has a reading age of eleven years as determined by the SMOG (Simplified Measure of Gobbledygoop) grading system (Alexander 40).<sup>7</sup> In comparison, the surrounding text has a reading age of twelve years, and in the other Narnia Chronicles, the reading age is often as high as fourteen (40). This discrepancy in reading ages means that Aslan's words seem simple, natural and very easy to understand for a reader operating at the reading age of twelve, and readers operating at lower reading ages would still find Aslan's speech easier to understand than other parts of the text.

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<sup>7</sup> For an explanation of the SMOG grading system, see: <http://www.utexas.edu/vp/ecs/communications/SMOG.pdf>

Aslan's tone is confident, and his manner of speaking strongly implies both omniscience and omnipotence, as he speaks mainly in declarative sentences. Occasionally, his speech becomes more colloquial, as when he rises from the dead and storms the White Witch's fortress, using phrases like "catch me if you can", "Hi! You up there" and "Look lively and sort yourselves" (The Lion 148, 56, 58). Joy Alexander attributes these stylistic aberrations to the developmental stage of the Chronicles, noting that Aslan's speech reaches a more formal and stable style as the Chronicles progress (40). However, I suggest that these colloquial inclusions in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe operate as a hailing device, because they show that Aslan can speak and act on the level of children.

Lewis's use of food in the story is yet another example of a hailing device in action. Using food, especially sweet, luxurious or magical food, to appeal to child readers is a reasonably common device in children's literature, evident in the work of many authors including A.A. Milne, Enid Blyton, Roald Dahl, Diana Wynne Jones and J.K. Rowling. Wendy Katz argues that "Food may be, in fact, the sex of children's literature", so appealing and fascinating it is to its readership (192). The first food episode is Lucy's, and occurs when she enters Narnia and meets Mr. Tumnus the faun, journeying to his cosy cave for tea. The tea consists of "a nice brown egg, lightly boiled, for each of them, and then sardines on toast, and then buttered toast, and then toast with honey, and then a sugar-topped cake" (The Lion 19-20). This meal is notably simple, yet the narrator specifies that it is "a wonderful tea" (The Lion 19).

The contrast between this episode and Edmund's first meal in Narnia is dramatic. Like Lucy, Edmund emerges from the wardrobe and quickly meets an inhabitant, but this time it is the White Witch. The dynamic of the scene is uncomfortable and jarring. The Witch is angry and imperious, and the text shows Edmund's fear: he stutters, he does not like the way she looks at him, and when she seems to be on the verge of smiting him, he stands paralysed (Lewis The Lion 33-6). When she decides she can use Edmund, her manner changes to one of caring and comfort, although the tone reads false after her previous actions. She then offers Edmund a hot drink and some sweets, creating them by dripping liquid from a mysterious, small copper bottle onto the snow:

instantly there appeared a round box, tied with green silk ribbon, which,

when opened, turned out to contain several pounds of the best Turkish Delight. Each piece was sweet and light to the very centre and Edmund had never tasted anything more delicious. (The Lion 37)

On the surface, the food is attractive and appealing: the box connotes a gift, and the silk, like the velvet of Aslan's paws, is a tactile, sensory pleasure, here connoting expense and exclusivity, while the weight of the box reinforces the luxury status of this meal. In the real world, the "best Turkish Delight" is expensive even in small quantities because it uses rosewater as a major ingredient; several pounds therefore equates to a small fortune. Given the depredations caused by war and the sweet rationing in force until 1953, it is highly unlikely that children living in post-war England would have been able to eat Turkish Delight at all, so its inclusion in the story has both sensual and contextual appeal to child readers. Indeed, despite the obvious danger in the situation, it would be quite easy for readers to understand Edmund's wish to gorge himself on the sweet: the chance to consume such an appealing luxury item may rarely occur. In both Edmund's and Lucy's meals then, the appearance and taste of the food constitutes a hailing device to engage child readers, especially readers of Britain in the austere post-war era, but as I will shortly demonstrate, food and the act of eating in these episodes carry additional ideologies which also work to interpellate child readers.

### **Concealed ideologies**

The topic of ideology is often raised in discussions of the Narnia Chronicles, and indeed, in reference to Lewis's works more generally. Lewis himself wrote extensively on the process, ideologies and assumptions of writing for children, and documented his inspirations and motives for the Narnia Chronicles. These ideas appear in the two essays: "On Three Ways of Writing for Children" and "Sometimes Fairy Stories Say Best What's to be Said". In these essays, Lewis explores some important aspects of the relationships and power dynamics between adults and children and considers their impact on the process of writing children's literature, both in a general sense and in his own writing. His perspectives on these topics are significant for my own study because they shed light on the kinds of ideologies at work in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe and lend support to my hypothesis on the existence of the Trojan Horse mechanism as a strategy for transferring ideology to children through literature.

In “On Three Ways of Writing for Children”, Lewis acknowledges that hegemonic relations exist between adults and children, remarking on the “difficult relations” that exist between children and their parents and teachers (“On Three Ways” 34); this may also signify his understanding of children’s resistance to the adult hegemony. This essay also discusses the ways authors can approach the task of writing for children, and Lewis notes that he included the high tea with Mr Tumnus in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe because he would like to have read such an episode as a child (“On Three Ways” 22). This suggests that to some extent he is writing for an idea of his own childhood self, and perhaps by implication, that he perceives his childhood interests as a way of connecting to other child readers; that is, by using signifiers of childhood. Yet Lewis also states that he writes children’s stories because they are “the best art-form for something you have to say” (Lewis “On Three Ways” 23), which intimates that Lewis had a particular purpose in mind when writing the Narnia Chronicles.

This purpose is revealed in “Sometimes Fairy Stories May Say Best What’s To Be Said”, where he refers specifically to his writing process for the Narnia Chronicles, and it is here that he discusses what I have termed the Trojan Horse mechanism. He begins by likening his motivation for writing to Tasso’s sixteenth-century poetic theory: that writers write out of a desire to please and entertain, but that writers are also people and citizens and so feel the need to edify as well as please (“Sometimes” 35-6). This observation proves Lewis’s awareness of his role as an educator – a shaper of his readers’ worldviews – and relates to historical and continuing debates about children’s literature, and the balance between entertainment and instruction.

In reference to the Narnia Chronicles, Lewis admits that while fantastic images came first, he quickly realised he could use his story to transmit ideas that were important to him (“Sometimes” 36), namely, his desire to educate readers about Christ. He recalls his own childhood reaction to religion:

Why did one find it so hard to feel as one was told one ought to feel about God or about the sufferings of Christ? I thought the chief reason was that one was told one ought to. An obligation to feel can freeze feelings. And reverence itself did harm. The whole subject was associated with lowered voices; almost as if it were something medical. (“Sometimes” 37)

Here Lewis observes that the traditional presentation of the Christian message could alienate young people instead of engaging them, and that the medium needs to sell the message. For Lewis, the fairy story provided an ideal form for the Christian message because it could “steal past” readers’ resistance to organised religion, to present the story of Christianity in its “real potency”. Lewis again refers to subterfuge: “Could one not thus steal past those watchful dragons?” (“Sometimes” 37).

Lewis’s idea of stealing past watchful dragons fits almost seamlessly into the theory of Trojan Horse mechanisms. The Christian message represents a set of ideologies that Lewis wants to transmit to child readers. He recognises that if he were to send this message directly, many readers would probably reject it because their familiarity with Christianity – like his own as a youth – would be coloured by negative associations. Therefore, the message must be packaged in a way that is more appealing, and reveals Christianity’s “potency”. In the repackaging, the Christian ideologies become concealed within a Trojan Horse mechanism. On the surface, though, the story is *just* a fairy story: a piece of make-believe for the entertainment of children. In fact, Lewis’s description of the fairy-tale form as being inflexibly hostile to analysis (“Sometimes” 36-7) suggests that he knew exactly how effective it could be to transmit hidden ideologies. Fairy tales deal in archetypes and naturalise ideologies; using the fairy-tale form, Lewis implies, means that Trojan Horse mechanisms inside the story will be similarly impervious to analysis.

These essays reveal two important aspects of Lewis’s purposes and philosophies in writing for children. The first is Lewis’s conscious ideological project: his desire to give child readers the message and experience of Christianity without mentioning the traditional religious associations. The second aspect concerns Lewis’s perception of the power relations between adults and children, and his own place in relation to children. Specifically, Lewis may have seen himself as “a freeman and an equal”, but even his essays reveal his underlying and unexamined hegemonic adult preconceptions.

Lewis himself has clearly articulated and explained the presence of Trojan Horse mechanisms in *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, and other critics have also acknowledged that the text reinforces a hegemonic status quo. For example, Joy Alexander and Kath Filmer have both noted that the construction of Aslan supports and

promotes benevolent adult power and guidance (Alexander 40; Filmer 19), while Mynott recognises the reproduction of power and authority in the way Aslan guides the children to maturity, as well as more generally in the narrator's relationship to readers (Mynott 43-45). Werner, Pinsent and Filmer all observe the transmission of hegemonic ideologies of gender carried under the fantasy story (Filmer 44, 105-06; Pinsent "Narnia" 11-13; Werner 20), while other critics have focused on the depictions and ideologies of Christianity in the text (J. R. Christopher; Rudd "Myth-Making"; Ruud; Wood).

My own analysis of concealed ideologies in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe draws on the themes arising in Lewis's thoughts about childhood and writing for children, as well as on the research into ideologies at work in Lewis's story. This analysis mainly concentrates on the ways in which Lewis's text uses ideologies to support hegemonic adult-child power relations. However, as a range of other ideologies influence the depicted relations between adults and children in the story, especially ideologies of Christianity, class, gender and (British) nationality, I will also consider how these additional ideologies work to shape implied child readers.

As I have noted already, Lewis's narrator shares many similarities with the narrator of Peter and Wendy, and yet another similarity between the two is that they both function to transmit hegemonic ideologies to implied child readers. The narrator of The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe shapes implied child readers' experiences of the story by providing a benevolent adult perspective, which naturalises an adult worldview and hegemonic relations. Mynott's analysis of Lewis's narrative supports this finding; he asserts that the narrator has an "informal, if patronising style", and "presents himself as the guide, the omniscient authority figure who will lead his child readers through the events of the story"; appearing a friend and confidante while actually establishing a teacher-pupil relationship (41-2). Naomi Wood's analysis of Lewis's narrator concurs: she finds that the voice has "the honeyed didacticism of a charismatic schoolmaster, an uncle, having the rhetorical edge over a stranger while not having the intimacy of a parent" (241). Mynott and Wood recognise both the hegemonic function of the narrator's voice as well as its child-friendly appearance, and this supports my hypothesis of the Trojan Horse mechanism. As the narrator is closest to being the authorial mouthpiece, so the friend and confidante pose may represent Lewis's attempt



to sit on the side of the child. Yet Lewis's ideological project and unexamined assumptions ensure that the relationship is never an equal one: Lewis has something to say in this "fairy story", and in terms of the Trojan Horse mechanism, the teacher-pupil relationship is both the medium and the message. Readers may be positioned to see the narrator as a friendly adult – perhaps "a freeman and an equal" (Lewis "On Three Ways" 34) – but the hailing naturalises a didactic hegemonic relationship, and thereby conditions child readers to accept adult guidance, while also teaching a range of lessons.

One seemingly simple lesson the narrator teaches relates to wardrobes, and like many aspects of this story, the lesson has several levels of meaning with attendant ideologies. When Lucy and, subsequently, Peter enter the magical wardrobe to Narnia, they both carefully leave the door open (Lewis The Lion 14, 52), while Edmund, in his journey, shuts it (The Lion 30). Each entry provides the narrator with opportunities to hammer home a lesson about not shutting wardrobe doors; the narrator makes his point five times, using the word "sensible" to describe children who leave the door open, and "foolish" and "silly" to describe those who do not. In this case, Lewis begins loading ideological freight with a version of the basic safety injunction to children, not to let themselves get shut in a wardrobe. This warning quickly becomes the basis for moral implications: good, sensible children like Lucy and Peter follow the rules and have excellent magical adventures, whereas foolish, silly children like Edmund ignore the rules and are punished. Implied child readers are thus interpellated by ideologies relating to an adult hegemony: that good children listen to and take heed of good advice, and that the difference between good and bad behaviour is not only defined according to adult principles, it is self-evident to all sensible children.

The text's portrayal of childhood also supports hegemonic adult-child relations. These are concealed beneath the realistically childlike attributes of the Pevensie children, the constructed similarity of experience to implied child readers and the themes of child-independence evident particularly in the early part of the story. Sometimes the hailing device itself supports a hegemonic function. For example, there is an age-based power dynamic within the family group, like real siblings, where the older children take on quasi-parental roles looking after the younger children, who are significantly less mature. This may be a textual device to appeal to both older and younger child readers, but on a deeper level it also begins to construct an apprenticeship model, streaming

readers into phases of childhood. Older readers, identifying with the older characters, are shown how to act responsibly and, to borrow Egoff's phrase, "in tandem with adulthood" (9), practising the duties they will take on as adults, while younger readers may respond to the playfulness of the younger child characters but are also conditioned to take guidance from those older than themselves.

Egoff suggests that the idea of children acting independently "within sensible restraint" was typical of the second golden age, and a trait that adults wanted children to have (9). This is evident in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe where these sensible restraints take the form of a controlled apprenticeship to adult power. This apprenticeship is carefully framed within the text. All the children are given the opportunity for some independent behaviour, as symbolised firstly by the lack of supervision in the Professor's house and secondly by their transit to Narnia, which acts as a kind of practice area for developing the skills of adulthood. Peter, Susan and Lucy provide the model for implied child readers to follow. Given a little independence, they naturally adhere to adult notions of good behaviour in ways typical to child characters of the second golden age: they are well-mannered, well-adjusted, curious and considerate (Egoff 9, 11).

In contrast, Edmund provides a cautionary lesson showing what happens to children who do not self-regulate their behaviour when given the independence to choose. From the first chapter, Edmund is noticeably different to his siblings, laughing at the Professor's appearance, challenging his older sister's attempts at care and complaining of the weather. Edmund is the only one of the children to exhibit markedly independent behaviour: he uses his free will to join the side of the White Witch, give in to his baser instincts and betray his siblings. The text is quick to judge Edmund's behaviour harshly: for most of the story, it describes Edmund with adjectives like "Traacherous" (The Lion 80), "spiteful" (The Lion 29), "foolish" (The Lion 30) and "beastly" (The Lion 45); these descriptions shape implied readers' perceptions of Edmund. The other children, who choose to behave well and also to seek benevolent adult guidance, face far fewer dangers than Edmund and are rewarded on many levels, not least materially, as they receive Christmas presents and Edmund does not (The Lion 98-101). According to the text then, children who take advantage of an opportunity for independence without adhering to adult standards of good behaviour are bad children. Because they are bad,

they will make bad decisions, which will lead to awful consequences, like those that face Edmund, who suffers deprivation, torture and the threat of death.

At the same time, Edmund is a focalising character, and so readers see some events from his perspective (Nikolajeva Rhetoric 79). This positions readers to identify with him, although not necessarily to empathise with him. Moreover, while the text presents true evil in the forms of winter and the White Witch, Edmund is bad in ways children can clearly understand. In fact, it is likely that either child readers have seen this bad behaviour in other children, or they may have acted or wanted to act like Edmund. Thus while with Peter, Susan and Lucy, child readers experience good behaviour and its positive consequences first hand, with Edmund, they experience bad behaviour and its repercussions, and the text defines both types according to adult principles.

The portrayal of the children not only constructs an apprenticeship within the hegemonic system, it also carries additional ideologies about gender roles. In The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, the oldest boy Peter is stereotypically masculine and even patriarchal; his dialogue in the first chapter asserts his authority and control over his younger siblings as he confidently assesses their situation and organises their activities. Meanwhile, Susan, the oldest girl, “talk[s] like Mother” and also acts in a motherly ways as she sends the younger children to bed (The Lion 10). The gender roles that Peter and Susan adhere to are almost identical to those portrayed in Baum’s, Barrie’s and Blyton’s work, suggesting that perceptions of gender roles and appropriate gendered behaviour for children were stable over this fifty-year period. Dorothy, Wendy, Mollie and Susan concern themselves mainly with domestic affairs and are preparing to be good wives and mothers, while the three Peters – Peter Pan, Blyton’s Peter with no surname, and Peter Pevensie – are more concerned with the public world, travelling to new places, having adventures, and vanquishing dastardly foes.

The text may show the children in situations outside adult control and supervision, but often the good children seek out adult guidance of their own free will, and this construction naturalises hegemonic adult-child relations. The children’s relationship with the Professor provides an excellent example of this. After Edmund and Lucy have both been to Narnia, Susan and Peter become concerned for Lucy’s mental health, given her unprovable claim to have been in a magical place. Because they feel the issue is

“getting beyond” them (*The Lion* 46), the two older children turn to the Professor for guidance. The text constructs this episode in such a transparent and commonsensical manner that readers are not inclined to wonder why the children cannot think up a solution to this problem themselves. The Professor’s response to the children forms a hailing device, as I have discussed, which distances him from adult authority figures like teachers; this conceals his role as an authority and a source of superior wisdom – demonstrated by Peter and Susan’s attitude – and thus naturalises hegemonic relations.

The Professor does not go to Narnia, and reappears only at the very end of the story when the children tell him all about their adventures.<sup>8</sup> This strongly contrasts against *The Wishing-Chair*, where Mollie and Peter keep the secret of Fairyland and the wishing-chair from their mother in a manner echoing the secretive nature of children’s culture. Lewis’s text does not attempt to evoke this aspect of children’s culture or use the adventure in Narnia as a locus of child power in the sense that the children derive no power or satisfaction from keeping their knowledge about the magical world to themselves. Instead, they willingly share all they know with the Professor, and the text shows this trust is rewarded when the Professor takes their story seriously: “And the Professor, who was a very remarkable man, didn’t tell them not to be silly or not to tell lies, but believed the whole story” (*The Lion* 170). Here the adjective “remarkable” implies that the Professor is different from other adults, and the note that he “didn’t tell them not to be silly or not to tell lies” signals that this is what normal adults would have done. However, I suggest that the Professor’s appearance at the beginning and end of the adventure, together with his benevolent attitude to the children and their tale, symbolically sets the children’s actions within a larger framework of adult guidance and support. This role is obscured by the hailing device which portrays the Professor as an adult on the side of the children, and the effect of this concealment is to encourage child readers to adopt similarly open relations with benevolent adult authority figures in their lives, and to see adult guidance in a positive light.

Perhaps the most important ideological function of Narnia is as a space for apprenticeship, where the children develop the skills and knowledge necessary to

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<sup>8</sup> This is not strictly true: in *The Magician’s Nephew* (1955), the Professor is revealed to be Digory, who, as a child, attended the creation of Narnia (Lewis *The Magician’s Nephew* 170-71); however, as this book was published five years after *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, I have taken this fact to be retrospective.

become future leaders within an adult hegemonic system, itself framed within a middle-class, British and masculine perspective. This apprenticeship to leadership may respond to the changing social, economic and political scene in Britain after the Second World War (Harrison 14; Robbins 214-15), thus creating future leaders who could move the nation forward. It may also be a middle-class response to the rise of Labour in the post-war era: at this time middle-class writers and artists focused on traditional masculine heroes of the old public-school variety as an antidote to contemporary working-class power (Paris 300). As I will demonstrate, the apprenticeship modelled in Lewis's text has a distinctly middle-class flavour.

Lewis sets up the apprenticeship by means of prophecy. As Mr. Beaver relates: "down at Cair Paravel there are four thrones and it's a saying in Narnia time out of mind that when two Sons of Adam and two Daughters of Eve sit in those four thrones, then it will be the end not only of the White Witch's reign but of her life" (Lewis The Lion 77). The inevitability of the children's future leadership is one indicator of ideologies at work. Naomi Wood argues that the children's destiny is framed within a larger Judeo-Christian ideology of obedience, in that "the narrative encourages conformity to a predetermined pattern" and thus the children "choose (or fail) to obey—to become part of the overarching grand narrative that the Emperor Beyond the Sea has written" (254).

I concur with Wood that obedience and conformity to an extant system of power and authority is at the core of the children's destiny, and that the text transmits this worldview to implied child readers; however, I suggest that adult and class-based ideologies are also at work, in addition to the Augustinian motif. Firstly, the notion that the human children are naturally destined for leadership conforms to and reproduces a middle- and upper-class view of a natural leadership and natural proletariat, also arguably tied to notions of imperialism. After all, the Emperor Beyond the Sea has not created the Cair Paravel thrones for native Narnian bottoms so the narrative assumes that benevolent foreign leaders will take the helm. Secondly, the concept of obedience also works within an adult hegemonic worldview: just as the child characters are positioned to accept the prophecy and laws of Aslan and the Emperor Beyond the Sea, implied child readers are conditioned to see such obedience to a hegemonic system as normal and natural. Finally, in order to take those thrones, the Pevensies must play their part in helping to defeat the White Witch, and the skills and values they learn are

essential to their future roles as kings and queens. This forms an apprenticeship to future power within a middle-class, masculine and adult hegemony, and both the child characters and implied child readers are thus assisted to develop specific skills and values needed for future leadership.

The required skills and values are indicated by the presents that Peter, Susan and Lucy receive from Father Christmas, which emphasise the duties of leadership: weapons for defence and protection, a horn to call for aid and a healing potion. Ideologies of gender are also clearly implicated in these gifts, which have ramifications for the kinds of leadership roles envisioned for boys and girls. In keeping with the traditional social values prevalent in the post-war era, Peter's sword and shield are meant for war while Susan's and Lucy's gifts are mainly for communication (calling for help) and healing. The two girls also receive weapons, and Lucy even feels "brave enough" to use her dagger in need, but Father Christmas is adamant: their weapons are only to be used in "great need" and for defence, not for warfare because "battles are ugly when women fight" (Lewis *The Lion* 100-01). Thus it is clear that in post-war England or on a Narnian battlefield, women's roles largely conform to the nurturing, passive and even domestic ideal, and by the children's natural acceptance of these roles, the text attempts to interpellate implied readers into this worldview as well.

Peter observes that their gifts are "very serious kind[s] of present[s]" (*The Lion* 100), which implies that according to the text's definition, leadership is a very serious business, a matter of duty and responsibility. Interestingly, the text emphasises that the tools for leadership have been scaled to the child apprentices: Peter's gifts are "just the right size and weight for Peter to use" (*The Lion* 100), while Susan has a "little ivory horn" and Lucy a "little bottle" and a "small dagger" (*The Lion* 100; my emphasis). In the subsequent fight for Narnia, the children practise their leadership skills. Peter "win[s] his spurs" by battling a wolf, and although he "did not feel very brave", it "made no difference to what he had to do" (*The Lion* 120-21). This demonstrates to implied child readers that the responsibility that comes with adult power and leadership is more important than one's personal feelings. Lucy also learns a lesson in responsibility: the healing cordial saves the lives of others, but when she ceases to minister to the wounded in order to stay by her brother's side, Aslan rebukes her, and she realises she is responsible for many people, not just her family (*The Lion* 163).

Aslan, the rightful king of Narnia, plays a vital role in the children's apprenticeships as leaders; it is he who guides their moral development, while also looking after them and protecting them, even when it costs him his life. Although Aslan rarely says much – he speaks only 922 words in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe (Alexander 38) – his utterances are critical, as their content contributes to the transmission of ideologies. Other critics have also noted the ideological importance of Aslan's speech: Joy Alexander observes that Aslan's speech defines reality and apportions praise and blame (40), and Kath Filmer notes that Aslan "makes demands and judgements, he chides, reproves and rewards" (19). Thus Aslan acts as the ultimate moral guide and arbiter: "he teaches the children to be brave, wise and just, and leaves only, when as kings and queens (adults), they have learned everything he has to teach and are ready to pass on his lessons to others" (Mynott 45).

As the children's adventures in Narnia progress, they learn the lessons Aslan teaches, not least of which is the emphasis on duty and responsibility that comes as part of adult leadership. This lesson is communicated not only through the children's actions, but through Aslan's as well, especially when Aslan gives up his life to save Edmund. Once the children are crowned, Aslan tells them to "Bear it well" (The Lion 165), and indeed they do. As the narrator tells it, the characters "governed Narnia well", and "made good laws and kept the peace" (The Lion 166); however, when the adult kings and queens return through the wardrobe they become children once more. This indicates that the whole experience in Narnia provides an apprenticeship to learn the skills for future leadership *in the real world*, and implied child readers learn these lessons as well. Yet this return home also reinforces children's subordinate position within the adult hegemony as the characters are returned to their childhood bodies and childlike subjectivities.

As well as socialising implied child readers within an adult and middle-class worldview, Lewis's text also transmits Christian ideologies by giving implied child readers a religious experience, its true import obscured by its fantasy setting. This relates to Lewis's conscious ideological project: as I have already discussed, Lewis wished to bypass young readers' possible resistance to religion in order to relate the "real potency" of Christianity ("Sometimes" 37), and uses the alternate world of Narnia to

achieve this aim. Many critics have discussed the various nuances and implications of the Christian message being set in an alternate world (see for example, Christopher; Rudd; Ruud), but I will focus on the content and style of Christian messages Aslan's construction transmits to child readers.

Lewis maintained that the Narnia Chronicles do not function as a Christian allegory just as Aslan is not a simple representation of Jesus, but the Son of God in a different world (Hooper 425). Even so, Aslan's role in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe does parallel Jesus' behaviour in the Gospels, particularly when he sacrifices his own life to save the sinner, Edmund. This episode, together with the resurrection of Aslan the next morning, closely resembles Gospel accounts of Christ's Passion, Sacrifice and Resurrection. This has an ideological effect: implied child readers learn a key part of the Christian Gospel story by reading The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe. I suggest that this may attempt to create a familiarity with the Gospel story even in readers who may not be Christian, should a formal introduction to Christianity occur later, the Gospel story may already feel known or natural.

Lewis's text does not only teach the content of the Gospel story but also the appropriate emotional responses to the divine, which are demonstrated by focalising the child characters' experiences as well as by the use of sensory imagery. An example occurs in Aslan's sacrifice to redeem Edmund from his sins, which has clear parallels with the death and resurrection of Jesus (Horne, cited in Patterson 36). Here, Lewis's text presents the emotional experience at the heart of Jesus' death and resurrection in a fictional world, using Lucy and Susan to show implied child readers how to respond properly to these defining religious events. Throughout Aslan's ordeal, the text relates the emotions the two girls experience: sorrow and dread in the moments before his capture, horror and outrage at his shaming, and finally, great joy at his resurrection. The text reinforces the feeling of joy at the close of this emotional journey with a device common to children's culture – a playful game:

“Oh, children,” said the Lion, “I feel my strength coming back to me. Oh, children, catch me if you can!” ... Laughing, though she didn't know why, Lucy scrambled over it [the Table] to reach him. Aslan leapt again. A mad chase began ... all three of them rolled over together in a happy laughing heap of fur and arms and legs. It was such a romp as no one has ever had except in Narnia. (The Lion 148-9)



This scene shows one of Lewis's most successful attempts at a concealed ideology. The children's game operates as hailing device that translates an unfamiliar type of joy – the joy of the Christian resurrection – to a very familiar one: the pleasure in a wild game of Tag. By accepting the familiar artefact on the surface, children are shown how to respond to this significant religious event.

Aslan's goodness, in Christian terms, is set against the text's definition of evil, as embodied in the White Witch, and here ideologies of gender complicate the Christian lesson, ideologies which may emerge from Lewis's unexamined assumptions. The witch represents the second half of a major binary opposition, where masculinity is aligned with Good, and certain types of femininity are aligned with Evil. Here, the White Witch's role is contrasted against the good female characters, Susan, Lucy, and even Mrs. Beaver, all of whom have domestic and nurturing roles. The witch is unlike these characters: she is active, warlike, non-nurturing, and she requires no masculine protector; she is the antithesis of the feminine and domestic ideal of the post-war era, so the alignment of her role with cosmic evil reinforces the traditional ideologies of gender at work in the text. Moreover, the archetypal division between good and evil is a common feature of Christian theology, but also of the fairytale genre, and as Lewis himself noted, this literary genre is hostile to analysis ("On Three Ways" 36-7). The fairytale style of The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe functions as a surface hailing device so that children are positioned to accept the forms that good and evil assume without question. Thus, by interpellating children into a Christian worldview, the text's deeper layers also carry additional ideologies of gender in the alignment of masculinity with good and non-traditional feminine roles with evil.

The portrayal of food and eating is the final aspect of the text I will examine in terms of its transmission of hegemonic ideologies, and here I will return to Lucy's and Edmund's first meals in Narnia. The depiction of these meals reveals another point in the text where a lesson in Christianity is complicated by additional ideologies, this time relating to nationality and cultural identities. As I have discussed, the physical pleasures of food operate as hailing devices for child readers. Like many other children's authors including Enid Blyton, when Lewis treats food and eating, he appeals to a child's tastes and appetites, but as Lynne Vallone argues, the appearance, taste and context of food in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe communicate a moral vision (Vallone 51), or, in

this study's terms, transmit ideology. Carolyn Daniel's research into the functions of food in children's literature also supports this study's hypothesis especially as it relates to the use of food. She finds that the portrayal of food can both carry and conceal hegemonic socialisation aimed at implied child readers:

The feasting fantasy in children's literature is a particularly good vehicle for carrying culture's socializing messages: it acts to seduce readers; through mimesis it "naturalizes" the lesson being taught; and, through the visceral pleasures (sometimes even *jouissance*) it produces, it "sweetens" the discourse and encourages unreflexive acceptance of the moral thus delivered.... The feasting fantasy ... stimulat[es] and fulfil[s] the readers' sensuous and emotional desires and, vicariously, their appetites. As the child inside the book enjoys the feast, the child outside the book is firmly secured and subjected to the text's inherent ideologies. In this respect the food trope has tremendous persuasive power. (4)

Nancy-Lou Patterson argues that Lewis was aware of the significance of food for the Christian faith, and considered all food to be potentially a sacrament (28-30). The fact that Lucy and Mr. Tumnus form a bond by sharing wholesome food also implies this. The episode echoes the ritual of the Eucharist, where Christians share bread and wine as a symbol of their bond with Christ and with their fellow believers. Thus Lewis fulfils his conscious ideological project: he gives readers a sensory and emotional experience of the Eucharist, without overtly relating it to religion. I suggest this meal also operates on another level, using cultural associations to promote nationalist ideologies, specifically, the idea of Britishness. Lucy's meal is a stereotypical, middle-class, British tea, which, because it appears in fantastic Narnia, promotes the British norm as the epitome of this magical world; it thus also promotes Britishness as the most wholesome pinnacle of culture.

Edmund's first meal in Narnia – the infamous Turkish Delight incident – is far from wholesome, and just like Lucy's tea, it forms a vehicle for the transmission of ideology. In an example which demonstrates Carolyn Daniel's argument, even as the text makes readers' mouths water over Edmund's feast, it positions them to accept religious constructions of sin, complete with accompanying feelings of corruption and guilt. The text signals the food's evil origin by showing that it is given by a scary, dangerous woman and that it has not been made naturally. The first part of this may relate to injunctions against accepting sweets from strangers (Filmer 109), and the second part may echo the old superstition that magical food can curse and enthrall those who eat it.

Mary Werner suggests that Lewis probably read Christina Rossetti's poem, "The Goblin Market" (1862), in which a young girl is enthralled by eating goblin fruits, and sickens from their corruption, as both Rossetti's and Lewis's texts equate food with sensual pleasure and sin (Werner 18). I therefore suggest that the text wants child readers to enjoy the sensual pleasure of the Turkish Delight even as they know the food is bad. This is the nature of sin as the text defines it: to do, or to desire to do, something one knows is wrong or evil.

The contrast with Lucy's meal heightens this sense of evil. Lucy's meal has plain flavours but encompasses a wide range of foods. Edmund's meal has intense, sugary flavours but no variety. Lucy's meal satisfies, but Edmund's meal leaves him sick and unsatisfied, and later he betrays his siblings for the chance to taste the Turkish Delight again. Lucy's meal is sacramental; Edmund's meal also creates a bond, but if this is a sacrament it is a perverted one, as the food enthralls him and enslaves him to the White Witch's will.

The Turkish Delight is not simply good food given by evil hands: its appeal lies in its dark, guilty, sensual pleasures, its rich, exotic and emphatically un-British flavours and its improbable, magical origin. The underlying religious message is clearly that sin is dangerous because it is so tempting and seems so sweet. And although the text manipulates implied readers to feel that temptation, there is at the same time the subtle implication that Lucy and other "good" children would and could resist it. Thus, the text prompts readers to feel the appeal of this food and through this the temptation of sin, but does not allow readers to enjoy the experience; instead, it positions implied readers to feel guilty by emphasising the bad results of Edmund's fall.

Finally, in addition to the religious significance, the contrast between the good, wholesome British food in Lucy's meal and the evil, unwholesome, dangerous and non-British Turkish Delight promotes nationalist ideologies as well as a suspicion of foreign cultures in what may be understood as a form of alimentary racism (Daniel 15-16). It is possible that a variety of contextual factors may have influenced Lewis's depiction of these cultural ideologies, including the menace posed by foreign nations during the Second World War (and also the First World War, in which Lewis himself fought), the prevalence of political propaganda, an increased sense of national pride in the wake of

wartime adversity, the decline of empire and the questioning of national identity in the post-war era. Here these ideologies of culture and nationalism are concealed by the fantasy setting and the childlike enjoyment of food and given added import by the Christian notions of Good and Evil, interpellating child readers within a contemporary British worldview.

### **Summary of concealment strategies**

In this text, more than in any of the earlier texts, the strategies by which Lewis's ideologies are concealed are notably complex and subtle, with the hailing devices interacting with and concealing a variety of ideological messages. This is especially true of Lewis's conscious ideological project: his attempt to "steal past watchful dragons" to give young readers an experience of Christianity in its full potency. Lewis's deliberate use of the fantasy story and alternate world setting to conceal his religious lesson is perhaps the most obvious example of a concealment strategy, and this is supported by Lewis's own argument that the fairy-tale form is hostile to analysis ("Sometimes" 36-7).

The use of child-friendly, easy-to-understand language in the most important parts of the text, such as Aslan's speech, works to ensure that child readers connect with the key ideas, concepts and characters, while focalisation on the child characters and sensory imagery translate new, complex or unfamiliar experiences in ways that children can understand, but at the same time, conceals the ideologies inherent in those experiences. The story's focus on food is a particularly useful strategy for concealing a complex freight of religious, moral and nationalist ideologies in an attractive and tasty package.

Signs of childness in the characters also act as concealment strategies; for example, the realistic portrayal of the Pevensies' interactions, their enjoyment of games and their sibling bonds, together with their evident desire for freedom from adult supervision work to persuade implied child readers that these characters are just like they are. The dynamic between the primary and secondary worlds supports this concealment strategy in a manner similar to previous texts: by leaving the real world and its rules behind, it appears that the children have entered a child-aligned space, especially as there are so few obvious adults in Narnia. This, however, conceals the fact that the children operate

within a larger framework of benevolent adult guidance and indeed that they willingly seek guidance and are obedient to prophecy and law.

Adult influences are similarly camouflaged. Perhaps the most important authority figure in the story – Aslan – appears as a lion, not a human. The wise old professor is absent for much of the story, and this draws attention away from the way his appearance at the start and end of the tale frames the children’s actions within adult guidance. The narrator too, is an adult, and subtly shapes readers’ perceptions of events according to an adult worldview but he maintains an avuncular, non-authoritarian attitude even to the point of distancing himself from “the grown-ups” who would prevent him from scaring his readers (*The Lion* 138). Finally, the fact that the children’s actions in Narnia appear simply as exciting and fantastic adventures conceals their import as educational experiences designed to teach the kinds of values and skills required for leadership in a real-world context, while the use of prophecy, destiny and anticipated (more than actual) presence of Aslan draws attention away from the strictly controlled nature of that apprenticeship to future adult power.

## **Conclusion**

In *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, all three elements of a Trojan Horse mechanism are obvious within the structure of the story, and Lewis’s own reflections on the process of writing for children and writing the *Narnia Chronicles* demonstrates that he intended these elements to appear for the specific purpose of transferring ideology to implied child readers, at least in so far as his ideologies of Christianity are concerned. His intent to teach children about the message of Christianity without the “stained glass and Sunday school associations” works clearly throughout the text. Lewis’s comment about the watchful dragons indicates a working knowledge of the process and success of consciously producing what I call Trojan Horse mechanisms, as hailing devices, ideologies and concealment strategies appear constantly whenever religious lessons occur in the story. Commonly, Lewis uses the child characters as focalisers, and prompts readers to understand and feel the emotions associated with various lessons or experiences that have a specific religious connotation in the real world. But of course,

instead of admitting the religious aspect, the text carries on with the outward appearance of a fantasy story.

However, this chapter has also identified hailing devices and concealment strategies which either have relatively little to do with transmitting an experience of Christianity in its full potency, or else work to conceal additional ideologies. These additional ideologies include ideologies of gender, class and culture which relate to the socio-historical context within which Lewis was writing, and more importantly for this study, ideologies which support an adult hegemony. It would seem, therefore, that Lewis is less successful in pursuing his other theoretical arguments, centred on his understanding of adult-child power relations, and his own position regarding his child readers. His essays indicate that he considers himself on the side of the child – “a freeman and an equal” – but the analysis here shows he is unable to stand outside his subject position as an English, white, adult male of the early-to-mid twentieth century, and thus his views of childhood (as well as gender, class and culture) are coloured by his unexamined assumptions. In The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, as in the earlier texts of this study, the concealed ideologies support and normalise the hegemonic status quo. They also position child readers to take up a strictly-controlled apprenticeship to future adult leadership while naturalising their subordinate position within the adult hegemony. These hegemonic ideologies are carried beneath hailing devices consisting of focalisation on the child characters, realistic portrayals of children’s behaviour and sibling interactions, and expressions of children’s culture’s ideologies.

Although many features resemble those in Baum’s, Barrie’s and Blyton’s stories, The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe stands out for several reasons. The direction of narrative address is stable, and many of the hailing devices and concealment strategies are subtle and understated. The text’s use of sensory imagery to translate complex concepts and experiences into terms easily understandable by children is one particularly sophisticated aspect of this, and the story’s continued resonance with generations of readers suggests that these hailing devices may be successful. Lewis’s text also overtly attempts a larger ideological project than the earlier texts.

Equally important for this study, The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe provides a unique opportunity to evaluate the author’s product in light of his explicitly stated

theories of writing for children and his admission that ideologies are to be transmitted by stealth. Specifically, Lewis is the first author in the study to admit using layered ideologies to teach readers particular lessons, in this case, in relation to Christianity. Finally, this text steals past watchful dragons not only to teach readers about religion, but also to inculcate in them an acceptance of a particularly British and masculine adult hegemonic worldview and to create future leaders within this system, although it remains unclear to what degree this was intentional.

## Chapter Five

### **More than a Golden Ticket: Humour and Ideology in Charlie and the Chocolate Factory (1964)**

Roald Dahl's Charlie and the Chocolate Factory (hereafter referred to as Charlie) (1964) has been one of the most popular books for English-speaking children since its original publication. This text, Dahl's third children's book after The Gremlins (1943) and James and the Giant Peach (1961), falls within the second golden age of children's literature (Hollindale and Sutherland 256; P. Hunt "Children's Literature and Childhood" 65). Yet Charlie differs significantly from the sort of children's fantasy story C.S. Lewis tells in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe fourteen years earlier, particularly, this analysis will demonstrate, because of the innovative ways that Dahl's text engages and interpellates its implied child readership.

Charlie tells the story of Charlie Bucket, a young boy from an impoverished family who lives near Willy Wonka's famous yet mysterious chocolate factory. When Wonka decides to allow five children to visit his factory, he places five golden tickets inside his chocolate bar wrappers, and Charlie is one of the five children to win. When the tour commences, the children suddenly find themselves in a fantastic place, filled with exciting machines, impossible foods and exotic characters, including the Oompa-Loompas: a tribe of fantastic, pygmy-like creatures who comprise Wonka's workforce. Yet one by one, the children suffer disasters as a result of their character flaws until only Charlie is left. Wonka reveals that the prize for being the best child is to inherit the chocolate factory, and as a result, Charlie is able to save his family from poverty and starvation.

Children's responses to Dahl's stories in general, and Charlie in particular, have been wildly enthusiastic. It is no small testament to Dahl's success as a writer that Charlie remains in print over forty years after its original publication and has sparked two major film adaptations (Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory 1971, and Charlie and the Chocolate Factory 2005) as well as a popular line of candy and chocolate products ("Wonka", a Nestlé line). Perhaps more significantly, later generations of children's



writers have embraced the child-oriented style of humour that Dahl made popular; more recent exponents of this style include Andy Griffiths, Dav Pilkey and Morris Gleitzman. Some of their books, such as The Adventures of Captain Underpants (1997), Bumface (1998) and The Day My Bum Went Psycho (2001), are awash with tall tales, disgusting characters, embarrassing situations and toilet humour reminiscent of Charlie and Roald Dahl's other children's fiction.

More than the previous texts in this study, Dahl's use of child-aligned hailing devices in Charlie evokes and even amplifies the political and resistant counter-hegemonic consciousness of childhood. Dahl's hailing devices, especially his use of fantasy feasting and childlike humour conceal a strongly hegemonic perspective on adult-child relations which naturalises ideas of child obedience and a strict morality as well as notions of good adulthood and proper parenting. The text's hegemonic interpellation extends to other ideologies, including ideologies of nationalism, class and race, which also act to shape implied child readers' worldviews, especially in the text's conflation of childhood with an idealised "Other" and the naturalisation of exploitative modes of capitalist production.

### **Socio-historical context**

Charlie was published at a time of political and social uncertainty and change in Britain, due in part to the legacy of the Second World War and the decline of empire. The situation was summed up famously by Dean Acheson, a former United States Secretary of State, who announced in 1962 that "Great Britain has lost an empire and has not yet found a role" (Harrison xvii; Thompson 205). The impact on national identity, I suggest, may also have influenced social perceptions of childhood, especially in terms of the kinds of future roles adults should be preparing children for, and arguably a growth in educational testing in Britain during this era may have been a response to this uncertain future (Stearns Childhood 94).

One of the lingering effects of British imperialism was a surge in immigration by former colonials in the 1950s and 1960s, especially from nations like Pakistan and the West Indies (Porter 357). This led to an increase in racial tensions, evident in events

such as the Notting Hill race riots in 1958 (Bradford 201; Robbins 286; Storry and Childs 16); themes of immigration and race were also reflected in children's literature including Charlie, as I will discuss. Class remained a strong feature of the social landscape in the 1950s and 1960s and a key determinant of power, wealth, life-chances and lifestyle; however, there was little evidence of open class conflict during this time (Marwick 159). Nevertheless, Brian Harrison finds that the "middle classes went from strength to strength", becoming influential in the arts, culture, education and public life (20). As this study has already demonstrated, middle-class perspectives were often naturalised in British children's literature in the first half of the twentieth century, and Dahl's story adheres to and extends this trend. Economic conditions continued to improve from the immediate post-war baseline: austerity measures such as rationing came to an end by the mid-1950s, new housing projects expanded and households were more likely than ever before to have labour-saving domestic appliances like washing-machines and refrigerators (BBC News, no pagination; Hendrick 84; Marwick 110-12).

There were also changes in the family and domestic life in the 1960s, many of which are reflected in Dahl's story. For example, many women took up work outside the home and, together with the effective end to domestic service for most Britons, this meant that the "latch-key child" became a common phenomenon in Britain in this time (Harrison 225; Marwick 111-12; Stearns Childhood 94; Thom 273). The quality of relations between parents and children during the era was characterised by greater warmth, companionship and free speech within the family; physical punishment gave ground to an ethos of "guidance and understanding", and parents were more inclined to put their children first and want to give them the best that they could (Hendrick 32; Marwick 68). Children did progressively less housework and household chores as the century progressed, which caused some confusion and role issues within families and within the larger society (Stearns Childhood 98). This also increased the gap between childhood and adulthood as children took an ever less economically useful role (Childhood 98).

Some parental anxieties declined: for example, parents became less concerned about instilling manners and maintaining respectability, although in general the family still functioned as an ISA transmitting "Social assumptions, moral attitudes, and everyday behaviour" (Marwick 61; Stearns Childhood 93). Approaches to parenting became more relaxed and less structured generally, reflecting the influence of Benjamin Spock's

hugely successful Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care (1946) (Hendrick 31). Psychiatric analyses like those of Michael Rutter in the 1950s also influenced popular perceptions of child-rearing, shifting the emphasis from socialisation within the home to a recognition that the socialisation of a child occurs in the child's interactions with the wider world (Thom 270). Additionally the rise of the self-esteem movement in the United States began to influence language and policy in Britain, resulting in a growing perception that parents, teachers and institutions needed to assist children to develop their self-confidence and self-esteem (Stearns Childhood 100).

Some social anxieties relating to the family, childhood and children increased in the 1950s and 1960s, and perhaps the most significant of these was a concern about consumerism and its impact on children's lives (H. Cunningham 188; Stearns Childhood 93). While the British family, had traditionally been important as an economic unit, from the 1950s it increasingly derived its significance as a centre of consumption, and this was a trend evident across all social sectors in affluent Western nations (Stearns Childhood 105). In many ways, the rise of consumerism in Britain influenced, and was influenced by, the new television medium reaching into homes. By 1961, 75% of families owned a television (Marwick 117), and programming included content specifically designed for children, especially in the Children's Hour slot from 5-6pm (R. Cox 184; Harrison 260). Yet there were many concerns about the detrimental effects increasing media exposure would have on children and these debates still occur today (Stearns Childhood 105). Even children's literature was influenced: Peter Hollindale and Zena Sutherland contend that literature for children seemed more valuable during this era precisely because of the perceived threat posed by other media like television (259-60).

Advertising in popular media like television targeted wives and children – consumers who were not usually the principal wage-earners (Marwick 63). Peter Stearns observes that “Having and wanting things became a central part of a child's life” as produced by this advertising and by the creation of product lines and contexts of consumption designed purely for child consumers (Stearns Childhood 105). The new construction of children as consumers engendered issues of authority and control, especially as children often had their own spending money and direct access to goods, and additionally led to problems of over-indulgence, such as child-obesity (Stearns Childhood 105-07). As I

will demonstrate, many of these concerns about the impact on childhood of consumerism, television and advertising are reflected in Charlie, particularly in the transmitted lessons for implied child readers, as the text seeks to shape its audience in response to these social changes and tensions.

### **Hailing devices**

Much like Enid Blyton, Dahl's works for children, including Charlie, have maintained an enormous popularity with child readers while coming under attack from critics, and I contend that, as in Blyton's situation, both the popularity and criticism of Dahl's writing may relate, at least in part, to his use of hailing devices. As I will demonstrate, Charlie is perhaps the richest text in this study in terms of its use of child-aligned hailing devices, especially hailing devices, such as humour, emerging from children's culture and evoking ideologies of a counter-hegemonic consciousness. Yet it is precisely Dahl's ability to draw on children's humour, including toilet humour and carnivalesque parodies, that earned Charlie a scathing review in a 1972 essay by children's literature critic and author Eleanor Cameron, who labelled it "one of the most tasteless books ever written for children" targeting, among other things, the text's "phony humour" and "sadism" ("McLuhan, Youth, and Literature: Part I" no pagination).

Cameron's essay caused a ruckus in the pages of The Horn Book Magazine, prompting a response from Dahl as well as a large number of reader responses in 1972 and 1973. The ten letters to the editor on this topic published in The Horn Book's "Virtual History Exhibit" reveal a range of opinions, some strongly supporting Cameron's evaluation, others just as determinedly refuting it. Support for Charlie appeared strongest among those actually working with children, and some cited children's own overwhelmingly positive opinions about the story. The controversy surrounding Charlie in this context appears to be a recognition and response to the strong child-directed hailing devices at work in the story. This is understandable given the confrontational and counter-hegemonic position the hailing devices evoke, with their stridently anti-adult jokes and mischief.

Much more recently, Christine Hall and Martin Coles have considered the elements of Dahl's fiction which appeal to child readers in order to explain the enduring popularity of Dahl's fiction with children in critical terms. They assert that "something in these [Dahl's] books 'connects' with children, making large numbers want to read them and individuals want to read large numbers of them" (50). They suggest that these connections are created by a simplistic prose style, fast-paced plots, regular climactic moments leading to the eventual major climax, and a narrative voice which is like "a friendly adult in close contact with the child reader" (52). But more important, they argue, is Dahl's ability to create "an exciting child-centred world" that deliberately excludes adult culture (53). I suggest the features Hall and Coles identify are hailing devices, many of which are evident in Charlie, and their emphasis on the portrayal of a "child-centred world", the exclusion of "adult culture" and "friendly" relations between the narrator and implied reader supports my hypothesis that counter-hegemonic elements can be powerful hailing devices.

While hailing devices are evident throughout Dahl's story, there are several aspects of the text where they are most noticeable. Perhaps the most obvious hailing device is the use of food, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, is strongly appealing to child readers. In Dahl's text, the title immediately indicates that this is not merely a story about food but that most delectable of sweet treats – chocolate – and an entire factory devoted to its production. The depiction of food in Charlie is about feasting with the connotations of gluttony and over-abundance. As Carolyn Daniel has observed, this was a particularly alluring hailing device for children in Britain, where lingering Victorian moralities and wartime rationing had meant that many children rarely had an abundance of food, especially sweet or luxurious food (70-71). Thus, she argues, fictional feasting provides both tactile pleasure and emotional satisfaction (72-74); I therefore suggest that Dahl's use of chocolate and sweets is similar to Lewis's own use of sensory imagery.

The social context of Dahl's story gives an added dimension to the power of using sweets as a hailing device. Firstly, as Dahl recounts in his autobiographical story Boy: Tales of Childhood, while in school, he and his peers acted as market research volunteers and tasters for Cadbury's Chocolate, an experience which inspired the original idea for Charlie (Dahl Boy 147-49). Secondly, the end of wartime sweet

rationing in 1953 would have been a momentous event in recent history at the time of Charlie's publication. News reports at the time tell of national celebrations, and Britons young and old participating in a "sugar frenzy", with some sweet manufacturers giving free treats to schoolchildren (evidently understanding their market), and spending on sweets leapt by £100 million in the first twelve months (BBC News; no pagination). Both these events highlight children's affinity for sweet treats generally and demonstrate a socio-historical link between childhood and sugary indulgence.

The beginning of the story is another site of hailing devices, where the text provides a hook to assist young readers to understand and immerse themselves in the story. In the 1995 edition illustrated by Quentin Blake, the first chapter begins in the manner of a picture book in which the narrator speaks directly to readers introducing them to the Bucket family, and small amounts of text complement the large pictures of each character. The picture book style and simplistic prose provide an easy entrée for young readers, in a manner similar to the simplicity of Aslan's speech in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe. This is probably a deliberate ploy because after the first four pages, there are steadily fewer pictures, the prose becomes more sophisticated and there is greater conceptual complexity.<sup>9</sup>

Hailing devices are also evident in the construction of the narrator's voice, following the trend evident in Peter and Wendy and The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe. From the opening page, the text uses surface hailing devices to establish a familiar, partisan relationship between the narrator and implied child readers, which is then maintained throughout the rest of the story. Some aspects of Dahl's narrator resemble those in Peter and Wendy and The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe: Dahl's narrator is idiosyncratic and almost a character himself, he actively controls readers' experiences of the story, he provides his own judgements on the characters' actions, and he speaks directly to readers.<sup>10</sup> Barbara Wall refers to these sorts of narrative voices as "condescending narrator[s]" (17). She notes that often such intrusive narrators try to hold the narratee's attention by using oral storytelling devices like repetition and superlatives, and giving

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<sup>9</sup> This style of opening, complete with mediating narrator, high levels of illustrations and gradual increases of conceptual complexities may also be found in Dav Pilkey's successful book for children, *The Adventures of Captain Underpants* (1997); this suggests that Dahl's writing continues to influence trends in children's literature.

<sup>10</sup> I am inferring the narrator's masculinity based on an absence of feminine signifiers in the syntax, language style and constructed social context, and also from the narrator's relationship to the author.

readers an active part by demanding a response from them (17). Wall is critical of this kind of narrative voice, particularly as used by Lewis and Dahl, and argues that “[t]here are other ways ... of bridging the gap between adult writer and child reader than climbing down alongside the child and obtrusively [*sic*] using his idiom, or shouting for his attention” (18). Wall acknowledges that Dahl is a popular author, but she implies that Dahl’s narrative voice is unsubtle, overly simplistic and perhaps ineffective. I would disagree with this interpretation; firstly, the blatancy of such devices does not necessarily compromise their effectiveness with children, whose own culture is primarily oral, and secondly, as I will demonstrate later in this chapter, this blatancy can be effectively engineered to mask subtle and intricate ideological structures.

Dahl’s text establishes the narrator’s child-culture credentials by highlighting his understanding of children’s interests, desires, humour and social formations. The narrator’s descriptions are an essential part of the text’s comedy. To give one example, the narrator emphasises what is arguably Mrs Salt’s funniest aspect when he describes her behaviour after the disposal of her child: “She was now kneeling right on the edge of the hole with her head down and her enormous behind sticking up in the air like a giant mushroom” (Charlie 145). Here, the narrator taps into children’s affinity with toilet humour and the humour of rudeness while reducing an adult authority figure to an object of ridicule.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the visual simile enhances the humour of an already humorous situation. Such descriptions position the child reader to feel part of an insiders’ group with the narrator, laughing together at this ridiculous adult figure. As the story progresses, the narrator directly addresses readers less often, but continues to employ child-oriented humour in the descriptions of characters and events. Moreover, the sense of partisanship the narrator establishes – where the child reader is part of the narrator’s privileged group – continues strongly through the story, facilitated by the narrator’s jokes at the bad children and adults. This establishment of a group identity is a central feature of children’s peer cultures (Corsaro 181), and consequently its use in Charlie functions as a hailing device. Implied child readers are positioned to recognise the group dynamics established by the narrator as a childlike social situation, and the narrator’s evident childlike interests support the group formation.

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<sup>11</sup> For more about this aspect of children’s humour, see McGillis (“Coprophilia for Kids”) and West (“The Grotesque and the Taboo”).

The fantastic elements of Dahl's text create more opportunities for the inclusion of hailing devices, especially because these elements are strongly tied to the story's humour. Charlie is the only comic fantasy in this study, and while it may not feature conventional witches, wizards, elves or pixies, it does contain fantastic and delicious food, impossible-fantastic creatures in the Oompa-Loompas, and an arbiter of the impossible in Willy Wonka. Charlie uses its fantasy elements as hailing devices aligned with child culture, specifically the fun inherent in the text's impossibilities, the humour of which closely matches children's own.

The main comic styles of Dahl's story include parody, farce and caricature, where the usual contours of everyday life are exaggerated and distorted, and events are taken to illogical extremes. This aligns with childhood and children's culture because Charlie's impossible-fantastic elements draw on a wealth of things that children often find funny, particularly those much-criticised rude, naughty and even scatological parts. William Corsaro notes that preadolescent children's humour is part of the larger body of children's lore and play activities, which in this study I have termed children's culture, and "serves as a communicative marker" signalling a non-serious interaction and a social rapport or support structure (203). Corsaro finds that this humour grows in complexity as children age, moving from the simple enunciation of, say, bodily functions, to more embellished and reflective humour on the topic, which requires cognitive decentering and more sophisticated language skills, such as the use of metaphor and homonym (203).

This kind of preadolescent humour is evident in Charlie. Bad children are squeezed and stretched, blown up into giant blueberries and shrunk into tiny creatures. Tall tales abound: of the Indian prince who ordered a palace made out of chocolate, of hornswogglers, snozzwangers and whangdoodles hunting Oompa-Loompas in the forests of Loompaland, and of Oompa-Loompas humorously mutated by Wonka's chocolate experiments. The physical characteristics of characters also provide amusement, and the story contains a number of puns and other verbal plays, like the square sweets that look round (Charlie 134), or the whips for whipping cream (Charlie 112). These humorous aspects suggest to implied child readers that this story is part of their own children's culture and celebrates anarchy and fun, especially when adults



would consider that fun rude, crass or offensive; this is, of course, exactly what the book's adult critics and detractors have noted.

More hailing devices appear in the construction of the Oompa-Loompas, the fantastic creatures who comprise Wonka's workforce in the factory. The Oompa-Loompas are depicted in ways that demonstrate their similarity to children. For example, the text contrasts the tiny Oompa-Loompas with Wonka's previous adult workforce, showing that the small creatures are more trustworthy than the adults; this plays on the binary of small versus big, or children versus adults, where the "small" group is inherently good, and here, more trustworthy than the big people. This opposition has been identified a number of times in this study so far, and works here as a hailing device which prompts implied child readers to see the Oompa-Loompas as childlike beings much like themselves both physically and politically. Specifically, the text describes them in ways that signify particular aspects of children's culture, evoking the social play activities of children in terms like "mischievous" (making mischief directed at outsiders, especially adults), "jokes" (to redress unequal power relations), "dancing" (and games), "making up songs" (rhymes), and "real people" (Charlie 92, 96).

The term "real people" relates to children's culture in a slightly different way. "Real people" signifies authenticity, and consequently, power. Iona Opie notes that "[children] always call themselves 'people', never 'children'" (vii). The assertion is important because it counters the child's position in adult-child relations. In these social situations, it is adults who are more important, and in a world where children do not make decisions or have responsibility, the "realness" of their subject positions may seem to fade. Therefore, when Wonka assures Charlie that the Oompa-Loompas are indeed "real people" (Charlie 92), the text is fostering an empathic and political link between readers and these fantastic creatures.

The Oompa-Loompas' construction includes another sign of childhood which acts as a hailing device: they sing songs which evoke children's own playground rhymes, and these occur progressively after each of the bad ticket winners meets a sticky end. Because the form and sound of these songs are closely related to children's rhymes, implied child readers are consequently encouraged to see them as emerging from a child-aligned position. The rhyming couplet scheme used in the Oompa-Loompas'

songs is one of the most common rhyming schemes used by children's own rhymes, as in:

The Devil flew from north to south  
With [teacher's name] in his mouth.  
And when he found she was a fool  
He dropped her onto [school name] School. (Lurie 200)

Furthermore, the rhythm, arrangement and sounds of the words seem to lend themselves to a loud, derisive verbal tone, almost like a chant or shout, as can be seen in the opening lines of the first Oompa-Loompa song:

*"Augustus Gloop! Augustus Gloop!  
The great big greedy nincompoop!"* (Charlie 104, italics in original)

As with many children's rhymes, there is a kind of savage joy inherent in the sound and structure of the rhyme, which relates to children's growing control of language. Opie and Opie note that children use rhymes to communicate with each other, to cover their linguistic inadequacies when placed in unfamiliar conversational situations and to savour "the curiosity of language" (Lore and Language 18). In a similar vein, Alison Lurie suggests that children's developing mastery of language prompts them to use increasingly complex verbal structures (196-99). Part of the savage joy in the Oompa-Loompas' songs most certainly comes from the use of "naughty" words, and the positioning of those words in the rhythmic scheme for added emphasis, such as the word "nincompoop" in the excerpt above. McDonnell explains that younger children enjoy the syllabic structure, sounds and connotative meanings of many naughty words (33-34). Children often use such words in defiance of the social strictures of adults, and I suggest the use of naughty words in the Oompa-Loompas' songs taps into this resistance.

The core events of the story occur around the four bad ticket winners and their parents, and here Dahl uses hailing devices relating both to children's humour and to the kinds of juvenile codes of justice identified by Iona and Peter Opie, especially in the ways that the bad children are defined and tormented (see, for example, "Chapter 10: Unpopular Children: Jeers and Torments" in Lore and Language). The children – Augustus Gloop, Violet Beauregarde, Veruca Salt and Mike Teavee – arguably attract the largest portion of the text's humour and ridicule as a result of their innate character flaws, which are stated on the list of child characters before the story commences so that readers can be

in no doubt about the children's badness: Augustus is "A greedy boy", Veruca is "A girl who is spoiled by her parents", Violet is "A girl who chews gum all day long" and Mike is "A boy who does nothing but watch television", while Charlie is listed as "The hero" (Charlie 9).

The treatment of each bad ticket winner in the story occurs according to a repetitive process which, like the introductory *Dramatis Personae* or indeed the structure of many traditional fairytales, prepares readers' expectations for the ensuing tale. This may function as a hailing device for implied child readers, especially those who are familiar with fairytales, to encourage their engagement with the narrative structure and the ensuing treatment of the characters. The process by which the bad ticket winners are dealt with in the narrative has five stages. To begin, the text establishes each child's badness by depicting the child in illustration as well as narrative, and each child features in news articles reporting on his or her success at winning a golden ticket. Then, third parties make external judgements about the children, commenting on their badness. Once the children go inside the chocolate factory, Wonka contrives to put them in situations where their desires and behaviour will be tested. Inevitably, the children's badness rises to the surface and they fail the test, with consequences both grotesque and viciously funny. As Manlove observes, the golden tickets are not so much rewards or prizes as an admission to a series of tests that that four "bad" children fail spectacularly (105). The final stage of this process is the Oompa-Loompas' judgement: after each child is despatched, the fantastic creatures sing songs that highlight the child's bad qualities and celebrate their bizarre punishment.

Augustus Gloop's part in the story provides an excellent example of this structure and of the multifaceted signs of childhood embedded in the narrative which act as hailing devices. Quentin Blake's caricature of Augustus and his mother in the 1995 edition reveals a child shaped like a beach ball with limbs (Charlie 37). His shirt buttons strain across his prodigious stomach and his tiny arms can barely meet across his front. His other defining physical characteristics are wide, flaring nostrils, an apparently receding hairline and an inane, goggle-eyed grin. Grandma Georgina calls Augustus "a repulsive boy" (Charlie 37-8), and later anonymous voices in the crowd outside the chocolate factory make their own comments:

"Who's the big fat boy?"

“That’s Augustus Gloop!”  
“So it is!”  
“Enormous, isn’t he!”  
“Fantastic!” (Charlie 77)

The visual and textual construction of Augustus inspires readers’ humour because he appears both silly and repulsive, but also evokes child-culture codes of behaviour, as his extreme obesity is enough to incite ridicule and ostracism. Fat Augustus might commonly suffer any or all of the fifty-eight jibes at overweight children that Opie and Opie have recorded, including “back end of a bus”, “barrel-belly”, “jelly-wobble”, “porker” and “rubber-guts” (Opie and Opie Lore and Language 168).

Augustus’s “badness” comes to a head in the Chocolate Room of Wonka’s factory. This room depicts a natural scene of fields and trees bordered by a river, but every part of the landscape is made of chocolate or other sweet confections. Everything is edible, but the test is moderate consumption (Manlove 105). Augustus fails this test miserably because he is greedy, gluttonous and lacks self-control. This is highlighted early in the scene, when Wonka exhorts his guests to taste the grass and everybody “picked one blade of grass – everybody, that is, except for Augustus Gloop, who took a big handful” (Dahl Charlie 90). Then, as the other guests meet the Oompa-Loompas, the narrator notes: “Augustus Gloop, as you might have guessed, had quietly sneaked down to the edge of the river, and he was now kneeling on the riverbank, scooping hot melted chocolate into his mouth as fast as he could” (Charlie 96). Augustus’s badness even diminishes his humanity according to the narrator, who acidly remarks, “Augustus ... was now lying full length on the ground with his head far out over the river, lapping up the chocolate *like a dog*” (Charlie 97, emphasis added).

This construction of Augustus reinforces readers’ external perspective. Readers can laugh at Augustus because he is less than human, and the narrator’s aside to readers, evident in the phrase “as you might have guessed” appeals to their cleverness and includes them in a privileged space. Where the narrator at first established his own child culture credentials, now readers are encouraged to join the narrator in being critical of this “bad” child. This implicates readers in Augustus’s punishment. Readers see that Augustus is clearly not part of this insiders’ club, he is now merely an object, not a subject, and worse, he is a sneak. But the text also encourages implied readers to feel

some vicarious guilty pleasure in Augustus's behaviour. The idea of a field of confectionery and a melted chocolate river really is tempting (very much like a box of Turkish Delight in Britain during the era of post-war rationing), and not just to "bad" children; consequently, readers are encouraged to accept that Augustus is a bad child for doing something they themselves may fantasise about.

Inevitably, Augustus gets his just deserts: he leans too far out over the river and falls in. Eventually, he is sucked up with the chocolate and shot away to the Fudge Room, where he may be turned into fudge himself, a bizarre and fantastic punishment, designed to enthrall young readers. Wonka is supremely untroubled by Augustus's fate, much to the disgust of Mrs Gloop, who accuses Wonka of "laughing his head off" at poor Augustus and treating the situation like "one great big colossal joke" (Charlie 100-1). Wonka's delight in Augustus's fate aligns him firmly with the readers and the insiders' club the text has already established.

After Augustus disappears, the Oompa-Loompas emerge to sing about his faults and the fantastic cure, including the following excerpt:

*"How long could we allow this beast  
To gorge and guzzle, feed and feast  
On everything he wanted to?  
Great Scott! It simply wouldn't do!  
...  
And carefully we take the brat  
And turn him into something that  
Will give great pleasure to us all –  
A doll, for instance, or a ball,  
Or marbles or a rocking horse.  
...  
We'll boil him for a minute more,  
Until we're absolutely sure  
That all the greed and all the gall  
Is boiled away for once and all."* (Charlie 104-05, italics in original)

Their song is constructed to emphasise the Oompa-Loompas' affinity with children: for instance, things that "give great pleasure to us all" are children's toys: a doll, a ball, marbles and a rocking-horse (Charlie 104). The Oompa-Loompas also reinforce the point that Augustus is not like "us": he is different, Other. One couplet in the song, however, hints at a slightly different perspective: "But don't, dear children, be alarmed / Augustus Gloop will not be harmed" (Charlie 104-05). This couplet imitates an adult

speaking to a child: it is reassuring, authoritative and patronising. However, the “hundred knives [that] go slice, slice, slice” (Charlie 105), suggest that Augustus may well be harmed, at least in a fantastic way, and thus the preceding adult tone is most likely part of the joke.

The text also makes fun of the bad children’s parents, who are shown to be mainly responsible for their offsprings’ faults; as Bosmajian observes, Dahl’s story is as scathing of adults as it is of children (40). I suggest this functions as a hailing device evoking a counter-hegemonic consciousness, much like the rhymes and jokes which make fun of adults like parents and teachers as collected by Iona and Peter Opie. Corsaro’s research into preadolescent peer cultures supports this notion: he finds that preadolescents “see adults as having ultimate power over their everyday lives” and challenge this power which adults have over them by a range of strategies such as mocking adult rules, making fun of adult authority figures and exaggerating adults’ communicative styles in rule enforcement (219-20).

Dahl’s text appears to send an anarchic message to implied child readers that at least some parents can be incredibly stupid. The description of Augustus Gloop’s mother is one example of this. Mrs. Gloop’s is portrayed as fat, stupid, ignorant and over-indulgent, and moreover, the cause of Augustus’s greed and gluttony. In Blake’s portrait of Augustus and his mother, this is signalled by Mrs Gloop’s own obesity, her over-large smile and her posture: she stands to one side, signifying that Augustus is her proud creation. That the thing she has created is a beach-ball with limbs and apparently little intelligence provides evidence of her poor parenting. Her own words reinforce this judgement and demonstrate her ignorance and stupidity. In an interview with newspaper reporters, Mrs Gloop proclaims:

“Eating is his hobby, you know. That’s *all* he’s interested in. But still, that’s better than being a *hooligan* and shooting off *zip guns* and things like that in his spare time, isn’t it? And what I always say is, he wouldn’t go on eating like he does unless he *needed* nourishment, would he? It’s all *vitamins*, anyway.” (Charlie 36-7, italics in original)

As with the treatment of Augustus, implied child readers are prompted to laugh at Mrs Gloop’s stupidity and to take pleasure in the powerless outrage she and the other parents

of the bad ticket winners feel when their children are punished for their faults, in what amounts to a symbolic redressing of the power imbalance between adults and children.

In comparison to the bad ticket winners, Charlie's character is only lightly drawn in the story: he has few obvious personality traits, and his goodness is evident mainly because of a lack of bad behaviour. In Hamida Bosmajian's terms, Charlie is "the quintessence of the deprived empty ego and, therefore, a colorless docile hero" (43-44). This suggests a similarity between Charlie and Baum's Dorothy – another lightly-drawn protagonist. I contend that the construction the two characters serve a similar purpose: by creating a relatively generalised rather than idiosyncratic hero, the texts invite implied child readers to fill in the details with their own personality traits. This may function as a hailing device, where the reader's own personality "colours in" the characters' signs of childness.

### **Concealed ideologies**

Recent critiques of Charlie largely omit the emotion-laden content of earlier analyses (like Eleanor Cameron's), probably because the continued evolution of children's literature and popular culture, together with changing social mores, have rendered Charlie less controversial over time. Certainly as time passes, some of the ideologies normalised in its socio-historical context become more apparent. For example, Clare Bradford's examination of Charlie considers its postcolonial discourses in relation to its contemporary context, contending that while the text adheres to the "ideologies of nineteenth-century novels of colonial adventure", it is marked as postcolonial, both because it was written after the end of the British Empire and also because it displaces the site of colonial tensions from the empire to the homeland (199). Bradford's examination reveals the ideologies of imperialism at work in the construction of the Oompa-Loompas and their relationship to Willy Wonka, and also demonstrates the significance of these ideologies with regards to its contemporary political and social context. Bradford argues that the text uses the Oompa-Loompas to naturalise these ideologies and transmit them to child readers (200-01). Bradford does not explicitly discuss the mechanics of that transmission but in this chapter I explore ways in which this message may be communicated.

Charlie has perhaps been most popular with critics as a subject of psychoanalytic critique, whereby the text expresses something fundamental to the nature of human development generally (see, for example Bosmajian; Daniel) or to the author's psyche specifically (Schultz). Yet there has also been some analysis of the ideologies relating to adult-child power relations with which the text attempts to interpellate implied readers and to the ways in which these ideologies may be concealed or transmitted. For example, Robert Kachur identifies a biblical metanarrative at work in Charlie, which transmits conservative ideologies of morality and conformity, despite the text's apparent immorality (222-23). Peter Hunt has also recognised the adult-child power relations at work in Dahl's stories for children, asserting that: "the supposed contract with the child ... distracts attention from what might be seen as the books' covert, anti-child (and perhaps anti-human) purposes" (Criticism 191). This statement is pertinent, especially with regard to Charlie, and in this chapter I will address how such covert purposes may be engineered in the text.

Hamida Bosmajian's analysis of the complex "excremental vision" of Dahl's story finds the story acts as "a fantasy of aggression [which is] expressed frequently in terms of bathroom humour", and which "releases a child's anxieties about bodily functions, physical injury, and death" (37-40, 47). A somewhat contrasting perspective is provided by Carolyn Daniel, who argues that the feasting in Charlie fulfils a socialising purpose, which in this study's terms may correspond to a Gramscian hegemonic function. Daniel observes that while the portrayal of Dahl's fantasy feasting appears both sensuously and ideologically appealing to child readers, it functions to socialise implied child readers within a hegemonic system and transmit a range of ideologies from a middle-class worldview to a sense of British nationalism (188-208).

There is a fundamental difference in perspectives on the ideological purpose of Charlie as represented by Bosmajian and Daniel, to wit: whether the text is mainly indulging child readers in a subversive amoral fantasy and only superficially teaching good behaviour (Bosmajian 47), or whether the story's main purpose is to inculcate ideologies of control and obedience even if the message is couched in transgressive and indulgent terms (Daniel 188-91). I contend that a third perspective, that of Peter



Hollindale, can assist in resolving this issue. Hollindale has also examined the subversive elements and conservative moral values in Dahl's writings, finding that:

What Dahl repeatedly showed was a need (because of adult human shortcomings) for subversion, but a need (for reasons of civilised order) to subvert the subversion once it has destroyed the tyrants ... The subversive narratives exist within a conformist metanarrative. (Hollindale "Outrageous Success" 280)

In the terms of my own study, Hollindale's finding may be understood as a hailing device supporting a hegemonic interpellation: a carnivalesque space which legitimises the hegemonic system within which it is framed. Readers can have anarchic fun while reading, but in so doing they learn a strong moral and ideological lesson about control and obedience which aims to shape their behaviour and perspectives after the story is finished.

I propose that the ideologies identified by scholars of Dahl's story are part of a systematic but concealed interpellation which supports an adult hegemonic system characterised by control and obedience. In Dahl's text, the anarchic and apparently child-aligned hailing devices provide a fun and effective way of symbolically destroying tyrants (to borrow from Hollindale) but in so doing, naturalise adult perspectives, values and attitudes. The purpose of this interpellation is to produce children who are like Charlie Bucket: obedient, good-natured, self-controlled and docile. It does this by using child culture to hail and assimilate the implied child reader as a "good child" while specifically identifying and excluding "bad children" even though in this instance "bad" is an adult construction.

In addition to ideologies relating specifically to childhood, the text also conceals ideologies about class, capitalism, nationalism and race which impact on the text's construction of childhood as it exists within a wider socio-historical framework. The text's concealed ideologies and construction of an ideal child respond to the story's contemporary social context: a time when, as I have discussed, the media, advertising and the culture of consumerism were having a significant impact on the lives of children in Britain, and other economic and social aspects of British life were in the throes of rapid change. These ideologies are evident throughout the text, but I will concentrate mainly on the ideologies concealed within the various constructions of the narrator,

food and consumption, the children and their parents, Wonka, his factory, and his employees the Oompa-Loompas.

The narrative voice in Charlie is strongly implicated in the hegemonic shaping of implied child readers, despite the fact that he appears to align with children and children's culture. Bosmajian suggests that Dahl's authorial voice "is anything but avuncular; yet neither is he in cahoots with children, for, while pretending to delight, he is as aggressive toward them as he is toward adults" (40). Examining the power structures inherent in the narrator's relationship to implied child readers, I contend that this relationship is similar to the one that Lewis's text establishes: ostensibly equal but in practice hierarchical.

As with The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, Dahl's text enforces a hegemonic relationship between the adult narrator and implied child readers from the earliest part of the story. For example, the third page contains a picture of a small boy smiling directly at the reader in a three-quarter sketch with the accompanying text: "This is Charlie. How d'you do? And how d'you do? And how d'you do again? He is pleased to meet you" (Charlie 13). Here it is the adult narrator who mediates the "meeting" between the reader and Charlie in what would otherwise be a direct conversation between children, and this mediating role is reinforced by the narrator's interpretation "He is pleased to meet you". This naturalises a position of power for the narrator as the story's interpreter and authoritative source and moreover the only fictional character in the book to address the reader directly.

Once this hierarchical relationship is established, the text uses the narrator's voice to naturalise an adult perspective on the story's events. For example, the narrator judges characters, and while these judgements are part of the humour and thus act as a hailing device, they usually emerge from an adult perspective, like the narrator's description of Violet Beauregarde in the Inventing Room: "Then suddenly, Violet Beauregarde, the *silly* chewing-gum girl, let out a yell" (Charlie 119; emphasis added). These judgements occur in an almost identical way to Lewis's text, for example, in the narrator's judgements about the "foolish" children who close wardrobe doors behind them (Lewis The Lion 30). The narrator's role in both texts serves to naturalise the adult perspective from which they emerge and maintain the hegemonic power relationship between

narrator and reader. Furthermore, the partisan dynamic created by the narrative voice supports these hegemonic relations. As the narrator and readers constitute the “in-crowd” while the bad characters are externalised and ridiculed, the narrator’s own hegemonic perspectives are transmitted as normal and natural.

As noted by Kachur and Daniel, the depiction of consumption in Charlie carries ideologies of control and obedience, especially in terms of food: this may variously be understood as a general hegemonic socialisation of the child reader (Daniel 188-91) or as part of a more specific biblical narrative of creation and the fall (Kachur 223-25). I also suggest that the inclusion of these ideologies in Dahl’s text may be a response to – or indeed, reaction against – the rise of consumerism in post-war Britain and its influence on childhood of the era, where the ideologies are transmitted in an attempt to challenge the construction of the child as consumer and the resulting issues of authority and control (Stearns Childhood 105-07).

The first part of this ideological lesson is communicated by the example set by the hero, Charlie Bucket. As I have argued, the simplicity of Charlie’s construction in the text may act as a hailing device, encouraging readers to fill in the missing details with aspects of themselves. Yet underneath the hailing device, Charlie naturalises hegemonic ideologies: he represents the good child as the text defines this, and is characterised by his good nature, his respect for authority and his self-control. In opposition to the portrayal of the four bad ticket winners, Charlie has not been raised in material comfort: he has not been able to indulge his every whim or any whims at all, given his family’s abject poverty. Additionally, Charlie has been raised in a traditional extended family, where the older members are still able to give Charlie love and attention. The text implicitly suggests that these things have made Charlie courteous, considerate, humble and obedient.

Charlie’s ability to control himself and his desires is perhaps one of the most important attributes in the text’s construction of an ideal childhood, and as children identify with Charlie, they are positioned to see this self-control in a positive light. As Daniel has noted, Charlie’s rigid self-control when receiving his birthday chocolate bar is a prime example of this ideology in action (Daniel 188):

He would place it carefully in a small wooden box that he owned, and treasure it as though it were a bar of solid gold; and for the next few days, he would allow himself only to look at it, but never to touch it. Then at last, when he could stand it no longer, he would peel back a tiny bit of the paper wrapping at one corner to expose a tiny bit of chocolate, and then he would take a tiny nibble—just enough to allow the lovely sweet taste to spread out slowly over his tongue. (Dahl Charlie 17)

In addition to this self-control, Charlie is also docile and obedient, and the evidence for this construction can be seen in the contrast to Mike Teavee, who is arguably the smartest child in the story. Mike points out Wonka's inconsistencies and the flaws in his tall tales, and Wonka does not warm to this argumentative and opinionated child at all. When Mike poses his questions, Wonka pretends to be deaf, or accuses Mike of mumbling or talking too much, or ignores him altogether. The text constructs this in terms of bad behaviour: Mike is not passive in his dealings with this powerful adult, and he refuses to be obedient and play along with the fantasy, and therefore he is a bad child who will be punished.

The final chapter of Charlie reveals the rewards that the well-brought-up youngster can expect. For being the least obnoxious child, the child Wonka "liked best" (Charlie 185), and ideologically, the child most strongly inculcated with the values adults prize in children, Charlie wins the chocolate factory itself. The motivations behind Charlie's windfall reveal an ideological stance. Willy Wonka wants an heir so he can pass on his legacy, but he will not accept just anyone: he will not give his factory to a grown up, because "A grown-up won't listen to me; he won't learn. He will try to do things his own way and not mine" (Charlie 185). What Wonka wants is a child, "a good sensible loving child" (Charlie 185). The inference here is clear: good children, like Charlie, are obedient and malleable; they will do what adults tell them to. Charlie wins because he already accepts his subordinate position in the adult hegemony and ascribes to its values and beliefs; by encouraging readers to identify with Charlie, the text positions readers to do the same.

The portrayal and punishment of the four bad ticket winners complements the ideological shaping inherent in the construction of Charlie. I have already discussed the ways in which the text seems to judge the children according to a juvenile code of justice, yet deeper analysis reveals that the text's condemnation of the children

naturalises adult-aligned perspectives and ideologies of child behaviour. Each of the four bad ticket winners is punished for a specific fault: Augustus Gloop is greedy, Violet Beauregarde chews gum, Veruca Salt is spoiled and selfish, and Mike Teavee is addicted to television. Of all of these faults, only Augustus and, to a lesser extent, Veruca, could possibly be contravening a juvenile justice code; Mike's and Violet's vices are pastimes children of the era would have enjoyed very much. Yet all of their faults are characterised by a general lack of self-control which may also be a lack of obedience; thus the text's core shaping of the implied child readers is reinforced. Each of the faults represent some kind of behavioural injunction that adults may impose on children: something for which children might be "told off", even outside the text. By parodying the children's faults and taking them to an illogical extreme, the text makes the adult injunctions and rules part of the fun, and thus makes the ideological lesson seem innocuous.

The repetitive pattern by which the bad ticket winners are portrayed and punished reinforces the hegemonic shaping. For example, the repeating pattern externalises the perspective of the implied child readers and reduces any empathy towards the bad children because the format is ritualistic and the judgements and ridicule appear impartial. The children's bad qualities appear visually in the portraits of each child, are described objectively through news reports, and are judged impartially by third parties. Because these people are apparently uninvolved bystanders, their judgements seem merely commonsense. In this way, the text encourages child readers to accept and internalise the text's own overt moral stance. Thereafter, the children's own innate badness seemingly brings about their downfalls, and the grotesque consequences of their actions appear "right" and "just" punishments. Thus, while on the surface the parody makes the bad traits and their punishments ridiculous, it also interpellates implied readers to accept the adult definitions of badness especially in terms of excessive and uncontrolled consumption, as this fits within the text's overall hegemonic worldview.

Where Lewis's character Edmund could be redeemed and rehabilitated as part of a Christian morality, in Dahl's text, the bad child's punishment is made to appear funny and the child himself is rendered less than human. Yet there are some parallels between Dahl's treatment of his bad children and C.S. Lewis's treatment of Edmund. Lewis

positions readers to judge Edmund for his enslavement to Turkish Delight, while at the same time experiencing the lure of that temptation themselves. In The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, this positioning forms part of the text's Christian ideological project, giving readers an experience of sin's temptation while teaching them that sin is bad. Dahl's text treats the "sinner" far more savagely, although in moral rather than religious terms. This occurs in the punishment of the bad children, but also in the way the text turns readers against those bad children in the lead up to their awful fates.

The Oompa-Loompas' songs further support the text's hegemonic shaping, although the fact that the Oompa-Loompas are childlike and that their songs are funny conceals the ideologies being transmitted. The songs are didactic, setting out specific injunctions of adult controls overtly, but this seems just part of the text's humour. If it were an adult speaking so didactically to a child, telling them not to chew gum or watch television for example, it is quite likely the message would appear confrontational and meet resistance. But by making funny, fantastic creatures sing the rules in ways that seem like children's culture rhymes, and by punishing those who contravene the rules in such spectacular, impossible and funny ways, the injunctions themselves appear less serious. I suggest that this is evidence of ideology concealment in action, as the medium camouflages the ideologies of the message: here, the text's hegemonic worldview. To take Violet Beauregarde's case as an example, implied child readers may enjoy the parody of "some repulsive little bum / Who's always chewing chewing-gum" (Charlie 127), they may be amused by her metamorphosis into a giant blueberry, and they may laugh at the way the Oompa-Loompas sing a familiar, adult-like injunction about a common childhood pastime. However, there is nothing in the story that prompts readers to chew more gum themselves, and this suggests that the text's adult-hegemonic worldview is still hard at work under the comic hailing device.

Just as the text ridicules and punishes the children for a lack of obedience and self-control, it also targets their parents – arguably more vehemently – who, according to the text, bear the ultimate responsibility for instilling these traits in their progeny. This portrayal of bad adults is, as Hollindale observes, a feature of much of Dahl's work: "adult authority falling contemptibly short of the good and necessary reasons why authority exists" (Hollindale "Outrageous Success" 280). In ridiculing the bad parents, therefore, the text not only reiterates its transmitted ideologies of child obedience and

self-control, it also legitimises the power of parents over their children to enforce that control and obedience. For example, while the text treats adult injunctions about greediness and other even more trivial acts against adult sensitivities with humour, its main salvo targets parents who fail to enforce these rules; in other words, parents who fail to control or discipline their children. The humour aimed at Mrs Gloop in the early part of the story is an excellent example of this. The text creates a hailing device by making fun of an adult authority figure, but on a deeper level it justifies its ridicule of Mrs Gloop on the grounds that she has not controlled her son's appetite, and because of this, she is a bad parent. The text encourages readers to accept its position: if Mrs Gloop's over-indulgent attitude to her son is wrong, the opposite attitude must be correct.

The Oompa-Loompas join in the text's chorus of blame aimed at bad parents, and the adult-aligned ideological stance they transmit is concealed by the childlike form of their song, as well as the childlike nature of the creatures themselves. For example, in the case of Veruca Salt, the creatures observe, "A girl can't spoil herself, you know" (Charlie 148), and then they provide a convenient target:

*"Who are the culprits? Who did that?  
Alas! You needn't look so far  
To find out who these sinners are.  
They are (and this is very sad)  
Her loving parents, MUM and DAD."* (Charlie 148, italics in original)

By the Oompa-Loompas' final song, this time about Mike Teavee, the text assumes that its interpellation is complete and its adult perspective is so naturalised that it addresses child readers as adults:

*"The most important thing we've learned,  
So far as children are concerned,  
Is never, NEVER, NEVER let  
Them near your television set –  
Or better still, just don't install  
The idiotic thing at all.  
...  
'All right!' you'll cry. 'All right!' you'll say,  
But if we take the set away,  
What shall we do to entertain  
Our darling children! Please explain!"* (Charlie 171-2, italics in original)

Phrases like “your television set” and “What shall we do to entertain / Our darling children” drive this shift of perspective home. Here, the song prompts readers to laugh at parents who give in to the consumerist ethos of the era and allow their children access to television. Through the medium of the song it makes adult rules about television sound fun and amusing, but at the same time, the text’s lesson on the perils of television is nevertheless transmitted.

More evidence for the text’s underlying hegemonic position can be found in the way the story creates and manipulates an “Us” and “Them” partisanship. As I have already discussed, this occurs firstly in the way that the narrator relates to implied child readers, establishing his child-culture credentials and encouraging the readers to find amusement in the faults and misfortunes of others. As the story continues, the text continues to dehumanise the bad ticket winners, so that their fates are funny rather than horrifying: Violet Beauregarde turns into a giant blueberry and ends up in a juicing machine, trained squirrels declare Veruca Salt a bad nut and shove her down the garbage chute, and Mike Teavee shrinks to a miniscule size and is sent off to be stretched. The Oompa-Loompas’ songs also maintain this divide. The text interpellates readers into its adult-aligned worldview by continually aligning them with the narrator and the “we” of the Oompa-Loompas’ songs, and against the children and adults who contravene the text’s definitions of good behaviour and parenting.

The operation of this partisanship is not only significant because it legitimises adult ideologies, it is also significant because it uses the elements of children’s culture and the humorous punishments to create a kind of peer pressure or mob mentality which supports the hegemony. In contrast to preceding texts in this study, Dahl’s text does not attempt to gently shape child readers’ better natures by example and guidance. Instead, it deliberately positions children through their own cultural norms to delight in other, nonconforming children’s misfortune and view them as subhuman in order to inculcate them into an adult worldview.

Although the portrayal of food and consumption in Charlie naturalises a vision of a controlled and obedient child, there are other ideologies relating to childhood which are also at work. For example, as Carolyn Daniel notes, there is a subtle promotion of British culture and a British national identity in the text which interpellates implied



child readers within a British worldview. The golden ticket competition is a global event and while Charlie himself is British, as is Willy Wonka, the bad ticket winners are marked as foreign in different ways: Augustus's name suggests a German heritage, Mike Teavee and Violet Beauregarde have distinctly American interests (watching violent American TV shows and chewing gum), and Veruca Salt is nouveau riche – popularly perceived as an American phenomenon (Daniel 191). This construction, according to Daniels, associates a decline of standards with an increase in American influence, reflecting “fears of the homogenization of British society” (191), and here it serves to position implied child readers to see British cultural norms and a British way of life as being better than other cultures. This is reinforced by the portrayal of the Oompa-Loompas as a primitive colonised tribe, as I will soon discuss.

Ideologies of class and capitalism complicate the portrayal of consumption even further. Dahl's text naturalises a middle-class worldview, which is understandable given Dahl's own middle-class heritage and public-school education. Daniel observes that while Charlie is ostensibly working-class, he has middle-class mores and manners and thus functions as “an idealistic representation of the British working class” (191) as envisioned, I suggest, from a middle-class perspective. Analysis of the two father-figures in Charlie demonstrates the middle-class worldview at work: the text is scathing of Mr Bucket's menial working-class job and his inability to keep his family in comfort, whereas Willy Wonka's successful business empire is portrayed in very positive terms.

As the text lauds Wonka's business acumen, it naturalises an additional dimension of capitalist ideology. This is the first of the texts in this study to site childhood overtly within an economic context: children are depicted as consumers, they buy chocolate and influence their parents' buying decisions as well. However, the capitalist underpinnings of Dahl's story are firmly naturalised rather than questioned or analysed, perhaps in a response to the Cold War context within which Dahl was writing. Ostensibly, Wonka's enterprise exists to give children pleasure; this idea is a hailing device, persuading child readers that Wonka is somehow “on their side” or that he has their interests and desires at heart. However, Wonka's financial success is predicated on children wanting to buy and consume his product even to degrees of obsession and, beneath the hailing device, the text interpellates child readers to see this profiteering in positive terms.

There is an even more fundamental dimension to this interpellation: Wonka's business is in essence a specialised kind of "childwork" as defined by David Oldman (154-56). While forms of childwork have either arisen or been implied in earlier texts in this study, Dahl's is the first text to openly portray adults profiting from children. Wonka may be seen to benefit economically from the child-activity of being a child and liking sweets: he targets children specifically, and although he claims to be working in their interests, in reality he profits more tangibly from their work – in Oldman's terms, their work of being a child – than they do. Ideologically, this textual construction normalises exploitative class relations within the generational mode of production that Oldman proposes so that implied child readers are positioned to accept their own exploitation as normal and natural. The normalisation of the Oompa-Loompas' exploitation in the factory reinforces this interpellation, as it demonstrates another context where the exploitation of childlike beings is completely acceptable.

Interestingly though, the text's promotion of capitalist ideology appears to sit at odds with its critique of contemporary consumerism and its effects on childhood. In other words, the children who have contributed most to Wonka's financial success are punished: for example, Augustus who can't stop eating chocolate or Veruca who demands as many chocolate bars as it takes to win a golden ticket. I suggest that the answer to this conundrum may be found in the moral values and associated ideologies the text transmits: consumerism itself is not bad as long as the child's desires are controlled and the child remains obedient, subordinate and docile within the adult and capitalist hegemonic systems.

The final area of the text I will examine for concealed ideologies is the construction of the Oompa-Loompas, which communicates ideologies of race, imperialism and class and responds to the text's socio-historical context. These ideologies are obscured by the hailing devices which evoke signs of childhood and prompt implied child readers to see the fantastic creatures as similar to themselves. When the ticket winners and their families first meet the Oompa-Loompas, Willy Wonka explains that he hired the Oompa-Loompas to replace his original workers, fired for industrial espionage. There are two fundamentally different discourses operating here. The first of these is the postcolonial discourse identified by Clare Bradford, which depicts the Oompa-Loompas as hardworking colonials happily slaving away for the good of the empire (200-01), and

I suggest that this postcolonial discourse works in tandem with the discourse of adult-child power relations which also shapes the Oompa-Loompas' construction. At the same time, this portrayal also responds to contemporary economic and cultural issues, including the large-scale immigration from former colonies, which resulted in changes to the workforce dynamic and racial tensions (201).

In the original 1964 edition, the Oompa-Loompas were a tribe of black pygmies from "the very deepest and darkest part of the African jungle where no white man had been before" (Treglown 140). It was only in the 1970s that key features of the Oompa-Loompas were changed to reflect a more racially tolerant attitude, and they became creatures with rosy-white skin and golden-brown hair, as featured in the 1995 edition (Dahl Charlie 101-02). Nevertheless, the creatures are culturally marked as savages. For example, they still wear "primitive" attire: deerskins for men, fresh leaves for women, and nothing at all for children. This recalls eighteenth and nineteenth century European notions of "noble savages": primitive people innocent of the evils of civilisation and living in a "state of grace", a description that was also applied to children in this period. But the concept of the state of grace or innocence is also a political tool which reinforces the hegemony of the white, imperialist, adult group over minorities including children and colonised races. This dynamic makes more sense in relation to the original incarnation of the Oompa-Loompas as African pygmies, but the elements of cultural imperialism still emerge in the modern version.

Although the concepts of noble savagery and states of grace are adult-derived and may be unfamiliar to children, the basic message may still work in this text because children's culture has an excellent understanding of the importance of dress codes (Opie and Opie Lore and Language 47). Bradford suggests that the Oompa-Loompas are "distinguished from the book's implied readers, who are positioned as 'normal' subjects, citizens whose clothing and way of life mark them as being at home in Britain in a way the Oompa-Loompas are not" (201). While I agree with the extent of Bradford's argument, her focus does not take into account the child-culture elements to the Oompa-Loompas' construction; these suggest that the hailing is more complex. Implied child readers are positioned to feel empathic towards the Oompa-Loompas because of their small size, playful natures and subjugated position, but then to feel

distanced from them because of their strange attire, and this in turn endorses an adult hegemonic perspective.

The relationship between the Oompa-Loompas and Willy Wonka reinforces hierarchical and hegemonic relations. Wonka finds the Oompa-Loompas living a meagre existence in the jungle, and brings them to his factory to live in what amounts to a chocolate Garden of Eden. This benevolent and patriarchal adult, it seems, is a good person, someone to trust and rely upon, and the adult ideological message here is reinforcing the familial hierarchy. The Oompa-Loompas act as ideal employees: they work hard at many menial tasks, they willingly allow themselves to be subjected to weird experiments, they never complain or seek to control the means of production, and they never ever question the wisdom of their employer. The humour in the text serves to defuse any outrage or sympathy readers might otherwise feel about the unethical treatment of the Oompa-Loompas, but a residual contradiction remains. The Oompa-Loompas appear happy and grateful to Wonka but ethical issues of their removal from their homeland with its connotations of slavery and Wonka's less than ethical treatment of them as employees are not addressed.

Wonka's disregard for the Oompa-Loompas' welfare may transmit additional ideologies of class: it replicates the bourgeois disdain of the working-class (also evident, as I have shown, in the text's portrayal of Mr Bucket), and his capitalist position is strengthened because he is so clearly in a class above his employees. In the same way, the Oompa-Loompas' plight is constructed as far less important than the chocolate they manufacture. This appears to relate more to political and class relations between adults and to postcolonial discourses, as Bradford has identified (201), than to power dynamics between adults and children. Yet at the same time, the power dynamic of capitalist over proletarian, and of Britons over colonials, echoes the hegemonic dynamic of adult over child that underpins the story.

The overall treatment of the Oompa-Loompas guides implied child readers towards an adult way of thinking. The text begins by identifying the Oompa-Loompas as childlike and then depicts Wonka's patriarchal relationship to the childlike beings. After that, the text encourages readers to take an adult and culturally imperialist perspective on these

child-like characters, to see them as dehumanised and unimportant, and to aspire instead to a position in the adult hegemony, with Wonka as the prime exemplar of success.

### **Summary of concealment strategies**

Some of the concealment strategies at work in Charlie are familiar from the earlier texts in this study: for example, the narrator's apparently child-aligned position (complete with childlike interests and a juvenile sense of humour) which conceals an adult perspective. The inclusion of signs of childhood in the construction of the Oompa-Loompas to camouflage a hegemonic value system is another familiar strategy, as is the spectacular destruction of bad adults to draw attention away from a more general endorsement of adult authority. Even the concealment of moral lessons and other ideology within appealing and transgressive feasting has been identified in this study already.

Yet some concealment strategies identified in Charlie have not been evident in the previous texts. Dahl's complex use of humour is perhaps pre-eminent among these new strategies. Specifically, the humour in Charlie strongly follows the kinds of children's humour archived by scholars such as Opie and Opie, Lurie and McDonnell. It creates a child-aligned counter-hegemonic or carnivalesque space in the text, but importantly, it is also used to conceal hegemonic shaping in a range of ways. It dehumanises the bad characters, reducing any empathy readers may feel; it also dehumanises the Oompa-Loompas, which encourages implied readers to move towards an adult perspective. It targets bad parents as objects of ridicule in order to naturalise the text's view of good parenting and transmit the related ideologies of child obedience and control. Yet perhaps most radically, the treatment of adult rules and injunctions as objects of fun functions as a concealment strategy which works by being plainly visible. Because the text delivers in a fun way prosaic adult rules about chewing gum, watching television, being rude or eating too much – rules children might love to break – these rules seem to emanate from within child culture and appear self-evident or at least innocuous, especially as they are taken to illogical and humorous extremes. Consequently, they form part of the text's hegemonic shaping, teaching implied child readers how good children behave.

## Conclusion

The use of signs of childhood and other hailing devices to conceal ideologies in Charlie continues the trend evident in the previous texts of this study, confirming that this is another text featuring a Trojan Horse mechanism. Of all the texts so far, Dahl's comic fantasy most consistently and comprehensively uses children's cultural artefacts and ideologies as hailing devices. When viewed as part of the chronological sequence, this may constitute an evolution in the use of hailing devices. The text which comes closest to this is Peter and Wendy, but while Barrie is capable of articulating children's culture, his text arguably cannot match Dahl's skill in using surface hailers aimed at implied child readers. This may explain, at least in part, why Charlie is still an extremely popular book with children, while the 1911 text of Peter and Wendy is far less popular than its many adaptations and re-envisionings.

Although there are a number of similarities between Charlie and the earlier texts, Dahl's story differs significantly both in the kinds of hegemonic ideologies transmitted and in the execution of the concealment strategies. For example, contemporary post-war social and economic concerns are very much in evidence in Dahl's text, and while the text depicts a childhood influenced by a consumerist/capitalist society, it contains an ideological reaction to this context, advocating traditional values about obedience and control. Nevertheless, as the first text in this study overtly to locate children within wider economic processes, the text, though critical of consumerism, is broadly supportive of a capitalist ethos, even when the capitalist enterprise profits from children's interests as well as children's basic industry (that is, the activities involved in being a child).

The strength of Charlie, from the perspective of ideology transmission, is the subtlety with which its apparently child-aligned hailing devices encourage implied readers to reject the oppositional child subject-position and internalise the text's adult judgements on child behaviour. The text's humour and parody, together with its use of specific children's cultural artefacts and counter-hegemonic ideologies as part of that humour, may make fun of adults and even some adult rules, but in the end they naturalise the

text's underlying adult hegemonic worldview. While the bad ticket winners provide an effective lesson in what bad behaviour is and which bad parenting practices cause such behaviour, the construction of Charlie Bucket reveals that the text's definition of good behaviour is much more nebulous, appearing primarily as the absence of behavioural faults. That some adult critics and commentators have failed to see the deeper layers of the story may perhaps prove the effective subtlety of Dahl's Trojan Horse mechanisms.

In its construction of the Oompa-Loompas, Charlie also transmits ideologies relating to imperialism, race, class, culture and capitalism. Some of this other ideological territory has been surveyed in earlier texts, especially those of race and imperialism. For instance, The Wishing-Chair contains very strong messages about race and culture in the context of the British Empire, The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe picks up on a similar theme in its contrast between wholesome British food and sinful exotic food, and even Peter and Wendy makes the redskins subservient to white characters. Charlie responds to new versions of these issues, which, as Bradford notes, have now moved much closer to the English home (199). In addition, Dahl's text links the concept of the powerless, "colonised" child to powerless, colonial peoples more strongly than these earlier texts have previously articulated. This may provide further evidence of an evolution in perceptions of childhood in the field of children's literature.

## Chapter Six

### **New Visions of Childhood: Coping with Contemporary Uncertainties in Susan Cooper's The Dark is Rising (1973).**

The Dark is Rising is the second book of Cooper's The Dark is Rising Sequence, comprising Over Sea, Under Stone (1965), The Dark is Rising (1973), Greenwitch (1974), The Grey King (1975) and Silver on the Tree (1977). The sequence evolved from the first title, which was primarily an adventure story, into a high fantasy series with an ambitious breadth and scope. The Dark is Rising introduces the epic fantasy theme and the most central child protagonist to the sequence, eleven-year-old Will Stanton. The series has been extremely popular since its original publication, and remains in print today. Some of the titles have won prestigious awards, including the Carnegie Medal Commendation in 1973 and Newbery Honor Book in 1974 for The Dark is Rising, and the Newbery Medal and Tir na n-Og Award for The Grey King in 1976. Much more recently, the novel enjoyed new success in a feature film adaptation entitled The Seeker: The Dark is Rising (2007).

The story's protagonist is Will Stanton, who lives in a Buckinghamshire village called Huntercombe in 1970s Britain. Will is the youngest child in the large Stanton family, and on his eleventh birthday, which falls on Midwinter's Day, he discovers that he has magical powers. In fact, Will is the newest and youngest member of the Old Ones: a magical group that battles ultimate Evil in an eternal, Manichaeian struggle between the Light and the Dark. The strange and powerful oldest of the Old Ones, Merriman Lyon, teaches Will how to use his powers and guides him in his first quest: to find and join the six Signs of Light, which are mandalas of different materials corresponding to various natural elements. These Signs, once joined, act as a weapon against the powers of the Dark that are rising during the midwinter period, and Will has a crucial part to play in saving humankind from these evil forces.



## **Socio-historical context**

Susan Cooper is usually regarded as a British author despite writing most of The Dark is Rising Sequence while living in America (see, for example, her inclusion in Charles Butler's Four British Fantasists), yet at the same time she may be considered "the paradigm for internationalism in children's books" (Watkins and Sutherland 305). It is therefore worth considering some elements of both the British and American social contexts in which she wrote The Dark is Rising, while acknowledging the primacy of British places and ideas in her series.

Perhaps the defining American political and social event of the early 1970s was the involvement in the Vietnam War. Though the war was fought on foreign shores, the impact of the war was keenly felt within America and around the world as the news media brought footage and images of the fighting, death and destruction to families through the medium of television. Families within America (and in places like Australia) were also impacted by conscription, and debates about the ethics of the war and war in general prompted large-scale anti-war protests throughout the period of foreign involvement in the war in the 1960s and 1970s. In addition to this exposure to a contemporary war, Cooper also had experience of the Second World War, which she has acknowledged influenced her worldviews significantly (Rochman 226-7).

Across the Atlantic, Britain continued to experience the lingering social and political after-effects of the end of empire and the Second World War. For example, by the 1970s, Britain had arguably ceased to be a world leader and now stood in the shadow of the American and Soviet superpowers. The concept of a distinct English or British race, popular since the mid-nineteenth century (Eldridge 140) was in flux, as new waves of immigrants from Britain's former colonies continued to arrive, especially from Cyprus, the Caribbean, India, Pakistan and southern Asia (M. Abbott 122-49; Storry and Childs 16). Waters argues that even by the 1950s, Britain was facing a "crisis of national self-representation" and this was compounded by the ensuing increase in non-white immigrants, whose arrival prompted discussions about what it meant to be British in a "new, multi-ethnic Commonwealth" (208). As discussed in the previous chapter, some British children's fantasy fiction of the 1960s was already responding to this issue,

notably the treatment of the Oompa-Loompas in Charlie, and The Dark is Rising continues that trend.

In a range of cultural endeavours, including children's literature, Britain looked to the past to regain a sense of national identity. This of itself was not a uniquely post-war or even twentieth-century enterprise. Storry and Childs note that the Victorians used Arthurian mythology to create a nostalgic view of Britain's past, in counterpoint to the heavy industrialising of its present (25), and to give another example, Rudyard Kipling used British myth and history to legitimise imperial aims in his children's story, Puck of Pook's Hill (1906). As the analysis of the earlier books in this study has shown, children's literature is often used to socialise implied child readers with particular visions of national identity. The rationale for this socialisation emerges from a view of childhood as the potential future of a nation, with all the attendant hopes and fears which may attach to that potentiality.

In the post-war tradition, many children's authors, including Rosemary Sutcliff, Alan Garner, Mollie Hunter and Penelope Farmer, drew on myth and history in their attempts to explore and define the modern British identity now shorn of the certainties of empire; the most pre-eminent and prolific of these was Rosemary Sutcliff. Sutcliff published a plethora of children's novels from the 1950s to the early 1990s, the majority of which were based on her interpretations of British mythology and her fictionalisations of British history. Perhaps her most famous series was the Eagle of the Ninth, published between 1954 and 1963, which sought to historicise, and thus legitimise, the Arthurian legend by siting it within a Romano-British framework. In this chapter, I explore Susan Cooper's own contribution to this popular trend, including the ways that Cooper uses myth and history within a liberal, middle-class ideological framework to define an idealised national type for the 1970s.

While anxieties about childhood are far from new – indeed, they have been a recurring theme in history even well before the Common Era – the later part of the twentieth century was characterised by “a pervasive sense that the state of childhood is in crisis” (R. Cox 163). The causes and attributes of the “crisis” were hotly debated. From the 1970s, a new wave of childhood experts and commentators were warning of threats to the state of childhood in affluent Western societies due to influences such as television,

access to restricted information, the breakdown of the family, the urban environment and the pressures of modern life (see, for example Postman; Ward; Winn). Peter Stearns argues that the rapid spread of anxieties during this era occurred because of “an interaction between assumptions of vulnerability and the new range and immediacy of media accounts” (Anxious Parents 35). In addition to concerns about the state of childhood, there was also rising anxiety about perceived threats to children’s lives. For example, the 1970s witnessed a marked increase in fears about childhood runaways and abductions and other dangers in both Britain and the United States. This was evident in the 1973 British television campaign about “stranger danger” aimed at children (Central Office of Information for Home Office “Charley - Strangers”), and in the American “milk carton campaign” (displaying pictures of lost children on milk cartons) beginning in 1979 (Stearns Anxious Parents 34). As Peter Stearns notes, these kinds of campaigns “drove the point home: the world was not a secure place for children” (Anxious Parents 34), and Cooper’s text, as this study will demonstrate, reflects and responds to this grim vision of childhood.

### **Hailing devices**

Cooper’s use of hailing devices in The Dark is Rising is far less detailed than most of the other texts in this study. Most notably, Cooper’s story lacks an overt depiction of play or even a sense of playfulness, which has been characteristic of the texts in this study so far (and will also feature in the following chapter). This is doubly intriguing given that Cooper’s protagonist is within same general age range as the protagonists of the other texts. I contend that the overall serious tone of this high fantasy work may be part of the reason for the lack of play or playfulness, but that a more powerful factor may be the text’s pessimistic construction of childhood, responding to contemporary social concerns, which will be explored later in this chapter. Despite this, the text does show evidence of two distinct aspects of the text where signs of childhood function as hailing devices for implied child readers: the construction of a protagonist with realistic childlike attributes and perspective and the evocation of a counter-hegemonic consciousness in the portrayal of a powerful child.

As in many of the preceding texts, Cooper's text establishes a hailing device in the very beginning of the story by positioning readers to identify with the child protagonist. This is achieved in two distinct ways: the text constructs Will as an ordinary child with realistic signifiers of childhood and it invites readers to empathise with Will and to see events from his perspective. Will Stanton is the youngest child of a large and garrulous family; with many brothers and sisters older than Will, it is clear he has little power within his family, although he is evidently much loved. The opening lines of the story highlight these family politics in action:

“Too many!” James shouted, and slammed the door behind him.

“What?” said Will.

“Too many kids in this family, that's what. Just *too many*.” ... Will put aside his book and pulled up his legs to make room [for James]. “I could hear all the yelling,” he said, chin on knees.

“Wasn't anything,” James said. “Just stupid Barbara again. Bossing, Pick up this, don't touch that. And Mary joining in, twitter, twitter, twitter. You'd think this house was big enough, but there's always *people*. (Cooper The Dark Is Rising 183, italics in original)

The beginning of Cooper's story thus emphasises a sense of pressure: there appears to be little space for Will, or his next-oldest brother James, in this family of too many people and too much noise. And it is a psychological pressure as well: the youngest children are bossed around by the older ones. The result is a portrayal of Will which highlights his smallness and insignificance: he is reading a book curled up tightly to take up less space, and he listens without having many words for himself. Readers are encouraged to empathise with Will, to see in him a similarity to their own powerlessness within their relations with others, possibly within their families. Yet at the same time, readers can also identify with the normality of Will's life: there is a very ordinary, prosaic quality to the sibling interaction between Will and his brother James, to James's complaints about their sisters, and to the rhythm of their daily chores (The Dark Is Rising 183-85).

As events unfold in the opening chapter, Will's normal existence is set against uncanny intrusions of the supernatural. Things are occurring that Will cannot understand or explain: the weather is inexplicably threatening, the animals are afraid of him, an old tramp seems to be following him, and Farmer Dawson next door cryptically warns of worse to come. There may be an additional dimension of identification at work in this portrayal. Will's ordinary existence is being disrupted on the eve of his eleventh

birthday, and the strangeness Will suddenly feels may also evoke the strangeness and dislocation of maturity, perhaps of incipient puberty. Although this interpretation is not overtly mentioned in the story, it is certainly possible that readers (especially those around Will's age) may identify a similarity to their own experience of liminality in Will's dislocation, and therefore enabling this aspect of Will's construction to function as a hailing device.

This apprehensive, anxious day segues into a night of formless terror, and the text's manipulation of language, imagery and pacing is designed to make readers feel Will's fear and identify with his childlike perspective. This is similar to the way that Lewis uses sensory imagery in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe to evoke an empathetic emotional response. Lying in the dark, attempting to fall asleep, Will is

suddenly deadly cold, yet tingling all over. He was so frightened that he could not move a finger ... For a moment, there was only a dreadful darkness in his mind, a sense of looking into a great black pit. Then the high howl of the wind died, and he was released. (The Dark Is Rising 192-3)

Will's fear appears irrational, even to himself, and when he turns on the light to banish the darkness, the text invokes the very young child's fear of the dark as a way of reinforcing Will's construction as a realistic child and creating more reader empathy with Will's emotional state: "The room was at once a cosy cave of yellow light, and he lay back in shame, feeling stupid. Frightened of the dark, he thought: how awful. Just like a baby" (The Dark Is Rising 193). Yet the fear returns when Will turns out the light again, in a steady escalation of dramatic tension which works to place child readers in the centre of the action, practically inside Will's head, and as I will argue later in this chapter, this level of identification is important for the transmission of ideology which occurs through Will's perspective.

Will's magic awakens the next morning – his birthday – and he transforms from a powerless child to a powerful magical being. This compensatory fantasy of the ordinary, powerless child suddenly becoming more powerful than his parents and siblings is a powerful hailing device evoking a counter-hegemonic consciousness. Now Will can light and put out fires "simply by wishing it" (The Dark Is Rising 210), he understands the secret language of the Old Ones (The Dark Is Rising 253), he can move through time (The Dark Is Rising 244), he can use telepathy (The Dark Is Rising 209-

10), he can take people out of time and make them forget things (The Dark Is Rising 283-87), and most importantly, throughout his quest he learns secret knowledge about how the world really works. Here, the text's hailing device demonstrates Will's new powerful status by demonstrating the change in Will's relationship to his family and to other authority figures. For example, when the Black Rider enters the Stanton home on Christmas morning, Will confronts the Rider, and the text shows the elder Stantons suddenly becoming inconsequential set dressing:

Will was instantly a furious Old One, so furious that he did not pause to think what he should do. He could feel every inch of himself, as if he had grown in his rage to three times his own height. He reached out his right hand with its fingers spread stiff towards his family, and saw them instantly caught into a stop in time, frozen out of all movement. Like waxworks they stood still and motionless round the room. (The Dark Is Rising 275)

Here, the parental authority figures are removed from the centre of the action; indeed, the text explicitly trivialises them as it reveals Will's power. In this episode, Will does not stop to consider this reversal of power and status; instead, he acts quickly and surely, naturally taking on a powerful role.

This demonstration of Will's new power and status is reinforced shortly thereafter, when the Dark attacks Will and the other Old Ones in the village church. As his brother Paul and the rector are caught in the magical crossfire, Will realises he has the power to protect them, and a poignant moment occurs as the younger brother reassures the older one:

Pushing against the Dark, Will came forward slowly; he touched Paul on the shoulder as he passed, looking into puzzled eyes in a face as twisted and helpless as the rector's, and said softly: "Don't worry. It'll be all right soon." (The Dark Is Rising 282)

Later in the story, another character, the Walker, restates the fact of Will's changed status and specifically refutes Will's attempt to claim powerlessness:

[Will:] "Can you walk?"  
[Walker:] "You want to throw me out in the snow, is that it?"  
"Of course not," Will said. "Mum would never let you go off in this weather, and nor would I, not that I've got much say in it. I'm the very youngest in this family, you know that."  
"You are an Old One," the Walker said, looking at him with dislike.  
"Well, that's different."

“It’s not different at all. Just means there’s no point talking about yourself to me as if you were just a little kid in a family. I know better.” (The Dark Is Rising 300)

As the text demonstrates, while Will was recently “just a little kid in a family” he is now very far from that: he has power over his family, over matter and over time itself, and this vision of the powerful child acts as a hailing device to engage implied child readers.

As an extraordinary child, Will gains membership in another family – the family of the Old Ones – and Will’s high-ranking place in that family is part of the hailing device. Here, the text uses the common fantasy motif of a hero being born to a family that is different to his or her mundane one. This motif recurs throughout Western mythology, appearing in everything from the Bible and Greek myths to Superman, Star Wars and the Harry Potter series. In The Dark is Rising, the Old Ones are an exclusive group of magic users. Like the others, Will is born an Old One, but being the youngest of the Old Ones’ family does not imply a low status; instead, Will soon finds that he is more powerful than many Old Ones (The Dark Is Rising 283), and that unlike other Old Ones, he has an individualised quest: to find and join the six Signs of Light. Furthermore, while in normal families, like Will’s mundane family, older members rarely if ever defer to the wisdom, power or authority of the youngest child, grown-up Old Ones quickly recognise Will’s superior abilities. The telling instance of this is Farmer Dawson’s admission at the church on Christmas morning: “We must do something to protect those two [Paul and the rector], Will, or their minds will bend ... You have the power, and the rest of us do not” (The Dark Is Rising 283). This acknowledgement fits in with the child-aligned ideology of empowerment: even the powerful adults around Will are openly admitting that he is more powerful than they are.

### **Concealed ideologies**

A number of critics have identified ideologies at work in The Dark is Rising Sequence, and in The Dark is Rising specifically. The sequence’s focus on British myth, history and identity, embodied in its memorable “sense of place” (Cameron “The Eternal

Moment” 158-59), provides rich pickings for ideological analysis, although at times the findings are conflicting. For example, Raymond Plante argues that the sequence’s construction, especially its use of magical objects, prophecy and the idea of birthright, contains an underlying ideology of predestination (38), while Lois Kuznets identifies contemporary ideologies of adolescent development in the series which are transmitted through the medium of Arthurian mythology (25-32).

Daphne Kutzer identifies a link between Cooper’s series and its contemporary social context, noting that The Dark is Rising Sequence “reflects the author’s preoccupation with Britain’s loss of primacy in the world” (196). Given my own study’s similar findings in the analyses of the previous two texts, I suggest that Kutzer has identified part of a longer-term trend (although not, as Kutzer argues, a response to the Thatcher era which followed the series’ publication). Charles Butler similarly identifies ideologies of Britishness at work in Cooper’s series, which he considers within the contextual framework of post-colonial immigration. Butler argues that the series promotes a vision of British heterogeneity rather than homogeneity, which emphasises a “shared humanity” (145-46). Yet Michael Drout, taking the ideological analysis further, identifies a “powerful ethnocentric strain in The Dark is Rising”, arguing that Cooper’s attempt to promote an “ideology of tolerance” in keeping with contemporary, post-imperial concerns is contradicted by the deeper ideologies inherent in the source materials themselves (237).

Drout’s analysis of the series is particularly significant for my own study, because he acknowledges the multi-layered nature of the ideologies in The Dark is Rising Sequence, including those that relate to adult-child power relations. Drout hypothesises that “traditional and historical materials ... carry with them coded meanings at a level that is not immediately apparent but that nevertheless operates to exercise ideological control of the text” (231). Moreover, when these materials are used within literature (such as Cooper’s), they carry their own implicit ideological agenda, which shapes the text “beyond the control of the author and beyond the conscious apprehension of the child reader” (231). Drout finds evidence for this hypothesis in the tensions between tolerance and ethnocentrism in Cooper’s series, but also in the way that the texts’ Anglo-Saxon emphasis on education and obedience enforces “vertical power relations” between adults and children (231). Drout’s findings support the notion that children’s



texts can carry concealed, even conflicting ideologies, and that these ideologies may support hegemonic adult-child relations, although Drout does not explain how the texts transmit their ideological messages to child readers. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, the application of the Trojan Horse theory is useful for filling this gap, revealing the ideological complexities of Cooper's work as well as the ways the text positions child readers to accept its lessons.

Gwyneth Evans also acknowledges that adult-child power relations are naturalised in Cooper's series. Evans compares the treatment of Merlin in The Dark is Rising Sequence to three other modern texts, finding a common theme in the use of the Merlin character to explore various questions of morality, which in Cooper's series comprises the nature of good and evil itself (22). Evans specifically recognises the adult-child power relations which are naturalised in Cooper's sequence by using the Merlin character, arguing that Cooper presents Merriman/Merlin as "the ideal sort of adult" providing necessary guidance without acting as a parent or teacher, a distinction necessary for children to respect and admire him (22). I contend that Evans has identified hegemonic interpellation at work in the character's construction, where the adult's authority status is obscured by his role, and I will explore the ideologies concealed and the strategy of concealment in the context of the story's overall ideological structure.

Mary Harris Veeder explores the constructions of gender and power in Cooper's series, analysing the roles given to both female and male characters throughout the five-part story. Veeder's analysis reveals traditional gender stereotypes and power structures within the series, which promote patriarchal power and marginalise the roles and agency of female characters (11). Of most interest to this study is Harris's assertion that power in Cooper's series is so aligned with patriarchy that "[t]he boys are, in effect, forced into the girls' roles because the binarily conceived universe allows only two positions. Either they are adult males or, if they are not adult males, they cannot finally have power" (11). Harris's finding articulates the hegemonic relations between adults and children, although without using Marxist terminology, and suggests that these relations are naturalised and transmitted in Cooper's work within the text's process of socialisation.

Building on the existing research into ideologies in Cooper's series, I will concentrate my analysis on two main areas of The Dark is Rising where socialisation occurs through concealed ideology. The first kind of interpellation seeks to position implied child within a British cultural context, based on an underlying worldview that British culture is important and good, and that child members of that culture must be properly socialised in order to maintain its viability. This is evident in the ways that the text seeks to educate implied child readers in British myth and history, to construct a modern national identity within a liberal, middle-class framework, and to inculcate a sense of national and cultural pride in being British. The text also aims to teach implied child readers a Manichaean worldview, which I contend has a strong cultural subtext that relates to the lesson on national identity. The second main area of interpellation in The Dark is Rising that I will investigate seeks to socialise implied child readers within an adult hegemony. There are a number of different (and occasionally conflicting) ideologies relating to this particular hegemonic project which I will explore, including the text's image of a modern childhood which responds to its contemporary social context, the importance of education, including formal education, and the normalisation of hegemonic adult-child relations and interactions.

The Dark is Rising seeks to interpellate child readers as modern Britons, and within this interpellation it engages with the concept of British national identity, both historical and contemporary. The first part of this interpellation is educational: the text aims to give child readers a working knowledge of Britain's history and mythology. To achieve this aim, the text presents the content in a manner designed to appeal to child readers: by conflating history with magic and myth, the lesson becomes fun and exciting, and thus the fantastic elements carry a lesson in history and culture within them. Eleanor Cameron makes special mention of the richness of Cooper's portrayal of history, especially in comparison with American time fantasy, and attributes this to the longer cultural history of Britain upon which Cooper is able to draw ("The Eternal Moment" 162). Cameron argues that Cooper's use of history and attention to historical and mythological detail give her series a memorable "sense of place" which is one of its key strengths ("The Eternal Moment" 158-59), and as I will show, this "sense of place" constructs a particular ideology of national identity which promotes British culture even as it socialises implied child readers.

On some occasions, the text treats the myths of Britain as historical facts: the mythological character Wayland Smith becomes a real, historical blacksmith and an Old One, while Herne the Hunter, who also exists in Celtic folklore as Gwyn ap Nudd (Sullivan 68), leads the Wild Hunt across the sky on Twelfth Night (Cooper The Dark Is Rising 354). Merlin also appears, using the pseudonym of Merriman Lyon, as Barney Drew concludes at the end of Over Sea, Under Stone (Cooper Over Sea 173). At other times, the text imbues real historical artefacts and events with magic: for example, Alfred's Jewel is reconceptualised as the Sign of Fire (Drout 231-34), and, echoing the Sutton Hoo ship burial discovered in 1939, a long-buried Dark Ages ship, complete with its dead king, rises magically from the Thames to help Will fulfil his quest. In these ways, child readers receive a lesson in British history and mythology under the auspices of a fantasy story; the text deliberately blurs the line between fantasy and reality in order to make Britain's history and culture exciting and appealing to readers.

This blurring is reinforced by the way the text redefines the dynamic between the primary and secondary worlds. The previous texts I have discussed all aim to divide the real world from the magical one by some physical barrier or special portal, wherein which the carnivalesque, often child-aligned magic is largely contained. In The Dark is Rising, however, fantasy appears as an intrusion into the everyday world. Mendlesohn argues that the rhetoric of the intrusion fantasy "depend[s] both on the naïveté of the protagonist and her awareness of the permeability of the world – a distrust of what is known in favour of what is sensed" (Rhetorics 115). In Cooper's text, the secondary, magical spaces appear as shifting, fluid occurrences of British history, real and mythologised, and the rhetoric of the intrusion serves an ideological purpose. By highlighting the permeability of the primary world (contemporary Britain), the text demonstrates that it is inextricably entwined with its past, which can, one assumes, be sensed even when not fully understood. This reinforces the overall lesson to implied child readers, that that Britain is special and unique because of its extraordinary history, a history that lives on in the Britain of the present.

Since the magical realm is Britain's past, Will's journeys there become travels in time. Such journeys are impossible for normal mortals: only people with magical powers can journey in this way. For narrative purposes this arrangement demonstrates that the battle of Light and Dark has lasted throughout British history but, ideologically, it also

stresses contemporary Britain's strong ties to the past. As Will travels into the past, he learns that his village has a long history and is intricately connected to the mythology of Britain: it was the site of a Dark-Ages ship burial, and is close to the forest of Herne the Hunter. At one point in the story, Merriman tells Will that "the future can sometimes affect the past, even though the past is a road that leads to the future" (Cooper The Dark Is Rising 220). While this makes literal sense only within the internal logic of the story, in a metaphoric sense it may represent the idea that Britain's past and present are strongly interconnected and that the present is not only an extension of a glorious past, but integral to it.

A similar technique appears in Rudyard Kipling's Puck of Pook's Hill (1906). In this book, Puck, "the oldest Old Thing in England" (Kipling Puck of Pook's Hill 8), brings characters from Britain's real and mythologised past forward in time to meet and teach the two young Britons, Dan and Una. Indeed, the two texts have strong similarities: both strive to give young readers a vision of national identity, and both use Britain's past in a fantasy context in order to achieve this. For Kipling, however, British national identity sat securely within an imperial framework and tradition; he attempted to reproduce the ideologies of imperialism and nationalism in a new generation by giving child readers a personal experience of living in various historical and occasionally mythical periods. Charles Butler has also observed the similarity of technique in Cooper's and Kipling's texts, but argues that the two texts differ in part because Cooper's text does not laud the empire or imperial relations (143), a point with which I concur. However, I suggest that both texts seek to teach a view of British history and culture in order to construct national identities relevant to their *respective* eras, which in Cooper's time was characterised by "Britain's loss of primacy in the world", as Kutzer has discerned (196). Thus, the critical difference between Puck of Pook's Hill and The Dark is Rising is that Cooper's text responds to the *loss* of imperial and national certainties.

The second part of the text's cultural interpellation focuses on contemporary Britain, portraying an inclusive cultural and ethnic vision of modern Britishness, and locating this identity within a larger international context. These constructions use Will's perspective as a focaliser, so that this vision is understood through the eyes of an eleven-year-old boy. Consequently, Will's apparently childlike perspective acts as a hailing device that naturalises the text's ideological message about national identity but

also carries other, often more traditional ideologies about gender, race, class and culture.

Will's exposure to Britishness comes from his mundane family (the Stantons), the people of his village, and his magical family (the Old Ones). Through these characters, the text attempts to promote an idea of modern Britain as liberal and multicultural, but other ideologies are transmitted as well, thanks in part to the text's use of historical sources and traditional fantasy motifs. Furthermore, using Will's perspective to explore what it means to be British is vital because Will functions as the text's "coming man" or rising generation: it is he, and by implication, child readers, who will be called upon to understand and carry forth this British culture.

The construction of the Stanton family is one important part of the text's definition of national identity, and yet its ideological import is partially obscured by Will's child-aligned perspective. Will takes his family for granted; it seems normal and natural to him. Child readers are also positioned to see the Stanton family in this way: its natural interactions, modern dialogue and nuclear structure seem self-evident, perhaps just like the implied reader's own family, or an idealised version of it. Yet despite the growing influence of second wave feminism in Britain and the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the construction of the family transmits traditional ideologies, especially of gender roles, but also as these relate to class and national identity. For example, the Stantons take on roles that would have pleased Victorian moralists: Mr. Stanton is *petit bourgeoisie*, Mrs. Stanton a housewife, their sons have skills and abilities relevant to public life, while their daughters remain marginalised to the action and largely confined to the domestic sphere. In the story the female Stantons are vulnerable to the Dark forces, and thus provide points of leverage on the active male characters, particularly Will. The women thus fit into the old imperial ethos appearing, for example, in Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness (1902), where white women are weak and need protection, even from unsavoury truths. Child readers, positioned to see the naturalness of the contemporary British Stanton family, may also be positioned to accept these other ideologies as part of the interpellation.

Similar ideological structures permeate other characters who help define what being British is all about. For example, Will notices that the people in his village pull together well in a time of crisis:

“Funny,” Will said, as they picked their way through [the crowd]. “Things are absolutely awful, and yet people look much happier than usual. Look at them all. Bubbling.”

“They are English,” Merriman said.

“Quite right,” said Will’s father. “Splendid in adversity, tedious when safe. Never content, in fact. We’re an odd lot. You’re not English, are you?” he said suddenly to Merriman, and Will was astonished to hear a slightly hostile note in his voice.

“A mongrel,” Merriman said blandly. “It’s a long story.” (The Dark Is Rising 303-4)

Several ideological undercurrents run through this short exchange. Firstly, Will recognises that the villagers’ behaviour is out of the ordinary, and much better than might logically be expected of people in such desperate circumstances. The idea of the English being “splendid in adversity” comes from a range of historical sources, but the great twentieth-century example is from the Blitz, a formative event in Cooper’s own childhood (C. Butler 8; Rochman 226-7). Tom Harrison’s accounts of the Blitz, based on the records of the Mass-Observation social research organisation, show that while stereotypically good morale was associated with cheerfulness, in reality, good morale was evident in people’s ability and willingness to cope, and that on the whole, the British people coped very well (279). Consequently, this exchange promotes a vision of national and cultural identity which is historically grounded, yet transposed to contemporary times, a point which Charles Butler has also noted (114).

The text approves of the villagers’ attitude and links this behaviour to English identity. This also has the effect of implying that English people are of a better quality than people from other parts of the world, or even Britain. At the same time, the text implicitly critiques the exclusivist stance of Roger Stanton, Will’s father. This is evident in the off-hand observation that Roger is hostile towards Merriman, who comes from a time in Britain’s mythologised past long before there was an England. The text emphasises Will’s astonishment at his father’s reaction, and Butler identifies a subtle ideological lesson emerging at this point in the narrative: that “the camaraderie is gained at the price of a more sharply defined and less porous definition of the group” (115). Since Will represents the rising generation and is presented as having a liberal and

multicultural view, I suggest it is this view the text is trying to pass on to its child readers. The exchange reveals an ideological complexity: the text approves of the villagers' English spirit, but subtly acknowledges the inappropriateness of endorsing an exclusive English identity, as Roger does.

Other aspects of the text promote an inclusive, multicultural and contemporary British national identity and frame Britain within an international context. For example, the text aims to show that immigrants, colonial peoples and their cultures also contribute to a modern understanding of Britishness: the text includes two West Indian characters, albeit in small roles, as well as a West Indian carnival head mask. One of the characters is a bus-conductor in Will's village, who is an immigrant from Port of Spain (The Dark Is Rising 222); the other, a Jamaican Old One in Kingston who gives Will's older brother Stephen the West Indian carnival head for Will to use in his quest (The Dark Is Rising 272-3).

Unlike the two characters, the carnival head plays a central role in the story, reflecting the cultural mix of Jamaica as compounded of British, African and indigenous Caribbean elements. The actual shape of the head represents the Celtic mythological figure of Herne the Hunter (The Dark Is Rising 273), and when Will gives the carnival head to Herne, Herne can hunt the Dark forces "to the very ends of the earth" (The Dark Is Rising 343). The appearance of the carnival head may invoke a post-colonial discourse, symbolically representing the colonies returning to the seat of the empire to aid it in its time of need; however, hints of ambivalence about the real worth of colonial cultures remain in the text. The value of the carnival head comes mainly from its link to British culture: it helps the Light because it is an image of a British mythological figure. In other words, the text values colonial influences, but judges them according to their adherence to British culture, which suggests an older, imperial ideology is also at work here. Charles Butler has argued that "What makes Britain a 'special' place for Cooper is not its recent imperial past but its deep past" (145); however, I suggest that in this instance, the portrayal of Herne's mask – an artefact of the deep past – is complicated by imperial ideologies which are also bound up in the definitions of national identity that Cooper explores.

The cultural construction of the Old Ones also contributes to the portrayal of contemporary Britain and its national identity. The Old Ones Will meets are mainly British, sometimes of mythological origin, but at the climax of the story when the six Signs of Light are joined, an “endless throng” of Old Ones arrives to bear witness to the Joining (The Dark Is Rising 347). Will realises that the Old Ones are ethnically diverse: he sees “an endless variety of faces ... paper-white, jet-black, and every shade and gradation of pink and brown between”, and the text immediately reinforces this realisation by stating that they come “[f]rom every land, from every part of the world” (The Dark Is Rising 347). This international depiction of the Old Ones implies that events in Britain are relevant to the rest of the world and that Britain is part of a global culture. However, Drout has noted that “Command and control of the Light is clearly situated in the British Isles”, an example of the text’s ethnocentrism which he attributes to Cooper’s use of Victorian and Edwardian source materials (237). I contend that both ideologies relating to Britishness – internationalism/multiculturalism and imperialism/ethnocentrism – are operating here, and drawing on Hollindale’s three levels of ideology I suggest the former is a conscious inclusion while the latter may be an unexamined assumption. By focalising Will’s perspective, implied child readers are positioned to accept these ideologies as Will does.

Cooper’s depiction of contemporary, multicultural Britain and its relationship to other nations and cultures arguably responds to the text’s socio-political context (M. Abbott 122-49; Waters 208). Consequently, the text may be attempting to endorse a progressive and optimistic view of contemporary Britain in order to soothe domestic anxieties about Britain’s place and role at the time. Yet the text’s Manichaean worldview further complicates the ideology of a progressive, multicultural Britain. Here, the text’s depictions of good and evil, as represented by the two cosmic forces of the Light and the Dark, contain connotations of domesticity and foreignness, stranger danger, external threats, and the homeland under siege. This, as I will demonstrate, results in a commingling of the ideologies, so that the lesson in good and evil is applied to nationalism and national identity, and by focalising Will’s perspective as he experiences good and evil first-hand, implied child readers are also interpellated.

Cooper’s Dark force is arguably the most menacing depiction of evil in the texts analysed so far, threatening the entire future of the human race. Will’s emotional



reactions to the Dark, much like Lucy's sensory experiences in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, prompt implied readers to experience these same emotions. Through this, the text aims to teach readers that evil is external, alien or foreign, that it can inspire fear because it is menacing and extremely dangerous, but that this fear can be controlled. It then teaches that evil should be hated and avoided, and that it is irredeemable.

The text begins this lesson by manipulating the protagonist's and the readers' emotions to create fear. The primary event occurs on the eve of Will's eleventh birthday, even before he learns of the existence of the Light and the Dark, when he is assailed by a nameless and menacing fear. I have already discussed the ways that the creation of terror in this event functions as a hailing device, focalising Will's perspective and prompting implied child readers to feel empathy towards him. Yet this event also functions as a lesson about evil, and has an ideological component relating to foreignness.

The wave of fear comes three times in rapid succession. The first wave links the fear to danger and cold and through this, symbolically to death, as represented by the black pit and Will's inability to move. The second wave emphasises the external source of the fear (that is, evil) and its ability to overwhelm a rational person: Will feels the fear as a "huge weight ... pushing at his mind, threatening, trying to take him over, turn him into something he didn't want to be" (The Dark Is Rising 193). Will recognises that the fear is illogical, that it seems like he is "frightened of the dark" and he feels ashamed and stupid. Yet this is also a subtle message about the fear's origins. Will may not yet know it, but he is frightened of the *Dark*: of the evil forces who are engineering this experience. The third wave emphasises the external source of the fear: it jumps at him "like a great animal that had been waiting to spring". At that moment the window of Will's skylight breaks and brings in a great blast of midwinter cold and snow, a physical cause of death and destruction brought by the forces of evil (The Dark Is Rising 194).

The idea that evil forces are outside trying to get in recurs throughout The Dark is Rising, and each time, the threat outside the door creates fear. The recurring motifs are of siege and invasion, where the forces of good seem surrounded by the Dark. This may have added cultural and historical connotations in light of the story's British context, as the seas of Britain both conducted and repelled invading hordes, including the Vikings,

the Normans, the Spanish Armada and the Napoleonic fleet, and in the twentieth century, events such as the Battle of Britain and the Cold War also represented external threats to Britain. Butler also identifies a personal significance for Cooper in this motif, given that, as a child during the war, she deeply feared the prospect of a German paratrooper outside the front door, and credits the effectiveness of the fear scene in The Dark is Rising to this childhood terror (Cooper in C. Butler 13). The ideological import of the construction thus has cultural as well as moral dimensions which are transmitted to implied readers empathising with Will's experiences.

On the morning of Will's birthday, the night after this terrifying experience, the Lady of the Light specifically tells Will *not* to fear the Dark (The Dark Is Rising 215), and over the course of Will's adventure, the text teaches other ways of responding to evil. For example, earlier that morning, Will meets the Black Rider – a Lord of the Dark – at Wayland Smith's forge, and Will instinctively knows to avoid him: "Will's breath came faster at the sight of him, and he felt a hollowness in his throat. He did not know why ... [Will] did not look at the tall cloaked figure facing him" (The Dark Is Rising 198). When the "strange man" finally speaks, Will notes that "the man spoke with a curious accent that was not of the South-East" (The Dark Is Rising 198). Here, the Rider's accent, strange clothes and Will's instinctive, adrenaline-related response mark the man as alien and threatening. The Rider offers Will food and an invitation to ride with him, but Will instinctively refuses, and later the blacksmith confirms the rightness of Will's decision:

"Eat," said the smith. "There is no danger in it now that you will not be breaking bread with the Rider. You see how quickly you saw the peril of that. Just as you knew there would be greater peril in riding with him." (The Dark Is Rising 200)

The lesson to avoid taking food or rides from suspicious strangers may recall the increasing awareness of child predators that was growing in the 1970s; indeed, in the same year as The Dark is Rising was published, a public information advertisement about stranger danger aimed at children aired on British televisions (Central Office of Information for Home Office "Charley - Strangers"). The food prohibition motif is much older, stemming from the ancient ritual of bonding through shared food. This is also a popular fairytale and fantasy motif, for example, in Snow White and also in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe. In fact, the "Turkish Delight" episode in Lewis's

text is similar: in both instances, the food-giver is aligned with foreignness and cosmic evil, and the proffered food has the potential to enthrall the child to evil purposes.

The text's third lesson for children is to hate evil. This lesson occurs at the climax of the story, when Will faces the rising Dark in the flooded valley of the Thames. In the midst of the storm, Will meets the Black Rider, who has taken his sister Mary hostage. The Rider gloats over Will's predicament and Will "stared back [at the Rider], hating him" (The Dark Is Rising 332). The context gives added weight to this lesson. The Light is associated with rules and rituals, and some rules obviously apply to the Dark as well, such as entry by invitation (The Dark Is Rising 275). Yet the Dark is willing to use Will's family as unwitting pawns, and the text condemns this unreservedly. Not only has the Dark taken advantage of women and children, which is a very traditional gender- and age-based definition of vulnerability, but there is also a sense that the Dark is unfairly breaking the rules. I suggest this may have an added cultural interpretation: that the foreign force lacks the British sense of fair play, or what Captain Hook would admit as "bad form" (Barrie 204), and the text ensures that children know to hate such behaviour and those who perpetrate it.

The final part of the text's lesson is that evil cannot be redeemed, but must be destroyed. This is so naturalised in the text that the idea of converting members or allies of the Dark to the Light never arises, even though Hawkin's conversion from the Light to the Dark is one of the pivotal events of the story. In Cooper's universe, the Dark and the Light are equal and opposite poles and the struggle between them is predestined. Will's quest to find and guard the six Signs of Light is based on the premise that the joined Signs will be a weapon against the Dark in the long struggle to prevent them from domination. This portrayal of the conflict between the Light and the Dark as an all-or-nothing struggle for survival and victory reflects a wartime mentality, which Cooper has admitted she developed out of her experiences as a child in the Second World War:

I mean, when you go to bed at night, and you know you are going to be woken up by people dropping a bomb on you, or trying to, I think it forms certain assumptions at the back of your mind that never go away. There's a threat of absolute evil as part of life; the sort of omnipresence of someone trying to do bad things. (cited in Rochman 226-7)

Complementing this portrayal of a foreign or external evil is the portrayal of good as something which is primarily domestic and under threat. The text repeatedly demonstrates that ordinary British people are acutely threatened by the Dark: for example, Huntercombe village becomes isolated and besieged by snow (brought by the Dark), and on twelfth night, the Black Rider outside the Manor brings a deadly cold to bear on the Manor Hall's refugees. The Forces of Light – the Old Ones – are largely defined by their defensive and protective nature, in opposition to the aggressive Dark. Many Old Ones help Will on his quest and they also help protect his family when the Dark rises on Twelfth Night (Cooper The Dark Is Rising 332, 38, 53). The construction of the Lady of the Light conforms to this definition as well: she offers her protection and guidance to Will from the beginning of his quest. Merriman too is an Old One, and to some extent his behaviour forms part of this exemplar of good, especially in the way that he guides Will's journey. However, as I will demonstrate later in this chapter, there is a significant ideological conflict in Merriman's role as a benevolent patriarch, which works against the alignment of the Light with the force of good. Overall, however, the fact that the Old Ones are mainly British, or else closely aligned with Britain, contributes to the cultural connotations of the text's binarism.

The text's attempt to interpellate implied child readers within an adult hegemony represents another major area where concealed ideologies occur. Here, the text appears to offer a vision of child empowerment, even over adults, within child-aligned hailing devices which invoke signs of childness and counter-hegemonic ideologies. Yet on a deeper level, the text responds to an adult-aligned idea of contemporary childhood as a time when children may well have to cope with adult problems and responsibilities, and the text therefore sets out to teach children how to cope in this situation. Consequently, this text offers little in the way of a defined apprenticeship to future adult power and this sets it apart from many of the other texts in this study. Instead, the text focuses on children who, by necessity, become "very old before the proper time" (The Dark Is Rising 283); it creates a strong framework of guidance and learning to prepare the child for their burdens and responsibilities, and this naturalises hegemonic adult-child relations.

The ambivalent definition of childhood at work in The Dark is Rising responds to some of the popular concerns about childhood in the 1960s and 1970s, although interestingly

the anxiety about consumerism and media influence which appeared in Dahl's text is missing from Cooper's. Yet the focus on the child in danger, exposed to adult problems and even the exigencies of war, may reflect events like the domestic televising of the Vietnam War, the perceived impact of changing family structures, and the social and upheavals in Britain at the time. Cooper's vision of childhood is primarily evident in the text's construction of Will's new responsibilities. Will's magical powers, unlike the magic in texts like Peter and Wendy and Adventures of the Wishing-Chair, do not exist to provide fun and amusement; instead Will must use his powers to save the world and prevent the Dark from rising. Like The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, Will's powers are framed within terms of duty and responsibility, as Merriman warns Will on his very first day as a magic user:

"It is a burden," Merriman said. "Make no mistake about that. Any great gift of power or talent is a burden, and this more than any, and you will often long to be free of it. But there is nothing to be done. If you were born with the gift, then you must serve it, and nothing in this world or out of it may stand in the way of that service, because that is why you were born and that is the Law." (The Dark Is Rising 211)

Will's new powers also burden him with new responsibilities towards his mundane family. As the Dark tries to use his family against him, Will realises that they are in mortal jeopardy because of him, and only he can protect them. This knowledge changes Will over the course of the story: he starts out as a happy, carefree child, but by the end of the text he has become solemn, contemplative and careworn, possibly symbolising the text's perception of contemporary childhood.

The fact that Will becomes an "Old One" reinforces this construction. In taking on these responsibilities, he has become "very old before the proper time" (The Dark Is Rising 283), losing the essence of his childhood in the process. Merriman underlines this near the end of the story when he remarks to Will: "Come Old One ... remember yourself. You are no longer a small boy" (The Dark Is Rising 350). Thus, the text's perception of childhood is based on a paradox that the contemporary child is defined by the imminent or threatened loss of a recognisable childhood, a popular concern of the late twentieth century.

Though the text may imply that the contemporary child may need to cope with adult-like responsibilities, it still frames childhood within hegemonic adult-child relations,

and therefore depicts a role for benevolent, guiding adults. Concealed by the marginalisation of Will's mundane parents, the text constructs more powerful symbolic parents – the leaders of the Light, Merriman and the Lady – whose control and guidance shape Will's quest. Will's relationship to these two characters naturalises hierarchical adult-child relations; furthermore, it teaches child readers to desire adult approval and to feel guilt and shame for acts of independence.

The most overt adult authority figure in The Dark is Rising is Merriman Lyon, oldest of the Old Ones. The archetype of the Arthurian Merlin strongly shapes Merriman's character: Merriman is the classic wise patriarch, and even his appearance connotes strength, power and wisdom. Will first sees him as a "tall figure" with "a strong, bony head, with deep-set eyes and an arched nose fierce as a hawk's beak; a sweep of wiry white hair springing back from the high forehead; bristling brows and a jutting chin" (The Dark Is Rising 205). Merriman's appearance contrasts with that of Will's real father, Roger, who in the same chapter is succinctly described as "short and content and gentle" (The Dark Is Rising 210). The contrast enables the text to remove one patriarch's power in an apparent signifier of a counter-hegemonic consciousness, but then subtly insert a more powerful patriarch in his place. This finding is supported by Gwyneth Evans' research into the Merlin character: by not presenting Merriman as an obvious parent or teacher – and by contrasting him against Will's real father – Cooper is able to promote benevolent adult guidance through a character that implied child readers will "respect and admire" in what this study terms a concealed ideology (Evans 22). As Veeder argues, Merriman's construction promotes a patriarchal worldview where the adult male is the most legitimate authority figure (11). Against Merriman's powerful position, Will remains relatively docile and powerless, although agreeably so. Veeder, using a gender studies framework, interprets this dynamic as a kind of feminisation of Will; however, as this study uses an applied Marxist framework, I suggest the text is using the constructions of Will and Merriman to naturalise an adult hegemonic system and specifically the unequal power relations between parents and children.

Further evidence for this argument can also be found in the construction of Merriman's female counterpart, the Lady of the Light. The text uses the relationship between Will and the Lady to suggest that parental figures are naturally benevolent and that children

should act in ways that meet their approval. The Lady's physical appearance is stereotypically feminine, in the same way that Merriman's is stereotypically masculine. She is "very small, fragile as a bird", "frail", with a voice that is "soft and gentle" and bell-like, and she gives Will the "impression of immense age" (The Dark Is Rising 205-6). Twice in their initial meeting, the sound of the Lady's voice makes Will intensely and inexplicably happy: the text states that this happiness feels "natural" to him as he basks in her approval (The Dark Is Rising 206-09), in what amounts to a kind of psychological dependence.

When the Dark threatens the trio in the Hall, the two elders draw Will between them, each of them holding one of his hands. Here, the text depicts the child ensconced within indestructible parental bonds that provide protection against the Dark. As Merriman says, "It is a joining they cannot break" (The Dark Is Rising 216). Within that circle of protection, Will can strike a blow at the Dark: "the three of them together could accomplish more than he ever imagined" (The Dark Is Rising 216), but when Will rashly breaks those bonds to stand alone, all three are battered by the Dark's power. At this point, the Lady uses her extraordinary powers to beat back the Dark, expending herself in the process: "her bright presence faded into nothing" (The Dark Is Rising 218). Will is left in some confusion, and Merriman bitterly tells Will the truth: the Lady's solo struggle against the Dark left her completely drained, and she must go away for a time to recover, putting the whole of the Light's battle in jeopardy. At this news, Will is filled with misery and guilt:

"It was my fault, wasn't it?" he said miserably. "If I hadn't run forward, when I saw the doors – if I'd kept hold of your hands, and not broken the circle –"

Merriman said curtly: "Yes." Then he relented a little. "But it was their doing, Will, not yours. They seized you, through your impatience and your hope. They love to twist good emotion to accomplish ill."

...Will stood hunched with his hands in his pockets, staring at the ground. Behind his mind a chant went sneering through his head: *you have lost the Lady, you have lost the Lady*. Unhappiness was thick in his throat; he swallowed; he could not speak. (The Dark Is Rising 218, italics in original)

In asserting his independence from these parental figures, Will has gravely wounded his symbolic mother. Merriman's explanation that she has "gone away for a time" (The Dark Is Rising 218) echoes the euphemisms adults use to describe death or illness to

small children. The event positions children to refrain from thinking or acting on their own initiative, and to cleave to adult protection.

As part of his quest, Will learns that it is not enough to have power: he needs adult guidance and education in order to use it. Merriman stresses this point on the first day Will's magic awakens, telling him that the power of the Old Ones in him is "free, flowering, fully grown. But it is still confused and unchannelled because you are not in proper control of it yet. You must be trained to handle it" (*The Dark Is Rising* 208). There is an ideological emphasis in Merriman's observation. Will may have power, but he cannot use it independently: he must be trained by someone qualified and, to a large extent, it is Merriman and the Lady – adult authority figures – who provide that training.

The first morning in the Great Hall, Will learns about his quest to find the six Signs of Light, as well as more practical skills in magic use. Later in the story, Will's formal education continues when he reads the Book of Gramarye, "the oldest book in the world" which "cannot be understood by any except the Old Ones" (*The Dark Is Rising* 253). This book gives him knowledge of magic and of the universe, and at the end of reading it, he feels old, "as though he had lived for a hundred years ... weighed down, melancholy" and Merriman confirms the sentiment: to have so much knowledge and power is "a responsibility, a heaviness" (*The Dark Is Rising* 257).

The text's emphasis on education, training and guidance naturalises a formal education system, exemplified by the centrality of the Book of Gramarye to Will's quest, and this education may be understood as part of the larger adult hegemonic system and an Ideological State Apparatus in its own right. However, the depiction of education and guidance in Cooper's text also serves to naturalise adult controls over children's actions, or what Drout terms as "vertical power relations" between adults and children (231). According to the text, Will (and children like him) cannot learn on their own how to control themselves: adult guidance and other educational experiences are required to ensure this happens correctly. Will's actions support this hegemonic message: he has very little independence in his quest, as Merriman is usually on hand to take him where he needs to go and tell him what to do. Examples of this occur throughout the story, such as when Merriman takes Will to retrieve the Sign of Wood:



Will turned to study the panels round the fireplace; then jumped suddenly as he heard Merriman silently calling to him ...

“Quickly, now!” said the voice in his mind. “You know where to look. Quick, while you have the chance. It is time to take the Sign!”

“But –” said Will’s mind.

“Go on!” Merriman silently roared. (The Dark Is Rising 266)

Even when Will is on his own, he rarely needs to make an independent, conscious decision. Usually his instinct takes over, and he automatically knows what he needs to do. For example, he instinctively knows to avoid the Black Rider, just as he is instinctively drawn to the Hall of Light and has absolutely no misgivings about Merriman and the Lady when he first sees them there. Will also receives continual positive reinforcement that supports his instincts and interpellates readers to accept the naturalness of his actions. This is most evident in the bell-like music that makes Will so intensely happy upon awakening on his birthday (The Dark Is Rising 191), and which returns as he walks through the magical doors to the Hall of the Light (Cooper The Dark Is Rising 205), signalling the rightness of his presence in that place.

Furthermore, the function of prophecy in The Dark is Rising diminishes Will’s independence, his need to make decisions and his agency. In short, Will’s entire quest is preordained, from his birth as the last of the Old Ones (The Dark Is Rising 212) to the locations of the signs he must find, as foretold in the words of the prophecy:

Iron for the birthday, bronze carried long;  
Wood from the burning, stone out of song;  
Fire in the candle-ring, water from the thaw;  
Six signs in the circle, and the grail gone before. (The Dark Is Rising 293)

At least some of these Signs are simply given to Will or appear at the appropriate time without any conscious effort to find them on Will’s part, such as the Sign of Iron, given to him on the eve of his birthday (The Dark Is Rising 187), or the Sign of Stone, which appears suddenly in the wall of the village church (The Dark Is Rising 285). Raymond Plante has identified an ideology of predestination at work in the text’s use of objects and prophecy, suggesting that the function of the six signs, for example, “seem to play down the role of man, free-willed and capable of effecting change” (38). Plante, it would seem, attributes this ideology of predestination to an underlying flaw in the text’s construction, but I contend it serves a purpose in naturalising hegemonic relations. Specifically, Cooper’s emphasis on destiny and instinct diminishes Will’s independence

and power, naturalising the depiction of a relatively passive child accepting the role he is offered and the guidance he is given.

There are only two significant instances when Will does not act obediently, passively or out of instinct, and both put the Light's cause in danger and incur Merriman's wrath: once, as I have discussed already, in the Hall of Light, when Will breaks the circle of protection and gravely wounds the Lady (The Dark Is Rising 216-8), and once on the Old Way, when Will magically makes a fallen branch burn for fun and thus unwittingly calls the Dark (The Dark Is Rising 224-5). In the latter example, as in the former, the text depicts Will being deeply regretful for his actions: "He knew that he had done something foolish, improper, dangerous perhaps ... Oh Merriman, he thought unhappily, where are you?" (The Dark Is Rising 225). In this instance particularly, Will's explicit wish for Merriman to appear and solve his problem naturalises the guiding role of the adult authority figure. After this episode, Will is carefully obedient to Merriman's guidance, and the text rewards this obedience by making Will successful in his quest. These moments provide a lesson to implied child readers about the importance of following adult rules, given that adults apparently know best.

To reinforce these hegemonic power relations, the text uses another character, Hawkin, to provide a contrast, in a manner similar to Lewis's text where Edmund's example shows implied child readers how not to behave. Where Will's behaviour demonstrates the rewards of obedience to the patriarchal authority figure, Hawkin's treatment shows the dire consequences of rejecting that control. Hawkin is a young mortal man from the thirteenth century who has been brought forward in time to Miss Greythorne's nineteenth century Christmas Eve party in order to perform a specific task for the Light. Will's relationship to Merriman may imply a father-son bond, but in the relationship between Hawkin and Merriman, this bond is much more overt, and is stated constantly throughout the story. At the Christmas Eve party, Merriman says:

"I am his lord, and more than his lord, for he has been with me all his life, reared as if he were a son, since I took him when his parents had died."

"No son ever had better care," Hawkin said, rather huskily. (The Dark Is Rising 251)

During the evening, Merriman uses Hawkin in a dangerous magical ritual that allows Will to access the Book of Gramarye. Hawkin, realising that his lord may have

sacrificed him for a book, has his faith in the Light's cause shattered. When the witch-girl Maggie Barnes tempts him to the Dark, he accepts and betrays the Light (The Dark Is Rising 262). At Hawkin's moment of temptation, the text is careful to show the wrongness and aberration of Hawkin's decision. Upon meeting Maggie, Hawkin appears "doubtful" and, as she reveals her knowledge of his past, he "stared at her aghast" (The Dark Is Rising 261). Although he agrees to dance with her, he is "pale and distressed" and stumbles through the dance (The Dark Is Rising 261). This feeling of wrongness is not confined to Hawkin alone: Will "had all at once a dreadful, rushing conviction of hovering disaster" (The Dark Is Rising 259) and then becomes "sickened by the approaching treachery", while Merriman laments bleakly, "Hawkin ... liege man, how can you do what you are going to do?" (The Dark Is Rising 262).

Merriman punishes Hawkin for his betrayal by making him carry the Sign of Bronze for six hundred years, waiting to give it to Will. This punishment takes a heavy physical and psychological toll on Hawkin, who goes from being a lively man with "a brightness, like a precious stone, that would bring delight to any gloom" (The Dark Is Rising 259) to a physical and psychological wreck: old, bent, half-mad and incredibly dirty; in other words, the exact opposite to the bright-eyed young man at Miss Greythorne's party. The lesson is complete at the end of the story, when Hawkin has let in the Dark and the Rider abandons him, breaking his back. As Hawkin lies dying in the snow, he has a final scene with his former master, but even then Merriman, far from uttering words of love or forgiveness, somewhat sternly tells him that all his choices have been his own, and that the consequences of his actions were self-inflicted (The Dark Is Rising 344).

In ideological terms, Hawkin's fall is needed to contrast with Will's behaviour and drive home the lesson of child obedience. Yet Hawkin's betrayal and fall raises an ideological conflict in the text. Firstly, Merriman is willing to risk killing his beloved liege-man so that Will can read the Book of Gramarye. Secondly, Merriman knows Hawkin will betray the Light before the event occurs and does nothing to prevent it. And thirdly, this betrayal is preordained by the Light's own prophecy, in order for the Sign of Bronze to be "carried long" (The Dark Is Rising 293) and ensure the success of Will's quest. Consequently, it appears that Merriman allows or indeed causes Hawkin to suffer for the greater good of the joining of the Signs, raising the issue, as Cameron has

noted, of whether Merriman is any better than the Lords of the Dark (“The Eternal Moment” 159). These events suggest that Hawkin does not act out of free choice, but more importantly, they also call into question the text’s promotion of benevolent adult authority. However, the text never explores or critiques this point and despite the evidence, Merriman’s benevolence and alignment with Good remains unquestioned. It would seem that Cooper’s text cannot countenance a challenge to benevolent, patriarchal authority.

### **Summary of concealment strategies**

The use of the protagonist’s childlike perspective on the story’s events is one of the most basic ways the text conceals its ideological interpellation and hegemonic socialisation. Readers identifying with Will are positioned to accept as natural the things he takes for granted, and the text’s manipulation of this transmits ideology. This occurs, for example, in Will’s growing understanding of his national identity and culture, in his experiences with good and evil, and in his relations with others, especially adults.

Another prominent concealment strategy in The Dark is Rising occurs in the text’s trivialisation of some adult authority figures to draw attention away from an underlying endorsement of adult authority and child obedience. This concealment strategy is similar to the strategy occurring in Blyton’s and Dahl’s stories, where bad adults are lampooned but good adults (or the general idea of good adult authority figures) are endorsed. In Cooper’s text, the most obvious authority figures – Will’s parents – are shown to be less powerful than their youngest son, even to the extent that they require his protection, and throughout the story they are overtly and repeatedly removed from the centre of the action. Yet in the instant that Will becomes powerful, he gets new parental figures (Merriman and the Lady) to guide his actions, although the fact that they are not Will’s parents helps to further conceal the hegemonic shaping engendered in their construction.

In addition to the use of child-aligned hailing devices to conceal ideology, Cooper’s text uses the conventions of fantasy to conceal a process of cultural education and socialisation. The rhetoric of intrusion and the blurring of the boundaries between the

primary and secondary worlds are key to this process, as is the conflation of myth and history. By making the culture of Britain appealing, and by addressing implied child readers as members of this culture, which is at once mythical, magical, historical and contemporary, the text is able to promote its vision of national identity while appearing simply to tell a fantasy story.

## **Conclusion**

The use of signs of childness as hailing devices to conceal ideology and hegemonic socialisation is evident in Cooper's text, but arguably not nearly to the same extent as some of the earlier texts in this study. It is worth considering, although ultimately difficult to prove, whether the dystopian vision of a threatened childhood which permeates Cooper's story is at least partly responsible for a paucity of childhood signifiers. Despite this, Will remains recognisably childlike and ordinary in his perspective, and the one major counter-hegemonic hailing device – the construction of the empowered child – is clearly articulated, suggesting that Cooper was aware of the dynamics of adult-child relations within its hegemonic system.

Many of the ideologies identified by scholars of the series form part of the text's attempt to socialise implied child readers, either within an adult hegemonic system, or within a British cultural system, even as the latter forms part of the text's demands of the child. Moreover, the text's ideologies, as I have shown, are often concealed, either by the child-aligned hailing devices, or by the use of fantasy to make the cultural lesson on Britain appeal more to children. Consequently, it is clear that Cooper's text conforms to the Trojan Horse ideological structure I have proposed, even as the particulars of that structure are unique to the text and its context.

The Dark is Rising is an ambitious story: it creates a unique children's fantasy epic, it draws on a vast quantity of British history and mythology, it engages with its contemporary social context, it seeks to reflect the essence of contemporary childhood, and it endorses hegemonic power relations. Because of the text's wide-ranging scope, it is ideologically dense, and sometimes this density creates contradictions and confusions, especially within the structures of ideologies outlined here. For example,

the text's attempt to define British national identity in the post-war era effectively uses the fantasy elements of the story as a concealment strategy carrying a deeper lesson in British history aimed at child readers. Then it prompts readers to identify with the protagonist and uses the protagonist's experiences of Britishness to interpellate readers into its vision of what it means to be British in the post-war era. The elements of the mechanism work, but the concealed ideologies are drawn from such a wide range of social and historical worldviews, including Manichaeism, imperialism, Anglo-centrism, multiculturalism and liberalism, that at times, these ideologies sit uneasily together, as in the portrayal of colonial influences or the construction of an external, invasive evil.

Similarly, the hailing device showing the ordinary child suddenly becoming extraordinary and empowered works well because it clearly and concisely relates to a specific child-aligned ideology. Ideological conflict arises when the text tries to portray two opposing visions of childhood and adult-child power relations: the traditional vision, where children remain safe within parental controls, and the contemporary vision, where the safety net of parental presence sometimes does not exist. As I have shown, The Dark is Rising is not willing to challenge the idea of benevolent adult authority or to question whether adults always know best, even when the story's events may prompt it, and so the structures of authority in this text remain unexamined. This may possibly result from the time in which Cooper was writing; as I will discuss in the following chapter, at least one later text does demonstrate a willingness to explore this issue and its ideological implications.

The earlier texts in this study have not been as strongly afflicted by the sorts of ideological conflicts that arise in Cooper's text, but at the same time, these earlier texts are generally simpler and less ambitious in their scope. For example, The Wishing-Chair presents an uncomplicated vision of imperialism without attempting to engage with the contemporary issues of imperialism in practice, and so its Trojan Horse mechanism is clearly articulated. Likewise, Dahl's vision of proper child behaviour does not attempt to explore why children might behave otherwise, or indeed, whether different standards of behaviour more relevant to the 1960s might be appropriate, and its hegemonic socialisation is similarly unconflicted. Cooper's text not only shows evidence of different ideas about Britishness and childhood, it brings together a variety

of modes and themes, such as fantasy, realistic social issues, nationalism and identity, good and evil, and the nature of childhood, and explores their relevance to modern life. Just as Drout has noted the extra ideological freight which accompanies historical materials used in this modern fantasy story (231), so too this aggregation of themes and modes increases and complicates the text's ideological content.

The Dark is Rising expects readers to engage with this ideological complexity, to follow a complex plot over the course of the story and the sequence, to reflect upon their place in family and social structures. These implied readers are evidently not the same as the implied readers of, say, Blyton's or Dahl's stories, who are quite conceivably younger. But I would suggest they also differ qualitatively from Baum's, Barrie's or Lewis's implied readers, because Cooper allows neither her protagonist nor her readers to escape the harsher realities of life and remain in or return to an idyllic space of childhood innocence. Like Will Stanton, Cooper's implied readers are children out in the world, coping with life's issues and developing a sense of themselves and their social context. The end of the journey here is not a reward, a forgiveness of sins, a reclamation of innocence or simply an end to the adventure; instead it is one more step on a well-guided path to maturity.

## Chapter Seven

### **Directions for the Twenty-First Century: Visions of Adult-Child Relations in Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone (1997) and Northern Lights (1995)<sup>12</sup>**

The final years of the twentieth century witnessed a new resurgence of children's fantasy fiction, due in no small part to what became known as the "Harry Potter phenomenon" (R. P. Butler 64; Zipes Sticks and Stones 170). Amid ever-present concerns about literacy levels and children's reading habits, late twentieth-century children's fantasy fiction was able to capture child and adult readers as well as intense media interest. It is therefore appropriate for this study to include an analysis of J.K. Rowling's first Harry Potter novel, Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone (1997) (hereafter referred to as Philosopher's Stone), a book which has sold millions of copies worldwide, has been turned into computer games, a blockbuster film (2001), and as at 2008 had been translated into 67 languages (Dammann; no pagination).

While it is tempting to see the Harry Potter series as the primary evolutionary direction children's fantasy literature has followed, a number of other highly popular children's fantasy stories and series were published around the same time, such as Terry Pratchett's Johnny Maxwell trilogy (1992-1996), the beginning of Emily Rodda's Rowan of Rin series (from 1994), and the first instalments of Lemony Snicket's A Series of Unfortunate Events (from 1999). Yet of the children's fantasy fiction published around the same time, only one series garnered a similar amount of controversy, critical acclaim and media attention as the Harry Potter series: Philip Pullman's His Dark Materials trilogy (1995-1999). The opening title, Northern Lights

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<sup>12</sup> Parts of this chapter have been previously published:

Giardina, N. "Like Harry... or not? Selling visions of childhood and adolescence in the Harry Potter series." Paper presented at the Harry Potter Goes to University conference, Flinders University, Adelaide, April 2004.

--- "Across the Great Divide: Trojan Horse Mechanisms and the Cultural Politics of Children's Fantasy Fiction" in Children's Fantasy Fiction: Debates for the Twenty-First Century. Ed. Nickianne Moody. Liverpool: Association for Research in Popular Fictions, 2005. 267-284.

--- "Kids in the Kitchen? His Dark Materials on Childhood, Adulthood and Social Power" in Navigating the Golden Compass: Religion, Science and Daemonology in Philip Pullman's His Dark Materials. Ed. Yeffeth, Glenn. Dallas (TX): BenBella Books, 2005. 139-149.



(1995), won a number of prestigious awards including the Carnegie Medal in 1996 and, like Philosopher's Stone, was also adapted to film (as The Golden Compass in 2007).

Northern Lights provides an excellent contemporary comparison text to Philosopher's Stone: not only were the stories published within two years of each other (thus sharing a social and cultural context), but more fundamentally, both the Harry Potter series and His Dark Materials chart the process of maturity in their child protagonists over the course of the series. The opening texts are both set when the protagonists are eleven years old, and consequently, both relate to their childhood state, tackle issues related to childhood and potentially address implied child readers. As a result, these two texts relate most closely to this study's defined parameters, while the later texts in both series move progressively towards teen or young adult fiction.

This chapter will examine both Philosopher's Stone and Northern Lights in order to determine whether these texts use elements of the Trojan Horse mechanism to transmit ideologies to implied child readers, and the content of the ideologies relating to childhood at work in the texts. This may shed further light on the development of ideas about childhood and ways of addressing children over time, and indicate possible directions in children's fantasy fiction texts for the twenty-first century. As the two novels were published at around the same time, I deviate very slightly from the chronological progression of the rest of the study, analysing both texts in one chapter in order to reflect their shared socio-historical context and compare their stylistic similarities and differences, beginning with Philosopher's Stone.

### **Socio-historical context**

Written in the mid-1990s, both Rowling's and Pullman's stories exist within a larger context of late-twentieth century social and cultural trends: perhaps most fundamentally, a variation on the *fin de siècle* in the general reflexivity and future-focus brought on by the impending new millennium. More specific trends in national and cultural identities, in the constitution and role of the family, in children's experiences and in adult perceptions of children and childhood may also have shaped Rowling's and Pullman's writing. For example, on a national level, the Britain of the 1990s was now coming to

terms with the end of its empire and of its position as a world superpower. This Britain, while ostensibly a United Kingdom, faced the devolution of power to Scotland in 1998 after a 1997 referendum; it also contemplated a future within a larger European Union, signalled by the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. These events, together with other changes such as the end of Cold War, continuing racial tensions, an increasing American cultural influence and the declining significance of the Commonwealth, arguably had a significant impact on British identities in the late twentieth century (Dawson 316). These changes to British cultural identities may have influenced Rowling's and Pullman's texts, both of which are set in versions of Britain, and therefore engage with issues of national and cultural identity to some extent.

Perhaps as a result of these changes, British life in the late twentieth century was characterised by a general sense of public disillusionment and loss of confidence in public institutions like Parliament, the monarchy, the legal system and the press (D. P. Christopher 14; Dawson 328). This attitude found expression in the conservative cultural climate known popularly as Thatcherism, which extended well beyond the end of Margaret Thatcher's leadership in 1990 and influenced domestic attitudes on culture, identity, the family and childhood throughout the 1990s (Pilcher and Wagg 2-3).

The composition of families in the 1990s was another aspect of British life in flux, with the decline of the nuclear family and the rise of a variety of alternative family structures including same-sex families, single parent families and blended families (McRae 1). Yet despite the increasing diversity, the conservative political climate led by the New Right still viewed "the traditional, self-reliant, patriarchal nuclear family ... [as] *the* central social institution" which served "as an index of the moral well-being of the wider society" (Pilcher and Wagg 3, italics in original). Consequently, as McRae observes, the changes in family structures were often discussed in terms of crisis, as the "death of the family" (1). This point is particularly relevant to the discussion of Philosopher's Stone and Northern Lights as both these texts feature children situated within flawed families and grapple with the resulting ideological implications for childhood.

Increasing globalisation affected children's lives, especially as children became more exposed to – and contributed to – the popular cultural artefacts of many different nations and cultures (Stearns Childhood 127). Marketing to children and the

construction of the child as a consumer intensified as children's exposure to the media increased (Stearns Childhood 105). The proliferation of home computers and the advent of video games gave children additional pastimes and consumer interests. These high-tech leisure activities tended to enforce a more sedentary and solitary playtime than physical games and sports, particularly in the era before the Internet increased social connectivity, and were also popularly perceived to compete with more adult-approved activities such as reading (D. P. Christopher 140). Pullman's story, set in an alternate Britain, chooses not to engage with any of these modern issues, which, as I will discuss later in this chapter, contributes to the text's conservative and nostalgic attitude to childhood. Rowling's story does mention some of these issues, particularly in its construction of Dudley Dursley, but the connotations are negative, suggesting a conservative critique of these changes to modern childhood.

Adult perceptions of childhood and attitudes to it featured heavily in public debate and commentary in the late twentieth-century, both in Britain and in other Western nations, and were often characterised by anxiety (Stearns Anxious Parents 1). Several important events and trends occurring in the 1990s contributed to this anxiety, summed up by Roger Cox in 1996 as a "pervasive contemporary unease that surrounds the state of childhood" (168). Discussion of the "crisis" of childhood dominated the media and parliamentary debate and found expression in popular dramatic forms (Davis and Bourhill 28), and the rapid growth of media channels during this era arguably contributed to the ubiquity of the discussion. Hugh Cunningham and Michael King both argue that the representations of childhood in crisis in the late twentieth century emerge from fundamental hopes and anxieties about society itself, as well as its future, which focus on the child as a being in whom society's future is invested (H. Cunningham 189; King 168). I suggest that the *fin de siècle* influence of the coming millennium may have contributed to these anxieties, especially given the rapid pace of social, economic, political and technological change of the era, and as this study will show, these concerns were reflected in Rowling's and Pullman's work.

According to Cox, three aspects of contemporary life were commonly invoked as sources for the "crisis" in popular representations and discussions: the domestic realm, the influence of the media, and the state of modern society (169). For example, childhood was perceived as threatened in areas which had previously been associated

with safety: the home, the family, the school, and with other children (H. Cunningham 193-94). At the same time, the commercialism of modern society, as communicated through the mass media, was seen to be a corrupting influence, as was television's (and later, the Internet's) ability to give children access to previously-restricted content (H. Cunningham 189; Postman 79).

The murder of two-year-old James Bulger by two ten-year-old boys in Liverpool in 1993 heightened popular perceptions of the crisis of childhood in Britain and elsewhere. This event called into question the very notion of childhood innocence, and came to symbolise Britain's social and moral decline (R. Cox 16; H. Cunningham 194; Davis and Bourhill 28). Discourses of moral and even religious absolutes were often invoked in the commentary and reportage of the murder and subsequent trial: the child killers were described as "evil", as were their actions, with the implication that far from being innocent, children could potentially be or become evil (H. Cunningham 194). As Blake Morrison, a journalist at the trial reflected in 2003, "The message of Bulger was that we were living in a violent new world, where you couldn't trust your children with anyone, not even other children" (Morrison; no pagination). David Gooderham argues that the event prompted "a painful shift in consciousness as part of the familiar ideological inheritance crumbles and as assured modes of child-rearing and education are called into question" ("What Rough Beast" 61), a finding also supported by Davis and Bourhill's analysis of the media coverage and public discussion surrounding the event (28). Although the harsh reality of the Bulger murder is far removed from the fantasy settings of Rowling's and Pullman's work, in this chapter I will explore the possible influences that this event, together with the debate around childhood in crisis, may have had on the two texts.

## **HARRY POTTER AND THE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE**

Philosopher's Stone is the first of the Harry Potter series, and begins when the baby Harry is rescued from his home after the evil Lord Voldemort kills his parents. Harry is left with his unpleasant Aunt and Uncle and their son, Dudley, and spends the first part of his life in some misery at their hands. On the eve of Harry's eleventh birthday he discovers that he has magical powers and receives an invitation to attend Hogwarts

School of Witchcraft and Wizardry under the Headmaster, Albus Dumbledore. Leaving the Dursley family behind, Harry goes to Hogwarts, making friends and getting into fantastic adventures. Along the way, he finds out that unnamed evil forces are attempting to steal a magical item, the Philosopher's Stone, from the School, and he and his friends Ron and Hermione set out to stop this from happening.

### **Hailing devices**

Analysis of Philosopher's Stone reveals a variety of hailing devices operating within the text. Like scholars of The Wishing-Chair and Charlie, some scholars of the Harry Potter books have sought to explain the overwhelming appeal of Rowling's stories to child readers, and in doing so, have identified aspects which this study has termed hailing devices, aligning with childhood or acting as signifiers of childness. These hailing devices include subversions of adult power and disruptions to normativity (Lacoss; Pugh and Wallace), depictions of unequal adult-child power-relations or empowered children (Beach and Willner; Cockrell; Natov), social interactions that mimic aspects of children's culture (Lacoss), and fantastic foods and other substances (Lacoss; Natov). Many of the hailing devices in Rowling's text are variations on those appearing in the previous texts of this study. These include the use of the narrator's address to forge a connection to implied child readers, the portrayal of the powerless child suddenly empowered, the ridicule of bad adult authority figures, the treatment of magic as an empowering device, the alignment of the secondary world with childhood, and the celebration of the protagonist as a hero of child culture. This suggests that adult perceptions of what appeals to child readers have remained relatively stable over the course of the century, and the popularity of Rowling's stories indicates that such perceptions are not misplaced.

This study has already demonstrated that the narrator's voice in children's fantasy fiction can act as a hailing device. Like the earlier texts, Rowling uses a third-person, adult narrator, and while the voice is less personified than Dahl's, Lewis's or Barrie's narrators, it does echo their use of direct address to implied child readers, positioning readers to accept that the narrator is somehow "on their side". In Philosopher's Stone, this occurs less often than in some of the earlier texts, but the rare appearances are

placed for maximum interpellative impact, such as in the opening paragraph of the story:

Mr and Mrs Dursley, of number four, Privet Drive, were proud to say that they were perfectly normal, thank you very much. They were the last people *you'd* expect to be involved in anything strange or mysterious, because they just didn't hold with such nonsense. (Rowling 7, emphasis added)

As in the beginning of Barrie's and Dahl's texts, the use of the second person pronoun so early in Rowling's narrative attempts to engage the implied child reader and lays the groundwork for a continuing relationship between reader and narrator, but Rowling's opening contains additional levels of complexity. Specifically, the contraction "you'd" implies an informality or familiarity in the relationship between the narrator and the implied child readers, while the phrasing, "the last people you'd expect" suggests a similarity of outlook and expectation. Then the text contrasts this informal connection between narrator and implied reader by setting it against the prim and carefully correct phrasing "perfectly normal, thank you very much", which is the Dursleys' sentiment and the normative position. This establishes a strong opposition between "they" (the Dursleys) and "you" (the reader), a division which plays on the politics of adult-child relations. Consequently, from the first two sentences of the story, the narrative address positions the implied child reader to feel a close and egalitarian relationship with the seemingly non-normative and child-aligned narrator, and at the same time to feel alienated from the normative position represented by Mr and Mrs Dursley, as well as from the characters themselves.

Much later in the story, another use of the second-person pronoun builds on the relationship with the narrator, occurring when Harry, Ron and Hermione overcome a troll in the school toilets at Halloween (128-32). Here, the narrator comments on friendships and how they develop in order to increase reader identification with the characters: "But from that moment on, Hermione Granger became their friend. There are some things *you* can't share without ending up liking each other, and knocking out a twelve-foot mountain troll is one of them" (132, emphasis added). Here, the use of the second-person pronoun firstly establishes a sense of familiarity and similarity of outlook, but is also available as a direct address, and the identification is taken further to include the three child characters as well. As a result, readers are positioned to identify

and empathise with the child characters and to invest themselves in the characters' experiences.

The text's construction of Harry shares many similarities with earlier protagonists in terms of his depiction as a child and as a hero of child culture, and these form part of the text's hailing device. One significant aspect of this occurs in the way the text marks Harry as both an ordinary and an extraordinary child: his ordinariness suggests to implied child readers that he is "just like them", while his extraordinariness suggests that he is a special and powerful child, perhaps even escaping the child's usual subordinate position. In this, he is perhaps most similar to Will Stanton of The Dark is Rising. Both protagonists are marked internally by their magical ancestry: Harry as a child of wizards and Will as an Old One. They are also marked externally by physical indicators: Harry's scar and Will's "look" of the Old Ones (Cooper The Dark Is Rising 272). And finally, they are marked by their special destinies and the way they come into their magical birthrights on their eleventh birthdays.

Markers of extraordinariness are common tropes in fantasy literature, but Rowling's text extends this construction in the first chapter by referring overtly to Harry's special qualities in Dumbledore and McGonagall's conversation about him: in some mysterious way, the baby Harry managed to withstand an attempt on his life by the evil Lord Voldemort, whose power subsequently "broke" (Rowling 15). McGonagall predicts that as a consequence, Harry Potter will be "famous – a legend – I wouldn't be surprised if today was known as Harry Potter Day in future – there will be books written about Harry – every child in our world will know his name!" (15). Apart from a neatly ironic extra-textual prophecy, these exchanges reinforce Harry's construction as a child hero, a construction which implies a kind of power, especially in the context of adult-child power relations.

Harry, like Will, may be an extraordinary child – a hero-in-progress (Pharr 54) – but he is also an ordinary child with potential similarities to implied child readers. Like Will, prior to his eleventh birthday the text emphasises Harry's ordinariness and his powerlessness, a feature which Natov argues contributes to his appeal to child readers (313). Harry wears glasses and has "a thin face [and] knobbly knees" (Rowling 20). During the story, Harry is confronted by many of the common problems facing children

in their everyday lives: he is the smallest, youngest and weakest member of his family, he has very little control over his own life, he is bullied, and later he must start a new school where he knows no one and has to make new friends. He is also living in a situation of some material and emotional deprivation with his foster family; in Natov's terms he is "like his great Victorian predecessors ... a kind of Everychild, vulnerable in his powerlessness, but as he discovers his strengths, he releases a new source of vitality into the world" (311). Will Stanton too is the youngest and smallest of his large family, Charlie Bucket and Dorothy both endure hardship and poverty, and the Darlings have their space and freedom controlled by grownups. All of these problems relate to issues of power in children's lives, and so function as hailing devices; however, Rowling's text is arguably more extreme in its depiction of the powerless child hero, perhaps in an attempt to support its subsequent construction of Harry as a hero of child culture.

The most extreme part of this "powerless child" depiction is undoubtedly Harry's relations with the Dursleys, his foster-family. The text's depiction of the Dursleys and their treatment of Harry create a strong anti-adult hailing that obscures the import of other authority figures and hierarchal relationships in Harry's life. From the very beginning of the story, the text depicts the Dursleys as two-dimensional caricatures which prompt both humour and scorn. Beach and Willner observe that Philosopher's Stone begins "in a manner reminiscent of stories by ... Roald Dahl" (103), and the text's description of the Dursleys is indeed very similar to Dahl's portrayal of the bad adults in Charlie.<sup>13</sup> This may signify the texts' similar motivations: both texts subject these bad authority figures to criticism and ridicule in order to suggest an affinity between the text and the ideologies of child culture. Even the style of Rowling's descriptions is similar to Dahl's: the narrator's tone is biting and critical, but also humorous, with the Dursleys' physical attributes providing the kernel of the joke, but additionally connoting their moral failings:

Mr Dursley ... was a big, beefy man with hardly any neck, although he did have a very large moustache. Mrs Dursley was thin and blonde and had nearly twice the usual amount of neck, which came in very useful as she spent so much of her time craning over garden fences, spying on the neighbours. (Rowling 7)

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<sup>13</sup> Reviewers have noted this similarity as well. For example, the back cover of the Bloomsbury paperback edition (1997) quotes The Sunday Times as saying: "This is a story full of surprises and jokes; comparisons with Dahl are, this time, justified."



Harry's domestic life reinforces the construction of the Dursleys as characters readers love to hate while also prompting readers to feel a sense of injustice on Harry's behalf. Before he is aware of his magic, Harry sits at the very bottom of the hierarchy at number 4, Privet Drive. Mr and Mrs Dursley may stand in the place of Harry's parents but their treatment of Harry is abusive: they relegate him to a cupboard under the stairs, they torment him verbally, and they treat him more like an indentured servant than as a member of the family. In a contrast highlighting the manifold unfairness with which the Dursleys treat Harry, the pair lavish affection on their own son, Dudley, whose bad behaviour, like the overindulged children in Charlie, further compounds the negative portrayal of his parents.

Roni Natov contends that the orphan archetype in the series speaks directly to child readers about the imbalance of power in their own relations with adults (311-12), a statement which clearly describes a sign of childness functioning as a hailing device. I suggest that this hailing device is reinforced by the way the text demonstrates its disapproval of the Dursleys' power over Harry: both the narrator and Harry himself treat the Dursleys with contempt and loathing. There is a black humour in the narrator's descriptions that echoes the motive and method of humour found in children's culture, which is also prevalent in Dahl's fiction for children. Here, implied child readers are prompted to laugh at the awful Dursleys and their treatment of Harry, as a way of symbolically redressing the unequal power balance. As Amanda Cockrell affirms, the Dursleys may be fictional, but they "represent not only every child's dreadful kin, his or her own potential wicked stepmother, but also the child's own real parents when those parents are being 'unfair'" (21).

Eventually, Harry is delivered from the tyranny of the Dursleys by the appearance of the letters from Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry. These herald his imminent escape, an escape effected by the arrival of the half-giant, Hagrid (39). The scene in which the "big, beefy" Mr Dursley is shown up as small and impotent in comparison to Hagrid's massive size, magical power and authority serves to indicate that the Dursleys' status as powerful authority figures has been destroyed. This hailing device aligns the text with an anti-parental position in Cockrell's terms. However, as I will demonstrate later in this chapter, this device camouflages the impact of other adult authority figures and hierarchal power relations still operating within the story.

The appearance, location and function of magic in Philosopher's Stone draw on the counter-hegemonic consciousness of childhood to create hailing devices aimed at implied child readers. Pugh and Wallace define the magic in the series as a form of queerness which appears, at first, to disrupt the heteronormative status quo of Muggledom (265). Their assertion aligns with this study's focus: that magic in Philosopher's Stone initially appears as a counter-hegemonic disruption to the power of adult authority figures. This is first evident in the opening lines of the story, as the text aligns the narrator and readers together against the normative position represented by the Dursleys. The subsequent manifestations of magic disrupt Mr Dursley's "perfectly normal" life: people wearing strange clothes, flights of owls in daylight and shooting stars (Rowling 8-10). Here, the intrusion of the fantastic appears positively: these strange goings-on are appealing precisely because they disrupt the everyday. Moreover, "the cycle of suspension and release, latency and escalation, hesitation and remorselessness" which form the rhetorics of intrusion fantasy enhance the excitement and appeal of these events, which in turn strengthens the hailing device (Mendlesohn Rhetorics 115).

Harry's magic is the tool that allows him to escape the Dursleys' control, and even before Harry is aware of his magic, the Dursleys already recognise magic's potential to disrupt their "perfectly normal" world. As the narrator explains, "If there was one thing the Dursleys hated even more than his asking questions, it was his talking about anything acting in a way it shouldn't ... they seemed to think it might give him dangerous ideas" (Rowling 24). Harry's initial rebellions are subconscious uses of magic, such as shrinking a much-disliked jumper or growing back his shorn hair overnight. By thwarting the Dursleys' control and acting in a way he shouldn't, Harry is unwittingly challenging their power, and implied child readers are positioned to see these moments in a positive light.

After the initial intrusion phase of the story, Philosopher's Stone takes on more of the rhetorics of the portal-quest fantasy in Mendlesohn's terms (Rhetorics 2), where magic is generally aligned with the secondary world (the magical world generally, and Hogwarts specifically). The text's constructed dynamic of these worlds evokes similar dynamics to those seen in earlier texts of the study. For example, the child protagonist's

life in the primary world is largely controlled by adults, while the secondary world apparently represents a child-aligned space for the protagonist to evade or challenge adult controls and enjoy a greater measure of power and autonomy. Rowling herself has noted that “The idea that we could have a child who escapes from the confines of the adult world and goes somewhere where he has power, both literally and metaphorically, really appealed to me” (Rowling, cited in Beach and Willner 104). Rowling’s comment suggests that she recognises the hegemonic process of adult-child relations generally and understands the counter-hegemonic sentiment implicated in this textual construction.

Several key aspects of the secondary world in Philosopher’s Stone initially suggest its alignment to childhood and counter-hegemonic resistance. Particularly in the early part of the text, the secondary world appears to exist outside adult-authoritarian control. This is not to say that all adults are excluded from the magical world; just like the secondary worlds of the earlier texts, especially The Lion, The Witch and the Wardrobe, Peter and Wendy and Adventures of the Wishing-Chair, adult forces are present in Rowling’s secondary world. Yet like these texts, Philosopher’s Stone initially downplays the adult presence: the first adult authority figures, the Dursleys, are excluded from the magical world, Hagrid is constructed as more of an equal than an authority, and other adults like teachers only begin to exert control once Harry arrives at Hogwarts. Additionally, the magical world appears subversive: it is variously hidden behind, beneath and adjacent to the non-magical world, a secretive, yet carnivalesque space where the rules of normality do not necessarily apply. This is evident in the way that Diagon Alley – the magical High Street – is hidden within Muggle London, and in the way that Platform Nine and Three-Quarters is at once part of, but separate from, King’s Cross Station.

In its celebration of the illogical and the impossible, Philosopher’s Stone echoes the hailing devices of Charlie, with its impossible Oompa-Loompas and the illogical machinations of the chocolate factory. Yet I suggest that Rowling’s text goes further: as Lacoss has observed, the secretive in-between-ness of the magical world suggests a similarity to the kinds of groups and secret clubs that form part of the social landscape of childhood and often exist semi-secretively in the in-between places of playground, backyard and bedroom (71-72). This world also has a secret, insider’s lore and language of magic, just like children’s own lore and language, and like its real world equivalent,

speaking the language marks the speaker as a member of the group. Lacoss suggests that child readers may well “recognize the intricacies involved in the magical aspects of Harry’s unofficial education”, and even take on the signifiers of the texts as extratextual markers of their own insiders’ (fan) clubs (72).

Other aspects of the magical world also signify on children’s culture and thus function as hailing devices. Rowling’s secondary world appears at first to be an incredibly *fun* place in ways that children can understand: pictures move and speak, doorways appear out of brick walls, owls deliver the post and broomsticks fly. Fantastic, sweet and occasionally “bogey” flavoured food is also a feature in this world, again appealing to an implied child readership, as Natov has noted (315). Harry’s initial purchase of food on the Hogwarts train reads much like a list of Willy Wonka’s treats, including “Bertie Bott’s Every Flavour Beans [and] Drooble’s Best Blowing Gum” (Rowling 76). Lacoss contends that the depiction of “anomalous substances” entices children, who enjoy “vicarious control” over their bodies and lives (at least symbolically) by reading about characters ingesting and interacting with these abnormal things (88).

Significantly though, the text makes little attempt to evoke the contemporary features of children’s culture or experiences: the wizarding world appears largely free of televisions, video games, or popular culture influences from around the globe. Such influences are mainly limited to the Muggle world, and then treated negatively. Only Dudley Dursley has much to do with video games and other common commercialised toys, and in his case, the depiction is linked to his greed, obesity and over-indulgence. This suggests the text contains a nostalgic and even conservative attitude to children’s play and interests, which may reflect the existing socio-political climate in Britain at the time or respond to contemporary concerns about children’s consumerism.

Rowling’s text uses the secondary world to cement Harry’s construction as a hero of child culture. Like the protagonists in the previous texts, Harry’s ability to move from the primary to the secondary world demonstrates that he is a boundary-crosser – a liminal creature – a construction which may resonate with children (Lacoss 68). For Harry, the secondary, magical world is a space where power can be contested more easily than in the primary world, and the fact that most of Harry’s time in the secondary world is spent at Hogwarts is consequently ideologically significant. As is also the case

in the real world, the school is a site of power struggle, a place where the adult hegemonic process meets children's own culture, social structures and, potentially, resistance. In children's literature, the school, its social relations and its power struggles have long been popular with young readers, as demonstrated by the long history of the school story tradition (Ray "School Stories" 467-80). By evoking this tradition in her construction of Hogwarts, Rowling taps in to these themes as part of a hailing device while also using Harry's interactions with adult and child hierarchies to build the child hero.

The text's depictions of peer relationships at Hogwarts show Harry interacting realistically with other children around his age; these relationships highlight his similarities to the text's implied child readers. In the primary world, Harry is a victim of peer bullying, yet when Harry goes to Hogwarts, he ceases to be a victim despite an antagonistic relationship with the first-year bully, Draco Malfoy. More positively, Harry strikes up a friendship with Ron Weasley on the train to Hogwarts and the two boys bond over a shared meal of magical food; his friendship with Hermione Granger develops soon after this point. These relationships allow the text to depict Harry engaging in typical (and some atypical) children's activities: swapping food and trading cards, feeling nervous about the first day of school, fighting a mountain troll, grumbling about teachers and homework, and keeping secrets.

Teachers certainly exert hegemonic control at Hogwarts but the text demonstrates that children can outwit them and that their power is able to be evaded or contested. This seems to support the construction of Harry as a child-culture hero because he regularly challenges their power. The text treats this conflict much more delicately than Harry's conflict with the Dursleys, but the image of the child eluding and outwitting adults remains. Like similar constructions in school stories, Hogwarts teachers impose rules and it seems to be Harry's task to break them. Many of the rules at Hogwarts are concerned with spaces: keeping students in certain spaces and out of others. Yet during his first year at Hogwarts Harry regularly breaks these rules to move in forbidden spaces, including the restricted section of the library, the forbidden forest, and the mysterious corridor on the third floor. By breaking these rules, Harry challenges the power of the adult authorities who control his life, thus embodying the spirit of children's culture at its most resistant.

Rowling's text arguably goes further than any of the previously analysed texts in its depiction of a rule-breaking child-hero. Most of the earlier protagonists, like Charlie Bucket, Dorothy Gale or Will Stanton, largely follow the guidance and direction of the authority figures in their lives. Will's few resistant acts are treated as grave matters with serious consequences, not celebrated by Cooper's text. Peter Pan might be the closest resistant child-hero, but even he is not a rule-breaker *per se*; rather, he lives in a secondary world with no adult rules to break. Rowling's construction may therefore signal a wider cultural acceptance of children's resistance or it may reflect the kinds of rule-breaking more common in school stories. However, as I will subsequently discuss, the text subsequently undermines Harry's status as a rule-breaker, using this hailing device to conceal ideologies that support the adult hegemonic system.

### **Concealed ideologies**

The Harry Potter series has prompted a number of critical appraisals of the ideological content, structure and issues of power that arise in the series. There is some agreement among researchers investigating the issues of power and authority in the texts that the Harry Potter stories are predicated on an underlying hegemonic system which is generally endorsed rather than challenged, a finding which is consistent even using different theoretical approaches and research foci. Some research has even identified the presence of concealed ideologies and demonstrated links between these ideologies and hegemonic interests operating through the texts. For example, scholars like Lacoss, Pugh and Wallace who have identified hailing devices at work in the texts have also acknowledged that these hailing devices, no matter how counter-hegemonic they appear to be, often mask a deeper endorsement of the status quo.

Pugh and Wallace discuss the tensions between heteronormativity and queerness in the Harry Potter stories and the hidden ideological positionings of the text. They argue that while the stories seem to "flirt continuously with disruptions to normativity" (263) and thus invite queer readings, the heteronormative heroism of the series potentially reinscribes heterosexual/homosexual binaries and the power relations they endorse (262-3). As issues of queerness and heteronormativity are also issues of power, Pugh

and Wallace's research aligns strongly with this study's focus. In particular, their conclusion that the stories appear to celebrate queerness while actually supporting a heteronormative worldview echoes this study's hypothesis of the Trojan Horse mechanism, where hailing devices conceal hegemonic ideologies.

In a similar vein, Lacoss explores elements in the Harry Potter series which feature reversals of normality, and in particular, analyses the ideological import within these textual constructions, both overt and hidden. Lacoss notes that "[s]uch reversals depict life as it should not be, in order to reinforce socially acceptable behaviours" (67). This seems to suggest some familiarity with the notion that the Harry Potter series subtly interpellates implied readers into certain social codes, an argument which approaches this study's theory of Trojan Horse mechanisms.

Maria Nikolajeva's examination of power in the stories also finds evidence of an underlying adult hegemonic system. Her investigation uses two different framing theories – carnival (in Bakhtin's terms) and queer – to interrogate Harry's status as a hero ("Harry Potter" 225). According to Nikolajeva, both theoretical frames reveal the presence of power hierarchies, adult controls and adult normativities operating through the text, even when the text appears to subvert adult control, resulting in a reproduction of power structures ("Harry Potter" 228-29). Nikolajeva's findings support this study's conceptualisation of adult-child relations as relations of power, and recognise the mediating role played by children's fiction. Although she uses different theoretical frameworks to interrogate the texts, her conclusions nevertheless reveal power relations, which, from a Marxist perspective, may be defined as an adult hegemony at work and operating through layers of ideologies in the texts.

Drew Chappell takes a Marxist perspective on adult-child relations within the Harry Potter series, analysing these relations in terms of ideology, resistance and agency. In particular, Chappell acknowledges the existence of an adult hegemony, or more specifically, that "'society,' as imagined by adults, contains hegemonic structures" (282). Chappell argues that these hegemonic values are often reproduced in children's books and finds that while these hegemonic structures appear in the Harry Potter series, the later books treat these differently than the earlier instalments, allowing the child characters more agency as the story progresses (282). Chappell concludes from this

evidence that Harry functions as a postmodern, resistant child hero, at least in the later books (282). As I will explore in this chapter, Philosopher's Stone crucially sets up the two aspects of hegemonic socialisation – control and apprenticeship – which position Harry as a powerless child but a future adult leader whose increasing power as he grows older conforms to Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony.

While Philosopher's Stone may contain ideological messages on a variety of topics such as gender (Dresang), sexuality (Pugh and Wallace), and politics (Mendlesohn "Crowning"; Westman), the research reviewed here suggests that the transmission of ideologies relating to adult-child power relations is an extremely important part of the Harry Potter series and Philosopher's Stone specifically. It also implies that concealed ideologies may feature in the texts. Although the research does not conclusively identify how ideology transfer may occur, I propose that the text's hailing devices may conceal the transmission of hegemonic ideologies with the aim of socialising implied child readers as children and as future adults within the adult hegemonic system. To explore this point, this analysis focuses on the text's use of the "powerful, resistant child" construction to naturalise hegemonic adult-child power relations, including an apprenticeship to adult leadership.

By approximately the middle of the story, Harry's construction as a powerful child and a hero of child-culture is established; however, the hailing devices draw attention away from ideological interpellation within an adult hegemonic system. These ideologies support the adult hegemony in two ways: by positioning children to accept their current position of powerlessness and thus the hegemonic status quo, but perhaps more importantly by teaching child readers the knowledge and skills they will need as adults within the hegemonic system. In Philosopher's Stone, this apprenticeship goes further than merely an apprenticeship to adult power: through Harry, the text seeks to teach child readers how to become future leaders in the adult world.

Many elements of Harry's construction transmit adult-aligned ideologies: Harry may be a rule-breaker, but his general demeanour gives child readers a model of good child behaviour according to adults. He is polite, enthusiastic and well-spoken, he has an innate understanding of the difference between good and evil, and he remains well behaved despite being treated badly by his foster-family. Even Harry's willingness to



break the school rules can be interpreted according to adult notions of the greater good: Harry may seem to be deliberately flouting authority but he contravenes the school rules only when greater issues of right and wrong are at stake. As Roni Natov suggests, Harry “must break the very rules at Hogwarts needed to maintain order and its basic values” (Natov 316). For example, he leaves his bed at night to save a dragon, (Rowling 176-78), he uses his broomstick while unsupervised in order to return Neville’s Remembrall (110-11), and he enters the forbidden third floor corridor to save the Philosopher’s Stone from falling into evil hands (197-200). By taking the initiative and acting for the greater good, Harry is practising key leadership qualities, and the depiction of this in the text positions implied child readers to accept and reproduce this kind of behaviour.

Harry’s behaviour at school invites a consideration of Philosopher’s Stone as a school story as well as a fantasy story; indeed, the text shares many of the features of that genre including the school setting, the protagonist’s focalisation, the emphasis on peer relations, and the maturation of the protagonist over the book or series (Fleming-Fido 80-83). I contend that the protagonist’s apprenticeship to adult leadership, concealed by the hailing device of the apparently “resistant child”, may feature in school stories as well as in fantasy stories. An excellent comparison text is Kipling’s classic story, Stalky & Co (1899), which contains resistant young heroes. Discussing Stalky and Co, Sheila Ray observes:

The irony is that, while they are smoking, breaking bounds, collaborating on their prep and generally setting themselves up against authority, they are clearly in the process of becoming just the kind of resourceful and self-disciplined young men that the public schools aim to produce. (Ray “School Stories” 469)

Arguably, Ray and Natov have identified socialising functions at work in school stories like Stalky and Co as much as in Philosopher’s Stone: both texts reproduce hegemonic systems of power through the protagonists’ apprenticeships to leadership, and interpellate implied readers to learn these values and skills as well by concealing them beneath counter-hegemonic hailing devices. Yet the masculine ideal of the public school boy relates to a specific national, imperial and cultural context which was relevant to Kipling’s era but no longer current by the time Rowling was writing: public school boys were groomed to develop the qualities and skills required “to serve the needs of empire” (Paris 290). It would certainly appear that Harry (and, by proxy, the

implied child reader) is developing the specific desired qualities of the public school boy outlined by the Clarendon Commission in 1864, namely:

Their capacity to govern others and control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigour and manliness of character, their strong but not slavish respect for public opinion, their love of healthy sports and exercise (cited in Paris 290)

To some extent, it may be that the late-nineteenth century school story format brings its own outdated ideological baggage to Philosopher's Stone in the same way that Susan Cooper's cultural artefacts carry their own ideological agenda, as Michael Drout has argued (231-32). Yet I suggest this idealistic construction may also respond to its contemporary context: in the conservative political climate of the 1990s, the nostalgic vision of the heroic public school boy and imperial saviour may serve as a symbolic anodyne to Britain's declining role on the world stage and uncertain future, as well as its perceived social and moral decline.

More concealed ideologies are carried within the function of magic and the structure of the secondary world. While magic initially appears as a disruptive force, aligned with children's culture and set against the adult, normative hegemony of the Muggle world, inside the secondary world it is very much a part of the status quo. The secondary world may seem to signify children's culture but the adult hegemony operates throughout the hierarchies which are inherent to its social structure.

Hogwarts provides the pre-eminent example of the hegemonic forces operating in the magical world, both in the sense that it creates an "obviousness" of hierarchical and institutionalised power structures and also in the sense that it naturalises a controlled apprenticeship to adulthood. At Hogwarts, magic is part of the social and institutional structure: it is taught in lessons, reinforced in homework and tested in exams. It is only by the successful mastery of the rules of magic that students may progress through the year-levels and graduate from the school, and successful graduates (like Dumbledore or Snape) often take up positions in the school as teachers, educating and socialising generation after generation of students. Mastery of magic clearly forms the *raison d'être* of the school and at the same time reinforces the hegemony of teachers over students and adults over children.

There are also economic and class dimensions to the construction of Hogwarts and the institutionalisation of magic. For example, the school is a distinctive site of “childwork” as David Oldman defines it, where the child’s own work is the naturalised object of adult labour, although Rowling’s careful evasion of the issue of school fees and teachers’ pay camouflages the exploitative potential (Oldman 155-56). Additionally, the school’s construction naturalises and reproduces class relations. Hogwarts appears to be a classic English public school and evidently a bastion of privilege and power in the magical world, as demonstrated by the fact that only those born with privilege (that is, magic) can attend it, and many of those in positions of power were once students. These findings support Mendlesohn’s argument that the structure of the Harry Potter series “is predicated upon a status quo and a formal understanding of authority in which hierarchal structures are a given” (“Crowning” 181). Both inside and outside the text, magic is revealed as an instrument of socialisation supporting an adult and capitalist hegemony: inside the story, magical children gain power and status by learning their lessons, while outside the story, implied child readers are encouraged to see formal education, hierarchal power structures, class privilege and hegemonic adult-child relations as normal and natural. These conservative ideologies may reflect the dominant political and social climate of the era with its legacy of Thatcherism, a point also noted by Mendlesohn (“Crowning” 167).

While the potentially disruptive power of magic is generally controlled within the magical world’s social institutions, some notable anti-establishment uses of magic do occur in the secondary world, perpetrated by the text’s villain, Lord Voldemort. As evident from the first chapter, Voldemort’s use of magic to kill, maim and tyrannise contravenes the moral code of the text’s universe; indeed, it is precisely Voldemort’s use of magic which marks him as irredeemably evil. In contrast, the text defines good as the benevolent institutionalisation of power, represented by Dumbledore and Hogwarts. By placing Voldemort’s use of magic in opposition to this institution, the text reinforces its positive portrayal of the education system as an ISA, both inside the text, and by implication, extra-textually as well.

Rowling’s representation of evil and the relationship between good and evil echoes aspects of both The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe and The Dark is Rising. Lewis’s story is the first text of the study to explore evil (as opposed to mere wickedness, bad

form or naughtiness), but in Narnia, evil is a cosmic force beyond the power of mere mortals. The human child Edmund, may “go bad” as a result of his exposure to the White Witch, but he does not choose to become evil, rather he is ensorcelled to evil forces. Cooper also depicts evil as a cosmic force, with a group of dedicated evil-doers in the Dark equivalent of the Old Ones, but for mortals, while being good is natural and instinctive (as for Will), evil remains a conscious decision, as evidenced by Hawkin’s choice. In Philosopher’s Stone, good and evil are mainly conscious choices: Voldemort chooses to be evil, as Harry and his friends choose to be good. The text is less clear on how Professor Quirrell came to follow Voldemort. Quirrell’s admission – “A foolish young man I was then, full of ridiculous ideas about good and evil. Lord Voldemort showed me how wrong I was” (Rowling 211) – suggests that his initiation to evil came via persuasion or coercion, and his admission also connotes a moral weakness, which Harry does not share.

The placing of these three texts towards the latter end of the century may indicate that adults during this period were increasingly deeming the topic of good and evil as relevant for children, perhaps because children were perceived to inhabit an ever-more dangerous world. The particular construction of evil as a matter of conscious choice and (lack of) moral fibre in Cooper’s and Rowling’s texts supports this idea, as both texts imply that children are living in dangerous times and need to understand what evil looks like and how to resist it. Rowling arguably goes further than Cooper on this issue: Philosopher’s Stone contains no cosmic evil force, only human evil, and I suggest this is particularly relevant in the wake of the Bulger murder, when questions about the nature of good and evil were receiving large amounts of media attention.

The construction of Dumbledore and his relationship to Harry also offer a deeper layer of ideology than the hailing devices suggest. This amusing, elderly professor is arguably the story’s most powerful character. He shares many similarities with Merriman Lyon of The Dark Is Rising: both are benevolent, powerful and wise patriarchs, whose physical features connote inner strengths, and both act as symbolic fathers to the protagonists. Albus Dumbledore is “tall, thin and very old” with long silver hair and a beard to match (12): all markers of wisdom, control and masculinity. While Harry challenges the power of the Dursleys and various teachers and magical characters, Dumbledore’s power and authority remain uncontested, and indeed, tacitly endorsed by

the structure of the story. However, Dumbledore's role and function are obscured by other aspects of the text, such as the symbolic overthrow of the Dursleys as adult authority figures, the text's emphasis on Harry's peer relations rather than his relationships with adults, and the elision of Dumbledore from Harry's everyday interactions. This is not the first text in this study to seek to divert attention from hegemonic power relations between characters: as I have demonstrated, similar diversionary tactics occur in The Wishing-Chair and The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe.

The relationship between Harry and Dumbledore is of vital importance in conveying ideology to support the text's controlled apprenticeship to adult leadership, as offered to implied child readers. Readers are positioned to see Harry acting independently throughout the story, without adult knowledge and away from adult supervision. Harry's independent ways may seem to resist adult control, but Harry's apparent conflict with the establishment masks a deeper accord, subtly endorsing the adult hegemony and modelling an apprenticeship to future power, and Dumbledore is central to this. For example, Dumbledore is the mysterious benefactor who gives Harry his father's invisibility cloak as a Christmas present, along with an admonition to "Use it well" (148). Harry does use the cloak well: he uses it to learn and to experience a modicum of independence. In short, this gift is a training tool: it is part of Harry's education in leadership even if Harry does not recognise it.

Significantly, when Harry does not quite learn his lesson, for example, when he becomes ensnared by the Mirror of Erised, Dumbledore appears in person to make sure Harry understands (156-57). Here, Dumbledore reveals he knew Harry was visiting the Mirror: "So – back again, Harry?" (156), and then proceeds to educate Harry on the follies of overusing it, noting that "Men have wasted away before it, entranced by what they have seen, or been driven mad, not knowing if what it shows is real or even possible" (157). Dumbledore observes that Harry is now "prepared" if he should encounter the mirror again, and concludes by giving a general life lesson: "It does not do to dwell on dreams and forget to live, remember that" (157). This lesson has a practical application at the crisis point of the story, but more generally prepares Harry and, through him, implied child readers, to take up an approved adult way of looking at the world.

The climactic showdown between Harry and Quirrell/Voldemort further naturalises this apprenticeship. The invisibility cloak proves an essential tool that facilitates Harry's quest to rescue the Philosopher's Stone, and Harry's experience with the Mirror of Erised allows him to find the Stone. In terms of his apprenticeship, Harry has been educated and now he is given an opportunity to use his skills and knowledge. At the crucial moment though, Harry nearly dies in his attempt to keep the stone from Quirrell/Voldemort, and his consciousness ebbs at the crucial moment (214). The next scene shows Harry three days later, battered but triumphant in the school hospital wing and surrounded by gifts – or more specifically, tribute – from his schoolmates. This scene implies that Harry has won his battle in the moments outside the text's narrative scrutiny, and Dumbledore's decision to award Harry house points for his "pure nerve and outstanding courage" (221) reinforces this reading. Yet the conversation between Harry and Dumbledore in the hospital wing reveals the truth: Dumbledore arrived just in time to save Harry from death (215).

Ideologically, these events work on multiple levels within the Trojan Horse mechanism. On the surface, Harry appears to have been triumphant, and Dumbledore's retrospective description of the rescue maintains the illusion of Harry's independence from adult controls, thus contributing to a hailing device. On a deeper level though, Dumbledore's timely rescue sends the message that children can rely on adults to step in if things get tough. Yet even this validation of adult power is secondary to the more important encoding of apprenticeship to adulthood and adult leadership. Harry's opportunity to exercise his newfound skills and knowledge is carefully orchestrated by Dumbledore, who steps in at the necessary moment when the apprentice needs his assistance. The evidence for this interpretation lies in the subsequent conversation between Harry, Ron and Hermione, where the children explicitly acknowledge how Dumbledore has shaped and guided Harry's actions:

“D’you think he [Dumbledore] meant you to do it?” said Ron. “Sending you your father’s cloak and everything?”

“Well,” Hermione exploded, “if he did – I mean to say – that’s terrible – you could have been killed.”

“No, it isn’t,” said Harry thoughtfully. “... I think he sort of wanted to give me a chance ... I reckon he had a pretty good idea we were going to try, and instead of stopping us, he just taught us enough to help” (219)

Harry's apprenticeship to future adult leadership sees him developing his critical thinking skills, initiative, sense of duty, courage and good form, much like the young public schoolboy heroes of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century school stories, or indeed, adventure tales. The text's unquestioning acceptance of these particular values of hegemonic leadership provides evidence of the kind of "denial of ideology" Mendlesohn refers to ("Crowning" 159), as well as a "formal understanding of authority" and naturalised hierarchical structures within which the apprenticeship is framed ("Crowning" 181).

However, at the tender age of eleven, Harry is not yet ready for autonomous leadership roles, as indicated by Dumbledore's assistance and guidance, and the message to implied child readers clearly indicates that the process of preparing for leadership will be lengthy. Chappell asserts that "Rowling's writings may be preparing young readers to critically engage with power structures in their lives and become architects of their own agency" (282), which supports this study's argument that there is an implicit apprenticeship not merely to power, but to leadership in the texts and aimed at implied child readers. Chappell argues that the depiction of agency increases as the child characters grow older (282), and I suggest that this reinforces the hegemonic status quo: the ideological implication being that with age comes power, and thus by the time Harry achieves real power and agency, he is no longer a child.

Like many fantasy heroes, Harry returns home to the Dursleys at the end of the school year with new knowledge and power. He clearly understands that he can use the threat of magic to redress his powerless position in the Dursley family structure, saying to Hermione with a grin: "*They don't know we're not allowed to use magic at home. I'm going to have a lot of fun with Dudley this summer...*" (223, italics in original). This Harry is a far different boy than the downtrodden, abused child at the beginning of the story, and later books reinforce this development. To a great extent, this is due to Harry's new direction in life: towards adulthood, power, and, though he may not yet understand it, leadership. This greater purpose enables him to stand outside the Dursleys' hierarchy to some extent. The concealed ideology within this endorses education as a liberating tool for power and hope.

## Summary of concealment strategies

Just as Rowling's text uses many of the same hailing devices as the earlier texts in this study, it also uses those hailing devices to conceal adult-aligned ideologies and hegemonic shaping aimed at implied child readers. Some of the strongest hailing devices evoke a counter-hegemonic consciousness, and these function as particularly powerful concealment strategies in the communication of adult values and the reinforcement of a hegemonic status quo. This concealment strategy has been noted by Pugh and Wallace, and Lacoss, who acknowledge that the disruptions and reversals of normativity in Rowling's stories – hailing devices in this study's terms – mask a deeper validation of the status quo, termed, for Pugh and Wallace, as heteronormativity, and for Lacoss as an idealised, adult-aligned social system (Pugh and Wallace 276; Lacoss 67).

The similarity of the concealment strategies in Philosopher's Stone to those of the earlier texts in this study highlights the strong traditions of children's fantasy literature upon which Rowling draws. Indeed, a number of textual elements which conceal hegemonic ideologies within Philosopher's Stone appear to echo the earlier texts quite specifically, including the construction of the marked hero, the use of children's cultural artefacts and ideologies, and the relationship between the protagonist and the wise patriarch. Arguably though, the concealment in Rowling's text is more cohesive: hailing devices work throughout the story to draw the reader's attention away from the text's constructed apprenticeship to adult leadership, which takes form gradually over the course of the narrative. This is particularly evident, for example, in the way that Harry appears to learn and succeed without adult guidance: the text focuses on his willingness to break adult rules, flout authority and turn to his friends rather than his teachers. This comes together with the focalising structure of the narrative to draw attention away from the subtle guidance that Dumbledore and the institution of Hogwarts exert on Harry's actions, as well as the innate "public school" values that Harry exhibits.

## Conclusion

Philosopher's Stone draws strongly upon the twentieth-century children's fantasy tradition, not only in its themes and content, but also in its use of the three elements of



the Trojan Horse mechanism, which are clearly evident throughout the story. Hailing devices draw on signs of childness and the politics of adult-child relations, adult-aligned ideologies endorse the hegemonic status quo and socialise the implied child reader as a child and future adult leader within this hegemony, and this ideological transmission is concealed by the hailing devices and the narrative structure of the story. The fact that a number of other critics have identified the concealed hegemonic shaping at work in Philosopher's Stone supports the findings of this study.

Comparisons with the earlier texts in this study suggest that while Rowling uses many of the same themes, structures and devices, her use of the Trojan Horse mechanism is more sustained, cohesive and focused than previous texts in the study have managed. Unlike the earlier texts, Philosopher's Stone has a more focused emphasis on adult-child relations within its Trojan Horse mechanism – a point which many researchers have also acknowledged – and although ideas about other issues like race and gender exist within the text, these issues do not feature prominently within the mechanism itself. Whereas many of the previous texts focused on inculcating a national and sometimes imperial identity in implied child readers, this is less evident in Philosopher's Stone despite its nominally British setting, and may reflect the changing national circumstances of the late twentieth century. The strong focus on adult-child relations may similarly reflect the contemporary concerns about children, childhood and parenting which were strident in the media and in other forms of political and public debate during this era.

Rowling's Trojan Horse mechanism begins with hailing devices on the first page and ends on the closing page; its structure is relatively complex and layers of ideology operate in many different parts of the story. Nevertheless, Philosopher's Stone generally avoids ideological confusion in order to present a sustained mechanism to child readers, positioning child readers to see Harry as a hero of child culture and its counter-hegemonic stance, but then to follow his lead in ascribing to adult-defined notions of good behaviour, in seeking to achieve in an adult-controlled educational institution, in accepting an apprenticeship to adult leadership, and in relying on adults when problems are beyond a child's ability to handle. Readers are encouraged to see the world as Harry does, to accept the guidance of wise adult authority figures and their ways of looking at the world, and to ascribe to the values of the hegemony.

## **NORTHERN LIGHTS**

Northern Lights occurs in an alternate version of our own world, a world where part of a person's soul exists outside the body in the form of a "daemon" in an animal shape. The story of Northern Lights concerns Lyra Belacqua, an eleven-year-old orphan who has been adopted by Jordan College of Oxford in Brytain (alternative Britain). In Lyra's world, the Church is extremely powerful and repressive: it seeks to prevent what it perceives as the taint of original sin by finding a way to sever the daemon from the human body and so prevent a "consciousness" particle, called Dust, from being attracted to humans. To do this, an arm of the Church, called the General Oblation Board and colloquially known as the Gobblers, abducts children to conduct their experiments. When Lyra's young friend Roger is abducted, Lyra sets out to rescue him, and in the process, meets witches, armoured bears and a nomadic people called the gyptians, discovers the identity of her parents, travels north to the Arctic, and becomes intimately involved with the search for Dust.

Although Northern Lights and Philosopher's Stone share the same general socio-historical context and emerge from the same literary tradition, this study proposes that Northern Lights diverges significantly from the kind of ideological shaping which occurs in Rowling's text. Specifically, I argue that Pullman's story uses the elements of the Trojan Horse mechanism to question some hegemonic assumptions about childhood and adult-child relations. This text contains a wealth of signs of childness, which act as hailing devices in the sense that they position the implied child reader to recognise the similarities between the child characters and themselves and to accept the text as emerging from a child-friendly position. This study will demonstrate that, unlike the other texts, Northern Lights mainly validates the child's experience, as well as the often oppositional position that children can occupy in their relations with adults and adult-hegemonic structures. This forms part of a larger ideological project in the text: to interrogate the values and assumptions inherent in the adult-hegemonic status quo, to endorse the value of childhood experience and the skills of being a child as fundamentally valuable within society, and to create an apprenticeship to future adult leadership which teaches these leaders to critique and even stand outside the adult hegemony. As the ideologies contained in the hailing devices thus constitute a major

part of the text's ideological transmission, I will briefly outline some of the text's major hailing devices in the following section, and then consider their ideological significance in detail within the subsequent discussion of the text's ideologies.

### **Hailing devices**

Like most of the other texts in this study, Northern Lights uses its elements of fantasy and magic as hailing devices to appeal to child readers, especially when these fantastic elements also draw on signs of childness. However, the form of fantasy in Northern Lights is distinct from the previous texts in this study. Most of the other texts feature a primary and secondary world dynamic, where the primary world is adult-aligned and the magical secondary world is ostensibly child-aligned. Northern Lights is set completely in a magical world, and thus is more similar to fantasy like Tolkien's The Hobbit (1937) or Raymond Feist's Magician (1982). This means that, unlike many of the previous texts, Northern Lights does not align the secondary world with children or child culture as part of a hailing device. Instead, it contains a complex depiction of adult- and child-aligned spaces which exist in the secondary world in much the same way that these spaces occur in the real world. This is particularly noticeable in the way that the Oxford children use the adult spaces of the docks, the College, the Canal and the Claybeds as play areas (Pullman Northern Lights 35-37). I suggest that Pullman's depiction of children's cultural spaces has real world equivalency: as Lacoss has observed, the spaces often occur semi-secretively, around and in-between adult spaces (71-72), and this similarity to the real world may create a hailing device.

One of the most important fantastic devices in Northern Lights is the existence of daemons in Lyra's world: a part of the soul made manifest as an animal. While daemons of adults have a set form which expresses some essential part of one's personality, children's daemons can change their shape, as the nature of a child is not yet settled. The daemon is arguably a strongly appealing hailing device – in Susan Bobby's words, "the hook that pulls us into Lyra's world" (no pagination). Daemons may be particularly appealing to young readers for two main reasons. Firstly, as Bobby finds, the emotional and physical connection between human and daemon is expressed in the familiar terms of connecting with a beloved pet. Secondly, I suggest that the self-reflexivity prompted

by daemons may be relevant for children, who are in the process of developing a conscious sense of their own identity and looking ahead to maturity and adulthood.

Another hailing device which works through the fantastic elements of Northern Lights is the use of magic as an empowering tool, exemplified by Lyra's special ability to read the alethiometer, a truth-telling apparatus. Like Will Stanton's magical powers, Lyra's ability gives her power that adults do not share: the ability to predict events and divine the best course of action to take. This, in turn, gives her social power, evident in the fact that the gyptians invite her to accompany their quest to the Arctic, and in the way she uses the alethiometer to help her friend, Iorek Byrnison, reclaim his freedom and his throne (Northern Lights 340-41). Lyra's power thus arguably forms a hailing device: it signifies on the powerlessness of children in their relations with adults and depicts a child suddenly becoming more powerful than the adults around her.

Possibly the text's strongest hailing devices are communicated through the construction of Lyra, as well as through depictions of the child-oriented social world within which she exists. Throughout Northern Lights, Lyra operates as a strong child hero, and more than that, as a hero who resists adult power and control. This is evident from the text's opening scene, set in the Jordan College Masters' Hall. The first sentence of the story reveals this construction immediately: "Lyra and her daemon moved through the darkening Hall, taking care to keep to one side, out of sight of the kitchen" (Northern Lights 3). Here, keeping "out of sight" and moving through a "darkening" hall imply that Lyra is moving secretly, and is somewhere she is not supposed to be. Lyra is not only secretive: she is intruding on an exclusive space of powerful adults, as indicated by the portraits of former Masters, the mahogany chairs with velvet cushions, and the place-settings laid with gold (Northern Lights 3). Despite her own daemon's admonition to "Behave yourself" (Northern Lights 3), Lyra is unrepentant; she is doing something evidently forbidden, and enjoying herself immensely in the process. Moving in a forbidden space, breaking adult rules and being secretive are common signifiers of childhood and child resistance used in this study's texts, but Northern Lights is the only text of the group to open with a child committing a subversive act, which arguably emphasises the protagonist's oppositional nature. Compare this to Dahl's polite introduction to a very meek Charlie, or Barrie's sentimental musing on the two-year-old

Wendy; even Harry Potter, who notoriously enters forbidden school spaces, misses out on such a portentous introduction.

The narrator's descriptions of Lyra reinforce this hailing device throughout the story, demonstrating the extent to which Lyra is a child inherently resistant to adult authority and control. She is "proud" (Northern Lights 9), she has "been in trouble often enough to be used to it" (Northern Lights 10), she is "a barbarian" (Northern Lights 35), "a coarse and greedy little savage" (Northern Lights 37) and "a half-wild cat" (Northern Lights 37). When constrained by adults she is mutinous and glowering (Northern Lights 37), and when questioned about religion, she confounds the College Intercessor with "her sly indifference and insincere repentances" (Northern Lights 52).

Lyra has a stronger narrative presence than most of the other child protagonists in this study, which arguably creates a richer hailing device. Lyra's thoughts, feelings and motivations are described in more depth than Blyton's Peter and Mollie, Lewis's Pevensie children or Dahl's Charlie Bucket. Her behaviour and physical appearance also highlight her childlike nature more than the other protagonists; for example, she loves playing and getting dirty but hates having to wash, and only does so when forced to by adults (Northern Lights 64-65). No other child character in this study has this particular feature, even though real children often loathe and resist bath time. Even her speech is more idiosyncratic: while many of the children analysed in this study have adult-like diction and innate politeness in their speech styles, Lyra's speech, with its aggressive "Dunno"s and other poor diction, is the bane of the adults around her and confirms her status as a resistant child (Northern Lights 65).

Like many child-heroes in this study, Lyra is courageous, loyal and daring. She shares some similarities with Will Stanton and Harry Potter, as each of the three child characters knowingly embarks on a difficult and dangerous quest. However, while Will is motivated by the inevitability of his destiny and Harry by his general understanding of good and evil, Lyra is primarily motivated by factors which have a concrete relevance to the life of a child – friendship and loyalty to other children – and therefore her actions form a hailing device which evokes the primacy of children's peer relations, as well as creating an appealing hero child readers can identify with. For example, Lyra's reason for beginning her epic quest is to rescue her friend Roger from the evil

Gobblers. The text portrays Lyra's moment of decision in a way that reveals her inner strength; she acknowledges the danger of the quest but does not flinch from it, nor does she look to adults for a solution:

This was her world. She wanted it to stay the same for ever and ever, but it was changing around her, for someone out there was stealing children. She sat on the roof-ridge, chin in hands.

"We better rescue him, Pantalaimon," she said.

He answered in his rook-voice from the chimney.

"It'll be dangerous," he said.

"Course! I know that." (Northern Lights 63)

The quest is not only dangerous: it leads her far from home and up into the arctic wastes. While there, she manages to destroy Bolvangar, the Gobblers' research station, and leads the captive children to safety, despite the frigid conditions and hostile pursuit (Northern Lights 290-7). These events show Lyra acting – often independently of adults – for the good of other children, and achieving concrete, successful outcomes, and this supports her construction as a child hero and more specifically as a hero of child culture, someone who implied child readers can understand and esteem.

The depiction of children's play in Northern Lights comes closest to expressing both the form and function of play as recorded by children's cultural archivists like Iona and Peter Opie, Alison Lurie, Kathleen McDonnell and Gloria Delamar. Significantly though, the text makes no reference to elements of children's culture unique to the 1990s such as media, technology or global popular culture. Like Philosopher's Stone, this is a nostalgic view of children's play, possibly responding to contemporary concerns about childhood in crisis. Nevertheless, I suggest that essential social relations implicated in Pullman's portrayal of children's play and culture may remain relevant to contemporary child readers, and this particular aspect creates the hailing device. For example, early in the story, the text contrasts the adult, academic world of Jordan College with the children's world existing as part of the Oxford environs, where children form tribes and gangs as part of their play activities. Here, the text openly acknowledges that the adults and the children exist in separate cultural spaces:

Just as [Lyra] was unaware of the hidden currents of politics running below the surface of College affairs, so the Scholars, for their part, would have been unable to see the rich seething stew of alliances and enmities and feuds and treaties which was a child's life in Oxford. Children playing together: how pleasant to see! What could be more innocent and charming? (Northern Lights 36)

The narrator's tone in this section is partly serious and partly ironic. He acknowledges how little of child culture adults understand, and highlights the common adult misconception that play is pleasant, innocent and charming. This acknowledgement contributes to the hailing device by demonstrating an understanding of the difference between children's and adults' perspectives of childhood. The narrator acknowledges that children's social relations are rich and complex but his description of the children's play as "deadly warfare" (Northern Lights 36) is an ironic overstatement. The play may not be endangering life, but as the text demonstrates, the children's tribal allegiances are "deadly" serious to them while still being fun, and the shifting factions and alliances between the children's tribal groups are described in ways which would likely be familiar to child readers. Lyra, like all children, must operate in both the adult world of Jordan College and the child world of the Oxford environs but it is clear that her main allegiances lie with her fellow children. The text understands that children negotiate power through play activities, and Lyra appears to be at the top of the child hierarchy in Oxford as she leads many games, adventures and escapades; in essence, she is a hero of her child culture (Northern Lights 36-37).

Further hailing devices appear in the portrayal of Lyra's relations with the adults of her world. These relations reinforce the primacy of her peer relations and demonstrate her independence from many of the hegemonic social structures she comes up against, from Jordan College to her parents, the gyptians and the Church. Lyra's ties to adult characters are temporary and occasional: she does not simply move along her journey, neatly making the transition from the protection of one benevolent adult to another; instead, she often consciously leaves the protection of adults to strike out on her own. A key example occurs when Lyra first joins the gyptians on their journey North, and then leaves the main party to investigate the fate of Tony Makarios (Northern Lights 205-07). Similarly at the end of the story Lyra makes up her own mind to leave her world entirely and search for the mysterious Dust in the parallel universes now open to her (Northern Lights 398-9). In these examples, Lyra's independence from adults may function as a hailing device evoking a child-aligned counter-hegemonic consciousness in ways that implied child readers can understand and appreciate.

Not all the adults Lyra meets are benevolent: some are extremely hostile and dangerous, and the text uses these instances to create hailing devices similar to those that appear within many of the previous texts of this study, where some kinds of adult power and authority are treated negatively by the text. In Northern Lights, the Church and its subsidiary arm, the Gobblers, provide an excellent example. The Gobblers are responsible for the abduction of children throughout Brytain, kidnapped to be unwilling subjects in experiments on their daemons, which are cut away through an agonising process of “intercision”, a kind of psychological mutilation. In an era in which child abductions were widely reported and children were regularly warned about “stranger danger”, the portrayal of this horrific practice may signify on readers’ familiarity with the real-world dangers, thus acting as a hailing device to prompt implied child readers to hate and fear these dangerous strangers. Apart from kidnapping children and slicing their souls apart, the Church is also responsible for controlling intellectual thought and outlawing the objective analysis of Dust. Here again, implied child readers are positioned to align themselves with Lyra and the other children, who are persecuted by the Church within a power structure which is both hegemonic and oppressive.

Northern Lights also challenges adult authority and power on a more intimate level by depicting Lyra’s parents – Lord Asriel and Mrs Coulter – in negative terms. These characters are powerful and ambitious, and in an unsubtle warning to child readers, both characters are perfectly willing to kill children in order to achieve their goals. Arguably this is version of a similar hailing device at work in Philosopher’s Stone in the construction of the Dursleys, made more extreme by the lack of levity in Lyra’s parents’ construction, and by the fact that they are not foster parents, but Lyra’s own flesh and blood.

### **Concealed ideologies**

The ideologies in His Dark Materials have attracted a significant amount of attention from the media and scholarly critics, helped to some extent by the overtly political nature of the work and Pullman’s own outspokenness on many contentious issues, from the state of the British education system to the worth of the Narnia Chronicles. However, as most critics have concentrated on the trilogy as a whole, Northern Lights



itself has received relatively little in-depth critical analysis. Moreover, because Northern Lights deals with themes of childhood while The Subtle Knife (1997) and The Amber Spyglass (1999) concentrate more on themes of adolescence and maturity, much of the research based on the overall series does not delve into the particular configurations of ideology which are unique to the first text.

Of those researchers who have investigated the ideological ramifications of Northern Lights or His Dark Materials generally, there is some consensus that Pullman's work contains radical or subversive ideologies. For example, some scholars have found potentially radical elements in the trilogy's treatment of power-relations and authority in the context of religion. I suggest this focus traverses the same kind of ideological terrain as adult-child power relations: both deal with the systemic nature of power and the reproduction of ideology, and the research suggests that it is this fundamental assumption of "obvious" hegemonic relations that Pullman's texts critique. Naomi Wood, for example, compares the treatment of obedience and disobedience in Pullman's His Dark Materials to Lewis's Chronicles of Narnia; a useful comparison given that both authors draw on Judeo-Christian myths of the Fall and relate obedience to the process of coming of age (238). Wood concludes that in contrast to Lewis's series, which encourages the habit of obedience to hegemonic religious authority, Pullman's text asks readers to question and challenge the assumptions that underpin authority, even the authority of God (246). Wood's arguments highlight the complexity of ideological messages appearing in the texts, especially when ideas about religion meet ideas about childhood, a point also emerging in this study's analysis of The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe. Furthermore, although Wood does not specifically discuss the mechanics of ideology transmission, her findings suggest that Pullman's ideological approach may differ from the other texts in this study, especially in the way he positions readers to question authority (Wood 246).

David Gooderham also focuses on the way that His Dark Materials challenges structures of religious authority and power by engaging with ecclesiastical, mythic and theological discourses ("Fantasizing" 157). He finds that the trilogy uses religious language in what this study would call a hailing device, so as "radically to reinterpret or demythologize" Christian institutions ("Fantasizing" 154-56). Yet Gooderham is uncertain of the success of Pullman's ideological project: like Michael Drout discussing

The Dark Is Rising, Gooderham recognises that cultural artefacts may carry their own ideological agenda, including, in this case, authoritarian ideologies inherent in the myths upon which Pullman draws (“Fantasizing” 173-74).

The notion that Pullman’s trilogy contains elements of subversion in its exploration of religion is further supported by Burton Hatlen’s research, which compares the narrative structure and religious implications of Pullman’s trilogy to Tolkien’s The Lord of the Rings and Lewis’s Narnia Chronicles (76). His most significant finding, as far as this study is concerned, is that “[w]hile the machinery of Pullman’s fantasy world(s) is similar in important ways to Lewis’s, Pullman puts that machinery to very different uses” (Hatlen 83). This statement, taken together with the idea of Pullman’s subversiveness, intimates that Pullman may be consciously reworking traditional fantasy tropes for a different ideological purpose. If this is the case, evidence of the reworking should emerge following analysis of the text’s structures and ideological content.

Maude Hines applies Althusser’s understanding of ideology to the functioning of daemons in His Dark Materials. By exploring aspects of the text which play with “obviousness” (to use Althusser’s term) and where the natural is revealed as unnatural, Hines shows that the text prompts readers, at times, to question for themselves what is natural and unnatural (38). I suggest Hines’ findings hint at the trilogy’s radicalising elements. As previously demonstrated in this study, aspects of the adult hegemony or controlled apprenticeship are often portrayed as natural and obvious, but the fact that Pullman’s series prompts readers to examine naturalised assumptions suggests that the ideological motivation may be different. This issue will be explored further in my analysis of the construction of childhood and adult-child relations in Northern Lights.

Kristine Moruzi comes closest to this study’s own focus in the way that she examines Pullman’s exploration of childhood and adult-child power relations. Moruzi begins from an understanding that “Adult writers for children ... are part of a project to construct images of children that reinforce adult expectations of appropriate child behaviour” (64), or what I would call an expression of cultural hegemony, in Gramscian terms. Moruzi examines several themes and events of the trilogy, including truth and story-telling, family and gender and the concept of maturity and, like the researchers

investigating the depiction of religion, authority and daemons, identifies potential radical elements in the early part of the trilogy, especially in Northern Lights, which seem to offer child readers the idea of disobedience to and independence from adults (64).

Moruzi's findings are particularly significant to this study because she recognises the existence of an adult hegemony, understands its influence in children's literature and identifies elements in the text which I have considered as potential parts of a Trojan Horse mechanism. However, Moruzi suggests that the end of the trilogy encodes more traditional ideologies regarding adult-child power relations, especially in the constraints of destiny and in the return of the protagonists to hierarchical social structures in their societies (64). This is a point I will consider later in this analysis in light of the notion of adult apprenticeship as proposed by this study.

Much like the previous texts in this study, Northern Lights uses its hailing devices to carry an additional ideological load aimed at shaping implied child readers as children and as future adults according to the text's adult perspective. However, where this text differs from the others lies in the vision of childhood that informs the text and the kinds of ideological demands the text places on implied child readers (in Jacqueline Rose's terms). In what amounts to the biggest departure from the trends identified throughout the other texts in this study, in Northern Lights, these ideologies, while still concealed by the child-aligned hailing devices, rarely subvert them. Rather, Pullman's transmitted ideologies validate the state of childhood and seek to foster future adults who can stand outside the hegemonic system when required. I contend that, like the hegemonic shaping in Philosopher's Stone, these more radical "demands" on childhood may be a response to events and trends in the text's socio-historical context, which aim to shape children for special adult roles in the uncertain future beyond the turn of the millennium.

Both Philosopher's Stone and Northern Lights have a strong ideological focus on adult-child relations, which I suggest may reflect a heightened visibility of issues surrounding these kinds of relations in the media at the end of the twentieth century, from increasing anxiety about childhood, as Stearns has noted, to a focus on the rights of children and also concerns about children's social and moral welfare. Yet while Rowling's text

mainly considers issues of power in these relations in a concrete sense, Pullman's focus encapsulates both the concrete experience and the abstract: the conceptual relations between the state of childhood and the state of adulthood. This abstract focus appears in the text's portrayal of daemons: here, the text's ideological vision of childhood, maturity and the nature of the human soul are concealed by the hailing device created by their child-friendly appeal. Adult daemons represent an element of a person's nature, as the Able-Seaman explains:

Take old Belisaria. She's a seagull, and that means I'm a kind of seagull too. I'm not grand and splendid nor beautiful, but I'm a tough old thing and I can survive anywhere and always find a bit of food and company. That's worth knowing, that is. (Pullman Northern Lights 167)

A child's daemon, however, is able to change form because the child's personality has not yet settled. These magical and self-reflexive elements may be appealing to implied child readers, but the construction also sends a deeper message that children have unlimited potential, and by implication, that their adult nature is to some extent shaped by their experiences and development as young people. According to the text, childhood is thus an extremely important time both in terms of children's potential, but also their actuality as children.

Lyra's construction contains ideologies that relate to a very distinct image of childhood, and begins the process of modelling an apprenticeship to future adult leadership that implied child readers are positioned to take on. The first indications of this appear in the opening scene, when Lyra breaks College rules to enter the forbidden Masters' Hall. Significantly, Lyra is not acting for any high purpose: this escapade is motivated only by Lyra's curiosity "to see what the room was like" and knowing well that she "shouldn't have" entered (Northern Lights 14). Unlike many of the other texts then, Northern Lights does not attempt to explain or excuse Lyra's behaviour and there is no hidden message about children behaving "nicely". Instead, it is evident from this scene that the text endorses Lyra's curiosity and independence, and arguably positions implied child readers to cultivate these valuable personality traits.

Although she is often naughty, Lyra is not portrayed as a bad child, rather, as the College Librarian observes, as "a healthy thoughtless" one (Northern Lights 33). The various descriptions of Lyra in the text emerge from an adult perspective, usually the

narrator's, and while they are blunt, I suggest that they are nevertheless respectful of the state of childhood. The text would appear to acknowledge that childhood is fundamentally different to adulthood, but the proliferation of descriptions of Lyra and the strength of the language may indicate a degree of admiration for childhood on its own terms. Moreover, despite the fact that Lyra's actions contravene common notions of good behaviour in children, the text still shows her actions in a positive light. An excellent example is Lyra's propensity for falsehood. When the entire Bolvangar rescue operation is in danger, the only thing that saves it is Lyra's immense skill in lying. Significantly, the text's description of this contains no moral message or implied criticism, nor does the text attempt to excuse Lyra's behaviour:

With every second that went past, with every sentence she spoke, she felt a little strength flowing back. And now that she was doing something difficult and familiar and never quite predictable, namely lying, she felt a sort of mastery again ... She had to be careful not to say anything obviously impossible; she had to be vague in some places and invent plausible details in others; she had to be an artist, in short. (Northern Lights 282-3)

Lyra's lie is convincing, and the gyptians' rescue is successful because of it. According to the text, she is not a naughty girl, she is an artist. In other words, the text rejects the traditional adult view of lying as being bad behaviour, in favour of celebrating the child's enjoyment and mastery from the child's own perspective. Of course, when Lyra is older, she also learns the value of the truth, but in this scene of Northern Lights, the text's deeper message endorses Lyra's ability to capitalise on her current skills for a positive outcome.

The text shows that Lyra is successful when she determines her own course of action rather than allowing adults to tell her what to do or adult rules to constrain her. Again, this first occurs in the opening chapter, when Lyra averts the murder of Lord Asriel and learns about the nature of Dust precisely because she broke adult rules. The theme reoccurs throughout the story; for example, when Lyra absconds from Mrs Coulter's house and consequently finds sanctuary with the gyptians (Northern Lights 97-105), or when she stands up to the gyptians in order to discover the severed child, Tony Makarios (Northern Lights 205-14), a discovery which hardens the gyptians' resolve to end the Gobblers' power (Northern Lights 219).

By constantly rewarding Lyra's independence, willingness to act and resistance to adult control, it is apparent that the text is endorsing and validating child independence and agency generally, and constructing a different model of childhood for readers to follow than has occurred in the other texts of this study. Many of the previous texts seem to promote child agency in hailing devices which conceal and transmit deeper ideological messages that teach children to be passive and accept adult guidance. A prime example of this occurs in Blyton's story with the interaction between the children and the wishing-chair. It occurs again in Charlie with the punishment of the bad ticket winners and the good, passive child's reward. In contrast, The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe and Philosopher's Stone construct a controlled apprenticeship for their child protagonists: the Pevensie children and Harry learn specific skills and knowledge from the benevolent adults who guide them, and then have the opportunity to test their learning in semi-controlled adventures, so that they learn how to become future leaders within the hegemonic mould. Yet in Northern Lights, there is no subversion of Lyra's independent position and no adults carefully guiding or controlling her actions, and although her relations with adults contain significant ideological complexity, she remains largely outside the hegemonic structures of her society.

Elements of Lyra's construction provide grounds for comparison with other child characters appearing in this study and thus shed more light on this text's underpinning ideologies. For example, the only other child character in this study's texts whose construction contains a similar emphasis on idiosyncratic childness is Peter Pan: both characters are wilful, sure of their own importance, leaders of other children, interested mainly in play and resistant to adult authority. However, I contend that Barrie's and Pullman's differing visions of childhood create significant differences between the two child characters. Unlike Peter Pan, Lyra must cope with the realities and dangers of everyday life: there is no safe haven – no Neverland – retreat to. This implies that what Pullman's text "demand[s] of the child", as Jacqueline Rose expresses (137), is for children to be the active co-constructors of their own life paths. Lyra does this far more than Peter Pan: she is constantly immersed in the problems of the real world, she makes decisions and she learns from her experiences. This divergence may reflect the differing social contexts within which Barrie and Pullman were writing. While the middle-class child in Barrie's society could be easily contained within the nursery, secure and isolated from the problems of the adult world, as I have outlined in this chapter, there

was widespread concern by the end of the twentieth century that children were exposed to many adult vices, dangers and issues (see, for example Davis and Bourhill; Gooderham “What Rough Beast”; Postman).

Lyra’s construction also provides some important comparisons and contrasts with her contemporary, Harry Potter. Both display some typical fantasy character tropes. For example, both are orphans (or apparently so), and both have special abilities: Harry can do magic and is also magically protected against Voldemort, while Lyra can read her alethiometer without books or study. Both characters are also active in their environments, taking on leadership roles within their peer groups, and occasionally in their dealings with adults. Despite this, the texts’ descriptions of the two characters differ significantly. Philosopher’s Stone describes Harry as a classic good boy: with his polite manners, his nobility, bravery and innate sense of fairness, he has what Captain Hook would readily acknowledge as “good form”. Conversely, Lyra is self-centred, savage and aggressive, resenting the adults who try to control her life. She is also more daring in her transgressions against adult controls than Harry, initiating jaunts across the roofs and into the cellars of Jordan College, stealing a gyptian’s boat and getting exceedingly and illicitly drunk, all with her friend and sidekick Roger the kitchen boy.

In comparison to Lyra, Harry appears relatively pliant: the concept of childhood which informs his construction assumes an intrinsic level of child goodness and obedience which Pullman’s text emphatically does not share. As a consequence, while implied child readers of Philosopher’s Stone are positioned to accept Harry’s innate good nature as normal, Northern Lights contains no similar positioning to teach children to ascribe to such traditional values. Instead, it celebrates a more realistic state of childhood as many children might experience it. Lyra is a fun and engaging child and her naughtiness is an important hailing device. The fact that she prevails despite her resistance to the adult hegemony sends an important ideological message: that naughtiness, questioning and resistance do not prevent good works or positive action. I contend this forms an important facet of the modelled childhood and apprenticeship to future adulthood offered to child readers, suggesting that it is possible and potentially desirable to stand outside the dominant hegemonic structures of one’s society.

Like some of the previous texts in this study, Northern Lights depicts children playing, and uses this to communicate an ideological position; however, this position is significantly different from those in the other texts. In the texts this study has previously analysed, play is rarely portrayed as a useful or important activity, despite the fact that play is an important part of children's lives (McDonnell 32). Many child characters do not play (like Will Stanton), some have little opportunity to play (like Charlie Bucket), and in some stories (like Philosopher's Stone) play is implied in the time the child characters spend together but is not explicitly discussed. Other stories like The Wizard of Oz and The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe use play as a hailing device to mark the child character with recognisable signs of childness. In these stories, play is what child characters do before the adventure begins, like the Pevensie children playing hide and seek before they find the door to Narnia: as soon as the adventure starts the children stop playing in order to do something more important.

Texts which omit or marginalise children's play reveal adult subjectivities because from an adult's perspective, child's play can seem to be what the phrase itself popularly implies: something frivolous and lightweight. Yet as Opie and Opie's archives have demonstrated, for children themselves, play is vitally important: it is the way they establish and maintain social networks and practise their culture. Only Peter and Wendy and The Wishing-Chair show play as being important to the child characters: the former text constructs play as the central (and perhaps *only*) activity in the Neverland, while in the latter text, the children's adventures in Fairyland are extensions of their normal play activities.

Unlike the previous texts, the deeper ideological message in Northern Lights endorses the worth of play. Pullman's text demonstrates that play is central to children's lives, that it helps create a sense of community, that it establishes a cultural space separate to the world of adults, and even more importantly from an ideological perspective, that children's play can be a useful tool in the wider world. This indicates that Pullman goes further than Barrie and Blyton in his text's validation of children's play, and therefore his work represents a significant break from the more usual ideologies in children's fantasy literature that this study has identified.



Pullman's position on the validity and usefulness of children's play emerges in a crisis point: the abduction of children by the shadowy Gobblers. The legend of the Gobblers develops as children start to disappear in British towns and cities, and the text describes the legend spreading by oral transmission (Northern Lights 45-46) in much the same way that children transmit the lore and language of their culture. As the story of the Gobblers intersects with children's lives, the text shows the children rapidly absorbing it and transmuting it into other forms:

“Let's play kids and Gobblers!”

So said Lyra to Roger the Kitchen boy from Jordan College. He would have followed her to the ends of the earth.

“How d'you play that?”

“You hide and I find you and slice you open, right, like the Gobblers do.”  
(Northern Lights 46)

This game creation seems to function as a way for the children to come to terms with a dangerous problem and to reclaim some control of the situation: by taking on the role of the Gobbler, the terrifying unknown is given a concrete, controllable form. This serious, respectful treatment of play recognises that play has a useful purpose in the world, and that it is not merely used as a hailing device to entice the child reader with a familiar artefact of their culture.

The text emphasises the usefulness of play again when the Gobblers abduct the gyptian child Billy Costa. When Billy disappears, the gyptian adults appear angry, frustrated, afraid and impotent. Billy's mother is a great gyptian matriarch but when her son disappears she is standing at the crowded boatyard, isolated by her grief, terror and helplessness (Northern Lights 54-6). The other adult gyptians on the wharf are similarly afflicted: “Some of the women were crying loudly, and the men were standing in angry groups, with all their daemons agitated and rising in nervous flight or snarling at shadows” (Northern Lights 59). This description of the gyptians' daemons highlights their emotional state: the nervous and snarling daemons reveal that the gyptians' fear and frustration run soul-deep.

In contrast to the adults, the children under Lyra's direction pool their knowledge to work out when Billy disappeared, and then go off as a great swarm to hunt the Gobblers in an activity that is serious but also playful (Northern Lights 55-8). This is a powerful vision of children's culture as an agentive force: the children refuse to accept the

passive role of potential victims, working together instead to wrest the initiative from the Gobblers. Pullman's descriptions of the children's community in this and other episodes do not contain the sense of fleeting fragility evident in, say, Peter and Wendy, but rather a robust sense of agency, almost an invasion upon the adult world. This is most evident when Lyra leads her young compatriots in the hunt for Billy Costa, as indicated by the text's wording:

before long, thirty or more gyptian children were racing from end to end of the wharves, running in and out of stables, scrambling over the cranes and derricks in the boat-yard, leaping over the fence into the wide meadow, swinging fifteen at a time on the old swing bridge over the green water, and running full pelt through the narrow streets of Jericho, between the little brick terraced houses and into the great square-towered oratory of St Barnabas the Chymist. (Northern Lights 58)

This passage is action-oriented, with verbs in the past progressive form emphasising the children's physical activity and symbolic control over the spaces through which they move. Furthermore, by contrasting the reactions of the active children and the passive adults, the text is sending a powerful ideological message. The message is that children are capable of coping in situations of adversity, and that even though they may act in different ways to adults, the results of their actions are not necessarily inferior and may have more potentiality.

This treatment differs strongly from most other texts previously studied. In The Dark is Rising, Will Stanton has no child network, and while Harry Potter does have a small band of friends to help him, only Dumbledore can save him when he faces Professor Quirrell/Voldemort. Only Charlie portrays children's culture with as much vitality as in Northern Lights, but the ideological purposes are very different. Dahl's text uses aspects of children's culture in its humour to interpellate child readers to accept adult notions of good behaviour. Pullman's text, in contrast, focuses on the relationships between children and the empowering idea that through children's culture comes children's community. Thus, in this situation, Pullman's text validates the hailing device which depicts the richness of children's social interactions, and demonstrates its usefulness as a tool for social action. This idea is based on a significantly different conceptualisation of childhood to the other texts, and its appearance in Northern Lights represents a new way of using the elements of a Trojan Horse mechanism, in this case, to transmit a more empowering ideology of childhood.

At times during her journey, Lyra must also interact with adults, and these interactions reveal a nuanced ideological position. There are certainly hierarchical relations at play, including a range of “kindly adults [who] provide helping hands” to Lyra (and to the second protagonist, Will Parry, in the subsequent stories) (Moruzi 59). As I have shown, such hierarchical relations prevail in most of the texts considered, and Pullman’s text does not ignore the basic socio-biological imperative inherent in adult-child relations. But in Northern Lights, these hierarchies are neither certain nor unassailable; indeed, Lyra’s relationships with adults are often characterised by fluidity and interdependence. These question and rework the assumptions of the adult hegemony while highlighting the particularly important human qualities of independent decision-making, courage and action: qualities respected whether in an adult or a child.

A number of benevolent adults do help and support Lyra on her quest in Northern Lights, including the Master of Jordan College, the gyptians, the armoured bear Iorek Byrnison, the witch Serrafina Pekkala and Lee Scoresby the aeronaut. Lyra’s relations with the gyptians are particularly hierarchical: Lord Faa and Farder Coram tend towards being wise patriarchs, and Ma Costa makes a very traditional Earth-mother. Discussing the trilogy as a whole, Moruzi suggests that “adult knowledge is critical to guiding the children on their journey. At crucial moments, an adult appears to provide Lyra and Will with explanations for what has happened, and why, so that they can take further action” (Moruzi 62). This is true, but would appear to promote learning (apprenticeship) rather than hegemonic control. In the first book especially, Lyra makes her own decisions about what to do even when she listens to the advice of kindly adults, and more often than not, she must make decisions without adult guidance. Thus again, the ideology of independent thought appears as the underlying theme.

While Lyra is with these benevolent adults, her relations with them often contain degrees of co-operation and interdependence. For example, Lyra needs the gyptians to help her get to Roger, but the gyptians need Lyra’s skill with the alethiometer to succeed in their journey north. She needs Iorek’s strength and ferocity to help her reach the severed boy Tony Makarios and later Roger, but only because of Lyra can Iorek win back his dignity and his kingship. In these relations, the text constructs a different and more equitable power dynamic than has been evident in the other texts in this study.

Pullman's message is that adults and children both have skills, abilities and types of knowledge, that each can help the other, and moreover, that children have an innate worth rather than simply future potential.

As a counterpoint to its treatment of benevolent adult characters, the text also transmits ideologies through its portrayal of bad adult characters and institutions, carried under the hailing device of the apparently straightforward anti-hegemonic opposition between good children and bad adults. These concealed ideologies relate to morality, power and hegemonic authority. Perhaps the most fundamental ideology at work can be seen in the text's definitions of good and evil. Pullman puts human nature and free will at the centre of the text's definitions of good and evil and seeks to define these concepts "realistically" (Pullman, cited in Abbots; no pagination). Good and evil are therefore choices and kinds of behaviour, or as Pullman describes it: "Am I going to cleave to what I think is good, or am I going to slump towards what I know is bad? Am I going to be courageous?" (cited in Parsons and Nicholson 129). Northern Lights, like Philosopher's Stone, thus defines evil in human terms, in what may be a reflection of events occurring within the two texts' social context, like, for example the rise in reporting of child abductions, molestation and murder. Like the real world, Lyra's world is dangerous because real people make it so, not because of any evil superhuman forces at play, and the choice of how to respond to good and evil is placed firmly with Lyra and implied readers.

The fact that issues of human good and evil appear in both Northern Lights and Philosopher's Stone suggests that both texts may be responding to contemporary events like the Bulger murder. The texts' treatments of good and evil aim to instil a strong sense of morality in implied child readers in line with the texts' own value systems. This may be evidence of an adult desire to counter the kinds of childhood amorality public commentary suggested may be prevalent in the wake of James Bulger's death, as described by Morrisson (no pagination).

The text's ideologies of good and evil influence its depictions of the Church, which appears as an evil institution partly because the office-holders and minions make bad moral choices. Yet this is not the only ideological message at work in the portrayal of the Church. Researchers have identified an ideological opposition to organised religion

in Northern Lights, and more specifically to the hegemonic structures and assumptions of authority that organised religion seeks to naturalise (see, for example Gooderham “Fantasizing”; Pinsent “Unexpected Allies”; Wood). This constitutes a strong refutation of the ideological position in The Narnia Chronicles, a series to which Pullman is strongly opposed (Spanner, no pagination). The ideology inherent in this construction in Northern Lights is very different to Lewis’s text. Specifically, by challenging the power, authority and social control mechanisms of organised religion, Pullman’s text teaches implied child readers to question and resist these controls (Wood 246). Hines’ research supports this hypothesis, and finds that by playing with the concepts of the natural and the unnatural in its depiction of the Church’s actions and doctrine, Northern Lights positions implied readers to question assumptions of its hegemonic authority (42-43). I maintain, though, that this device prompts readers to question hegemonic authority generally, not only in the context of organised religion.

Northern Lights also questions the authority and even the assumption of benevolence of adult authority figures, including parents, as can be seen in the treatment of Lyra’s parents, who are arguably evil in their actions despite their apparently good intentions. Pullman’s construction of these characters provides an excellent point of comparison to Merriman Lyon in The Dark is Rising: another ostensibly benevolent character who commits a bad act for a greater good. But while Cooper’s text is unable or unwilling to question the power of benevolent adult authorities, Pullman’s text prompts implied child readers to re-evaluate the “obviousness” of adult benevolence and of children’s reliance on adults. It suggests that adults are not perfect, that there is no evidence that they will always act more correctly or make better choices than children will, and that therefore the adult hegemony can be a dangerously unfair structure. Instead, implied child readers are encouraged to follow the model provided by Lyra and take up an independent, self-reliant attitude. Near the end of the story, Lyra holds Roger’s dead body in the snow, and with her daemon Pantalaimon, acknowledges the ideologies of the adult hegemony and consciously rejects them:

“We’ve heard them talk about Dust, and they’re so afraid of it, and you know what? We believed them, even though we could see that what they were doing was wicked and evil and wrong . . . We thought Dust must be bad too, because they were grown-up and they said so. But what if it isn’t?”  
(Northern Lights 398)

Through Lyra, the text addresses a question to implied child readers that demonstrates its challenge to adult-hegemonic assumptions: you believe what adults tell you because they are grown-up and they say so. But what if they are wrong? The answer to this challenge may also be found in Lyra's actions: just as she makes her own decision to avenge Roger's death and sets off on her own into the new world, the text suggests that children can be similarly self-reliant and chart their own path.

By drawing together the various parts of this text's treatment of childhood, children's perspectives, children's culture and adult-child relations, a clearer picture of the text's understanding of childhood emerges. In Northern Lights, childhood is a distinct stage of life, separate from and in many ways oppositional to adulthood and adult controls. Children are not particularly civilised, their allegiances are mainly to their peers, and play is a central part of their lives. Benevolent adults may offer support and assistance to children, but this is not a given: some adults may be hostile and even dangerous. Therefore, self-reliance and independence of thought and action is presented as a better default state for children than automatic dependence on adults, especially when combined with other useful traits like curiosity, intelligence and resilience.

The understanding of childhood in Northern Lights validates this stage of life on its own terms and, through the device of the daemon, demonstrates that the child's experiences are important, and influence his or her adult personality. This empowering attitude corresponds to Hollindale's argument that writers need to value "the presentness of childhood" in creating imaginative evocations of childness for their young readers (Signs 16). At the same time, by endorsing a model of childhood for implied child readers to follow, the text also potentially shapes the future adults these child readers may become. It is therefore significant that by encouraging children to make their own decisions, act independently, challenge authority, resist the controls of others, and stand outside the system when required, Pullman is potentially creating future adults who do not conform to the traditional adult hegemony and who may indeed question, challenge and potentially redefine it.

I contend that the apprenticeship to adulthood offered in Northern Lights responds to the issues of its socio-historical context, just like Philosopher's Stone. Both texts seek to create special roles for future adults, possibly because the uncertain times ahead are

perceived to need adults with special qualities; however, Rowling's text creates an apprenticeship to adult leadership within the hegemonic system, while Pullman's text creates a more radical apprenticeship, encouraging readers to critique the system. Millicent Lenz's interpretation of Pullman's work supports this hypothesis. She identifies transformational potential in the trilogy, which responds to "some of the most urgent dilemmas of our time" (1). According to Lenz, Pullman's series suggests "not *answers* to the ills that presently beset us but rather ways of meeting them with courage and surviving them with grace" (1); in ideological terms, this may be understood as the transmission of an empowering worldview, a finding which this study has also revealed. Furthermore, although Lenz does not describe the ideological shaping in terms of an apprenticeship, she acknowledges that the trilogy may offer readers "a perspective that might help us survive contemporary crises, through its portrayal of young people who overcome disasters both personal and universal" (3). This, I suggest, refers to the process by which the text interpellates implied readers within its apprenticeship by modelling and endorsing the qualities it attempts to inculcate in readers.

Like Lenz, Sarah Cantrell has also identified "transformative power" at work in Pullman's trilogy, especially in the way the texts emphasise "the necessity of [conscious] choice as a moral action" and as a tool for "the formation of character" (307). Lenz's and Cantrell's findings sit in opposition to Kristine Moruzi's research: the latter finds great potential in the beginning of the trilogy for the reinterpretation of adult-child power relations, but argues that the limiting function of fate and the return of the protagonists to adult control in the final story means that the trilogy "resists a genuine re-conceptualization of contemporary society" including "any radical repositioning of adult-child relationships" (67). I suggest that the promise of an independent, powerful adult established in Northern Lights is not contravened by the trilogy's closure. Lyra has learned how to critique a hegemonic social system, to act independently and make her own decisions; these are skills that she retains in maturity, and her decision to embark on a formal education in order to enrich herself shows she can freely choose to engage with the useful parts of a social system but that this is done on her terms and with a questioning, analytical approach.

## Summary of concealment strategies

Although this text contains hailing devices and transmitted ideologies, the fact that the transmitted ideologies support rather than subvert the hailing devices means that there is little need for or evidence of concealment strategies in this text, at least of the kinds most evident in many of the previous texts of this study. More usually, Northern Lights celebrates the independent, resistant and even oppositional qualities of childness it depicts in its hailing devices, demonstrating the usefulness of these qualities for achieving success even in grave adversity, whether as a child or as an adult. Therefore, the most significant way in which the text “conceals” its transmission of ideology beneath hailing devices is in the way it attempts to shape the behaviour and development of implied child readers by modelling, validating and even celebrating particular kinds of child behaviour and socio-cultural practices in the story. For example, Lyra’s misbehaviour (against adult rules), independence and rejection of hegemonic control functions as a hailing device because it acts as a sign of childness and evokes a childlike counter-consciousness, but in celebrating Lyra’s behaviour and demonstrating that it helps her to be successful in her quest, the text prompts readers to develop those qualities themselves because such behaviour is perceived to be of social value. This concealment thus extends to the formation of a kind of apprenticeship to adulthood: to becoming an adult who can interrogate the hegemonic status quo in the ways modelled initially within the context of the story.

Beyond the basic concealment of adult ideological demands on the implied child reader, there are also a few aspects of the text where complex ideological nuances are concealed beneath an apparently simple opposition or relationship. This is most evident in the text’s treatment of adult-child relations, for example, in the way that the opposition between good children and bad adults carries additional ideological messages about morality, power and hegemony. Another example occurs in the portrayal of Lyra’s relations with good or benevolent adults, whose care and concern for her endorses the worth of adult guidance and the importance of the socio-biological imperative, even as the text validates Lyra’s decision to accept or reject such care according to her own requirements. Overall, however, these kinds of strategies represent the concealment of additional or more complex ideological messages rather than a subversion of hailing devices.



## Conclusion

While the socio-biological imperative of the adult-child relationship still stands, His Dark Materials, and more specifically, Northern Lights, may signal an alternate and very deliberate use of the Trojan Horse mechanism. As I have demonstrated, hailing devices and concealed ideologies occur throughout this text: there are many parts of the text which contain evoke aspects of childhood, children's cultural artefacts of ideologies of child resistance, and these also carry ideas about how children should behave, what childhood is about, how children should relate to adults and what skills they will need in adulthood. What differs in this text is that the "concealed" ideologies do not support traditional hegemonic notions of adult power and child-subordination, but validate childhood on its own terms and reinterpret adult-child relations along more egalitarian lines.

Northern Lights, like the other texts in this study, interpellates implied child readers to accept a certain way of being in the world as a child as well as a certain vision of adulthood, but the content of this vision differs from the other texts. Pullman's text does not seek to produce good adults – or even good leaders – within the current hegemonic system; instead, it emphasises the kinds of skills, strengths and knowledge that produce adults who can critique, challenge and reshape the system. This goes even further than the controlled apprenticeship model demonstrated in Philosopher's Stone. Both texts evidently perceive a need for outstanding adults and seek to shape children to meet this need. However, Philosopher's Stone has a more traditional approach and draws strongly on the common tropes of children's literature and children's fantasy literature to produce new leaders of the current system. Pullman's text, in contrast, critiques hegemonic assumptions more generally. It would appear to be shaping adults of the future to have alternate or radical views of the current system, to recognise its flaws and deficiencies, to see it in the context of the environment in which it operates, and then to effect reform if required. It may therefore be able to address the perceived social need less encumbered by traditional approaches to children fantasy fiction.

While other texts in this study have used controlled apprenticeships to mould future leaders it is interesting that Philosopher's Stone and Northern Lights, written at the end of the twentieth century, should so prominently demonstrate a need to create future adults with special roles, either as a leader within the system, or a radical capable of working outside it. It could be that the approaching new millennium prompted a social focus on the future and the roles for children and adults in this future. Alternatively, it could be an expression of changing perceptions of childhood: an increasing understanding of childhood as a period which influences the future adult's life (this may be a particularly middle-class ethos), or an idea of children needing to take on adult roles sooner because of the pace of social change, a crisis in childhood or other contextual factors. Whatever the reason, it would be a useful avenue of further study to analyse the impact of these ideologies on young readers, to determine whether these texts do influence readers' perceptions of childhood, adulthood and adult-child relations.

# Conclusions

## Scope of the study

This study has explored the ways that children's fantasy texts function to transmit ideologies from adults to children and thus engages with the topical and highly relevant issue of adult-child power relations. The study was based on a Marxist theoretical framework, using key ideas from Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser. This framework was used to explore two significant areas of ideology transfer. Firstly, the workings of adult-child power relations were framed within Gramsci's idea of cultural hegemony. This involved the naturalisation of the hegemony but also included the idea that children's culture functions as a site of resistance or counter-consciousness. Secondly, Althusser's concept of the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) was used to explain the function of children's literature as a tool for transmitting and reinscribing ideology, while the concept of interpellation addressed how ideologies may be transmitted in children's literature.

The key idea of the study is that children's literature functions as a political text that emerges from an adult worldview for a child audience, and thus may function as an ISA which supports the current adult hegemony. In order to connect to potentially resistant implied child readers, texts may conceal ideologies in a format I have termed a Trojan Horse mechanism. In this mechanism, hailing devices evoke or represent the experience of childhood, children's cultural artefacts or ideologies of resistance to adult control. These interpellate implied child readers into the text's apparently child-aligned position. However, adult-aligned ideologies may exist in the text to support and naturalise an adult hegemony, and the study proposes that these ideologies are concealed or camouflaged by various strategies, including the hailing devices, so that the camouflaged ideologies can potentially interpellate implied child readers.

The study first set out to define, in the terms described above, what Trojan Horse mechanisms are and how they may be recognised through identification of the three constituent elements: hailing devices aimed at implied child readers, adult-aligned

ideologies, and strategies by which those ideologies are concealed within the text. As part of this identification, consideration was given to the types of ideologies that might be expected to be found. This was based on the Gramscian concept of cultural hegemony modified to account for the socio-biological imperative in adult-child relations and thus contained the additional concept of apprenticeship. Finally, the utility of the textual analysis method presented was tested on a specifically chosen set of children's texts.

The study focused on eight highly popular children's fantasy texts from 1900-1997 in order to discover:

- i. Whether the Trojan Horse mechanism provides a useful analytical tool to investigate the mechanics of ideology transfer in children's fantasy literature.
- ii. Whether hailing devices, ideologies and concealment strategies – the elements of Trojan Horse mechanisms – exist in all the study's chosen texts.
- iii. How each text envisioned childhood, including the lived experiences of children, the perceived needs of the child and the position of children in relation to the adult hegemony.
- iv. What signifiers of childhood, if any, appeared in the texts, and in what ways these were incorporated into ideology transfer.
- v. How each text portrayed and promoted specific kinds of adult-child power relations, based on the aspects of control, socialisation and apprenticeship.
- vi. What other kinds of ideologies, such as those of gender, class and nationality, appeared in the texts and formed part of the Trojan Horse mechanisms.
- vii. If there was any evidence of trends or anomalies in these elements within the group of texts, and what possible directions these texts suggest for the transmission of ideology in children's fantasy literature in the twenty-first century.

## **Key findings**

Overall, the examination of the texts' mechanics of ideology transmission according to the proposed Trojan Horse mechanism was successful, in that the three elements of the mechanism – hailing devices evoking signs of childness, adult-aligned ideologies and concealment strategies – were identified in the texts, and were seen to work to socialise implied child readers, usually within an adult hegemony. The Trojan Horse mechanism proved to be a useful tool for the interrogation of ideologies communicated to implied child readers in the chosen texts, and shed light on adult assumptions about childhood and demands on children in a systematic and correlative manner. The use of a Marxist theoretical framework contributed positively to the analysis, highlighting the cultural, generational and economic dimensions of adult-child power relations as mediated by the texts and, more fundamentally, as implicated in the genre of children's literature.

Hailing devices, adult-aligned ideologies and concealment strategies were evident in all of the texts in the study, which suggests that Trojan Horse mechanisms exist in the texts and may be intrinsic to the nature of children's fantasy literature in the twentieth century. However, due to the texts' differing contexts of production, plot structures and ideological foci, no two texts executed Trojan Horse mechanisms in exactly the same way. Indeed, it was the variations in the three elements of the mechanisms that provided the most valuable information regarding how adults think about children and childhood, and the sorts of values, lessons and worldviews adults want children to learn and accept.

### Hailing devices

Analysis of the hailing devices revealed a number of recurring patterns. To begin with, while hailing devices were present in all texts and evoked signs of childness, the specific signifiers varied. All the texts contained recognisably childlike characters, but some characters contained more signifiers of childhood in their construction than others. For example, Dorothy of The Wizard of Oz is the only child character, and so has little opportunity to play or interact with other children; her main child signifiers are therefore her textual description as a "little girl" and her childlike depiction in W.W. Denslow's illustrations. By contrast, Lyra Belacqua of Northern Lights and Peter Pan and Wendy Darling of Peter and Wendy are constantly depicted playing and interacting

with other children and demonstrating resistance to adult control. Charlie and the Chocolate Factory is also rich in its use of signifiers of childhood, especially in relation to its comic structure: the bad characters were punished in ways that evoked children's affinity for toilet humour and rudeness, the Oompa-Loompas sang songs taken from rhyming schemes and using language common to children's culture, and the text focused on many popular children's pastimes and activities, including, of course, the consumption of sweets.

It was common for texts to use aspects of children's culture during the establishment phase of the story, portraying the protagonist looking or behaving in realistically childlike ways, engaging in play activities or expressing the desire to be free from adult control. This positioned child readers to accept the protagonist as a member of their own culture prior to the introduction of adult-aligned ideological messages. However, often this arrangement treated play as a null state of childhood, as something unimportant, which children engaged in before the adventure began. Only Northern Lights and, to a lesser extent, Peter and Wendy, acknowledged that children's play activities are a serious occupation for children and intrinsic to the way that children form and maintain social relationships with each other, while only Northern Lights portrayed child's play as a valid tool for social action.

Most texts used some depiction of child empowerment as a hailing device. This was evident in situations where child characters moved away from adult supervision, or where the characters became powerful as a result of innate magical powers or control of magical devices. Other sources of power included the inherent virtue of childhood and sometimes simply the "natural" or "automatic" acclamation of secondary world inhabitants. The main exception to this was Charlie and the Chocolate Factory, where the child-protagonist remained obedient and closely supervised throughout the story.

A related hailing device centred on reducing or destroying the power of adult authority figures. Examples of this included the treatment of the bad adults in Charlie and the Chocolate Factory, the wicked witches in The Wizard of Oz, and the Dursleys in Philosopher's Stone. The study found that such adults functioned as scapegoats and decoys. The texts encouraged child readers to enjoy the malicious treatment these characters received, and to see this treatment as a literary rendering of similar

punishments meted out in children's rhymes and games. However, this process disguised the texts' subsequent construction of "benevolent" authority figures to wield power and guide the protagonists.

### Concealed ideologies

Concealed ideologies identified in the texts were often intimately concerned with socialising the implied child reader, positioning them to accept adult values and ideologies of the dominant social order. This is not to say that only ideologies pertaining to adult-child relations were identified; on the contrary, drawing on the work of other researchers in the field, this study's analysis identified a wide range of ideologies in the texts on topics such as nationalism and national identity, imperialism, culture, race, religion, class and gender. These ideologies were often incorporated within the broader socialisation of the implied child reader; for example, The Wishing-Chair communicated ideologies of imperialism and race which contributed to the socialisation of implied child readers as future empire builders. Furthermore, these ideologies informing the socialisation of the implied child reader could often be traced to trends, events and issues occurring in the socio-historical context; so, for instance, Blyton's text emerged at a time in Britain when the Empire was a key domestic focus.

The influence of the social context was also strongly evident in the texts' overall constructions of childhood, especially in the portrayal of the world the child was perceived to inhabit and, consequently, the kind of childhood available to children. These portrayals strongly reflected adult-aligned perceptions, hopes and fears about childhood, many of which could be traced to issues and events occurring around the time of the texts' publication. Texts from the first half of the twentieth century depicted childhood as an idyllic time for fun and joy. This was most noticeably the case in Peter and Wendy and The Wishing-Chair. Dorothy's childhood in The Wizard of Oz was slightly more ambiguous: her life in Kansas was filled with greyness and the deprivations of poverty, but she remained happy and joyful, untouched by her surroundings. As the twentieth century wore on, texts began to emphasise the darker aspects of children's lives, possibly due to issues and events occurring in their socio-historical contexts. For instance, in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, the Pevensie children fled wartime air raids in London, Charlie Bucket and his family were slowly

starving to death in Charlie and the Chocolate Factory, and Will Stanton needed to fight the forces of darkness to save his family and his world in The Dark Is Rising. This trend was even more prominent in the texts from the end of the twentieth century, with Harry Potter fighting his parents' murderer, Lord Voldemort, and Lyra in Northern Lights evading torture and death at the hands of evil Church authorities.

Despite these differences, the texts all exhibited a shared developmental perspective on childhood, evident in a range of textual elements, not the least of which was the fundamental shaping of the implied child reader to develop skills, values and abilities relevant for future adulthood. As John Morss has argued, literature and art contribute to the larger "set of fictions" which constitutes "development" as much as academic and professional fields do (152-53). Therefore, when considered according to Gramsci's notion of hegemony and Althusser's work on ideology, the ongoing "retelling" of development narratives in the texts can be seen to naturalise the power of the dominant group to define the terms of childhood, as well as the hegemonic class, gender, generational and cultural ideologies implicated in that shaping (a point also made by Walkerdine 148-49). This was evident in the ways that child characters modelled not simply "ideal" child and future-adult behaviour, but behaviour which reproduced, for example, middle-class, gendered subjects.

The texts endorsed certain kinds of relationships between adults and children as part of their concealed socialisation, and as distinct from relationships used within hailing devices. The adult-child relations most of the texts endorsed and naturalised tended to focus on child characters interacting with benevolent controlling or guiding adults. These adults were either specifically present to teach them, as in the relationship between Will Stanton and Merriman Lyon in The Dark is Rising, or available if assistance was required, as in Lyra's relationship to the gyptians in Northern Lights or the relationship between the Pevensie children and the Professor in The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe.

The texts also used adult characters to portray or represent evil, and although this sometimes appeared as a hailing device which seemed to challenge adult power, it was often used as a contrast to endorse hegemonic relations with the texts' benevolent adults. For example, Lewis's White Witch is a despotic adult character, whose



construction highlights the goodness and naturalness of Aslan's position. Only Pullman's text challenged the general assumption of adult benevolence to any significant extent: Pullman used the construction of Lyra's parents to show that even adult authority figures such as parents can be flawed and can make bad decisions. Here, as in the construction of Merriman Lyon in The Dark is Rising, adult characters do evil acts for an assumed greater good, but while Cooper's text was unable to critique or challenge the power of its benevolent patriarch, Pullman's text critiques it overtly.

### Control and apprenticeship

The texts sought to interpellate implied child readers within the adult hegemony in a variety of ways. Some texts placed emphasis on reinforcing adult controls over children and naturalising a condition of child obedience and passivity. This was particularly noticeable in Charlie and the Chocolate Factory, where Charlie Bucket is rewarded for his malleability, his compliance to the text's vision of good child behaviour and his readiness to listen to and learn from adult guidance. It was also a strong feature of The Dark is Rising, where the text's vision of childhood as a time in which children may need to take on adult responsibilities prompted a need for such children to be carefully guided by benevolent adults. A variation on the theme of control and obedience occurred in Peter and Wendy, where the model provided in the construction of Peter Pan celebrated children's resistance to adults, but at the same time conditioned children to accept an adult's envious and even desiring gaze.

Other texts naturalised children's powerless state but also offered an apprenticeship model to help child readers develop the skills and knowledge required for adult power. In theory, this supports the adult hegemony by reproducing hegemonic worldviews in the rising generation. Most of the texts in this study took this melded approach to some degree, where the construction of child characters included attributes such as passivity, good behaviour and acceptance of the authority of benevolent adults, but additionally, the children also had the opportunity to practise skills useful to adulthood as applicable to the text's socio-historical context. These apprenticeships may be broadly read on a continuum between strongly guided apprenticeships, apprenticeships where the adult guidance is present in the story but concealed in some way, and apprenticeships that appear to operate by self-discovery, or at least where adult guidance is not evident

inside the story. It is important to note here that while the child characters are acting within apprenticeships, implied child readers are the target audience of the lesson, and are positioned to accept the text's apprenticeship model.

The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe is an example of a strongly guided apprenticeship model, where the four Pevensie children operate under the close supervision of Aslan and, to a lesser extent, other authority figures. Here, child characters and readers are explicitly taught how to behave and what is expected of them. In comparison, Philosopher's Stone obscures the adult guidance of the apprenticeship: Harry appears to act independently of adults and outside their supervision, although Dumbledore's support is later revealed. The Wishing-Chair is one example of an apprenticeship which seems to operate independently of explicit adult guidance, mainly because the child characters appear naturally to have the skills and qualities they need and are able to practise these skills in their dealings with the fairies. Implied child readers are positioned to learn these skills from viewing the characters, so that the adult guidance is inherent mainly in the construction of the characters as models, not within the story.

Perhaps the most surprising finding was the variety of different kinds of adult power and adult roles the texts offered within apprenticeship terms. For example, Dorothy from The Wizard of Oz demonstrates attributes and skills relevant to contemporary Americans and especially American women as defined by Baum's text: femininity, mothering skills, optimism, a pioneering or entrepreneurial spirit, capability in the face of difficulty, and a love of home and country. The Wishing-Chair, by contrast, uses Mollie and Peter's adventures in Fairyland to model the skills and worldviews required by young empire builders for leadership within the British imperial system. These children, and by proxy, implied readers, learn how to relate to colonised people, how to take charge and solve problems, and how to assume a role of superiority with regards to "lesser" races. Philosopher's Stone also offers an apprenticeship not simply to being adult but to adult leadership within a conservative hegemonic system; this is evident in Harry's consciousness of the greater good, and his ability to negotiate the structures of power at Hogwarts, an institution largely devoted to the reproduction of a leadership class.

Only Northern Lights contained a significantly different kind of apprenticeship to power. The skills and knowledge the text transmits through Lyra teach implied child readers to critique hegemonic structures, to question current ideologies and canonical practices, to be able to work inside and outside systems of power, and to disrupt those systems if required. This constitutes an apprenticeship to a position beyond adult leadership within a hegemonic system; instead it may best be described as an apprenticeship to a role as a radical, iconoclast, or revolutionary, perhaps in adulthood, but the text's example of Lyra's does not rule out such power in childhood. Given that the models often seem to relate to their socio-historical contexts, this raises the question of whether some unique aspect of late twentieth-century life prompted the construction of a radical apprenticeship, or whether this textual construction relates more to Pullman's conscious ideological project. However, the fact that Philosopher's Stone, published around the same time, also grooms readers to take up a special adult role, may suggest a broader social interest in the needs of society within the then-imminent new millennium.

### Concealment strategies

The group of texts under analysis used a variety of strategies to conceal the adult-aligned ideologies transmitted to implied child readers. By far the most common strategy involved repurposing child-aligned hailing devices to socialise implied child readers within an adult hegemony. Often this occurred when child characters developed skills or values relevant to future adulthood. Examples of this included Dorothy in The Wizard of Oz becoming a capable and resourceful leader as a result of her adventures, or Peter and Mollie internalising an imperialist worldview through their interactions with Fairyland natives. Repurposing children's resistance to adult power as a tool for socialisation was a more extreme version of this kind of concealment strategy; Harry Potter, for example, exhibits the qualities necessary for adult leadership even when apparently breaking adult rules, and this particular construction also conceals the ideologies of class and culture that are implicit in Harry's role.

A different kind of concealment strategy using a child-aligned hailing device was evident in Charlie and the Chocolate Factory: here, the songs and jokes told by the Oompa-Loompas seemed very similar to the rhymes and humour of childhood

especially in their resistance to adult power, but the content of the songs endorsed the adult hegemony. Dahl's humour in this text contained an additional and unexpected concealment device: it placed traditional adult behavioural injunctions like chewing gum or watching too much television in plain sight and made them part of the story's fun. This reduced the appearance of their hegemonic impact, while still communicating the basic behavioural message, an ideological interpellation reinforced by the punishment of the child perpetrators.

Some concealment strategies centred on camouflaging adult presence, voice and guidance. Concealing the adult influences at work in the story can serve to make the child characters appear resistant, independent and powerful, a symbolic redressing of the usual imbalance of power in adult-child relations. Many of the texts achieved this by creating magical world which appeared to be free of adult authority figures, but contained adult-analogues or other concealed authoritative voices. Several stories appeared to remove adult authority figures like parents from the action, only to re-establish authority structures via symbolic parental figures, as occurred in The Wizard of Oz and The Dark is Rising, or where instances of adult power and control occurred in gaps in the narrative, as in Philosopher's Stone. Lewis's text, on the other hand, featured animal characters like Mr Beaver and Aslan the Lion who guided and controlled the children, but whose adult roles were concealed by their animal form. In this text as well, the generic conventions of the fantasy, with magic, talking animals and spectacular adventures, were used to draw attention away from religious ideologies at work in the story.

#### Future directions in Trojan Horse mechanisms

The concluding texts of the study show two distinct variations on the use of Trojan Horse mechanisms, which leaves the future directions for their development unclear. To a large extent, Philosopher's Stone uses the same kind of mechanisms as are evident in the earlier texts: hailing devices portray Harry as a child hero resistant to adult control, while concealed ideologies endorse the adult hegemony and interpellate readers to accept an apprenticeship to adult leadership. This ideological layering suggests an adult hegemonic process still framed and defined adult-child power relations at the end of the twentieth century.

In contrast, Northern Lights uses the building blocks of the Trojan Horse mechanism to question and challenge the adult hegemony and its assumptions about adult power and the place of children. This text treated children's culture with seriousness and respect and acknowledged that it was fundamental to children's social relations. While Lyra had largely negative relationships with her parents, she did have positive relationships with other adults, and these were characterised by equality, respect and interdependence. In contrast to Philosopher's Stone, this text's ideologies raise the possibility that adult-child relations were changing in the late twentieth century, at least to the extent that some adults, such as Pullman, were questioning the assumptions of the adult hegemony and teaching implied child readers ways of critiquing and redefining the hegemonic system.

### **Contributions to Knowledge**

This study demonstrates the relevance of Marxist theory for examinations of adult-child power relations, in particular to produce new ways of examining how these relations are established, maintained and potentially reproduced through the cultural ISA of children's literature. This study proposes an explanation of the mechanics of ideology transmission in the texts, using Althusser's concept of interpellation and accounting for the potential resistance of the non-dominant group, as set out in Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony. This answer is the Trojan Horse mechanism; while other writers and critics have discussed or alluded to ideological layering in children's texts (see for example, Drout; Hollindale "Ideology"; Lewis "Sometimes"; Moruzi; J. Rose; Zornado), the concept has not previously been systematically explored across a range of texts, nor have the mechanics of ideology transfer in children's literature been framed within the concept of cultural hegemony.

In its findings, the study also confirms previous research (Hollindale Signs; Nodelman "The Other"; Nodelman The Hidden Adult; J. Rose) establishing that constructions of childhood and adulthood have remained central themes in children's literature throughout this period. The study's findings may have a wide variety of applications both within children's literature studies, and outside it, in fields as diverse as education,

marketing and the formation of public policy relating to children. One specific outcome may be a wider awareness of the impact of the adult hegemony on children's texts and the ways in which authors can maintain *or* challenge hegemonic assumptions about power using Trojan Horse mechanisms. This could potentially result in new discussions about the place and usefulness of children's texts from different eras in children's reading lists, as well as the potential for new texts to use the three elements of the Trojan Horse mechanism for a variety of purposes.

### **Directions for future research and concluding remarks**

In demonstrating the presence of Trojan Horse mechanisms within a specific group of texts, the study has opened up the field of analysis and engendered a range of new research questions. One significant avenue for future research lies in broadening the scope of analysis in order to ascertain whether the findings are relevant across the corpus of children's literature. This may encompass analysis along a variety of axes, including subgenre, format, period, culture and nationality. As part of this, it would be appropriate to examine more recent children's fantasy fiction in the early twenty-first century in order to determine whether either or both of the evolutionary paths suggested by Philosopher's Stone and Northern Lights have been developed further. This may also contribute to knowledge about the continued development of adult-child relations in the twenty-first century.

Another avenue for further research is suggested by Hollindale's concept of childness as well as Iser's theory of reception. This study has focused on the production elements of children's literature: how texts seek to interpellate implied child readers using signs of childness which emerge from an adult perspective as "an amalgam of personal retrospect, acquaintance with contemporary children, and an acquired system of beliefs as to what children are, and should be, like" (Hollindale Signs 12). Yet just as Iser argues that reading is a "dynamic *interaction* between text and reader" (Iser 107, italics in original), Hollindale similarly proposes that children's literature is defined by "the exchange between adult author and child reader of complex constructions of childhood", and that "since every child's childness is necessarily unique, a multiplicity of readings will be generated" (Signs 23, 86). Consequently, analysis of the ways that

children read and understand the texts may assist in ascertaining the extent to which child readers internalise, ignore or reject the hailing devices and concealed ideologies of Trojan Horse mechanisms.

The often close relationship between the ideologies of the texts and their socio-historical contexts raises some challenging questions, particularly in light of the fact that the texts often outlast their contemporary eras. For example, how might the Trojan Horse mechanisms in, say, The Adventures of the Wishing-Chair influence a twenty-first century child reader's view of nation, race and culture? This is also an issue in terms of the definitions of childhood the texts may communicate, including the kinds of child behaviour they legitimise and the relations between children and adults they endorse. If Hollindale's assertion is correct, that "The childness of the text can change the childness of the child" (Signs 47), then a child reader's experience of childhood is potentially even influenced by outmoded definitions of childhood in the texts they may read, and the operation of Trojan Horse mechanisms in these texts may facilitate these hegemonic interpellations.

The implications of this study's findings are thought-provoking and even confrontational, causing us to question the "obviousness" of our own positions of adult power, our assumptions with regards to children and childhood, and more fundamentally, the provenance of our worldviews. Certainly, a hegemonic perspective has no singular origin, emerging as it does from "the whole lived social process as practically organized by specific and dominant meanings and values" (Williams 109). However, the findings prompt us to consider the "chemistry of [our] encounter[s]" with childness (Hollindale Signs 49) in the myriad of old and new children's stories we read as children, and the interpellative effect of these reading events. Both childhood and adulthood, it would seem, are products not only of a contemporary social context, but also of the complex historical influences which permeate the resilient artefacts of a culture. The Trojan Horse mechanism would seem to be a useful model to describe and study a large proportion of such transmitted ideology. To date, much ideology transfer in Trojan Horse mechanisms may have been subliminal, or at least unintended, but as authors become more aware of the power of Trojan Horse mechanisms we might expect greater and more subtle conscious use of this textual feature in future children's literature.

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