DIPLOMARBEIT / DIPLOMA THESIS

Titel der Diplomarbeit / Title of the Diploma Thesis

„Does engaging with fiction in the EFL classroom enhance learner empathy?"

verfasst von / submitted by

David R. Hill, BA

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Magister der Philosophie (Mag. phil.)

Wien, 2020 / Vienna, 2020

Acknowledgements

First and foremost my thanks go to Dr. Manuela Wipperfürth. For her spirit of adventure in taking on a topic that belonged here, there and nowhere, but also for her stamina in answering my at times somewhat disorderly lines of query during long supervision sessions and finally for persuading me that my research topic was most at home in EFL literary didactics.

I would also like to thank Professor Eva Zettelmann for giving me the initial idea for the paper and originally agreeing to supervise my paper before the topic diverged from literary science.

The final member of teaching staff from Anglistik that I would like to thank is Gabrielle Smith-Dluha, MA for her excellent English for Academic Purposes course that gave me the tools to get going, but also for her support in finding the right topic and inspiring the confidence in me to pursue it wholeheartedly.

From the Psychology Institute I would like to especially thank Univ.-Prof. Dr. Claus Lamm for taking the time to give me some crucially important pointers on carrying out the empirical study. Likewise to Paul Forbes, PhD, for his helpful advice and suggestions in this regard.

Finally, I would like to thank two people very dear to me. Georgiev Krastev for his insightful help in improving the readability of the paper, and Meda Retegan for assisting me with processing data and generally keeping me on the straight and narrow.

Abstract

Deficits in empathy have detrimental social effects. When they relate to outgroups, these deficits can be especially pervasive, enhancing conflict and human suffering. The causal link between reading fiction and enhanced empathy has been well researched in recent years, however the evidence is as yet inconclusive and no research has been done on this link in a secondary education setting. One factor that consistently predicts fiction-led empathy enhancement is transportation into the fictional world. On this basis, it was the hypothesis of the present empirical intervention study that tried and tested EFL literary teaching methods to increase learner text engagement would enhance transportation and therefore also empathy. The study was carried out in two Vienna 7th Year grammar school classes (AHS; 16-17 years old, N=39) using the Interpersonal reactivity index and the Reading the mind in the eyes test to measure empathy and Theory of mind respectively. A significant increase in empathy compared to the control condition was found in both classes and construct validity was partially confirmed using the Author recognition test to replicate the well-established non-causal link between pleasure reading and higher social cognition.

Table of Contents

I.   INTRODUCTION

> Imaginative literature is otherness, and as such alleviates loneliness. We read not only because we cannot know enough people, but because friendship is so vulnerable, so likely to diminish or disappear, overcome by space, time, imperfect sympathies, and all the sorrows of familial and passional life.
> Harald Bloom (2001: 19)

Deficits in empathy have detrimental social effects (Baron-Cohen 2011). When they relate to outgroups[1], these deficits can be especially pervasive, enhancing conflict and human suffering (Cikara & Bruneau 2011). At the same time, loneliness and depression[2] are leading contributors to the overall global burden of disease and are rising steadily (James et al. 2018 & Ipsos 2018). In fact, loneliness has been shown to be twice as harmful to physical and mental health as obesity (Holt-Lunstad et al. 2015) and is understood to be fundamentally implicated in problematic smartphone use amongst young people who do not (or cannot) find sufficient meaningful face-to-face interaction with others (Kim 2019). However reading fiction has been shown to be an effective therapy for depression (Gregory et al. 2004) and social competence, of which empathy is a foundational skill (Malti & Perren 2011), has been shown to predict good mental health across lifespans (Luecken et al. 2013) and life satisfaction (Theurer & Wister 2010). What is more, interventions to improve social competence in young children have been shown to improve mental health (Schmitt et al. 2018 & D'Onise et al. 2010) suggesting that fostering social competence in young learners will make them more resilient to these trends.

The present empirical, intervention study investigates the role that engaging[3] with fiction in an EFL setting can play in enhancing the empathy and therefore also the social competence of adolescent learners. It was carried out in two 7th year classes (16-17 years old, N=39) in two Viennese grammar schools (Gymnasium). Although the link between reading fiction and improved empathy has been widely studied in recent years, and the interaction between Theory of mind[4] and learning to read in children is well established, very little attention has been paid to the fiction-empathy link within an educational context and the little there has been has focused on tertiary education. Indeed, the present research question evolved from the hypothesis that laboratory

---

[1] Outgroup: a group that is distinct from one's own and therefore often an object of predudice or mistrust.
[2] Loneliness and depression are intrinsically linked and have been located to the same part of the brain, called the Dorsal raphe nucleus (Matthews et al. 2016).
[3] A distinction will be made between *reading* and *engaging* with fiction, where *engaging* refers to the in-depth experiencing of fiction stimulated by especially designed tasks in an educational setting. *Reading* is simply reading.
[4] A constitutive skill for empathy. See below **1.1.2**.

findings on the link between a single reading sitting and enhanced empathy will be more pronounced in a secondary educational setting where several factors might be more conducive to this effect. In EFL instruction fiction is read: 1) over a prolonged period of time enabling learners to identify with characters in more depth, 2) in a group setting where differing learner interpretations of a fictional text can be discussed, and, most importantly 3) with tasks from well-established literary teaching methods that are designed to improve learner engagement with the text.

Having reviewed the relevant empirical findings in the field (Chapter II), the present paper will make the case that empathy and empathy-related literary competences are constitutive of social competence (Chapter III) and that fiction is an effective tool for training these competences (Chapter IV). The argument for the efficacy of empathy brought about by engaging with fiction (henceforth: *fiction-led empathy*) will be broken into four smaller topics: the reciprocal relationship between fictional and personal narratives (**4.1**), the process of meaning-generation in the mind of the reader and the role of emotion in this process (**4.2**), what makes fiction-based learning a unique source of learning about others (**4.3**) and how fiction-led empathy develops moral competence (**4.4**). Finally, the present intervention design will be described (Chapter V) and its findings will be put in the context of the theoretical argument and previous findings (Chapter VI).[5]

1.1   Defining EMPATHY[6]

Empathy has been notoriously difficult to define in the 20th century study of psychology and research into the phenomenon has been complicated by conceptual confusion (Stueber 2016: 367). It has been pointed out that "there are nearly as many definitions of empathy as there are scientists who study this phenomenon (Zaki 2014: 1608)." A good general definition though is *the ability to understand and appreciate another person's feelings, experience, etc.* (OED3 s.v. empathy, n.2b.).

---

[5] It should be added that reading fiction is of course not the only way to develop empathetic and social competence and it is likely not even to be the most effective for all people (see Mar et al. 2006 for divide between *nerds* and *bookworms*). Meaningful interactions in the real world clearly form the basis of the development of these competences in learners (see Theurer & Wister 2010 for efficacy of real-world interaction in life satisfaction).

[6] The competences developed by reading fiction according to literary didactics are defined in Chapter III: Reading Fiction and Empathetic Competence.

The following will however work towards a more differentiated definition of the concept. After the history of the term in English is introduced, empathy will be distinguished from some surrounding concepts. Firstly, from three terms that are closely related to empathy in the history of general English – *sympathy*, *pity* and *compassion* – and subsequently, from three concepts associated with psychological research on empathy in recent decades – *Theory of mind*, *emotional contagion* and *personal distress*. Finally, a term will be delineated from the empathy concept that will feature heavily in this paper in the context of the competences developed by engaging with fiction: *perspective-adoption*.

1.1.1 History of the Term

The term *empathy* is little over 100 years old, and was originally a translation of the German word *Einfühlung,* meaning: "[t]he quality or power of projecting one's personality into or mentally identifying oneself with an object of contemplation, and so fully understanding or appreciating it (OED3 s.v. empathy, n.)." The current general sense stated above only emerged in the post-war period as a subsense of this original meaning, focussing instead on another human, rather than an object.

Empathy is closely related to the words *sympathy*, *compassion* and *pity*, three far older terms. The word *sympathy* however was used by the moral sentimentalists of the 18th century (most notably Adam Smith and David Hume) to mean something similar to the modern empathy concept (see in depth discussion at section **4.4**), namely what cognitive scientists now refer to as a *resonance phenomenon*. A resonance phenomenon is the unconscious replication of another person's mental states in one's own mind.

Pity and *compassion* are the oldest terms related to empathy, dating back to Middle English. In contrast to the above sense of *sympathy*, in which the sympathiser vicariously shares any emotion from others, *pity* and *compassion* focus exclusively on emotions of suffering. *Pity* and *compassion* are close synonyms and refer to a feeling of concern aroused by the suffering of another person and accompanying desire for its relief. In this way they are closely related to a component of the empathy concept used in this paper, namely *empathetic concern* (**5.3.1.1**). Both terms are distinct from *empathy* then because they are restricted to sharing the emotions surrounding suffering, whereas empathy can relate to any emotion.

1.1.2 Empathy, Theory of Mind, Emotional Contagion & Personal Distress

In the 20th century, the *empathy* concept evolved more closely against the concepts of *Theory of Mind, emotional contagion* and *personal distress*. Philosopher Karsten Stueber makes the useful distinction between *personal distress, emotional contagion, empathy* and *sympathy* in a modern psychological setting (Stueber 2016: 369). The easiest concepts to disentangle from empathy, according to Stueber, are *sympathy* and *personal distress*. Although, like empathy, they are brought about by the encounter with the other and her states of mind, they are not resonance phenomena in the sense that both concepts are self-based and do not involve an imaginative reconstruction of the other's perspective. What is more, these concepts differ from empathy in that they focus exclusively on suffering and negative emotion. *Personal distress* is in one respect the furthest of the above concepts from empathy in that it is ego-centric[7]. As Stueber puts it, "I am distressed about [the other's] distress in a way that I might be annoyed about something that constitutes an obstacle to my plans, like having to deal with a car that refuses to start on a very cold winter day (Stueber 369)." When I am personally distressed, I do not share the other person's distress, which is focussed on some outer object, but instead I am distressed about the other person's distress itself.

Emotional contagion is closer to the empathy concept because it is a resonance phenomenon (Stueber even calls is a "paradigmatic" resonance phenomenon) whereby we are "infected or catch the same affective or emotional states as the people with whom we are in causal contact (369)." Emotional contagion then is marked by its lack of deliberation. It occurs reflexively and not necessarily with awareness. Empathy is also a resonance phenomenon and the contents of the mental states it shares is, like contagion, emotion-based. However the crucial difference between the two is in the level of awareness and cognitive effort involved. The empathiser is necessarily aware that they are feeling what (they believe) the other is feeling, whereas in contagion I am not necessarily aware that I am feeling happy because I am in a room full of people laughing. In being aware of the process, the empathiser is imaginatively reconstructing the experience of the target

---

[7] For this reason, data from the *personal distress* subscale of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index empathy measure used for the present study was discarded.

person and therefore expends more cognitive effort than the person experiencing emotional contagion.

Theory of mind is perhaps easier to separate from the *empathy* concept in that it describes a mechanism without which empathy would not be possible. Theory of mind refers to "the cognitive capacity to attribute mental states to self and others (Goldman 2013: 19)" and originated in developmental psychology to describe an area of cognitive development that begins in neurotypical children from the age of four years. Whereas empathy is, generally speaking, the ability to get *into-the-shoes* of another person. To do this the empathiser must first be able to ascribe the mental states that make up the other's perspective with reasonable accuracy. Theory of mind can therefore be understood as a sub-skill of empathy.

1.1.3 The Dualistic Approach to Empathy

A distinction has been made between *cognitive* (or *cold*) and *affective* (or *warm*) empathy (Koopman 2015: 4). This dualistic approach to empathy separates the cognitive elements needed to take the perspective of another person (*cognitive empathy*) from the vicarious sharing of emotion (*affective empathy*). This distinction is however not compatible with the empathy concept as proposed in this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, although cognitive psychologists have provided neurological evidence that the cognitive and affective elements of empathy are mediated by different brain structures (Shamay-Tsoory, Aharon-Peretz & Perry 2009: 617), the authors of the study conclude that "every empathic response will evoke both components to some extent (625)." In other words, if the empathy construct is at all valid, dissecting it in this way will not further understanding of the empathetic experience. What is more, the conclusion of the study is supported by Mar et al. 2009, Schwerdthofer 1991 and Dewey's integral aesthetic theory whereby emotion binds the intellectual and practical aspects of aesthetic experience together into an integral whole (see section **4.2**) . Any attempt to understand each aspect in isolation will therefore fail because the separation is artificial (Dewey (1934/2005: 56). Secondly, *affective empathy* largely synonymous with *emotional contagion*, which has been differentiated from the *empathy* concept as it lacks awareness.

1.1.4 Perspective-taking, Perspective-adoption & Empathy

The concepts of *perspective-taking* and empathy are closely related. Within the research the two concepts have often been studied in conjunction with one another and the boundary between them has often been blurred. Some argue that they are clearly separate constructs akin to cognitive and affective empathy respectively that can have highly divergent effects on behaviour (Galinsky et al. 2008). Others, however, such as the author of the main empathy measure used in the present intervention, the Interpersonal Reactivity Index, understand perspective-taking to be the non-affective component of empathy (Davis 1983b: 114). The issue here then seems to be how empathy is defined, and specifically, whether the non-affective element of taking of another person's perspective, *cognitive empathy*, should be included in the empathy construct. The present thesis is based on the theory that it is (see above).

A further level of complexity is added by a closely related literary competence from German-language literary didactics which is central to this paper, *Perspektivenübernahme*. This term is often translated into English as *perspective-taking*, however, it is mostly defined as having affective elements (see Hartmann, Sauer & Hasselhorn 2009: 323; Nünning 2007: 135 and discussion in Chapter III) making it very similar to empathy, as defined above. For this reason, the term *perspective-adoption* will be used in the discussion of empathy-related literary competences below and is understood to include affective elements. *Perspective-adoption* is therefore for the purposes of the didactical part of this paper, synonymous with *empathy*.

1.1.5 Zaki's motivational account of empathy

Leading Stanford empathy psychologist Jamil Zaki has made a compelling case for a motivational model of empathy (Zaki 2014). Zaki's model attributes the empathiser a degree of control in determining whether or how much they empathise in a given situation. This, Zaki argues, means that motivation plays a key role in empathy. Zaki names negative motivational factors such as *potential suffering*, *personal cost* or *interference with competitive aims*, that lead individuals to avoid engaging in empathy, and positive motivational factors such as e*xperiencing positive emotions*, *building personal bonds* or *social desirability* that rather facilitate empathy. According to Zaki, the would-be empathiser appraises whether to enter a given situation or to engage empathetically with others based on these factors. In light of Zaki's model, any fiction-led enhancement of empathetic competence in the EFL class would also empower the learner with the discretion to engage in empathy more effectively according to these motivating factors.

1.1.6 Empathy Definition

A definition of empathy can therefore be formulated for the purposes of the present paper:

> **Empathy is the vicarious sharing of emotion-based mental states via the imaginative reconstruction of the experience of the other, of which the empathiser is aware and has a degree of control.**

1.2 IS EMPATHY A GOOD THING?

Empathy is seen widely seen as a virtue that prevents humans from behaving with cruelty (see *Zero degrees of empathy: a new theory of human cruelty,* Baron-Cohen 2011). Indeed, the German literary didactician Gerhard Kaiser presents the compelling case that our ability to *feel* develops through interaction with others and that without it we cannot live as social creatures: "Without receiving and giving compassion and empathy, we as social beings could not live; and furthermore: Without empathy and compassion our own feeling would be poor because blind: The interplay of feelings between people is grounded by mutual empathy (Kaiser 1996: 95)." This idea is supported in developmental psychology, where the development of emotional regulation in children is seen as heavily dependent on their interactions with their social environment (see Morris, Silk, Steinberg et al. 2007). There are, however, three areas of concern regarding the promotion of empathy, which will be assessed in the following.

1.2.1 Empathetic Bias

Empathy has its opponents. Some argue that empathy is not appropriate as a guide for behaviour as it skews the empathiser's perception toward those closest to them. This is known as the empathic bias. As the philosopher Jesse Prinz puts in in his essay *Against empathy*, we are "grotesquely partial to the near and dear (Prinz 2011: 224)." Prinz and others claims that there must be something else guiding moral behaviour. Indeed, empathic bias is also recognised by the champions of empathy (see **4.4**).

1.2.2 The Risk of Promiscuous Empathy

The concern that too much empathy can be overwhelming for the empathiser has often been voiced. In fact the link between empathy and depression has been well studied, however no causal link between people suffering from depression and empathy has been found. There are further plausible theories that either too much, or too little empathy increases the risk of emotional disorders such as depression, however this remains understudied (see Thompson & Chambliss 2016 for an overview of the literature). The psychologist Martin Hoffman, alongside Zaki a leading authority on empathy, suggests that empathy is likely to be self-regulating. He argues that over-empathising, or as he calls it *promiscuous empathy*, where the empathiser perceives and empathises with all suffering in their environment and therefore becomes overwhelmed, does not occur in healthy individuals. This, he argues, is because the healthy human mind protects itself from damaging outside influences by restricting what it allows into the field of perception. An overload of empathic information, or *over-arousal* as he calls it, is avoided because empathy tends to focus the perception of the empathiser on particular situations and individuals and not on others (in line with Zaki's motivational model. See above). According to Hoffman then, a healthy empathiser will only take in as much empathetic information as they can process without it having debilitating effects on them. When the learner reads fiction then, they will be transported into the fictional world, i.e. empathy with the fictional characters will be activated, according to the amount of empathetic resources available to them. Furthermore, combined with Zaki's motivational theory, any fiction-led enhancement in empathy will also be accompanied with added discretion to use it according to the learner's own motivations.

1.2.3 The Risk of Manipulation

The empathetic understanding of other people naturally has the potential to guide anti-social as well as prosocial behaviour. The empathiser's motivations are therefore pivotal to how empathy might translate into behaviour. Empathising with someone whose outlook and behaviour I find strange might leave me unable to sympathise with them. I might even relish your suffering, or a powerful leader might use his empathetic understanding of others to manipulate them. These fears are however partly allayed by evidence that those with egotistical and antisocial motivations tend to have less ability to empathise anyway. Empathy has been shown to have a stable negative correlation with psychopathy and Machiavellianism, and a smaller negative correlation with narcissism (Turner, Foster & Webster 2019: 1). This would suggest that empathy is distributed away from naturally manipulative and selfish individuals and towards those who are more socially minded. This makes evolutionary sense, because those individuals in close-knit communities that understand others well and show prosocial intentions over

prolonged periods of time will be rewarded with greater trust, therefore encountering more empathy-based interactions and further honing their empathetic ability.

1.3   LITERATURE REVIEW: BRINGING TOGETHER THE ISLANDS

The present study draws on several research disciplines in order to give a complete answer to the research question. The present paper is based on the transferral of laboratory research on the psychological effects of reading fiction into a secondary educational setting. The two main academic disciplines driving the present study are therefore personality psychology and literary didactics. Literary didacticians had long claimed that reading literature in an educational setting can have transformative effects on the development of human faculties such as moral reasoning and imaginative ability (see Chapter III, **4.3** & **4.4**, also Djikic et al. 2009) as young learners engage with a text in a uniquely productive way in a group setting where they are required to critically assess their experience of a work amongst peers. Educational psychology also supports the proposition of an intrinsic link between reading and social cognition with its findings in elementary-age learners (see Kim 2016 & 2017). In an effort to embed the research question within its broader cultural implications, the findings of literary science and philosophy will also be used

II. EMPIRCAL FINDINGS

This empirical findings review will summarise the research directly relating to empathy and the fiction-empathy link. The review is divided into three domains of study:

1) Empathy's plasticity & the learnability of pro-social behaviour (section **2.1**): the proposition that reading fiction in the EFL classroom might enhance learner empathy relies on empathy having plasticity i.e. being responsive to interventionary measures.

2) The empathy-fiction link in the laboratory (section **2.2**): the validity of any fiction-empathy data from educational settings, i.e. the present intervention, relies on robust laboratory findings, as laboratory-based studies can more effectively shut out interfering factors.

3) The empathy-fiction link in the classroom (section **2.3**): the link between Theory of mind and learning to read in young children suggests an intrinsic link between reading and socio-cognitive competence. The explicit link between empathy and reading fiction in an educational setting remains understudied, however.

2.1 PLASTICITY OF EMPATHY, TRAINABILITY OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

The human mind's ability to empathise is apparently subject to a high propensity for adaptation and growth i.e. it has *plasticity*. This supports the efficacy of interventions to enhance empathy such as the present study. What is more, empathy for outgroup members has been shown to be highly responsive to various (non-reading) interventions. This has relevance for intercultural competence (**3.5**).

2.1.1 Plasticity of Empathy

Several studies have provided evidence of how various interventions can increase the pool of people a person empathises with. A high-profile 2015 study (Hein et al.) found that empathy for outgroup members increased significantly after only two positive experiences of an outgroup individual. Ingroup members (men of Swiss decent) received costly help from outgroup members (male experiment confederates of Balkan decent). Empathy was determined to have been enhanced when a classical learning signal was detected in the anterior insular cortex after receiving the help,

coupled with a subsequent increase in positivity toward other outgroup members i.e. ingroup members were surprised to receive help from an outgroup member, which resulted in a generalised increase in empathy for all members of the outgroup (Hein et al. 2015). In light of the present thesis and counter to the empathic bias (see **1.2.1** and **4.4**), this would imply that learner empathy for outgroups will be increased when the learner encounters fictional outgroup characters behaving in a prosocial manner.

In light of the emphasis on intercultural competence in the Austrian AHS curriculum (**3.5**), empathy has been shown in various studies to reduce or even eliminate outgroup bias. These studies have shown that by encouraging perspective-adoption with sufferers, empathy and pro-social behaviour are enhanced. Batson et al. showed that inducing empathy for a member of a stigmatised group (a heroin addict) lead to a more positive attitude to the group as a whole and subsequently increased helping behaviour toward the group i.e. they allocated more funds to an addiction charity (Batson, Chang et al. 2002). Finlay & Walter showed that bias against a discriminated group (African Americans) decreased when in-group members (Anglo Americans) were presented with information about discrimination faced by African Americans. Furthermore, the effect increased when empathy-inducing instructions were given (Finlay & Walter 2000). Several other studies have likewise used perspective-adoption exercises to increase empathy for outgroup members (see Stürmer, Snyder & Omoto 2005, Ames, Jenkins, Banaji, & Mitchell 2008, Batson & Shaw 1991). These studies provide strong support for empathy-based educational interventions such as that of the present thesis to reduce intergroup prejudice and develop learner intercultural competence.

Similar empathetic learning interventions appear to be highly effective in children too. Although such interventions on children's outgroup helping remain understudied, one large-scale study found that a pronounced outgroup-ingroup bias vanished altogether when 8-13 year old children were encouraged to think about how a fictional outgroup member felt when they received help (Sierksma, Thijs & Verkuyten 2015). This likewise suggests that the reader's positive encounters with fictional outgroup members, or even just her understanding their motives, might effectively enhance empathy and intercultural competence. The superior cognitive plasticity of young brains (see Granena & Long 2013, Lightbown & Spada 2013 & Qureshi 2016 for the effect of age on second language acquisition, and Anderson et al. 2011 on the faster neurological repair in children)

suggests that outgroup-ingroup boundaries will be more flexible in children than in adults, and therefore that fiction-reading interventions might enhance empathetic and intercultural competence in children and young people more than in adults.

2.1.2 Empathy and Adolescence

Research into the self-reported empathy measure used in the present intervention, the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI), has shown that empathetic capacities develop throughout childhood and adolescence as cognitive maturation enables growing individuals to adopt the perspectives of others more effectively, distinguish more effectively between self and other, and better regulate negative emotions (Davis 1996; Eisenberg 2000). In this way, Perspective-taking and Empathetic concern, two of the four IRI subscales, tend to expand from early to late adolescence, whereas Personal distress tends to abate (Davis & Franzoi 1991; Eisenberg & Eggum 2009; Hoffman 2008; Hawk et al. 2013). It has also been found that empathy with fictional characters according to the fourth subscale of the IRI, the Fantasy scale, increases from early to late adolescence (Hawk et al. 2013).

2.1.3 Empathy, Prosocial and Antisocial Behaviour

Studies have consistently shown a correlation between perspective-taking and prosocial tendencies such as helping behaviour (Batson et al. 1997; Batson, Fultz, & Schoenrade 1987), higher scores in two of the Big Five personality traits, Openness to experience and Agreeableness (De Corte et al. 2007), and less aggression and antisocial behaviour (Richardson et al. 1998; Richardson, Hammock, Smith, Gardner & Signo 1994). Empathetic concern has similar associations with prosocial behaviour such as helping behaviour (Batson et al. 1997; Batson, Fultz, & Schoenrade 1987), higher Openness and Agreeability (De Corte et al. 2007) and lower aggression (Lovett & Sheffield 2007).

Furthermore, it has been found that people behave more altruistically online when empathy is first induced (Farrelly & Bennett 2017) and that self-reported customer satisfaction in service encounters increases when empathy with the service-provider is first induced (Davis, Jiang et al. 2017). These findings suggest that if reading fiction in the EFL classroom does indeed enhance learner empathy, it will also increase prosocial behaviour. Furthermore, several interventions where subjects are exposed to compassion training have shown that the capacity for subjective

empathy and prosociality can indeed be increased (Singer & Klimecki 2014, Leiberg, Klimecki, & Singer, 2011; Weng, Fox et al., 2013). These studies show that enhancing compassion with interventions based on Buddhist practices of compassion meditation improves health, wellbeing and prosociality. This suggests that an individual's capacity for empathy is not a finite resource and can in fact be expanded. Furthermore, it implies that, contrary to fears that increased empathy may be bad for mental health (see **1.2.2**), interventions such as the present study may indeed be beneficial for mental health when derived from intrinsically motivated empathetic competence, rather than extrinsic motivations such as social desirability.

2.1.4 Learnability: Conclusion

Empathy appears therefore to be highly malleable and interventions to increase empathy can be highly effective. This suggests that fiction-based interventions such as that of the present thesis have the potential to be highly effective, at least in the short term. The author is however not aware of any study showing a long term change to empathetic behaviour as a result of such an intervention. It seems though that training perspective-adoption increases the richness with which observers mentally represent targets' states, and that any activity or intervention that encourages perspective-adoption necessarily also increases empathetic ability. This supports the proposition made below (**4.4**) that when the ability to imagine the perspective of another person increases, that person's needs can be better incorporated into their decision-making i.e. moral reasoning improves. What is more, empathy and prosocial behaviour might be still more malleable when motivated by stable, inner convictions, such as when cultivated by compassion training and this effect may be akin to the personal development of empathetic attitudes and principles stimulated by reading quality fiction. Particularly relevant for the present thesis is that when the greater cognitive plasticity of young minds is also taken into account, empathy might be still more malleable and receptive to interventions. This would be of import to educators, particularly in those subjects that lend themselves to empathy interventions, such as the humanities and languages.

2.2 THE EMPATHY-FICTION LINK IN THE LABORATORY

Reading literary fiction has been shown to have significant effects on how the reader perceives their own personality, and that emotions experienced whilst reading mediate this change (Djikic

et al. 2009). After extracting the relevance of this study for the theoretical framework of the present thesis, findings on the non-causal link between exposure to fiction and improved empathy will be explored, before turning to findings on the direct causal link between reading fiction and improved empathy will be assessed, along with the mediating factor of transportation into the fictional world. Findings that reader transportation, which can be understood as engagement with a fictional text, enhances any improvement in empathy has positive implications for reading fiction in an EFL setting because the overarching aim of literary didactics is to improve learner engagement with the text.

2.2.1 Reading Fiction, Emotion and Self-Perception

Reading literary fiction has been shown by a team of the world's most renowned personality researchers to alter the reader's experience of their own personality (Djikic et al. 2009), which supports the validity of the present intervention. Using the Big Five Inventory to measure reader's Big Five personality traits (*agreeableness, neuroticism, extraversion, openness to experience & conscientiousness*), Djikic et al. found that readers of a literary short story experienced their personalities differently directly after reading (Djikic et al. 24). This suggests that, far from being a mere form of entertainment, reading fiction can have significant effects on the reader's sense of who they are, at least in the short term.[8] The authors' conclusion provides an encouraging justification of the present thesis: "If fiction can produce fluctuations in one's own traits, through simulation, identification, or self-implication, it seems reasonable to assume that this process can causally lead to a gradual change of oneself toward a better understanding of others as well (Djikic 2009: 28)." These findings are also in line with the conclusions of literary didacticians that reading fiction can indeed enhance long-term socio-cognitive abilities such as the empathetic competencies described in Chapter III (see also **4.4**).

Furthermore and in support of the integral theory of aesthetic experience presented in this thesis, Djikic et al. found that emotion was the mediating factor in this change of self-perception; readers' experienced their personalities differently to the degree that the story triggered emotions in them (Djikic et al. 27). This provides empirical evidence that directly supports Dewey's integral theory

---

[8] Data on any lasting fiction effect on self-perception would be interesting as this would be an indicator of actual fiction-derived personality growth. The fiction effect would however be extremely difficult to separate from the myriad other factors influencing personality.

of art experience (see **4.2**). Dewey (2005 [1934]: 56) argued that the experience of art cannot be divided into its emotional, intellectual and practical elements, but is rather experienced with the whole being, the experience being mediated by the emotions. This in turn supports the conclusion of literary didacticians that emotion-based teaching material can influence the self-perception of learners (see Abendroth-Timmer 1997: 87 & Schwerdtfeger 1991: 244).

2.2.2 Exposure to Fiction and Social Cognition

It has been shown that readers of fiction tend to have better abilities of empathy and Theory of mind i.e. better social cognition, whereas habitual readers of non-fiction tend to be lower in social cognition than the general population (Mar et al. 2006). It has also been found that repeated exposure to narrative literature predicts an empathetic attitude to others (*empathic understanding* in Koopman's terms, Koopman 2015). Mar, Oatley & Peterson (2009) also found that exposure to fiction correlates with the strength of the reader's social network so that the more fiction one has read, the more likely they are to be part of strong social networks (whereas non-fiction exposure was a predictor for weak social networks and loneliness). Furthermore, Kidd and Castano (2017) found that exposure to literary fiction predicted improved empathy, whereas popular fiction did not. Perhaps most informative was a 2017 meta-analysis that compiled data from 36 studies on reading fiction and social cognition, which found that habitual fiction readers have better social cognition than habitual non-fiction readers (Mumper & Gerrig 2017). These studies do not however prove that the link between reading fiction and improved empathy is causal i.e. that reading causes an increase in empathy and social cognition. It could also be that those with high social cognition are drawn to reading because it challenges and further develops their existing abilities. However, the literary competencies discussed below in chapter III suggest that there is a causal link that can be exploited by reading fiction in the classroom.

2.2.3 Reading Fiction and Improved Empathy

The causal link between reading fiction and improved empathy has likewise been thoroughly studied. This body of research has more direct implications for the present intervention and the language classroom because it provides evidence for the efficacy of reading-empathy interventions. Reading fiction is believed to train the brain's ability to simulate hypothetical scenes and spaces (mentalising) along with the mental states of others (empathy), thereby improving the

cognitive abilities that aid social cognition. Indeed, Tamir et al. found that the same neural networks are activated when reading fiction as when completing real-world Theory of mind tasks (Tamir et al. 2016) and Nomura & Akai found that empathy for fictional characters correlates strongly with empathetic concern for real people (Nomura & Akai 2012).

The idea that a single sitting of reading fiction has an immediate effect on empathy has been hotly contested since a widely reported 2013 study (see Belluck 2013 for New York Times article) by Kidd and Castano. They found that literary fiction temporarily enhanced both affective and cognitive empathy, whereas popular fiction and non-fiction did not (Kidd & Castano 2013). These findings were repeated by Black & Barnes (Black & Barnes 2015), but were then refuted by a large-scale study where three independent research groups found no improvement in empathy after reading literary or popular fiction (Panero, Black, Barnes et al. 2016). Kidd and Castano pointed to validity problems in the replication however, which, once accounted for, they claimed did show an empathy improvement in the literary fiction condition (Kidd & Castano 2017). There have been several other positive replications of the original study (Pino & Mazza 2016, Kuijk et al. 2018) and one other large-scale replication that found no empathy effect (Samur, Tops & Koole 2018). Summatively, a 2018 meta-analysis found that reading fiction (as opposed to non-fiction or not reading at all) did however predict a small, but significant, improvement in social cognition (Tamir & Dodell-Feder 2018). The data then supports the claim that a single sitting of reading fiction brings about improved reader empathy, however the causal link is complex and in need of more differentiated research. The tentative implication for educators is that the more language pupils are exposed to fiction, the more their empathy and related literary competences will be enhanced.

2.2.3.1 TRANSPORTATION

One factor that has been found to improve reader empathy more robustly is transportation; that is, the degree to which a reader becomes emotionally absorbed into a fictional world. In an important study, Bal & Veltkamp 2013 found that readers that were transported into a story still showed improved empathy a week after reading, whereas readers who were not transported actually showed a reduction in empathy, and readers of non-fiction showed no change (Bal & Veltkamp 2013). Reader tendency for transportation into fictional worlds was found to robustly predict empathy (Mar et al. 2006) as well as increase prosocial behaviour (Johnson 2012). These findings are important for the present thesis because they provide support for the role of emotion in aesthetic

experience (see **4.2**) and role of emotion in literary didactics (see Chapter III). Furthermore, it has real implications for the language classroom and had a significant impact on the present study design (see Chapter V) because literary didactics is geared towards increasing learner motivation to read and engage with the text (see The 3-phase model in **5.2.2**). The empathy-improving power of a piece of fiction may therefore be dependent to a significant degree on how effectively it is taught.

2.2.1 Self-licensing: Does Fiction Reduce Empathy?

Some theorists believe that reading fiction might indeed make the reader not more, but less, empathetic, and point to so-called *self-licensing* studies as empirical support of this view. If valid, this would provide strong confounding evidence for the present research question. The philosopher Gregory Currie points to the well evidenced self-licensing phenomenon to argue that reading fiction makes people less empathetic (Currie 2016). Self-licensing studies have shown that individuals that have behaved in a socially desirable way balance, or *self-license*, their behaviour by subsequently engaging in less socially desirable behaviour (see Chiou et al. 2011, Monin & Miller 2001 & Khan & Dhar 2006). The hypothesis is that exibiting socially desirable behaviour gives the doer an enhanced sense of self-worth and that this in turn leads to feelings of being licensed to behave less well afterwards.

In his article *Does fiction make us less empathic?* Currie argues that self-licensing behaviour suggests that fiction readers would have a reduced tendency to empathise with real people once they put their book down, having already invested their empathetic effort into empathising with the fictional characters: "[T]he experience of empathising with fictional characters might actually reduce our tendency to exercise empathy in response to the plights of other, real people (Currie 2016: 60)." This proposition would appear to be invalid for two reasons, however. Firstly, self-licensing studies rely on a social real-world setting where the potential self-licenser first establishes a 'surplus' or 'debt' in self-image. This is clearly not so in the case of reading fiction, reading being primarily a self-reflexive activity. Secondly, Currie's line of argument implies that empathy is a limited resource that, if spent in the fictional world, will not be available for real-world interactions. There is a reasonable body of research however that suggests that empathetic capacity is not finite and can indeed increase under certain conditions (**2.1.3**). Furthermore, it will be argued that an appropriate empathy-related teaching goal would not be the continual expansion of

empathy through fiction, but rather to develop *literary empathetic competence*, understood as the ability to engage with others empathetically when appropriate in order to better judge how to act in the world (see **3.1**).

2.2.2 Laboratory Findings: Conclusion

Laboratory findings suggest that reading fiction alters the way the reader experiences their personality directly after reading. They also point to an empathy-enhancing effect of reading fiction, however the link is still far from firmly established and more differentiated study is needed. Finally, reader transportation into the fictional world predicts empathy more robustly, which is of relevance to literature in the EFL classroom as literary teaching methods aim to maximise reader engagement with the text.

The advantage of laboratory-based studies is that larger numbers of people can be tested in near identical surroundings and interfering factors can be better controlled for. A significant disadvantage of the aforementioned laboratory studies however is that they are all cross-sectional studies where readers sat for a single session and were tested for empathy directly afterwards (with the exception of Bal & Veltkamp 2013, which also measured empathy one week after reading). As Zaki noted in 2014, narrative fiction "has yet to be used in a concerted intervention (Zaki 2014: 1633)" to enhance empathy, by which he means a longitudinal study that looks at long-term changes in reader empathy. To the knowledge of the author, this still holds at the beginning of 2020.

The cross-sectional nature of these laboratory studies reduces the validity of their findings for the purposes of the present thesis. Firstly, a single reading session is not necessarily representative of the fiction reading experience in EFL instruction. Fiction reading arguably only becomes truly immersive when the reader is sufficiently acquainted with the characters and the conditions of the fictional world, and this is unlikely to be the case in a single sitting. What is more, several thinkers have argued that there might be a gestation process whereby any empathy effects might not be immediately detectable and require a certain time period – at least a night's sleep – before emerging (Bal & Veltkamp 2013: e55341). Djikic et al. 2009 conclude their seminal study on self-transformation through fiction by noting that "[a] relationship of an individual psyche to a work of art is a highly complex process that cannot be easily brought into laboratory (28)," but that their

findings point to the fact that "that the potential for change is there (ibid.)." Furthermore, a single reading session is clearly not representative of the intensive and prolonged fiction reading process in an EFL setting, where not only the duration, but the group setting and additional 3-phase tasks enhance both empathetic engagement with, and critical understanding of the text.

The laboratory studies then provide a valuable empirical framework for the present thesis, but their findings are not entirely applicable to an educational setting. The present question is whether engaging with fiction in the EFL classroom improves learner empathy. Any intervention by the teacher, school or education system is motivated by the long term development of its learners toward certain goals (see Chapter III). Short-term effects are of value to the degree that they contribute to attaining these teaching aims over time. It is for this reason that the present study was designed to maximise: 1) time spent reading (although time constraints only allowed for a single reading session, 2) engagement with the text through pre-, while- and post-reading exercises, and 3) time between reading and measuring for empathy. The intervention would therefore ideally have involved a more prolonged reading process with empathy measured at several points during and after the reading process.

2.3   THE EMPATHY-FICTION LINK IN THE CLASSROOM

The author not aware of any empirical data on secondary-age (i.e. 11-18 years) on fiction-led empathy in an EFL setting. There have been some small-scale studies conducted involving fiction-led intercultural competence (which is empathy-based; see **3.5**) in Lower secondary learners (Vezzali, Stathi & Giovannini 2012) and fiction-led empathy in undergraduate level learners (Hoggan & Cranton 2015). There is also a substantial body of research on the role of the Theory of mind in learning to read in children (**2.3.1**), however all of these studies were carried out in the context of L1 instruction.

Vezzali, Stahi and Giovanni found that Italian Lower secondary learners (mean age 12.8 years, N=93) assigned to read a novel with an intercultural theme where characters of an outgroup culture were presented in a positive light, endorsed less negative stereotypes toward other fictional members of the outgroup than learners that had read a novel with no intercultural theme (2012:

152). This finding provides empirical support for the efficacy of training intercultural competences through literature discussed in the next chapter.

In line with Djikic et al.'s (2009) findings that reading fiction can have a transformative effect on a reader's sense of self, reading fiction has been found to bring about transformative learning experiences in undergraduate students (measured using the categories *promoting personal change, stimulating new perspectives* and *fostering critical thinking* (Hoggan & Cranton 2015). In this study, reading literary fiction was found to stimulate processes of personal development such as *desire for change* and *opening eyes to new or more integral perspectives*. In a longer study however, an undergraduate program of engagement with literary fiction over a 15-week period was found to bring about no lasting improvement in empathy (Junker & Jacquemin 2017). The strongest predictor of reader empathy activation in this study, however, was the perceived text difficulty i.e. the more challenging students perceived the text to be, the less likely empathy was to be activated during reading. This has clear didactic implications for text selection and the presentation of reading texts i.e. if learners perceive a text as being too difficult, this has a strong negative effect on empathy activation whilst reading (see conclusion of the present study in **7.2**).

2.3.1 **Theory of Mind and Reading** Comprehension in Young Learners

The correlation between the ability to mentally represent spaces (*mentalisation*) – foundational for empathy and Theory of mind – and narrative comprehension in young learners has been widely found to be strong. This suggests that empathy and fiction-reading are intrinsically linked in the development of young minds from an early age. Nyhout & O'Neill found that the ability to construct spatial representations in 7-year-old children predicted the level of narrative comprehension they would exhibit (Nyhout & O'Neill 2013) whereas Barnes et al. obtained similar results from a study of 9-14 year-old children (Barnes, Raghubar, Faulkner & Denton 2014). Kim found that Theory of mind strongly predicted listening comprehension of narrative texts in 6-7 year-olds (Kim 2016) and reading comprehension of non-narrative texts in 2nd grade children (ca. 7-8 years; Kim 2017).

What is more, it has been suggested that Theory of mind is a strong predictor of future non-fiction reading comprehension. Atkinson followed 80 children over 2.5 years from the age of four to six. Theory of mind and reading comprehension measurements were taken at three points, T1, T2 and

T3. Theory of mind at T1 predicted reading comprehension at T2 indirectly, but predicted it directly at T3, 2.5 years later (Atkinson et al. 2017). The study found that Theory of mind not only "supports reading comprehension indirectly by facilitating language" but also that it "contributes to reading comprehension directly (Atkinson et al. 234)." That is, once linguistic ability and other factors have been accounted for, Theory of mind at age four uniquely predicted reading comprehension at age six. These findings represent further evidence of an intrinsic link between social and reading cognition and give credence to the proposition that reading fiction trains social cognitive abilities such as empathy.

2.3.2 Empathy-Fiction link in the classroom: Conclusion

Theory of mind appears to be a prerequisite for being able to simulate a narrative world in young learners, which in turn enables reading and listening comprehension in general. Indeed, combined with Tamir et al. (2016)'s discovery that narrative reading and real-world Theory of mind cognition share the same neural networks, this would suggest that, once a reader attains a certain reading level, access to fictional worlds could stimulate empathetic growth. This provides strong support for the efficacy of using fiction to train perspective adoption and coordination (**3.2**).

2.4 EMPIRICAL LITERATURE REVIEW: CONCLUSION

Interventions to reduce outgroup bias and improve intergroup understanding via empathy have been highly effective and this highlights fiction's potential to enhance empathetic and intercultural competence. Theory of mind has been reliably shown to predict narrative and reading comprehension in young learners, suggesting that reading fiction and empathy interact closely throughout human development. The laboratory findings on the fiction-empathy link are encouraging, but lack validity for application to an educational setting because they are based on a single reading session and do not investigate the empathy-effect of fiction over a prolonged period. Fiction-empathy data from educational settings is however scant, presumedly because of the challenge of shutting out confounding factors in the multifariously complex environment of the classroom. Chapter IV will generate more hypotheses for the present empirical study, which will be presented in **5.4**.

2.5   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Derived from the empirical findings then, the following subordinate research questions can be formulated. These questions will be used to structure the below theoretical investigation of the main research question: *Does engaging with fiction in the EFL class enhance learner empathy*?

1. How does reading literary fiction in an EFL setting enhance learner empathetic competence? (Chapter III)
2. Why is fiction an effective tool for training empathetic competence (Chapter IV)?
   2.1   What is the relationship between fiction and the 'real world'? (**4.1**)
   2.2   How does fiction generate meaning in the mind of the reader, and what role does emotion play? (**4.2**)
   2.3   What makes fiction-based learning unique? (**4.3**)
   2.4   How does fiction-derived empathy develop moral competence? (**4.4**)

III. EMPATHETIC COMPETENCE & READING FICTION

This chapter aims to establish whether reading fiction in an EFL setting enhances *social competence* via a bundle of empathy-related competences which will be defined, for the purposes of this paper, as *empathetic competence*. *Empathy* is a psychological construct that interacts with well-defined competences in literary didactics. Spinner, for example, notes that, "the special achievement of literature instruction lies in the interplay of empathy, perspective-switching and argumentation (Spinner 2018: 81; own trans.)." *Empathy* is not widely formulated as a literary educational aim in itself, but is represented as the well-established literary competence of *perspective-adoption* (Ger. Perspektivenübernahme), upon which several other more complex empathy-related literary competences are based – *perspective-coordination, Fremdverstehen[9], intercultural competence* & *moral competence*. Another literary competence that interacts with perspective-adoption to facilitate these more complex empathy-based competences is *critical thinking*. Therefore this paper groups these empathy-related literary competences under the umbrella term of *empathetic competence*[10] which will be explored in more detail below. The case will be made that empathetic perspective-adoption is a foundational skill for social competence.

3.1 SOCIAL COMPETENCE

This thesis is based on the proposition that engaging with fiction in EFL instruction can make a valuable contribution to the development of learner social competence. It is argued that fiction is an effective source of social competence learning because engaging with fiction in an EFL context trains the key skills such as perspective-adoption (i.e. empathy) and critical thinking that form the foundation of social competence according to two widely cited social competence models (Malti & Perren 2011 & Rose-Krasnor 1997; see below), as well as stimulating the development of intercultural competence and moral competence.

Social competence is a widely employed concept in developmental and educational research that has been defined in many different ways (Malti & Perren 2011: 332). The general definition given

---

[9] *Fremdverstehen*: understanding of others.
[10] The term appears to be novel. It appears rarely across all academic disciplines, and when it does, it is synonymous with *the ability to empathise* (see for instance Calloway-Thomas 2018: 495) and does not include the more complex empathetic competences such as intercultural competence or perspective coordination.

by developmental psychologists Malti & Perren is: "The range of behavioral, emotional, cognitive, and motivational skills that individuals need for successful psychosocial adjustment and that enable them to achieve their goals and fulfil their own needs while considering the goals and needs of others (ibid.)." The foundational role that the ability to adopt the perspective of another person plays in this conception of social competence is implicit. An individual will not be able to take the goals and needs of another person into account in their actions if they are not able to adopt the perspective of that person. Rose-Krasnor makes the role of perspective-adoption in social competence more explicit when she states that, "social competence is generally recognized as effectiveness in interaction, considered from both self and other perspectives (Rose-Krasnor 1997: 123)."

The link between empathy and social competence is crucial for the present paper. Therefore Rose-Krasnor's Social Competence Prism model will be briefly discussed as it helps place empathy within the broader context of social competence. The model is shown in *Figure 1* and consists of three levels.
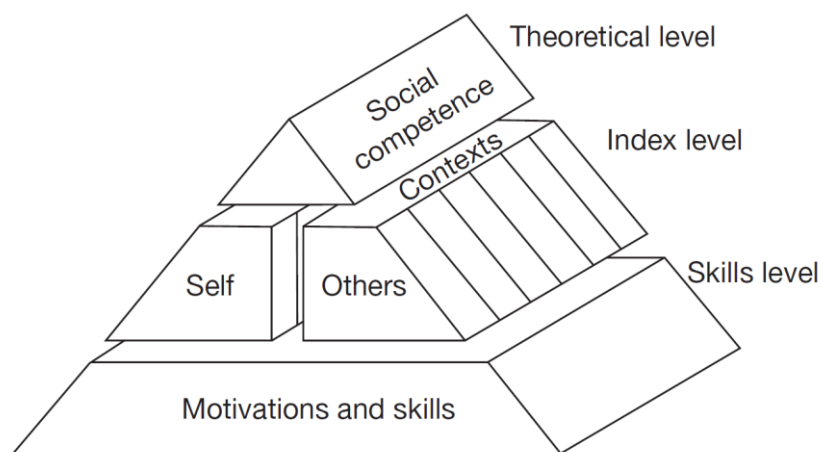
Figure 1: Rose-Krasnor's Social Competence Prism (Rose-Krasnor 1997)

Social competence is conceived of as transactional, meaning it emerges from interactions between people, as opposed to personality traits, which are inherent. Social competence therefore occupies the *Theoretical level* at the top of the prism as it is dependent on the interactions generated at the *Index level* in the middle of the prism. The Index level therefore represents the environmental setting where interaction between the individual and others takes place, and where the socially competent individual will achieve a balance of their own and other's needs. The *Skills level* at the bottom of the prism represents according to Rose-Krasnor "the behavioral and motivational base upon which the higher levels are built (Rose-Krasnor 1997: 123)" and includes "perspective-

taking, communication, empathy, affect-regulation, and social problem solving" as well as "the expression of one's goals and values (Rose-Krasnor 123)." It will be argued below that empathetic competence developed through reading fiction essentially constitutes the Skills level of the Prism model of social competence, as fiction directly trains all of these skills (see **4.2** & **4.3**).

Malti & Perren's Tri-Level model of social competence (see Figure 2) focusses specifically on the development of social competence in adolescence and is therefore also relevant to the present paper. The Tri-level model similarly has three levels which represent the cognitive and emotional processes involved in developing social competence in adolescents (Malti & Perren 2016). The cognitive processes include the sociocognitive, emotional, and motivational dimensions of development such as processing social information, taking the perspective of others, and resolving social problems. The emotional processes include emotion regulation, empathy, and self-esteem. The authors state that: "the core assumption of the model is that the dimensions of social competence are embedded in
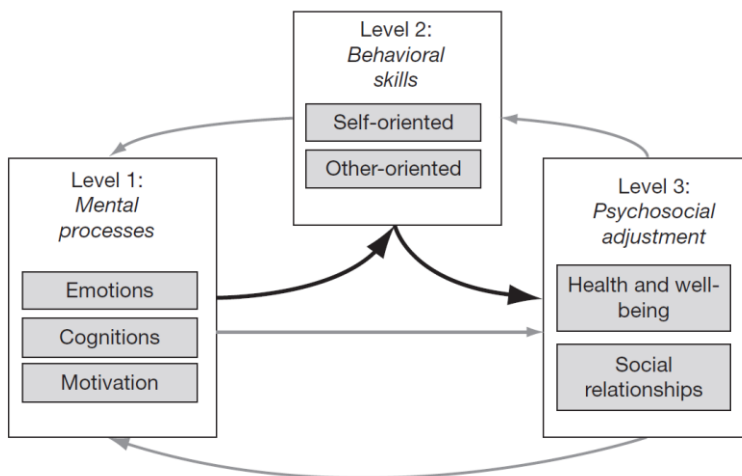
Figure 2: Malti & Perren's Tri-Level model of social competence (Malti & Perren 2016)

adolescents' social and cultural worlds. The meanings of these dimensions are derived from their interactions with social relationships (Malti & Perren 2011: 334)." This conception of social competence will be referred to below in relation to the potential for stimulation of these dimensions of social competence in teaching fiction in the EFL class.

3.2 PERSPECTIVE-ADOPTION, PERSPECTIVE-COORDINATION & FREMDVERSTEHEN

Narrative fiction is necessarily perspectival. That is, a story can only be told from one or more perspectives (Nünning & Nünning 2012: 107). Thinkers throughout the ages have argued that life in the world has a narrative structure, and thus literature stands in a reciprocal mimetic relationship

to life; literature imitates life, and to the extent that literature is relevant in any given culture, life imitates literature (see discussion in **4.1**). Perspective-adoption and perspective-coordination are therefore foundational for the understanding of narrative literature, but are also key social competences in that they form the basic mechanisms for understanding other people. Constituting empathetic competence, the literary competences discussed below are founded on perspective-adoption and -coordination.

Indeed, as already mentioned above, for the purposes of teaching literature, perspective-adoption is barely distinguishable from empathy. Ansgar Nünning, one of the leading authorities on perspective-adoption in literary didactics, gives the following definition: „Perspective-adoption refers to the ability to put oneself or feel into the position of another subject and to reconstruct a situation from his/her perspective (Nünnung 2007: 135; own trans.)." This definition is remarkable in that it is essentially no different from the definition of empathy formulated in the present thesis i.e. Nünning is using a conception of *Perspectivenübernahme* including affective elements i.e. perspective-adoption in the present thesis, and therefore synonymous with empathy and (see **1.1.4**). Indeed, Nünning makes the similarity between the two concepts explicit: "*Perspektivenübernahme* thus largely corresponds to the cognitive construct of empathy, the ability to feel into the thoughts and feelings of others [...] At the same time the socio-psychological keyword *empathy* is an important learning goal that is to be achieved by changing perspectives (Nünning 2000: 109; original emp. & own trans). To understand the behaviour and motivations of another person, whether fictional or not, the individual must at the very least be able to put himself, all be it with varying degrees of accuracy (see Eyal, Steffel & Epley 2018), in the shoes of another person; he must be able to *adopt* the perspective of another. He must empathise. In this way, perspective-adoption can be understood as the central mechanism of empathy.

Perspective-adoption is a crucial learning aim as it is a foundational social competence. In order to interact with others successfully, learners must be able to interpret their behaviour with some accuracy, and this process of interpretation relies on the ability to mentally represent the other's thoughts, emotions and motivations via perspective-adoption. Nünning states: „The great didactic importance of this concept is derived from the fact that it is a skill that is considered a necessary condition for social action and is constitutive for understanding the motives and intentions of others (Nünnung 2007: 135; own trans.)". Elsewhere, Nünning stresses the importance of training

perspective-adoption competence through literature: „The social importance of the ability to adopt the perspectives of others and the value of its targeted training can hardly be overestimated (Nünning 2000: 109; own trans.)." The centrality of the concept of perspective-adoption in literary didactics and in real-world social interaction, and therefore also for the present research question will be explored below. First though, its sister competence, perspective-*coordination*, will be introduced.

In a subsequent process to perspective-adoption, the learner must be able to differentiate between his own perspective and those of others, to compare them, and to mediate between them; that is, he must be able to *coordinate* his own perspectives with those of others, and integrate them into a coherent understanding of the world. Edelstein, Keller & Wahlen define perspective-coordination as: "The integration of different perspectives on the meta-level (1984 in Nünning 2000: 109; own trans.)." In this way, Nünning defines perspective-coordination as: „In contrast to the differentiation and adoption of perspectives, perspective-coordination in this context means that the learners, when confronted with otherness, are able to grasp, compare and mediate between their own and other people's perspectives (Nünning 2000: 110; own trans.)." Perspective-coordination therefore represents a process of cognitive assimilation by the learner of received perspectives according to their perceived relevance, value and compatibility with the learner's own perspective.

Leubner, Saupe and Richter give an insightful description of how perspective-coordination through literature can bring about change in the learner's own perspective. The learner *receives* the perspectives presented in the text according to her own unique experience of the world (see discussion of meaning generation in **4.2**) and little by little uses them to refine her own perspective:

> Thus the reader is encouraged to dissolve and reformulate, at least to some extent, given systems of concepts and the solidified patterns of perception linked to them - for example, sweeping conceptions of 'evil'. The reader can then permanently appropriate these new or more differentiated views. The basis for this is that she compares the new views with her previous schemata of thinking and perception and integrates them - not necessarily completely, but also partially or in modified form. And finally, the reader can use these views to gain a new perspective on the reality of her life and the possibly of changing her basic attitudes or behaviour (Leubner, Saupe & Richter 2016: 34; own trans.).

Perspective-coordination therefore entails the incremental integration of those aspects of foreign perspectives that resonate with the subjective experience of the learner. Perspective-coordination

is in this way then at once a prerequisite for social interaction and an operation of critical thought, whereby the learner assesses the value and relevance of foreign perspectives according her own priorities, plans and personality constraints.

The acquisition of the ability to adopt the perspective of another person is therefore a foundational skill for social competence in as far as understanding the thoughts, motivations and feelings of another person, i.e. *Fremdverstehen*, enables effective social interaction. The idea that literature is a means to understand other people goes back at least as far as Ancient Greece, where drama's driving aim was to further understanding of human interactions (see Aristotle's *Poetics*, Chapter 9) and this is in line with Djikic et al.'s conclusion that reading fiction can "lead to a gradual change of oneself toward a better understanding of others as well (Djikic et al. 2009: 28)." Nünning describes the mechanism of literary-derived Fremdverstehen succinctly: „Already through the intuitive change of perspective and the unconscious adoption of the perspectives of others during the reading process, learners gather experiences that are fundamental for understanding others when dealing with literary texts (Nünning 2007: 138; own trans.)." However, the term is not uncontroversial. Its critics claim that it implies an attempt to fit otherness into one's own categories of understanding and is therefore inaccurate. They state that the *difference* of other perspectives, rather than their understanding, should be emphasised. Hu explains: " *Understanding* the *other* was seen as an appropriation [...] by understanding *otherness*, it was equally dissolved and translated into one's own familiar categories. On the other hand, *otherness* should [...] be consciously left as *other*, not *understanding*, but *difference* should be emphasized (Hu 1997: 35; original emp. & own trans.)."

Perspective-adoption and perspective-coordination can be understood then as the foundational literary competences upon which other empathetic competences such as Fremdverstehen, moral competence, intercultural competence, and to an extent also critical thinking, depend. What is more, literature is perhaps the most effective medium to train these abilities. As Kaspar Spinner stresses: „Literary texts allow us to understand foreign perspectives on experience, relate different perspectives to each other and encourage us to think about the reasons and consequences of different points of view (Spinner 2018: 81; own trans.)." That is, the learner is encouraged to use the understanding of other perspectives won through perspective-adoption and coordination to stimulate critical thinking about their own perspectives, those of others, and the world in general.

3.3 CRITICAL THINKING

Perspective-adoption involves a transgression of the learner's existing perspective on the world. This transgression leads to the differentiation and refinement of the learner's perspective. The wealth of experience of the possible behaviour, thoughts and emotions of other people that literature provides is integrated into the learner's perspective. Literary instruction in this way takes the learner from self-referentiality, where her existing worldview is confirmed by her self-confirming associations and interactions in the world, to a sensitivity for that which lays outside of her perceptual bubble, for *difference*. In this way, literary instruction enables moral and critical thinking competence as it sharpens the learner's awareness of the perspective-bound nature of reality (Nünning 2000: 124) i.e. the learner's attention is drawn to the fact that their perspective is one amongst many and it is limited. Moral competence relies on this understanding, for only then the learner competently interact with the perspectives of others. Before investigating this claim however, critical thinking will be explored.

Critical thinking is not in and of itself an empathy-based literary competence, however it does play a crucial mediating role in the more complex empathetic competences of perspective-coordination and intercultural competence. Critical thinking refers to the ability to make judgements based on the rational assessment of available information. In his book *Critical thinking and education*, John McPeck defines critical thinking as "the skill and propensity to engage in an activity with reflective scepticism (McPeck 1981: 7)." This definition emphasises critical thinking as a tool for effective interaction with others. Likewise, the philosopher Robert Ennis defines it as "reasonable, reflective thinking that is focused on deciding what to believe or do (Ennis 1987: 10)." Critical thinking then is the ability to evaluate sources of information and arguments independently, enabling effective decision-making in the world. In the context of the present discussion then, critical thinking is a foundational competence for both the cognitive process of perspective-coordination, as well as social and moral competences; how best to interact with others in the world.

What is more, critical thinking features repeatedly in the general section of the Austrian AHS curriculum. For instance: "The willingness for independent thinking and critical reflection should be particularly encouraged (Lehrpläne Allgemeine höhere Schulen 2018: 8; own trans.)." The potential for literature is implicit when it is also stated that learners are to be brought to critical and independent thinking with learning *impulses*: "Impulses are to be given which stimulate and

promote the development of the pupils' own values and standards (Lehrpläne AHS: 15; own trans.)." Furthermore, the Austrian Education Minister in 2017 defined a *critical attitude* as an intercultural competence and foundation for civil courage and conflict-resolution: „Intercultural education enables learners to adopt a critical and appreciative attitude - as a basis for civil courage and a constructive conflict culture (Braunschmid, *Grundsatzerlass* 2017; own trans.)." This is in line with the present conception of critical thinking as a key competence for facilitating literary empathetic competence.

Reading narrative literature is a powerful tool for training critical thinking because it requires a constant assessment of various perspectives. Lazere writes that literature "can come closest to encompassing the full range of mental traits currently considered to comprise critical thinking (Lazere in Bobkina & Stefanova 2016: 680)." What is more, the learner must independently assess the information he receives from the text because, due to the nature of literary fiction, the ideas and perspectives presented are not unambiguous value judgements. Leubner, Saupe and Richter describe how literature encourages the learner to question his own perspective: "These suggestions are not clear-cut proposals. They do not ask the reader to adopt a certain new view of reality, but to question her previous views and to form new ones on a trial basis (Leubner, Saupe & Richter 2016: 33; own trans.)." By offering perspectives foreign to the learner, fiction can directly stimulate the learner's critical confrontation with societal norms, values and authority structures. The philosopher Richard Rorty highlights how, in this way, reading a novel can help the young person to think critically and become autonomous: "Reading [a] novel may help the reader to transcend the parents, teachers, customs, and institutions that have blinkered her imagination, and thereby permit her to achieve greater individuality and greater self-reliance (Rorty 2001: 245)." Reading fiction then offers itself as an effective tool for training critical thinking.

3.4 MORAL COMPETENCE

Moral competence is defined by the educator Ewa Novak as the ability "to solve problems and conflicts on the basis of universal moral principles through thinking and discussion, instead of using violence, deceit, and force (Lind 2016: 45)." Vital to the ability to discuss and solve problems between people is the ability to adopt another person's perspective. In this light, Spinner describes

the interdependence of literary-induced perspective-adoption, critical thinking and moral competence: "Cognitivist theory has shown that the development of moral judgment is closely related to overcoming self-centred views. If I am not able to comprehend other people's perspectives, I am not able to take a moral standpoint that goes beyond ends-means thinking or blind submission to orders (Spinner 2018: 80)." Perspective-adoption is the mechanism then by which the learner can question and understand the norms of their own culture, thereby taking responsibility for the moral principles he chooses to live by – it is the mechanism by which moral competence can be effectively developed.

Indeed, the Austrian AHS curriculum sets teachers of all subjects the aim of preparing learners for the search for a fulfilling life by providing them with a thorough and informed consideration of ethical and moral values: "The questions and the desire for a meaningful life in a dignified future must be met by teaching with an examination of ethical and moral values and the religious dimension of life based on sufficient information and knowledge (Lehrpläne AHS, *allgemeiner Teil*: 9; own trans.)." According to the theory presented in this paper, fiction is well placed to provide such an education through the many and varied perspectives that can be meaningfully taken up in fictional worlds. Reading fiction encourages the learner to leave their self-referential perspective and to critically consider that which lies outside of it.

Rorty expounds literature-derived critical thinking as an antidote to *egotism* and a tool to attain what he terms *sensitivity*. For Rorty, the avid reader of novels picks up a book to escape *egotism*, by which, rather than *selfishness*, he means *ignorance*, or the "willingness to assume that one already has all the knowledge necessary for deliberation, all the understanding of the consequences of a contemplated action that could be needed (Rorty 2001: 250)." Egotism here is the belief that one is fully informed and therefore in a position to make the correct choices. Egotists seek to "short-circuit" the need to find out what is in the minds of other people and get straight to how things "really are (ibid.)". This short-circuiting, Rorty argues, has often served as a "shield for fanaticism and intolerance (ibid.)" because once a person lays claim to *the truth* of what is good and right, understanding people different from oneself becomes irrelevant to living a good life (see discussion in **4.4**). The novel-reader, by contrast, is seeking "redemption from insensitivity (ibid.)". In this way, the reader of fiction in the EFL classroom is encouraged to integrate new

perspectives into her own and to attain a refined understanding of how best to behave in the world i.e. it enhances the reader's moral competence.

Rorty argues that moral competence is a necessary result of the liberation from egotism and sensitivity won by reading fiction. The novel exposes the reader to the suffering of other people and through this insight, she finds a common humanity: "It is created by increasing our sensitivity to the particular details of the pain and humiliation of other, unfamiliar sorts of people. Such increased sensitivity makes it more difficult to marginalize people different from ourselves by thinking, "They do not feel it as we would," or "There must always be suffering, so why not let them suffer?" (Rorty 1989: XVI)." Reading fiction might help the reader then, via the mechanism of perspective-adoption, to "grasp the needs and self-descriptions of our fellow inhabitants of a certain time and place'. This would align with the confirmation that Austrian grammar schools that "[t]he dignity of every human being, his or her freedom and integrity, the equality of all people and solidarity with the weak and marginalised are important values and educational objectives (Lehrpläne 9)." It may also help the reader to understand that those different to him suffer too, and in ways that he can recognise. Rorty's contribution to the discussion might be summarised as such: reading fiction helps the reader to recognise a common humanity in those different to himself.

In the interaction between the reader and alternative ways of seeing the world offered by the text, the reader is encouraged to question and expand her worldview. According to Kaiser, literature offers no guidelines in how to behave. Instead it encourages the reader the approach the world with a self-reflexive autonomy that facilitates the key social competence skill of communication:

> Poetry does not give us life choices, but invites us to make our own choices so as to sharpen our personal definition and our personal determination. The abundance of the worldviews offered is a provocation to put our own perspective in question and become enriched by them. In passing through the great works I become more myself than I was. I myself in my sociality, ability to perceive and communicate, not as an egocentric island (Kaiser 117; own trans.).

No longer an ego-centric island, the reader becomes more socially, perceptively and communicatively able, according to Kaiser, Rorty and Spinner. Zunshine adds that fiction gives us "the chance for a sharpened ethical sense" as it "pattern[s] our emotions and perceptions […] in newly nuanced ways (Zunshine 2006: 164)." The reader of fiction therefore becomes aware of himself as a unique expression of temperament, personality and experiences, but also of the limitations of his perspective on the world.

3.5   INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

The analysis of the literary competences thus far has been based on the interaction of the learner with unspecified other perspectives. Other perspectives can though of course be *other* to the learner along a variety of dimensions; for instance, in terms of gender, political orientation, or personality. Whilst literary instruction can no doubt explore any conceivable dimension of otherness, cultural otherness is particularly relevant to the present thesis as it is both superordinate to all other dimensions of otherness (culture influences all other dimensions of difference), and competence in intercultural interaction is therefore a key social competence that is vital to avoiding conflict and human suffering (see Introduction).

Intercultural competence is a widely used term in diverse fields with broadly divergent definitions (Kwok, Soon & Mei Ling 2014: 489), however a widely agreed general definition is "the ability to think and act in interculturally appropriate ways (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman 2003: 422)." The term *intercultural education* is more specific to educational settings and literary didactics. Literary didactician Christian Dawidowski defines intercultural learning as: "A restructuring of self-organized concepts of the self and the world on the basis of a new interpretation of cultural representations, which is initialized by recourse to the horizon of understanding of the other (Dawidowski 2006: 25; own trans.)." Leubner, Saupe & Richter's definition aligns with Dawidowski's and they add that this restructuring of self-organised concept of self and world is stimulated in engaging with literature as it helps the learner to understand the cultural-bound nature of their own perspective (Leubner, Saupe & Richter 2016: 270). The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) underscores the need to move towards intercultural education by stating that: "In an intercultural approach, it is a central objective of language learning to promote the favourable development of the learner's whole personality and sense of identity in response to the enriching experience of otherness in language and culture (Council of Europe 2001: 1)." Intercultural learning then is a crucial educational aim.

What is more, several literary didacticians conclude that understanding the emotions of others and one's own emotions is central to this interpretation of cultural representations. Donnerstag & Wolff make it clear that "intercultural understanding is not possible without empathy (Donnerstag & Wolff 2007: 160)." Abendroth-Timmer places importance on emotion-based learning aims in order to change attitudes and understanding of others (see discussion on the role of emotion in

understanding fiction in **4.2**): "[Intercultural learning] is achieved by changing attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes towards others and one's own culture and its members by promoting affective learning goals, i.e. by using cognitively and affectively oriented learning methods (Abendroth-Timmer 1997: 86; own trans.)." Intercultural learning then describes a deeply empathetic process of comparison of the learner's own cultural perspective with that of other cultural perspectives and the resultant process of reflection and restructuring of their own perspective.

Intercultural competence then is not merely an accumulation of knowledge about other cultures, categorised according to the learner's existing cultural understanding. It describes much more an ability to empathetically represent other-cultural perspectives, and to use them to reflect on one's own cultural perspective. The Austrian AHS curriculum is clear on this point: "The task of intercultural learning is to understand, experience and help shape cultural values in learning together and not just to impart knowledge about other cultures (Lehrpläne 12)." According to Leubner, Saupe and Richter, literary texts can initiate this process of reflection with the representation of any perspective new to the learner and does not necessarily need to be from another culture: "These texts can introduce their readers to views of reality, including values and norms, which are established in their culture, i.e. generally accepted or at least consensus-based, but new to them personally (2016: 30)."

What is more, learners will not only need intercultural competence to navigate their future professional and personal lives, but to get on in increasingly culturally diverse school learning communities. The latest figures from the school year 2017/18 show that the proportion of learners with non-German vernacular across Austrian schools was 26 per cent, above the EU- and OECD average, and in Vienna 52 percent (in the AHS these figures are slightly lower at 20 and 39 percent respectively (Bundesministerium für Europa, Integration und Äußeres, *Integrationsbericht 2019*: 33). Furthermore, a 2017 Grundsatzerlass on intercultural education from the Austrian Ministry of Education suggests that intercultural competences are seen as increasingly important in Austrian education politics. The document states that intercultural education enables learners amongst other things to recognise that their own biography will affect their experience, thought and actions, to develop empathy and tolerance for ambiguity, and to realise that their own perspective is relative (Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft & Forschung, *Interkulturelle Bildung – Grundsatzerlass* 2017). In this sense, Leubner, Saupe & Richter define the overarching education

aim of intercultural literary instruction as the following: "Development of individuality and the ability for social interaction in a multicultural society through participation in the field of literature (2016: 270)." These intercultural competences align seamlessly with the literary empathetic competence as defined in the following subsection.

3.6   EMPATHETIC COMPETENCE

The aim of this chapter has been to define the bundle of empathy-related competences that are honed by reading fiction in an EFL setting. The competences adhere to a complexity hierarchy, where *perspective-adoption* is the foundational empathetic competence upon which the other empathetic competences are built. *Perspective-coordination*, predominantly a *critical thinking-* rather than an empathy-based competence, is necessary to mediate between the learner's own perspective and other adopted perspectives, before an understanding of the other, *Fremdverstehen*, or at least an appreciation of otherness, can be attained. These empathetic competences are then prerequisites for the most complex empathetic competences; *intercultural competence* and *moral competence*. The term *empathetic competence* has been suggested as an umbrella term to name this competency bundle. In this way, empathetic competence can be defined as follows:

> **Empathetic competence refers to the complex bundle of literary competences (perspective-adoption, perspective-coordination, Fremdverstehen, moral competence, critical thinking and intercultural competence) that enable an understanding of the perspective-bound nature of reality as well as an ability to examine one's own worldview in harmonious interaction with those of others.**

A second novel term, *empathetic learning*, refers to the process by which empathetic competence is stimulated or developed. An empathetic learning situation is therefore one which offers learners the potential for developing empathetic competence. Although it would be outside the remit of this paper (not to mention above the pay grade of the author) to provide a fully formulated and workable definition of *empathetic competence* and *empathetic learning*, the basic formulation here provides focus and clarity for the purposes of the present paper. A summary of the literary didactics theory on teaching the bundle of empathy-related competences referred to here as *empathetic competence* will be given in the methodology chapter (**5.2**) because it guided the text selection and methodology for the present intervention.

Empathetic competence is conceived here to be closely related to social competence. Indeed, they appear to describe similar developmental processes but from different perspectives i.e. whereas social competence focusses on the quality of actual interactions with others, empathetic competence focusses on the skills needed to enable effective interaction. In this way, empathetic competence might be conceived of as occupying the foundational Skills level of Rose-Krasnor's Social competence prism (see **3.1**) which constitutes the motivational and behavioural skills upon which socially competent interaction relies. It will be argued below that all of these skills are trained as a direct result of reading fiction.

IV.   FICTION-BASED LEARNING & EMPATHETIC COMPETENCE

Wir öffnen uns für Veränderungen, wenn wir merken, daß hinterm Berg unserer Ichbefangenheit auch Menschen wohnen, die man verstehen kann.
Gerhard Kaiser (1996: 99)

Understanding other people is an aim in itself fundamental to living in the world. The lives of most people are interwoven with those of others through multiple networks of interdependency (i.e. work, family, social or religious networks). The better we understand the experience of other people therefore, the more effective, and perhaps also more meaningful, our interactions and lives will be. Reading can, as Bloom suggests, be an end in itself, offering solace and an antidote to loneliness. Giving the reader unparalleled access to the minds of other people, literary fiction hones the reader's ability to understand other people, to engage in *Fremdverstehen*. Fiction might even *be* otherness as Bloom suggests, in the sense of offering authentic, ostensibly unmediated access to another's thoughts, fears and schemes.

This chapter attempts to bolster the importance of the educational aim empathetic competence through literature in ELT by establishing why fiction is a uniquely effective tool for training these faculties. It is driven by the assumption that human beings need more than the cold logic of scientific abstraction to experience meaning in their lives. They need to understand who they are and how to interpret their own individual trajectory through the world. What is more, they need to understand how best to interact with others in order to function as integrated members of society. This assumption will be assessed in the following.

It has already been established how engaging with fiction in educational settings might enhance learner empathetic competence (see previous chapter). In order to answer the question why fiction is an effective tool for training empathetic competence, the question will be broken down into four smaller questions: 1) What is the relationship between fictional narrative and the personal narratives individuals use to orientate themselves in the world (**4.1**)? 2) How does fiction generate meaning in the mind of the reader, and what role does emotion play (**4.2**)? 3) What does fiction-based learning provide that informational learning cannot (**4.3**)? 4) And finally, how might fiction-led empathy develop moral competence (**4.4**)?

4.1   LIVES AS NARRATIVES LIVED

> [A] man is always a teller of stories, he lives surrounded by his own stories and those of other people, he sees everything that happens to him *in terms of* these stories and he tries to live his life as if he were recounting it (Sartre 1964: 13; original emphasis).

This section aims to show that fiction is an effective tool for developing learner social competence because it is intrinsically linked to life in the world. Personal narratives and fictional narratives share some fundamental parallels and this reciprocal mimesis represents a deep cognitive channel through which readers can learn about other people and indirectly also about their Self, thus strengthening the case for the educational aim empathetic competence through literature. As Sartre points out, we experience our lives *through* stories.[11] Each individual has an overarching *life story* which is subject to a continual editing process as new experiences are added, and new understanding alters the perception and relevance of existing memories. There is in this sense perhaps nothing more imperative to human being than this cycle of interpretation and narration and the creation and consumption of fiction is at once a product and a tool of this process. We produce narrative literature because it reflects and deepens our understanding of the stories of our lives. In recognising elements of ourselves in fictional stories, we interpret our own personal stories. Fiction can therefore be understood as an accumulative project of human self-understanding and the key to unlocking this learning potential is empathetic competence.

---

[11] Although not all philosophers agree with this statement. Philosopher Galen Strawson argues that although many people understand their lives in terms of a story, called Narratives, others, non-Narratives, or Episodics, do not experience the causation and cohesion between the individual experiences of their life and so do not understand their lives in terms of a story. See Strawson 2004.

4.1.1 The Learner as Novelist

The learner finds out more than what happens in a story when they engage with fiction. They also learn how to tell the story of the main character in their life – themselves. In his article *Why everyone is a novelist*, the philosopher Daniel Dennett argues that in as far as we see the events of our inner and outer lives as a coherent narrative, we are at once the authors and main characters in our story: "We try to make all of our material cohere into a single good story […] with scant attention to the question of truth […] And that story is our autobiography […] The chief fictional character at the centre of that autobiography is one's self (Dennett 1988: 5 & 8)." There is a significant degree of fictivity about our life stories. Happenings and developments are awarded significance to the degree that they fit in with the personal narratives we tell ourselves. Some events take on an inappropriate weight in our narrative whereas others fade into irrelevance. In this way, the individual at the centre of this story is also, as Dennett says, like a fictional character.

Indeed, according to the developmental psychologist Jerome Brunner, there is "no such thing psychologically as *life itself*", which he describes as "a selective achievement of memory recall (Brunner 2004: 693; original emphasis)." Fiction can train the learner's social competence then because to the degree that fictional characters offer the reader novel ways to narrate their own lives via empathetic perspective-adoption, they offer alternative and novel models of communication, emotional regulation and expressing one's goals and values (Rose-Krasnor 123; see above **3.1**). Empathetic competence developed through reading fiction then essentially constitutes the Skills level of the Prism model of social competence as it directly trains all of these skills.

4.1.2 Mimesis Between Personal & Collective Narratives

The stories we tell ourselves individually are intrinsically linked with the stories we tell ourselves collectively. Autobiographies are written in dialogue with cultural narratives that are both embodied and deconstructed in literary fiction. There is mimesis between individual lives told and narrative in its broader sense. They interact intimately. Brunner states: "[T]he mimesis between life so-called and narrative is a two-way affair: that is to say, just as art imitates life in Aristotle's sense, so, in Oscar Wilde's, life imitates art (Brunner 2004: 693)." Just as narrative imitates life then, life imitates narrative. Brunner describes the process by which the novel's narration of fictional lives, as part of a cultural narrative, shapes the reader's understanding of themselves.

"[E]ventually the culturally shaped cognitive and linguistic processes that guide the self-telling of life narratives achieve the power to structure perceptual experience, to organize memory, to segment and purpose-build the very "events" of a life (2004: 694)." The story of an individual life then is in this way the story of one character in part of a far larger story that is being told of the other individuals and groups with whom she interacts. We form our ideas about who we are, that is, our Selves, in interaction with collective identities. Personal narratives are in a constant process of mimesis with the collectives narratives that structure our culture. Therefore when the learner engages empathetically with a novel, they not only form an understanding of what happens in the story world, but also of how individual narratives might otherwise be told i.e. how to communicate, how to express one's personal goals and values and how to interact with others. In this way, reading fiction enhances learner social competence.

4.1.3 Learning to Narrate a Life

Narrating a life lived is a process of interpretation and understanding. In this sense, to narrate a life is to interpret it, and every effort to refine one's skills of narration by exposing oneself to the ways in which stories might be told is an effort to interpret and better understand oneself. In this way, engaging with literary fiction in the EFL classroom with empathetic competence can raise the learner's awareness of the techniques and possibilities of narration. The reader is better able to narrate and interpret her own life, having seen the possibilities of communication, self-expression and interaction with others available in fictional worlds. The philosopher Paul Ricoeur described this process elegantly: "If it is true that fiction cannot be completed other than in life, and that life cannot be understood other than through stories we tell about it, then we are led to say that a life examined, in the sense borrowed from Socrates, is a life narrated (Ricoeur 1990: 435)."

In an attempt to emphasise the importance of the educational aim *empathetic competence through literature*, it has been established that there are fundamental parallels between fiction and how we understand our lives and the lives of others. The learner experiences alternative models of communication, self-expression and interacting with others through fictional characters, and in this way enhances their social competence. In relation to the empirical part of the present paper, the narrative structure of experience is not tested, as the arguments here rely on introspection and philosophical conjecture. However, a correlation between self-reported empathy with fictional characters (the Fantasy scale of the IRI) and with real people (the Empathetic concern scale of the

IRI) (see Nomura & Akai 2012) would provide indirect support for the intimate relationship between personal and fictional narratives. In the following, two central characteristics of human experience that have been neglected in traditional education and play a central role in the fiction reading experience, emotion and the imagination, will be examined.

4.2 EMOTION & MEANING GENERATION IN READING FICTION

> Literature creates a world of fiction, of possibility, and, consequently, opens up a horizon of reality, too. Our sense of reality is multiplied by this world of fiction and possibility […] It is precisely because the text is mute and does not answer that it must be given life. There is a way of reanimating speech which is invested in the text (Ricoeur 1993: 443).

In this section, an attempt will be made to further strengthen the case for the educational aim *empathetic competence with literature* in EFL instruction by establishing how potentially self-transformative meaning is generated in the mind of the reader of fiction and how emotion plays a central role in this process. This account leans on the aesthetic approach of visionary pedagogue and philosopher John Dewey as expounded in his seminal work *Art as experience* (1934), which gives emotion a central mediating function in the generation of meaning when the viewer experiences art. Dewey's integral understanding of the aesthetic experience has found support in the findings of cognitive science (see Wolff 2004 below) and personality science (see Djikic et al. 2009 discussed below and in **2.2.1**). This has real implications for the present research question, literary didactics, and educators generally, because if fiction brings about self-reflective experiences that are mediated by emotion, then *empathetic competence through literature* becomes a compulsory educational aim in EFL and L1 instruction as it contributes to the central goal of modern education to produce autonomous life-long learners (e.g. Lehrpläne AHS: 15). The question of how meaning, and therefore empathetic learning, is created when the learner reads fiction will be discussed, before turning to Dewey's integral aesthetics and the role of emotion.

4.2.3 Art as an Integral Experience

The aesthetic experience is what Dewey calls a *vital* experience. By this he means it involves all the faculties of the mind working together at once to produce an integral experience. In Dewey's compelling account, the emotional aspect of the aesthetic experience cannot be separated from the intellectual aspect. In fact, the emotional "phase" of aesthetic experience, as Dewey calls it, binds together the other parts, the practical and the intellectual, into a single whole:

> It is not possible to divide in a vital experience the practical, emotional, and intellectual from one another and to set the properties of one over against the characteristics of the others. The emotional phase binds parts together into a single whole; "intellectual" simply names the fact that the experience has meaning; "practical" indicates that the organism is interacting with events and objects which surround it (Dewey 2005 [1934]: 56).

While traditional Kantian aesthetics are based on the separation of feeling and cognition, Dewey argues that art unites these elements and thus vivifies them. He criticises the hegemonic view that categorises emotion as subjective and which attempts to separate emotions from the object which arouses them. In Dewey's approach, the perception of the object is pervaded with emotion: "There is, therefore, no such thing in perception as seeing or hearing plus emotion. The perceived object of sense is emotionally pervaded throughout (Dewey 53)."

The idea that our perception of the world is guided by emotion has since been proven and accepted in cognitive science (see Tappolet 2016). EFL didactician Dieter Wolff explains how this applies to learning processes:

> Every cognitive process is also an affective process; no cognitive construction can take place in isolation from an emotion [...] Similarly, learning can be understood as a complex cognitive process whose individual stages (understanding, retaining, re-application) are influenced by affective factors which, integrated into the actual learning processes (knowledge acquisition, knowledge restructuring and automation), influence knowledge processing (Wolff 2004: 95; own trans.).

This is of central importance to the present thesis because it implies that empathetic competence, understood as the ability to understand the world through emotions, is not only essential to learning through fiction, but any learning process. Wolff describes: "Learning is determined by both cognitive (defining, organising, restructuring) and emotional processes (getting involved, identifying, closing off, reacting affectively) (2004: 96; own trans.). In this way, the EFL learner benefits from the experience and analysis of their emotional reaction to a literary text. Emotion deepens the learner's experience of a text and facilitates the meaning-generation process. What is

more, Donnerstag & Wolff contend that this is particularly true in an EFL setting: "Foreign language teaching also benefits from the increased mental processing depth of emotional activation. There is much to suggest that empathy increases the effort to understand texts (Donnerstag & Wolff 2007: 160)." Emotions understood via empathy are then crucial to learning about self and other through fiction.

4.2.4 Meaning Generation

If the learner does not see a literary text and the activities set to accompany it meaningful, she will not be motivated to engage with it (see Aarnoutse & Schellings 2003 and Alderman & Green 2011 for the role of meaning in motivation to read). As engagement with fiction is necessarily empathy-based, this suggests that empathetic learning will also take place to the degree to which the learner finds a work meaningful. According to Dewey's aesthetics, a prerequisite of meaning creation is that an artwork references the world truthfully. In the case of fiction, *the world* might refer to the external world of norms and values in the given culture, or to the internal world of the mind and its operations. The artwork therefore only possesses meaning-creating potential in Dewey's approach when the meanings and values of the world "are actually embodied in a material which thereby becomes the medium for their expression (Dewey 284)." The physical material of the artwork – in the case of fiction the words on the page – only becomes the medium through which the viewer experiences meaning, that is, it only becomes an artwork, when it actually references the existing meanings and values in the world truthfully. The work then awakens new perceptions of the aspects of the world that it references in the mind of the viewer and the viewer's experience of the world is enhanced. She experiences meaning. She learns. Dewey elaborates:

> A poem and picture present material passed through the alembic of personal experience. They have no precedents in existence or in universal being. But, nonetheless, their material came from the public world and so has qualities in common with the material of other experiences, while the product awakens in other persons new perceptions of the meaning of the common world (Dewey 86).

The fictional text then, in as far as it represents the world truthfully, stimulates in the reader new perceptions of the meanings and values of the world, external or internal. In this way, reading fiction stimulates the growth of critical thinking skills in the reader, enabling him to assess critically processes of attribution of meaning and value.

Meaning is created in the mind of the viewer when their experience aligns with that of the artist as she created the work in certain aspects. Reading fiction, in Dewey's account, involves an "act of recreation" in which the reader's experience of the "general relations" of the world represented in the text aligns with that of the author. However, the reader creates her own interpretation of these relations, derived from her own personal experience of the world. As Dewey elaborates: "The artist selected, simplified, clarified, abridged and condensed according to his interest. The beholder must go through these operations according to his point of view and interest. In both, an act of abstraction, that is of extraction of what is significant, takes place (2004: 58)." As she reads a work of fiction then, the learner's experience must align with the author's process of selection, simplification, clarification, abridgement and condensation of the (f)actual world that is represented in the fictional world. The reader extracts what is significant to her from the fictional representation of the real world, just as the author did, but she must agree some basic structural assumptions with the author in order for meaning to be created. The leading personality psychologists Djikic, Oatley, & Peterson echo this Deweyan idea when they concluded that the transformative effect of fiction on the reader they found (Djikic et al. 2009) was a response to the artist's process of creating the artwork. They concluded that "people who read literary art respond in kind to what could be the artist's own process of transformation through emotional change, encoded symbolically within the art (Djikic et al. 28)."

It is a central idea of hermeneutics and EFL reading didactics, that the reader brings their own past experience and knowledge to the process of meaning generation when they read a text. The interaction between the reader's perspective, or in Dewey's terms their "point of view and interest", and the text, is where meaning is generated. Wolff brings this within the remit of EFL didactics:

> It is obvious that the understanding of constructions as interaction between incoming information and already existing knowledge leads to the fact that the knowledge of the individual is organized and structured in a subjective way [...] Different people who are exposed to the same information arrive at different knowledge structures, because they have different previous knowledge (Wolff 2004: 93; own trans.).

Rorty describes a *going-out* into the experience created by the text, allowing it to "recontextualise" what the reader had known of the world. For Rorty, the act of reading is merely the stimulus for this process of new understanding: "A book can have inspirational value only if it is allowed to recontextualize much of what you had known. It cannot, at least as first, be itself recontextualized

by what you already knew (Rorty 2001: 252)." Any attempt to recontextualise the text as the reader reads, or to fit it into preconceived categories, may facilitate an abstract, intellectualised (and in Dewey's view incomplete) understanding of the world, but it will close down any possibility of real learning when learning is defined as the reorganisation of existing knowledge to assimilate the new. Similarly, Dewey describes how a necessary element of aesthetic perception is that the viewer "remake[s]" her "past experiences" so that they can "enter integrally into a new pattern (Dewey 138)." The previous experience of the viewer is relevant to the perception process, but only in so far as it facilitates understanding. Dewey states: "[The viewer] cannot dismiss his past experiences nor can he dwell among them as they have been in the past (ibid.)." In order to engage with the experience embodied in the text, the reader must open an honest, forward-looking dialogue with it.

In the same vein, Paul Ricoeur makes the distinction between "structural analysis" and hermeneutic interpretation of a literary text. The structural analysis is purely intellectual and seeks merely to document surface-level phenomena as in Dewey's *recognition*, whereas the hermeneutic interpretation reveals three dimensions of "mediation" through which the text is in dialogue with the reader and the reader *receives* the text in Dewey's terms; a mediation between reader and world, between reader and other people, and reflexively between the reader and herself: "Mediation between man and the world is called *reference*, mediation between man and man is *communication*, mediation between man and himself is *self-understanding*. A literary work brings together these three dimensions of reference, communication, and self-understanding (Ricoeur 1990: 431)." These three dimensions of mediation that are opened in the reception of the literary text depend upon the unique act of interpretation that the reader brings to the text. The meaning of references the text makes to the world, the understanding of other people, and of one's self that the text offers are only to be understood in the context of a dialogue between reader and text. What is more, it is through this dialogue that social competence learning takes place.

Given the influence of Dewey's aesthetics, as well as the findings of cognitive science on emotion, it would seem clear that there is a need for emotion to be integrated into EFL literary didactics. Donnerstag and Wolff go as far as to argue that overcoming the separation between rational and emotion cognition in engaging with literary texts in an EFL context belongs to the most pressing tasks of EFL literary instruction: "One of the most important tasks of foreign-language literature

teaching is to overcome in practice the separation between rational-cognitive and emotionally based examination of the text, which is theoretically no longer tenable (Donnerstag & Wolff 2007: 160)." Writing in 2007, they expressed surprise that this unification of the rational and the emotional aspects of reading literature had not yet taken place.

The educational aim *empathetic competence with literature* is crucial for EFL instruction then because reading narrative literature and engaging with appropriate empathetic learning tasks trains learner ability to interpret other people and the world around them through empathetic competence, with learner emotion playing a mediating role. These conclusions are accounted for in the study design of the empirical part of this paper, particularly in the predicted improvement of empathy in learners that engage with fiction, and also in the letter-writing assignment grade, which tests perspective-adoption and -coordination and is a direct product of the individual whilst-reading meaning generation process.

In summary, it has so far been established that: 1) There are fundamental parallels between fiction and how we understand our lives and the lives of others (**4.1**), and 2) that the meaning created in the mind of a fiction reader depends on their previous experience and that emotions play a vital role in this process (**4.2**). We now turn to another dichotomy that Dewey and the findings of cognitive science suggest is an artificial one: the separation of rational from imaginative cognition.

4.3   THE NARRATIVE IMAGINATION & SCIENCE

Of these States the poet is the equable man,
Not in him but off from him things are grotesque, eccentric, fail of
their full returns, […]
He judges not as the judge judges but as the sun failing round
A helpless thing,
As he sees the farthest he has the most faith, […]
He sees eternity in men and women, he does not see men and women
as dreams or dots.
Walt Whitman, from *As I sat alone by Blue Ontario's shore*, (Selected poems 1976 [1819-92])

Ein Buch muß die Axt sein für das gefrorene Meer in uns.
Franz Kafka (Briefe 1902-1924: 27).

This section seeks to establish what makes fiction-based learning – as opposed to informational, rational, rule-based learning – unique and valuable as a tool for teaching empathetic competence.

The argument will be made that empathy and perspective-adoption are essentially imagination-driven behaviours (see Empathy definition in **1.1.6**) and that the stimulation and training of the imagination that occurs when a learner engages with fiction is central to the importance of fiction-based learning. What is more, the case will be made that the imagination has been neglected as a source of knowledge in modern technological societies, and that it is a vital faculty for understanding our lives and the lives of others via empathetic learning. This paves the way for the final section of this chapter (**4.4**), where the role of the imagination in the development of moral competence will be considered.

4.3.1 Imagination & Science

The word *science* is often "[p]aired or contrasted with art," and is defined as, "[a] discipline, field of study, or activity concerned with theory rather than method, or requiring the knowledge and systematic application of principles, rather than relying on traditional rules, acquired skill, or intuition (OED3, s.v. science, n. 4a)." The imagination is most at home in this definition under the concept of *intuition* as it, like intuition, resists any attempt at codification or containment within knowledge systems. Although sciences of the mind have tried, for instance dream interpretation in psychoanalysis, such attempts remain speculative. The imagination resists any attempt to divide it up or explain it away and, like intuition, it is constituted by an element of mystery. The imagination fits awkwardly within the scientific-rational domain then. Without it, science could not exist, as the scientist's task is first and foremost an imaginative one – she must imagine a model of understanding that describes reality better than the existing one. Whether Einstein and his Theory of General Relativity or Genette and his Theory of Narrative Voice, both furthered our understanding of their respective sciences by abstracting general rules from their object of study, making it more understandable for others. Great scientists are necessarily possessed of extraordinary powers of imagination. However imagination is always necessarily something outside the scientific domain, working silently inwards, as, in Whitman's words *the sun failing round a helpless thing* and not by the rationality and logic of *the judge*.

Where science abstracts, systematises and objectifies, the imagination wonders, escapes, drafts, and redrafts versions of reality. Science is impersonal and the workings of the imagination are wholly personal and unique. It is for this reason that there is a long tradition in literary criticism of arguing for the value of the imagination in and of itself as an essentially human faculty that can posit a truth less easily discovered, or *experienced*, through science: the truth of what it is to live a human life. As the philosopher and literary critic Martha Nussbaum writes: "The economic mind finds it easy to view the lives of human beings as a problem in (relatively elementary) mathematics that has a definite solution – ignoring the mystery and complexity within each life, in its puzzlement and pain about its choices, in its tangled loves, in its attempt to grapple with the mysterious and awful fact of its own mortality (Nussbaum 1995: 23)." Where the scientific gaze is from without, on populations, averages and statistics, the imaginative gaze is turned inwards, to the possibilities of individual minds with their own thoughts, emotions and plans. The book must be the axe for the frozen sea in us then, as Kafka put it, the sea presumably having been frozen by cold mathematical abstraction.

Fiction is of course not to be understood as separate from science. The material with which a fictional narrative works is no less than the totality of knowledge we have of the world. A fictional world may subvert this knowledge (e.g. in fantasy-based genres), or it may exaggerate certain aspects of it (e.g. in science fiction), but if fiction fails to understand the essential structures and relations of the world as we know it, it will fail as fiction (see discussion in **4.2.2**). Fiction in this sense is bigger than science. It is a fluid characteristic of the wider cultural dialectic to which science belongs. It is everywhere and nowhere, drawing the reader's attention to what is, as well as what could be. For this reason it is a vital ingredient in educating young minds and specifically in the EFL classroom.

4.3.2 A Dickensian Dichotomy

Nussbaum has drawn attention to an epistemological dichotomy that has arisen in the hegemonic industrialised-technological worldview, between the truth-generating powers of science on the one hand, and the imagination on the other. This conception of science is most applicable to the natural sciences, whose object is exclusively the material and the quantifiable, however, every science, from art history to linguistics, is defined by abstraction and the impersonal, objective viewpoint.

Cold, abstracted, measurable scientific fact is seen as the only reliable truth and the products of the imagination are relegated to the status of mere fancy.

The rational-scientific paradigm finds its most natural social expression in utilitarianism, where practicality and efficiency are the guiding principles and what has no direct use also has no value. What can be measured can be proven, and what has been proven can be put to use. Whatever possesses no immediate utility for the economy or for society – such as a person's sympathy with their neighbour, or simply feeling satisfied with life – also has no intrinsic value in the scientific-utilitarian domain. Nussbaum draws on the example of Dickens' character Mr. Gradgrind of *Hard Times* to make her point. Mr. Gradgrind is the embodiment of utilitarian, scientific rationality. For him, the world and the people that populate it, can, and should, be counted, measured, aggregated, compartmentalised and rationalised. The individual only exists to the extent that he replicates what is rationally expected in Mr. Gradgrind's worldview. Anything that threatens to subvert this mathematical grid of a world is treated by Mr. Gradgrind with deep suspicion. He treats the imagination with suspicion and is shocked to find his children using theirs:

> "Whether," said Mr. Gradgrind, pondering with his hands in his pockets, and his cavernous eyes on the fire, "whether any instructor or servant can have suggested anything? Whether Louisa or Thomas can have been reading anything? Whether, in spite of all precautions, any idle storybook can have got into the house? Because, in minds that have been practically formed by rule and line, from the cradle upwards, this is so curious, so incomprehensible (Dickens in Nussbaum 1995: 1).

Stories are so threatening to Mr. Gradgrind because they speak the language of imagination, of emotion, desires and fears. This is a language that subverts the economic norm of rationality. The "unravelling webs of textual connection (Nussbaum 1992: 171)" in a narrative text ask the reader to step outside the rigid confines of science and explore what it is to be human.

Nussbaum applies the utilitarian-rationalist paradigm incorporated by Dickens' satirical figure to the question of the individual human being. She finds that the militantly mathematical perspective cannot satisfactorily distinguish a human being from a "fiendishly clever machine" that moves and behaves like a human being, but fulfils its function according to predetermined laws and as such is not alive. To see the person in front of us *as* human, there must be some other faculty at play that allows us to make inferences about what is going on inside their mind. This faculty, which Nussbaum calls fancy, enables a "going beyond facts" which, in her reading of Dickens, is what

"all of human life (Nussbaum 1995: 38)" is about. Human interaction is in this vein "an acceptance of generous fancies, a projection of our own sentiments and inner activities onto the forms we perceive about us (and a reception from this interaction of images of ourselves, our own inner world)" and in as much as our interactions are morally or politically inclined, we are "fanciful projectors, makers of and believers in fictions and metaphors (ibid.)."

The scientific-rational gaze then fails, according to Dickens via Nussbaum, to penetrate into what is human in us, what goes on in the mind when it stops adhering to an externally imposed mathematical grid. Imagination is the crucial human activity that sheds light on the unknowns of human being, and, not only provides a crucial counterweight to science's impersonal explanation of human lives, but also, like the scientist conceiving a new model, guides human beings to improve themselves. "Seeing-in, or fancy, the great charity in the heart, nourishes a generous construal of the world. This construal is not only, as the novel [Hard Times] suggests, more adequate as an explanation of the totality of human behavior as we experience it, but also a cause of better ways of living (idid.)." Humanity then is best understood, and lifted up, by the imagination turned inwards to the individual mind. Reading fiction in the EFL class then offers the learner respite from rule-based learning and an opportunity to let their thoughts and emotions wonder freely with fictional others via the imaginative act of empathy.

4.3.3 Literary Illumination

Aristotle observed in Chapter 9 of *Poetics* that literature is "more philosophical than history", by which he meant that the former points toward what Kaiser named the "essential", whereas history, which already at Aristotle's time was becoming based on scientific abstraction and generalisations, describes only the 'particular'. "[P]oetry tends to express the universal, history the particular. By the universal, I mean how a person of a certain type will on occasion speak or act, according to the law of probability or necessity; and it is this universality at which poetry aims in the names she attaches to the personages (Aristotle 1997: 76)." Literature, according to Aristotle, is more conducive to understanding human being than the rational sciences precisely because, in agreement with Nussbaum and Kaiser, it does not seek to abstract a formula from patterns of human happenings, but to express the essential in its endless possible expressions in individual human lives, as "names" attached to "personages". E.M. Forster echoes Aristotle when he says that "fiction is truer than history, because it goes beyond the evidence, and each of us knows from

his own experience that there is something beyond the evidence (Forster 2000 (1927): 69-70)." Literature can fascinate the reader because it shows him what possibilities life offers. The individual engages with his imaginatory faculties outside the boundaries of his rationally ordered life. Like the imaginative scientist, the imagination interjects with the possibility that her life can be lived differently. It is receptive to being formed. Kaiser states: "The imagination activates our awareness that even our practically and factually lived life always contains a moment of freedom and inspiration (Kaiser 98; own trans.)." Through the narrative imagination then, according to Aristotle via Nussbaum & Kaiser, we come alive as we are shown the endless possibilities of our existence.

The narrative imagination is then vital to our ability to better understand our lives and the potential for them to be lived differently. In this way, fiction presents itself as a unique and valuable tool in EFL instruction for stimulating learner self-reflection via the perspectives of fictional others. The educational aim *empathetic competence with literature* is therefore a valuable one in EFL instruction. These conclusions are reflected best in the present study design in the measurements of self-reported empathy with fictional characters (the Fantasy scale of the IRI). It is predicted that learner exposure to the present intervention (reading literary fiction), as well as lifetime exposure to fiction will result in increased Fantasy scale scores. Now that the value of the imagination in self-reflection has been established, we turn to the role the imagination plays in moral reasoning.

4.4 THE MORAL IMAGINATION: FICTION, EMPATHY & MORAL COMPETENCE

Moral science is not something with a separate province. It is physical, biological and historic knowledge placed in a human context where it will illuminate and guide the activities of men.
(Dewey 1922/1980: 295)

This section concludes the present line of argument for the efficacy of the educational aim *empathetic competence with literature* in ELT in developing social competences by exploring the relationship between fiction, the imagination and moral reasoning. This chapter has been building toward a justification of the theory of Moral imagination, which its champions claim more accurately describes human interaction than the outdated Moral law theory. It does this by allowing for the role of the imagination which the moral agent uses to simulate the possible outcomes of an action before acting. It will be argued that reading and engaging with fiction in the EFL classroom

via the imaginative perspective-adoption of fictional others helps develop the learner's Moral imagination. In the following, the main cases for and against fiction-led empathy bringing about moral competence will be presented. The underlying thesis is that, although empathy has definite restrictions as a guide of moral behaviour, these are overcome by appropriate literary teaching methods i.e. those that effectively create empathetic learning opportunities in the EFL class.

4.4.1 Moral Imagination: An Introduction

Moral Imagination is the ability of the mind to lay out the ramifications of an action on the lives of others as well as one's own. The pioneering scholar on Moral imagination, Mark Johnson, defines it as "our fundamental capacity to imagine how certain values and commitments are likely to play out in future experience, without actually performing those actions and having to deal with their lived consequences (Johnson 2016: 363)." The Moral imagination involves an empathetic and fictive simulation of how an individual's needs can be best balanced with those of others. The individual mentally runs through possible permutations of behaviour and their imagined outcomes to select the one that appears best. Johnson breaks moral imaginative competence down into four factors:

1) the depth and breadth of one's knowledge of the physical and social worlds he or she inhabits,
2) one's understanding of human motivation and cognitive/affective development,
3) one's perceptiveness of which factors are most relevant in a particular situation, and
4) one's ability to simulate the experiences and responses of other people with whom you are interacting (Johnson 363).

Johnson does not make an explicit link to fiction, but the similarities to the fiction reading experience as discussed so far in the present paper are immediately apparent. The reader is necessarily deepening her knowledge of physical and social worlds in general (1) and through her intimate encounters with the lives of fictive characters she better understands human motivation and the mechanisms of empathy (2). These two factors will sharpen her perception of what is involved in interactions with others (3) and the reader of fiction is directly training her ability to empathetically simulate real-life interactions and gauge the possible responses of other people by adding to her living human library (4). What is more, Johnson stresses the importance of the final point – simulating the experience and feelings of others – over the other points in the functioning

of Moral Imagination. "In addition to, and integral to, our ability to imagine how various situations might play out based on different values, states of character, motivations, virtues, and principles, we also need a deep sense of how others might experience a situation. That is, we need empathy (ibid.)." Here then, the three central concepts of the present thesis – empathy, fiction and social interaction – are finally brought together under the umbrella of the Moral imagination.

4.4.1.1 KANT'S PURE PRACTICAL REASON & THE IMAGINATION

Modern thought regarding the relationship between the imaginative faculties and moral reasoning is encapsulated in the thought of the German Enlightenment philosopher Immanuel Kant. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that his voice has probably been the most influential on the subject within moral philosophy over the previous two centuries. Kant's moral philosophy is based, famously, on universal laws, or in Kant's terminology, *moral imperatives*. Johnson argues that Kant's moral philosophy is the defining contribution to a tradition in moral theory which he terms Moral law theory, which, for the majority of the time since Kant, has enjoyed hegemony.

Johnson breaks Moral law folk theory down into four main assumptions, three of which are relevant to our discussion: 1) The capacity for reason and the ability to adhere to universal rational principles is what distinguishes humans from brute animals, 2) Moral principles are rules for the categorisation of actions, as morally acceptable (right), unacceptable (wrong) or necessary (obligatory), and 3) Behaving morally has two main aspects: a) rationally determining which principle applies to any given situation, and b) having the motivation to 'do the right thing' by acting on that principle (Johnson 2016: 357). In this way, Moral Law theory excludes the imaginative faculties because reason is seen as sufficient for discovering and formulating the universal moral laws that guide human behaviour. Johnson argues that Moral law folk theory "denies imagination any constitutive role in moral judgement on the grounds that imagination and reason are fundamentally different and non-overlapping cognitive faculties (Johnson 356)."[12]

Kant famously argued that moral laws are a product of "pure, practical" reason and must therefore be universally and necessarily binding on all rational creatures. By "pure" reason Kant was

---

[12] Although other philosophers point to elements of Kant's thought that seem to give the imagination a central mediating role between the intellect and the senses that is essential for aesthetic and moral experience (Matherne 2016: 56), his major works assign it only the subsidiary role of deciding which moral principle to apply to a moral event.

describing something he believed was *a priori*, or independent of experience or empirical considerations: "It is clear from the foregoing that all moral concepts have their seat and origin completely a priori in reason […] In this purity of their origin lies their very worthiness to serve us as supreme practical principles (Kant 1991 [1785]: 53)." Kant regarded reason as belonging to the "transcendent self or ego" in contrast with the imagination, which he thought of as reliant on our sensual experience of the world. Kant claims that moral judgement cannot therefore be based on imagination: "Thus the moral law has no other cognitive faculty to mediate its application to objects of nature than the understanding (not the imagination) (Kant 2009 [1788]: 69)." Elsewhere Kant states, reminiscent of Dickens' Mr Gradgrind: "If he surrenders authority over himself, his imagination has free play; he cannot discipline himself, but his imagination carries him away by the laws of association; he yields willingly to his senses, and, unable to curb them, he becomes their toy (Kant 2015 [1775–80]: 140)." Indeed, Dickens' character may even have Kant to thank for his incarnation as Johnson writes: "Kant's influence on moral philosophy was so profound that the idea that imagination might play a central role in moral appraisal and judgment is almost unheard of in mainstream Western philosophy until the late twentieth century (Johnson 2016: 357)." This idea is however gaining ground in current moral philosophy and is rooted in particular in the thought of two 18th century Scottish philosophers, David Hume and Adam Smith[13].

4.4.1.2 SMITH, HUME & THE MORAL SENTIMENTALISTS

Kant's rationalist moral theory can in part be understood as a reaction to the prominent moral theory of his time, moral sentimentalism, which saw the source of moral judgement not in rational laws, but in shared feelings or sentiments, and can be understood as aligned with the theory of Moral imagination. Its main proponents, David Hume and Adam Smith, argued that moral judgements were not acts of reason at all, but were in actual fact based on imaginative and sympathetic taking up of the perspective of other people. Hume argued in his *Treatise of human nature* (2003 [1739]) that any valid moral motive must be based on moral sentiment, in combination with a general sympathy for the well-being of other people. This yoking of empathy-based Fremdverstehen with a general understanding of the common good is relevant to the present thesis as it reflects the bundle of competences defined here as empathetic competences, as critical

---

[13] Smith is also known as the Father of Economics as this modern science was founded on his thought.

thinking and perspective-coordination arguably bring about a conception of the common good in the learner.

In *The theory of moral sentiments*, Smith gave a more explicit account of the imagination in moral reasoning (Smith [1759]). Like Hume, Smith makes the assumption that however egocentric humans may be, they share a natural disposition to care for the wellbeing of others. He also follows Hume in stating that the moral agent judges their own actions or character traits good to the degree to which they bring about sentiments of moral approval. Smith however attempts to describe the mechanisms by which the moral agent appraises the actions and character of other people. In what amounts to a definition of empathetic perspective-adoption that holds its own two centuries later, Smith describes the process by which one pictures how they would feel in the situation of another person and uses this imaginative representation to project themselves into the other:

> As we have no immediate experience of what other men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like situation […] Our senses will never inform us of what [another person] suffers. They never did, and never can, carry us beyond our own person, and it is by the imagination only that we can form any conception of what are his sensations […] by representing to us what would be our own, if we were in his case. It is the impressions of our own senses only, not those of his, which our imaginations copy. By the imagination we place ourselves in his situation (Smith 2002 [1759]: 11-12).

It is notable that in his definition of imaginative perspective-adoption that Smith gives a self-oriented account of empathy in line with the definition of empathy used for the present thesis. The empathiser's own representation of the sufferer's mental states, "the impressions of our own senses only", are projected imaginatively into the situation of the sufferer. The moral sentimentalists then gave the imagination a central role in moral judgement. The imagination was for them not only a secondary faculty useful only in attributing the appropriate moral principle to a given situation as in Kant, but it has a constitutive role in moral appraisal. Imagination is the faculty that allows empathy, which provides the empathiser with information sufficient for understanding the behaviour of themselves and others. Empathy then is an imaginative act.

4.4.1.3 AGAINST EMPATHY: EMPATHIC BIAS

The ability to feel and understand the feelings of others, to be affectively empathetic, appears to be anthropologically hard-wired into human nature (see Hoffman 2011: 206). However some thinkers believe this does not justify interventionary measures to enhance it. It is widely accepted

that empathy, understood as a vicarious emotion, is capable of misleading human interactions and can result in irrational and unethical behaviour. This criticism of empathy as a moral guide is only of limited application to the present discussion then as empathy is understood not just to involve vicarious emotion, but deliberate, imaginative perspective-adoption. According to empathic bias, although empathy is a powerful tool for guiding human perception and behaviour, it favours those who the empathiser feels most similar to, and devalues the perspectives of those she feels less similar to. In his essay *Against empathy*, the philosopher Jesse Prinz claims that empathy "pushes partiality into prejudice (229)" towards friends and although he allows that "[i]t is fine to be a good friend" he claims that "empathetic bias can promote nepotism, negligence, and moral myopia (229)." That empathy is easier to evoke for a friend – someone who shares my culture and a similar worldview, my time and space – than for a faceless foreign mass that is threatened with genocide seems to be a compelling case.

4.4.1.4   MORALLY IMAGINATIVE AUTONOMY

In the moral sentimentalist tradition of combining empathetic sentiment with principles of the general good, Johnson describes the Moral Imagination as a "yoking together of two ideas – morality as a system of rationally derived moral laws and moral deliberation as a process of imaginative projection (Johnson 2016: 357)." The morally imaginative individual must be aware of the system of ethical principles in their given society, a *system of rationally derived laws*, but must also have a wealth of empathetic experience of others in order to simulate possible (fictive) outcomes of a situation. Johnson describes: "[M]oral deliberation is a process of cognitive-conative-affective simulation. Simulation allows us to try out, via imaginative projection, various courses of action that appear to be available in a given problematic situation, and the simulation also activates emotional responses to the projected situations (Johnson 364)." The individual's own values are balanced via empathy with the values of others involved in the given situation.

The Moral imagination as Johnson defines it is akin to social competence as it is an ability to react appropriately in interactions with other people that draws not just on the intellect, but on empathetic understanding of others via the imagination. The Moral imagination is according to Johnson: "the expansive dimension of intelligence at work in the ongoing remaking of experience. It is a process of experiential transformation and growth – the embodied, situated, aesthetically sensitive manner by which experience expands and gains enriched depth, breadth, and meaning

(Johnson 362)." The case can be made then that the Moral imagination-based interventions to enhance moral competence will be more effective than those based on Moral law, because, in line with sentimentalism, it allows the individual an intuitive ability to see a given moral event in terms of its best possible outcome and to respond reflexively to bring this outcome about. The moral-imaginative agent is an autonomous problem-solver. She reacts creatively to the world, not simply categorising it into pregiven principles.

Johnson draws on the thought of Dewey, who he says argued that Moral law theory falls short because it tries to freeze rules of right and wrong in an ever-changing world. This Johnson says it "based on the erroneous assumption that we inhabit a closed and completed moral universe that operates under the constraint of absolute moral laws adequate for appraising any possible ethical situation (Johnson 361)." The theory of Moral imagination however is based on the concept of an open moral universe where the world is understood to constantly throw up new situations and conflicts. Moral Imagination theory accepts that there are no moral givens, and that living an ethical life is by its nature often a confusing project. Moral dilemmas and conflicts of interests belong to life. Moral deliberation is that creative process which enables an individual to find answers to these problems:

> What we need most in such cases of moral conflict is not reversion to alleged absolute, pregiven principles, virtues, or goods, because it is precisely these that may be called into question by novel conditions and events. Rather, what we need is an intelligent process of moral inquiry that helps us resolve conflicts, harmonize competing values, and expand possibilities for growth of meaning (Johnson 361).

According to this model of moral activity, the moral problem-solver sets about to "transform situations to resolve conflicts, disharmonies, and tensions" and she does so "typically without knowing in advance what our end or good is or ought to be (ibid.)."

Rorty provides a link between Moral imagination theory and reading fiction. He describes the failure of Moral law theory embodied in religious or philosophical treatises, and the "sensitivity" to the experience of others attained by reading novels:

> The person who hopes to render more confident moral judgments as a result of the study of religious or philosophical treatises is usually hoping to find a principle that will permit of application to concrete cases, for an algorithm that will resolve moral dilemmas. But the person who hopes for greater sensitivity just wants to develop the know-how that will let him make the best of what is always likely to be a pretty bad job—a situation in which people are likely to get hurt, no matter what decision is taken (Rorty 251).

The "know-how" of Moral imagination aligns itself successfully with this outlook. The fiction reader's increased sensitivity is a raising of awareness of the values and needs of others is likewise aligned with Rorty's account of the sensitive reader. Rorty claims that a literary understanding of the inner lives of others enables the novel reader to go about finding a way of balancing the needs of others against her own in a morally sophisticated manner. "The problem of how to live our own lives then becomes a problem of how to balance our needs against theirs, and their self-descriptions against ours. To have a more educated, developed and sophisticated moral outlook is to be able to grasp more of these needs, and to understand more of these self-descriptions (Rorty 2001: 248)." In Rorty's terms then, the reader must enter a constant process of finding and re-finding a balance between what they know their needs to be, and what they know of others' needs. Johnson would call this process the Moral imagination.

The novel is for Rorty a treasure-chest of empathetic experiences that expand the moral horizons of the reader. This idea is easily grasped in terms of the Moral imagination: "[T]he novel is the genre which gives us most help in grasping the variety of human life and the contingency of our own moral vocabulary (Rorty 2001: 249)." In a like manner, Johnson describes the morally imaginative person: "It should be judged by a person's sensitivity, care, and wisdom in envisioning new ways of being in the world that harmonize competing values and open up new relations and possibilities for enhanced meaning and well-being (ibid.)."

4.4.1.5 EMPATHY IN EDUCATION

In line with the concept of empathetic competence defined in the present thesis, Nussbaum and Booth suggest an educational counterbalance to empathy-lead moral reasoning. Namely that students should be enabled to read critically as well as empathically to the fictional text. Taking Socrates to be a symbol for independent thought, Nussbaum states: "To produce students who are truly Socratic we must encourage them to read critically; not only to empathize and experience, but also to ask critical questions about that experience (Nussbaum 1997: 99)." Booth incorporates this idea in his concept of *co-duction*, which structures reading in an educational setting by balancing immersed and inherently empathic personal reading of a literary work with classroom-based critical reading, which he claims is well-suited to a classroom environment. Booth makes it clear that the critical attitude to the text that can be cultivated in the class is complementary to full empathetic immersion in the work and he believes that an unfiltered experience of the fictional

world through empathetic reading grounds the reader's ability to then critically assess the text in a communal environment. Nussbaum explains: "[H]is idea is that immersion and experience precede, and ground, a critical assessment that we should ideally carry on in conversation with others whose perceptions will compliment and challenge our own (Nussbaum 101)." The comparison of differing perspectives on a text in a communal setting then will help spread the attention of the reader in a more balanced way. Having read a text immersively, the reader sets about asking how the text has distributed her perception and feeling. In so doing, Nussbaum believes, the reader sees the text with a new sharpness. "[S]ympathetic reading and critical reading should go hand in hand, as we ask how our sympathy is being distributed and focused. One learns something about the text when one asks these critical questions: one sees its internal structure with a new sharpness, and one makes ones reaction to it more precise (ibid.)."

4.4.1.6 SUMMARY

Engaging with literary fiction then directly enhances learner Moral imagination, and this contributes to learner moral competence in two ways: 1) an increased sensitivity to the needs of others, and 2) an increased ability to mentally simulate the potential effects of various courses of action on others before deciding how to act. The enhancement of learner Moral imagination and moral competence is reflected in the present empirical study design in self-reported learner perspective-adoption (as measured by the IRI subscale), empathy with fictional characters, and empathetic concern for real others. It is predicted that learners exposed to the experiment condition will increase in these measures, and that they will correlate with lifetime exposure to fiction.

In summary, it has been established in this chapter that: 1) There are fundamental parallels between fiction and how we understand our lives and the lives of others (**4.1**), 2) that the meaning created in the mind of a fiction reader depends on their previous experience and that emotions play a vital role in this process (**4.2**), that fiction represents a unique mode of stimulating self-reflection through the empathetic (i.e. imagination-driven) engagement with fictional others (**4.3**), and finally that fiction enhances the Moral imagination and moral competence by training the imaginative-empathetic competences of perspective-adoption & -coordination and critical thinking (**4.4**).

V.   METHODOLOGY

5.1 STUDY DESIGN

The present study is an empirical, interventionist study that took place in two 7th year classes (11. Schulstufe AHS, 16-17 years old, N=39) in two Viennese grammar schools (Gymnasium), referred to from here as Class 1 and Class 2. The intervention was designed to determine whether engaging with literary fiction as part of EFL instruction has an effect on learner trait empathy. A detailed didactical analysis of the materials and teaching methods used (see **5.2**), as well as a detailed description of the methodology and the measures used (see **5.3**) is given below.

Procedure

The study took place in both schools over the course of a regular week's three English lessons. The intervention itself took two lessons, and data on empathy and exposure to literature was taken in the lesson before (referred to from here as Q1, Questionnaire 1), and then one week later at the same time (Q2, Questionnaire 2) e.g. in Class 1, data was collected during the Friday English lesson, the intervention took place in the following Monday and Wednesday's English lessons, and the second data collection took place the following Friday at the same time. No special scheduling was made as the study was designed to provide representative data for regular EFL instruction. There was a control condition in both classes which was led by the respective class teacher in the regular classroom (Class 1=9, Class 2=6). The experiment condition in both classes

was led by David H. (Class 1: N=13, Class 2: N=12) in a different classroom. David H. lead both experiment conditions for the sake of consistency.

Participants

Class 1 (N=22, 9 male & 13 female) have had their current English teacher (see below) for the last three years and have received no structured EFL literature instruction in the sense of literature being a fixed part of the general English instruction, having read approximately five novels in their EFL lessons since Year 1. One girl was excluded from the study as she was not present for the two intervention lessons. The EFL literary instruction in Class 2 has been more structured and substantial in that the teacher teaches *at least* two novels per year in her English classes beginning in Year 1 (In fact, it was the original intention to use one 'regular' class and one 'literary' class to observe any differences in empathy change). However, due to an unusually high class turnover (only 4-5 pupils remaining from original Year 1 class; four new pupils this school year, five the year before), and another teacher taking the class in Year 5, Class 2 cannot be described as a *literary* class.

Teachers

The teacher of Class 1, Astrid P., has taught at School 1 in the 21st district of Vienna for 23 years, before which she spent three years teaching at several other schools in Vienna. Her second teaching subject is history however she has only ever taught English. The teacher of Class 2, Petra E., has taught English at School 2 since graduating from Vienna University nine years ago. Her second subject is likewise history, and she has also only ever taught English. Petra E. has also taught a literary didactics course at Vienna university whilst working on her PhD on English-language time-travel fiction, which she defended in September 2019.

Intervention & Control

All participants were simply told that they were taking part in a reading experiment. The experiment group read the semi-autobiographical short story *The Thing Around Your Neck* by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie about a young Nigerian woman's experiences as an immigrant arriving in the United States, which was accompanied by pre-, while- and post-reading exercises. The control group covered the topic 'Immigration to the US' using informational materials: an

opinion article and a mini-research project. A didactical analysis of the chosen materials and teaching methods is given in the following section.

Data collection

The variables being measured were only revealed to the participants after the intervention had been completed. Empathy was measured using a widely used self-reported measurement tool, the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (from here referred to as the IRI; Davis 1983b, detailed description and analysis of the measurement tools given below at **5.3**). Theory of mind was measured using the performance-based Reading the Mind in the Eyes Test (from here, RMET; Baron-Cohen et al. 2001). The German version of both tools was used (Neumann et al. 2012 and Bölte 2005 respectively).

Additional measures were used to measure lifetime exposure to fiction, reader transportation into the fictional world (experiment condition), and task enjoyment (both conditions). Lifetime exposure to fiction was measured using the Author Recognition Test (from here, ART). As this measurement tool is dependent on age group and cultural setting, the present author compiled a version of the ART based on the principles of the original test (Stanovich & West 1989). Reader transportation was measured using seven items from Busselle & Bilandzic's Measuring Narrative Engagement scale (Busselle & Bilandzic 2009) given in English. Task enjoyment was measured using a seven-item likert scale developed by the study author and was also given in English.

The IRI was given in full in Q1 and Q2. The 28 items were jumbled, and seven different foil items on general psychology were added to each questionnaire to disguise the target variable. The RMET consists of 36 items, which were ranked for validity according to an IRT analysis (Black 2019). The least six items were removed, and the remaining 30 items were evenly split between Q1 and Q2. The ART was given only in Q1. The reader transportation scale was given directly after reading in the experiment condition. The task enjoyment scale was given directly after completing the respective assignments in both conditions.

5.2 TEACHING EMPATHETIC COMPETENCE WITH LITERATURE

Teaching empathetic competence with literature as defined above (see Chapter III) in an EFL or L1 setting is a challenge that has been considered extensively by literary didacticians, particularly in the German-speaking world. Nünning sums up the challenge of teaching empathetic competence with literature: "For literary didactics, this raises the question of how learners can be specifically motivated and enabled to differentiate, adopt and coordinate different perspectives when dealing with literary works (Nünning 2000: 110)." It is beyond the remit of the present thesis to give a detailed didactical analysis of the methods and materials needed to teach empathetic competence most effectively, but the following section gives a summary of some key criteria suggested for literary texts and teaching methods which guided the text selection and teaching sequences used in this study.

5.2.1   Text Criteria for empathetic competence

When selecting a narrative literary work with the educational aim of developing empathetic competence, the general criteria for selecting literature for the classroom naturally also apply, i.e. the theme of the text should be relevant to the interests and needs of the specific learner or class, and be appropriate for the developmental level of the age group.

Spinner recommends "differentiated, linguistically dense and emotional texts", which, he says, "stimulate problem-awareness and empathy in the learner most effectively (Spinner 2018: 86)". However the findings of Junker & Jacquemin 2017 (see **2.3**) suggest that condensed language with multiple layers of meaning might in fact reduce learner empathy if it adds to the perceived difficulty of the text (see conclusion of the present study in **7.2**).

Regarding perspectival structure and narrative techniques, multiperspectival narration is appropriate because it demands constant switching between adopted perspectives along with perspective-coordination in order to make sense of the narrative (Nünning 2000: 113). However, monoperspectival narration with an unreliable narrator also demands perspective-coordination (ibid.) as the learner must critically attribute truth-value to the perspective. Texts that portray a

substantial amount of character interiority[14] are particularly effective for training perspective-adoption and empathy, according to Nünning: "It can be assumed that texts which contain a large level of inner world representation are particularly suitable for training empathy and the adoption of perspectives (2000: 113)." Furthermore, works that structure and characterise the protagonists realistically, i.e. in a way that learners can relate to, are also appropriate for evoking empathy as Nünning argues that this increases the potential for learner identification, and therefore empathy, with the characters (ibid.). This point is of particular relevance to the weaknesses in the present study design (see **7.2**).

In a similar vein, Spinner recommends texts that stimulate learners to adopt the perspective of others and think about conflict situations for the acquisition of moral competence: "With regard to moral development [...] it should be examined whether texts encourage the understanding of perspectives of experience and reflection on conflict situations (Spinner 2018: 86)."

The topic of how best to develop intercultural competence with the help of literature has been widely discussed. Various didacticians agree that texts where different cultural perspectives interact on the story level are beneficial for promoting intercultural learning. Migrant literature is seen as embodying this quality particularly well as texts from this genre typically portray a migrant protagonist negotiating unfamiliar and sometimes hostile cultural environments. As Leubner, Saupe & Richter state:

> At first glance, texts that represent a confrontation (of their protagonists) with culturally different concepts of the self and the world are particularly suitable for intercultural literature lessons; in particular, these are texts of so-called migration literature, which deals with topics such as displacement from and the search for a homeland, multilingualism and exclusion (2016: 271).

Nünning echoes this conclusion and draws attention to the intercultural learning potential of texts that directly thematise the problems that can arise in intercultural communication, or what he calls *intermisunderstanding*. When confronted with intermisunderstanding on the level of the story, learners are, according to Nünning, "explicitly invited by the content of the text to address the problems of intercultural understanding, stereotypes, differences between cultures and the resultant misunderstandings in communication (Nünning 2000: 113)." A further characteristic of

---

[14] Interiority: representation of a character's inner world.

Migrant literature that makes it beneficial for the promotion of intercultural learning is that it often portrays highly developed, western societies from the perspective of an outsider. The reader in an EFL class in Vienna or Stockholm is then forced to confront the norms and values of their own culture (or at least of a culture more familiar to them than to the protagonist) from an external perspective, aiding reflection about the learner's own cultural perspective.

In the same vein, Leubner, Saupe & Richter broaden the range of works that can create intercultural learning opportunities to works of the literary canon that, 1) portray the meeting of different cultures, 2) are translated from other languages and cultures, 3) are from past epochs and show characters in social contexts and with values that seem unusual today, and especially those that 4) allow an outsider's perspective on the learner's own culture (Leubner, Saupe & Richter 2016: 272; author's own translation).

5.2.1.1   THE SHORT STORY

The reasons for choosing a short story for the study were both practical and purposeful. The study was designed to determine whether fiction-based interventions bring about the desired outcome of improved empathetic competence. Were time and organisatory constraints no issue, the study would have followed the participants over the course of reading and engaging with a whole novel. However, the study was confined to three 45- or 50-minute English lessons in School 1 and School 2 respectively. Reading a novel was therefore out of the question. Another possibility would have been to use an excerpt from a novel, but the short story has the advantage of having been crafted to be consumed in a single sitting i.e. the reader is given enough information to be able to engage meaningfully with the text, which might not be the case with an excerpt. The short story also requires a heightened level of reader activation as key information is omitted and left to the reader to construct imaginatively. As Bloom succinctly describes: "Short stories favour the tacit; they compel the reader to be active, and to discern explanations that the writer avoids. The reader […] must slow down, quite deliberately, and start listening with the *inner* ear […] Unlike most figures in novels, their foregrounding and postgrounding are largely up to you, utilizing the hints subtly provided by the writer (Bloom 2001: 65)." The heightened cognitive challenge of the short story therefore risked frustrating the learners, but provided increased opportunities for empathetic learning.

The short story used in the present study, *The Thing Around Your Neck* by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, tells the semi-autobiographical tale of a young Nigerian woman's arrival in the USA, where after a brief stay with the family of her *uncle* (actually a family friend) who ends up sexually assaulting her, she goes it alone, working illegally as a waitress in a diner, where her boss Juan takes her under his wing (*All immigrants work hard. He knew, he'd been there*). In the diner, she meets the third male antagonist of the story, a doctoral student of ethnology who knows a lot about the culture she comes from (in contrast to the ignorance of all other Americans in the story), and a romantic relationship develops between them, which is cut short when the protagonist receives news that her father has died and returns to Nigeria.

The story is monoperspectival and the narrator is reliable in as far as she gives a reflected and unemotional account of the things that other people do and say to her, noting their lack of integrity or ignorance in a rather detached way that suggests she is recalling events from the past. She is, though, emotionally present enough in the narrative to develop romantic feelings for her lover, then giving a plausible account of her growing frustration with his treatment of her. This is in line with Nünning's recommendation of realistic texts that encourage reader identification. The story is unusual in that it is told in the second person, giving the reader the feeling they are being addressed directly in the role of the protagonist, and therefore facilitating perspective-adoption. The story is told as an account of the protagonist's thoughts and feelings and therefore, in line with Nünning above, uses a high degree of interiority.

The greatest strength of the text for stimulating intercultural learning, however, is that it portrays a migrant's experience of a culture familiar to the learner (American) and her sense of alienation toward it – a common theme in Migrant literature. Several instances of cultural misunderstanding are referenced in the text (e.g. the next-door neighbours believing Africans have eaten all the squirrels in the neighbourhood) fulfilling Spinner's *conflict* criterion for moral competence. Above all, the reader is forced to see how familiar cultural values and behaviours can be perceived with feelings of confusion or hurt by someone not accustomed to them (*They gawped at your hair. Does it stand up or fall down when you take out the braids? [&] the surprising openness of people in America. How easily they told you of their mother fighting cancer*), meeting the criterion of Nünning and Leubner, Saupe & Richter for intercultural learning texts in that learners are explicitly

called on to consider the problems of intercultural communication, stereotypes and (inter)misunderstandings.

The current author was not able to find any teaching materials for the story, suggesting that it is not widely used in EFL instruction. It can be deemed suitable for the target age group however, as it is written in straightforward prose of a CEFR level B1+, making it approximately at, if not a little below, the expected level of the age group taught (Lehrplan, *Lebende Fremdsprachen* 2018: 6). This allows learner focus to be devoted more to the demanding perspective-adoption and – perspective-coordination necessary in reading the text, as the perspective given is defined by unfamiliar cultural values. Also, typical of the short story form, there are gaps in the narration that require added reader activation to follow the narrative.

5.2.2   Teaching Methods for Empathetic Competence: The Three-Phase Model

Teaching methods for empathetic competence with literature centre on providing learners with opportunities to deepen the adoption of perspectives experienced when reading or to create additional perspectives that are not in the text through learner-based, productive tasks, which in EFL literary instruction usually follow a three-phase model, that aims to prepare the learner for reading a text (the *pre-reading* phase), to support interaction and understanding of the text (*while-reading* phase), and to experiment with new perspectives acquired through reading (the post-reading phase). This process-oriented model aims to train learners in the different phases of reading a literary text and maximise learner interaction with the perspectives offered by developing comprehension and interpretation strategies that facilitate the learner's search for the overarching meaning of the text (Nünning & Surkamp 2008: 71; own translation).

Traditional literary didactics that focus on the description and categorisation of foreign perspectives are often contrasted with more modern methods that tend to adhere to the three-phase model and target the empathetic competences of perspective-adoption and -coordination (Nünning 2000: 118; Leubner, Saupe & Richter 2016: 273). According to Nünning & Surkamp: "In contrast to the traditional method [...] the three-phase model attempts to do justice to the complexity of the reading process and to train learners step by step in understanding the text (Nünning & Surkamp 2008: 71)." Donnerstag & Wolff point to the three-phase model as a way of overcoming the aforementioned artificial rational-emotional dichotomy in literature didactics (see **4.2**) and

allowing emotion experienced in the empathetic reading process to be thematised and verbalised (Donnerstag & Wolff 2007: 160).

5.2.2.1   THE THREE PHASE MODEL

Each of the three phases of the Three-phase model serve a particular purpose. The overarching purpose of pre-reading activities is to stimulate learner interest in the text, establish learner expectations, or activate existing cultural, linguistic or contextual knowledge (Nünning & Surkamp 2008: 72; own trans.).

The while-reading phase aims to ensure that learners understand the text as they read and to increase interaction with the text. Nünning & Surkamp describe the while-reading phase: "The phase during reading serves above all to ensure that learners understand the text and to encourage them again and again to actively read and engage in dialogue with the text (2008: 74; own trans.)."

The focus of the post-reading phase is then on the analysis and application of the perspectives and insights acquired during reading through creative activities. Caspari says that this phase should offer the learner the opportunity to trace back their path of understanding while reading, allow any insights gained to be applied and to reflect on universal problems of human communication (Caspari 1997: 45).

One popular type of post-reading task sees learners take up a perspective not provided in the text. This can take the form of describing a scene depicted in the text from the perspective of a minor character not otherwise given any interiority in the text (Nünning 2000: 118), or extending the narrative to a scene set before or after the story, either from the perspective of a protagonist or a minor character. Such tasks, according to Spinner, contribute to the moral development of the learner (Spinner 2018: 86). Nünning describes how such approaches can contribute to the development of key cultural and social competences, because actively rewriting a text takes not only linguistic skill, but also perspective-adoption, empathy and thinking into the perspectives of others (Nünning 2000: 119).

5.2.2.2   LESSON PLAN: EXPERIMENT CONDITION

The overarching aim of the intervention lesson plan was to guide the learner through the different stages of reading in order to maximise comprehension and interaction with the text (see Nünning

& Surkamp 2008 above), by ensuring that learners were adequately equipped to understand and engage actively with the text, and to maximise the intensity of perspective-adoption and guide the perspective-coordination process. The aim of the pre-reading phase was in line with Nünning & Surkamp 2008, namely - to activate learner knowledge about the context (i.e. immigration to the US) and stimulate interest in the topic, and in the text itself. The aim of the while-reading phase was, likewise in accordance with Nünning & Surkamp, to provide supportive check-ups during the first reading phase in order to aid understanding of the context necessary for understanding the rest of the text. Finally, the aim of the post-reading phase was to deepen learner perspective-adoption and perspective-coordination through a productive task where learners could express any insights they had had during reading.

Pre-reading phase

The teaching sequence began in Lesson 1 with two short pre-reading exercises – a fantasy journey and a title-prediction. The Fantasy journey (Ger. *Fantasiereise*) is a method by which pupils are taken through an imagined narrative, usually with closed eyes, that serves some didactic purpose such as introducing a new topic. In Fantasy journey 1, pupils were asked to close their eyes and were then lead through a scenario set in the future where they were in a similar situation to the protagonist in the text. e.g. 'The year is 2035 and you are an architect… You are getting desperate because you can't find a job…'. The pupils are lead to China (Europe is poor and there are no jobs) where they work in a kitchen to earn a living and they are treated by people there with ignorant curiosity, making them feel alone and outcast. Finally, like the protagonist in the story, they meet someone who understands their culture and they feel relieved.

In line with the understanding of the parallels between fictional and actual life narratives as discussed in section 4.1, learners are presented with a possible dystopian future narrative for their own life, which replicates the story narrative. The aim of this task was both to activate schematic knowledge regarding immigration and to prime readers to be better able to empathise with the protagonist of the story because they were guided through a scenario similar to the one she experienced, and as in the story, they were addressed in the 2nd person. In line with the discussion in section 4.2, learners would have experienced a pattern of emotions during the fantasy journey that would be replicated during reading, mediating the learners' individual meaning generation process. The emotions experienced by the learner during this exercise and later during reading

could then find expression in the post-reading phase, successfully integrating reader emotions into the understanding of the text as called for by Donnerstag & Wolff 2007.

In the title-prediction task, pupils were given the title and the basic context of the story (i.e. The story is about a young Nigerian woman arriving in America where she feels misunderstood) and were asked to discuss what the title might mean. The aim was to further activate schematic knowledge relating to the context of the story and to stimulate curiosity about the protagonist.

While-reading phase

Pupils then read the first two pages of the story silently in an individual activity, focussing on finding answers to the three questions presented beforehand: 'Which questions was C asked?', 'How did they make her feel?' & 'Which story did her uncle tell her?' Learners then discussed their findings in pairs, before spending the remainder of the lesson reading the rest of the story in silent reading. The aim of the while-reading task was to encourage learners to read the text actively and to draw their attention to some key information about the protagonist and the setting (i.e. where in America the story was set, who C had met, in what context), as well as with the themes running through the text i.e. misogyny, racism, isolation.

Post-reading phase

This phase consisted of a brain-storming exercise, a second fantasy journey from the perspective of a chosen antagonist from the story, and writing a letter from the chosen (male) antagonist to the protagonist after she fails to return to America. The brain-storming and fantasy journey tasks therefore also acted as pre-writing tasks.

The pupils were asked to choose one of the male characters in the story and make notes using character profile sheets provided for homework about how they might have felt when C, the unnamed protagonist, left America. At the beginning of Lesson 2, pupils shared their character profiles in pairs or groups of three. The aim of this phase was to encourage pupils to actively take up the perspective of their chosen character and try empathetically to understand the fabula through his eyes, to stimulate and organise their ideas for the upcoming perspective-adoption writing task.

In Fantasy journey 2, the pupils were asked to think of the last time they saw C three months ago. They were told they now had something important to tell C which would "change everything" and

were encouraged to think what this might be and what they wanted C to do about it. Before opening their eyes, pupils were encouraged to plan what they wanted to say, and then on opening their eyes, note down their ideas before beginning to write. The aim of the fantasy journey was to develop this imaginary perspective and stimulate ideas for the pupil's own narrative extension, which would be used in their letter to C.

The remainder of the lesson was spent on the post-reading writing assignment. The aim of the letter-writing task was to train the ability to assume the perspective of another person, imaginatively replicating their thoughts and feelings – in other words, to *empathise* with them – and to coordinate the perspectives offered in the text by inferring which details of the story their character might have seen differently to C. In line with Caspari 1997, this phase offered learners the opportunity to trace back their path of understanding during reading by attempting to understand the fabula from a perspective not given in the text (see also Nünning 2000 & Spinner 2018 above). The Fantasy journeys and the letter-writing task show particularly how the lesson plan aims to maximise learner perspective-adoption, -coordination and Fremdverstehen through the imaginative projection of the mind into the thoughts and feelings of another person, in line with the discussions in sections 4.3 and 4.4.

5.2.2.3 LESSON PLAN: CONTROL CONDITION

The control group lesson sequence was compiled with the aim of presenting the broad topic of the short story read in the experiment condition, US immigration, also through reading and with a three-phase task structure, but from an impersonal, informational perspective without the use of individual perspectives. A variety of methods and social forms were used to make learning about the topic in an informational mode as engaging as possible in order to minimise a lack of engagement confounding any results in the experiment group.

Pre-reading phase

Lesson 1 began with the students sitting in a circle, looking at a photograph of two El Salvadorian women placed on the floor in the middle, one of which is pregnant, having been caught by Texan border patrol guards trying to illegally cross into the US. Learners were given no information and were asked to imagine who the people might be, and what the story behind the photo might be. The aim of the pre-reading phase was to activate schematic cultural knowledge regarding Trump

and immigration, in Hedge's terms to "tune in to the content of the text" and to "establish a reason for reading" the upcoming text and to "ensure purposeful reading (Hedge 2014: 210)."

While-reading phase

The remainder of Lesson 1 was spent reading an opinion article and completing accompanying comprehension tasks in small groups. The article was from the left-leaning Washington Post newspaper and was entitled *Trump's border wall is now a monument to his failure* in which the writer dissects Donald Trump's policy on illegal immigration via the US-Mexican border. In line with Hedge's description of the purpose of while-reading tasks to "encourage learners to be active as they read […] to follow the order of ideas in a text; react to the opinions expressed; understand the information it contains (Hedge 210)," the questions, given directly underneath the article, aimed to establish learner comprehension of the arguments the writer gave for or against the wall, whether the writer supported the wall or not, and which predictions the writer made for the effect the wall will have in the 2020 presidential elections. Learners were encouraged to read the questions before reading the article to focus their reading.

Post-reading phase

The post-reading phase spanned all of Lesson 2. The post-reading task saw learners split into research groups of three or four and use the internet to research a designated subtopic of the theme (e.g. History of the Mexico-US border, Ellis Island, Timeline of US immigration). Each group was provided with several recommended internet sources for their research. The research results were then collected in the form of a presentation poster. The aim of the task was to facilitate learner engagement with the topic using varied methods (independent research, poster creation and presentation) and social forms (group work with individual roles), and to include some creative element (making the posters) in the sequence. In line with Hedge's description of post-reading activities then, the task tied up with the reading purpose so that students made use of what they had read in a meaningful way (Hedge 211).

5.3 DATA COLLECTION

5.3.1 Measurement Tools And Related Variables

5.3.1.1 TRAIT EMPATHY ACCORDING TO THE INTERPERSONAL REACTIVITY INDEX (IRI)

The IRI is a self-reported measure of dispositional empathy (or trait empathy, contrasted with state, or situation-based empathy) consisting of 28 items, which are divided equally into four subscales (of seven items each) each representing a substantial contributing aspect to empathy as follows:

1) The Fantasy subscale measures a person's tendency to empathise with fictional characters (e.g. "*When I watch a good movie, I can easily put myself in the place of a leading character.*").

2) The Empathic Concern scale is one measure of emotional empathy, or a person's tendency to care about the feelings of others and that others are treated fairly (e.g. "*I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.*").

3) The Perspective-adoption scale is a measure of cognitive empathy, or a person's tendency to see the world from the perspective of others (e.g. "*I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.*").

4) The Personal Distress scale measures self-focussed responses to the suffering of others (e.g. "*I tend to lose control during emergencies.*")

The IRI has been noted for its "excellent psychometric properties (Konrath 2013: 3)" and has been the most widely-used self-reported empathy questionnaire since its development in the early 1980s (Davis 1980, 1983, and 1994). The German translation was used to control for learner language difficulties. It is of relevance to the present study that the Empathic concern scale correlates with prosocial behavioural outcomes (see Roth 2017, Davis 1983 & Davis, Luce & Kraus 1994), which further validates the IRI and provides evidence for empathy supporting prosocial behaviour (see related findings at **2.1.3**).

The IRI is not intended as a measure of overall, or global, empathy, but focusses rather on four specific areas within the empathy construct. The four subscales are therefore designed to be used separately, depending on the research focus. For the purpose of this study however, the four subscales were analysed both separately and as a combined value. The reason for this is that the significance of the individual subscale values is limited at such low participant numbers (N=39) and the combined values give a larger aggregated value more appropriate for comparison and analysis. It should be noted however, that the combined IRI results in this study do not indicate

global empathy, but three central constituents of empathy (empathic concern, perspective-adoption & fantasy). Personal Distress values were excluded from the data as it was decided that this sub-trait does not belong to the empathy construct defined in the introduction (see **1.1.2**). In any case, excluding the personal distress values did not change any of the main findings of the study significantly.

The empathy target also varies across the IRI items from an unknown suffering other in the Empathic concern scale, the Personal distress scale and several items from the Perspective-taking scale, to specific individuals known to the participant e.g. friends in the remaining Perspective-taking items. This is relevant to the above discussion (**4.4**) regarding the similarity bias argument against empathy, as the IRI focusses mainly on an abstract other unknown to the participant and does not encourage the participant to see the empathy target as similar to themselves.

A measure of dispositional empathy was chosen over a measure of situational empathy because learners' chronic tendency to empathise is more appropriately aligned with the hypotheses of the present study. The hypothesis is that the integral use of fiction in secondary EFL instruction would have deep-reaching influence on the development of learner empathy over time, rather than immediate (fleeting) reactions to environmental stimulus. Any change in IRI values from Q1 to Q2 therefore indicates not just a momentary spike in empathic ability, but a change in how the learner experiences their own personality. Djikic et al. 2009 reported a similar change in the experience of the self via the Big 5 personality traits – of which empathy is a subtrait – after reading literary fiction and found that the change was mediated by readers' emotional response to the story.

The IRI uses a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'describes me very poorly' to 'describes me very well'. There are two common scoring methods for the IRI, 1-5 points, or 0-4 points. The present study used the 0-4 point method. Statements that negatively describe the target subscale are scored in reverse e.g. the item 'I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the other person's point of view' belongs to the perspective-adoption scale, but expresses negative perspective-adoption ability. A 0 value would therefore be scored with a 4, a 1 scored with a 3, 2 as the middle score remains 2 and so on.

5.3.1.1.1   CONFOUNDING VARIABLES & CONTROLS RELATING TO IRI

As with all self-reported data, two major potential confounding variables are social desirability and self-perception biases (Northrup 1997), and these are particularly likely on the Empathic concern and the Perspective-taking scales because not empathising or taking the perspective of another person can be interpreted as egocentric and socially undesirable. What is more, social desirability has the potential to be exacerbated in a school setting where the experiment leader is in a teacher-pupil relationship with the participants. A partial control was that the participants were reminded before they began each questionnaire that honesty was of utmost importance, that they would not be judged for their answers and that nobody apart from the experiment leader will see what they write. The correlation between the Empathic concern scale and prosocial behaviour noted above, as well as another study which found that IRI values correlated highly with third-person ratings (e.g. sibling, friend) (Saroglou, Pichon, Trompette, Verschueren & Dernelle 2005: 331-5) suggest the effects of these confounding variables are limited, however.

5.3.1.2   THEORY OF MIND ACCORDING TO THE RMET

The RMET was developed to detect deficits in social cognition typical of persons with autism spectrum conditions (Baron-Cohen, Wheelwright, Hill et al. 2001). It has since been widely applied as a Theory of mind measure in neurotypical adults. Theory of mind can be thought of as a basic skill necessary to empathy (see **1.1.2**). The test consists of 36 items, each of which show an image of the area surrounding an adult's eyes (see Figure 3). Participants are asked to choose between four adjectives which best describes the person's emotional state. Item discrimination in the English version has been found to vary widely (Black 2019). It was therefore decided to only use the 20 items with the highest discrimination, so as to maximise test validity. All 36 items were ranked for discrimination, and the top 20 were split into two equally discriminatory subsets for Q1 and Q2, with the remaining 16 items being discarded.   Due to the high scores and therefore low discriminatory power in Study 1 however (average score across Q1 & Q2: 72%) it was decided to increase the

Figure 3: An item from the RMET as it appeared in Q1

number of items used in Study 2 to 30, using the same method to divide the items (average score in Study 2 across Q1 and Q2 fell to 64%).

5.3.1.3   AUTHOR RECOGNITION TEST (ART)

In the Author Recognition Test participants are presented with a list of names and must select those names they know to be of authors of fiction. Half of the names on the list are those of authors and half are foil names. Although the link between identifying author names and print exposure is of course indirect, this test of seemingly arbitrary culturally specific knowledge has proven to be a very efficient and surprisingly effective predictor of various reading skills (Mol & Bus 2011) since its inception by Stanovich and West (1989) as well as lifetime exposure to fiction (see Moore & Gordon 2015; Acheson, Wells, & MacDonald 2008). Furthermore, the culturally specific nature of the test means that the names must be selected based on the population being studied.

The ART compiled for the present study (see Attachment **9.2.iii**.) used a list of 29 authors from the German- and English-speaking worlds (9 German-language, 18 English-language), as well as two Russian authors, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky. Guessing was discouraged by making it clear to participants that half a point would be deducted for wrong answers. The foil names in Study 1 consisted solely of musicians and actors from the German- and English-speaking worlds. The foil names for Study 2 were changed to made-up names due to the relatively low recognition rate in S1 (mean 5.2/29) as it was believed that real names from music and acting were distracting. Scores in S2 were however still lower (mean 4.2/29) suggesting that the authors chosen were too little known to the participants. The higher number of English-language authors did not however seem to be the problem as several of these were the most recognised names (Stephen King, J. R. R. Tolkien & Suzanne Collins). The ART values did however correlate significantly with three of the four IRI subscales (see results in Chapter VI). It is assumed that data on self-reported reading habits and general reading enjoyment would have enabled more differentiated data interpretation as this might have shown patterns between pleasure reading and motivation to read in a school context.

5.3.1.4   TRANSPORTATION INTO FICTIONAL WORLD

Reader transportation into the fictional world was measured using seven items and a 5-point Likert scale (see Attachment **9.2.iv.1**) . Six of the items were taken from Busselle & Bilandzic's 2009 Narrative Engagement scale (e.g. 'the story affected me emotionally', 'Whilst reading the story, my body was in the room, but my mind was inside the world created by the story'). Of these, two items were adapted from the IRI but were now applied specifically to the present reading experience. The seventh item ('I liked the story and wanted to read more') was added by the author. This scale gave a maximum transportation value of 28 points (mean across S1 & S2: 16.5/28).

5.3.1.5 *TASK ENJOYMENT*

Separate task enjoyment scales were created for the control and experiment conditions that likewise used a 5-point Likert scale (see Attachment **9.2.iv.**). Both scales consisted of five items written by the author. The experiment condition items related to the post-reading task only e.g. 'whilst writing my letter I lost track of time', 'I didn't like writing and never do' & 'I would like to find out about other themes in this way'. The control condition items were similarly structured e.g. 'I enjoyed researching the topic and found out something new', 'I would like to find out about other themes in this way' and included one item to gauge the extent to which the control group's enjoyment of the lessons was influenced by disappointment not to have been selected for the experiment group: 'I was unhappy not to be put in the reading group'. These scales therefore had a maximum task enjoyment value of 20 points.

5.3.1.5.1   *TASK ENJOYMENT CONFOUNDING VARIABLE: TEACHER-PLEASING*

To minimise the effect of participants answering the transportation and task enjoyment questionnaires according to what they thought would please the teacher, participants were reminded that their results would only be seen by the experiment leader and that the experiment relied on them answering honestly. The experiment leader told the participants that if they did not enjoy something about the tasks or story, they should express this in their answers as this would help teachers make better tasks.

5.3.1.6 *POST-READING ASSIGNMENT GRADE*

The author assigned a grade to the post-reading task in the experiment condition (a letter to the protagonist from another character in the story) using the values 1-5 familiar in the Austrian school system (1=excellent, 2=good, 3=satisfactory, 4=pass, 5=fail). The letters were graded according

to one main criterion: how successfully the perspective of the character was assumed. Aspects of perspective-adoption considered were: 1) How well the writers ideas showed an understanding of the characters, their respective relationships, and attention to details in the story 2) How authentically the writer assumed the 'voice' of the character. The grades were awarded therefore according to a largely subjective judgement of the author as to how well the writer took the perspective of the character.

5.3.2   Missing Elements

A task enjoyment feedback sheet for the control group was added some weeks after the studies in an attempt to shut out task enjoyment as a potential confounding factor i.e. to protect against lower empathy values in the control groups being simply because the control condition was less enjoyable. The control group participants School 1 completed these feedback sheets 28 days after Lesson 2 ,and at School 2, 26 days after Lesson 2.

5.3.3   Other Confounding Variables & Controls

5.3.3.1   NOVELTY EFFECT & CONTROL GROUP DEMOTIVATION

It was noted by the class teacher and the experiment leader during Study 1 that several students allocated to the control group felt disappointed not to have been selected for what they understood to be *the experiment*. This dynamic in Study 1 is the most plausible explanation for the dramatic drop in IRI values amongst control group participants. To counteract this feeling arising in Study 2, it was made clear that the groups were selected based on what was being tested for (i.e. empathy) and that both groups would be learning about the same topic (i.e. US immigration). It is of course likely that learners will seek out novelty in their school environment. An unknown (or in the case of Study 1, a lesser known) teaching figure promising a novel learning experience is more likely to arouse learner interest and task engagement than the regular English teacher teaching in a familiar manner with familiar methods. This factor was controlled for using a task enjoyment scale for the control condition that included the item: 'I was unhappy not to be put in the reading group'. This revealed in fact that task enjoyment was higher in the control condition (14.5/20) than the experiment condition (12/20).

5.3.3.2   SCHOOL ORGANISATORY FACTORS

Class 1 were due to take a maths test in the lesson following Q2. This may have accounted for several of the absences earlier in the week. Participant L, who was excluded from the experiment as she was absent from Lesson 1 and Lesson 2, attributed her absence to having to revise for the upcoming test. The English teacher commented that absenteeism before tests was a problem in the class. The test likely added to a detectable atmosphere of excitement in the class during Q2, which may have affected the IRI and RMET values, however it is hard to say whether it would have had an upward or downward effect.

5.4 HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses predict how the measurements taken will support the proposition that empathy is enhanced by reading literary fiction in EFL instruction. They are derived both from the Empirical findings review (Chapter II), didactical theory on empathetic competences (Chapter III) and from the theoretical discussion in Chapter IV. It should be noted however, that the correlations between lifetime exposure to fiction and other measurements taken do not necessarily represent a causal connection, nor do they represent an effect of the present intervention.

	Hypothesis	**Justification & Sources**
1.	**Empathy will increase after engaging with fiction.**	Reading fiction requires the empathetic adoption of the perspective of fictional others, therefore this skill is likely to be trained by engaging with fiction in the EFL class (see **2.2**, Chapter III., Kidd & Castano 2013 & 2017; Tamir et al. 2016; Black & Barnes 2015 & Tamir & Dodell-Feder 2018).
2.	**Lifetime exposure to fiction according to the ART will predict empathy according to the IRI.**	Exposure to fiction has been repeatedly shown to predict social cognition, of which empathy is foundational (see discussion in **4.1**, meta-analysis by Mumper & Gerrig 2017, Mar et al. 2006 & Djikic et al. 2009).

3a.	**Empathy for fictional characters will increase after reading fiction.**	See justification for Hypothesis 1 as well as prediction at end of **4.3**, & discussion in **4.4** (specifically Kaiser, Nussbaum & Rorty).
3b.	**Lifetime exposure to fiction will predict empathy for fictional characters.**	See justification for Hypothesis 2 as well as discussion in and prediction at end of **4.3**.
4a.	**Empathetic concern scale values will increase after reading fiction.**	See justification for Hypothesis 1, as well as **4.2** & **5.2.**
4b.	**Lifetime exposure to fiction will be a strong predictor of Empathetic concern values.**	See justification for Hypothesis 2 as well as discussion in **4.3**.
5a.	**Perspective-adoption scale values will increase after reading fiction.**	See justification for Hypothesis 1, as well as Djikic et al. 2009; see also Nussbaum, Rorty in Chapter **IV.**
5b.	**Lifetime exposure to fiction will be a strong predictor of Perspective-adoption.**	See justification for Hypothesis 2 as well as discussion in **4.3**.
6.	**Personal distress and Perspective-taking will negatively correlate.**	Perspective-taking has been shown to expand from early to late adolescence, along with Empathic concern replacing Personal distress as the dominant component of empathy (Davis & Franzoi 1991; Eisenberg & Eggum 2009; Hoffman 2008; Hawk et al. 2013).
7.	**Empathy for fictional characters and Empathetic**	Empathy for fictional characters has been shown to activate the same neural networks in the brain as real-world Theory of mind tasks (Tamir et al. 2016) and the two components of empathy

	concern will have a strong positive correlation.	overlap (Nomura & Akai 2012). See also discussion of mimetic relationship between personal and fictional narratives in **4.1**.
8.	**Perspective-taking and Empathetic concern will have a strong positive correlation.**	These two components of empathy according to the IRI tend to co-vary (Davis & Franzoi 1991; Hawk et al. 2013), supporting the integral empathy concept used in the present thesis (in contrast to dividing empathy into its cognitive and affective aspects. See **1.1**).
9.	**Theory of mind according to the RMET will increase after reading fiction.**	Readers of fiction attribute mental states to fictional others as they read (i.e. they use Theory of mind). What is more, Theory of mind and reading are closely linked cognitive operations (see **2.3**; Kidd & Castano 2013 & 2017; Black & Barnes 2015).
10.	**Reader transportation will predict IRI and RMET change.**	The reader must activate Theory of mind and empathy to become involved in a fictional world, therefore the more they become involved, the more Theory of mind and empathy will be activated (Bal & Veltkamp 2013; Johnson 2012 & Mar et al. 2006. See also **4.3**).
11.	**Empathy will predict transportation & task enjoyment.**	There is a strong correlation between empathy and tendency to read fiction, suggesting that empathetic people read because they enjoy empathising (Mar et al. 2006; Mumper & Gerrig 2017).
12.	**Task enjoyment will predict IRI and RMET change.**	If transportation enhances empathy, then enjoying engaging in an empathy-based task might have a similar effect (Bal & Veltkamp 2013; Johnson 2012 & Mar et al. 2006).
13.	**Transportation & task enjoyment will predict assignment grade.**	*Propensity* to become involved in a fictional world, which implies empathy with fictional others, and enjoyment of an empathy-based tasks, might be transferrable to *ability* in a task requiring empathy with fictional others (Bal & Veltkamp 2013; Johnson 2012 & Mar et al. 2006. See also Chapter **5.2.2** Teaching Methods for Empathetic Competence).

14.	**Assignment grade will predict IRI and RMET change.**	It is assumed that ability in an empathy-based task according to grade might be seen in a subsequent fluctuation in empathy.
15.	**The IRI and RMET values will correlate strongly.**	Considering the closely related nature of Theory of mind and empathy (see **1.1**), it would be expected that the empathy and Theory of mind measures used in the present study show a strong positive correlation.

VI.   RESULTS & INTERPRETATION

6.1   OVERALL EMPATHY

<u>Empathy was enhanced by reading fiction (Hypothesis 1).</u>

The main finding of the present empirical intervention was that empathy according to the IRI was substantially enhanced by reading fiction. This finding therefore supports the didactical findings discussed in Chapter III, the theoretical findings discussed in Chapter IV and supports an affirmative answer to the present research question. Although values across the three IRI subscales included in the empathy construct of the present thesis (i.e. without Personal distress scale, see above **5.3.1.1**) fell overall in three of the four groups (both conditions in Class 2 and control condition in Class 1), the experiment condition values were substantially higher than control condition values in both classes (Class 2 experiment condition fell by less than Class 2 control condition). This suggests that in Class 2, factors external to the intervention had a downward effect

on empathy but that engaging with fiction in the experiment condition had a moderating effect on these factors.
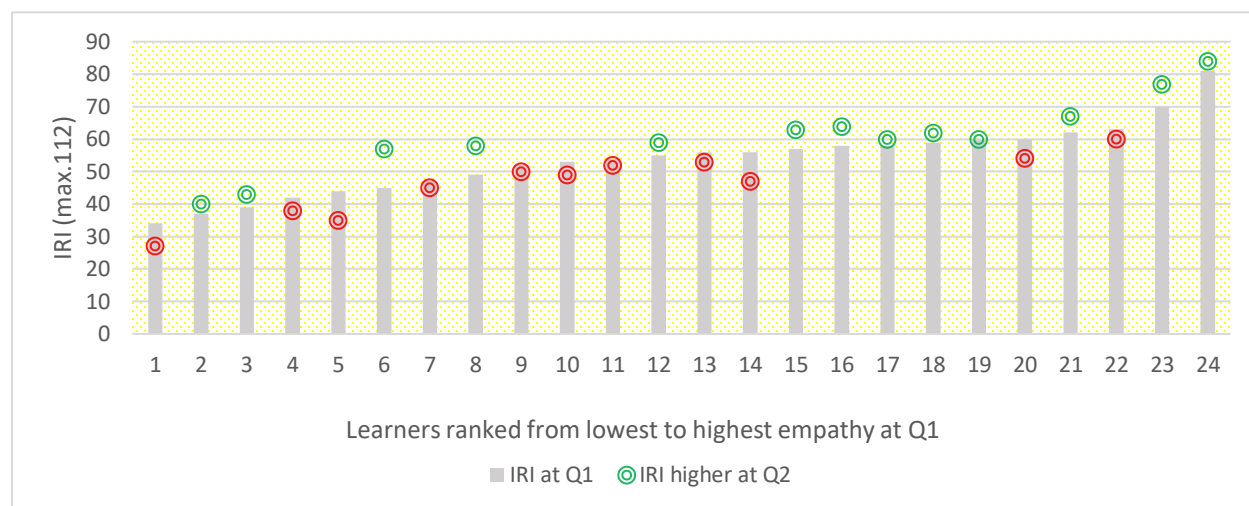

Figure 4 Total empathy change in experiment condition. Average increase of 1%, 6.5% higher than control.

Figure 5 Total empathy in control condition, lowest to highest empathisers. Average decrease of 5.5%.

In strong support of Hypothesis 1 and the overall research question *Does engaging with fiction in the EFL class enhance reader empathy?* then, the average IRI values in the experiment condition (N=24) increased by **1%** (see Figure 5 for individual change), whereas in the control condition (N=15) they fell by **5.5%** (see Figure 6), creating a difference of 6.5%. This divergence was however substantially more pronounced in Class 1 (N=21), where average IRI values increased by **3.9%** in the experiment condition (N=12) and fell by **6.9%** in the control condition (N=9; i.e. a difference of 11%). In Class 2 (N=18), IRI fell by **1.8%** in the experiment condition (N=12), but by considerably more (**3.5%**) in the control condition (N=6).

<u>Exposure to fiction predicted empathy (Hypothesis 2)</u>

In moderate support of Hypothesis 2, lifetime exposure to fiction moderately predicted empathy at Q1 with a lower moderate positive correlation of **.3**. This result does not represent an effect of the present study as the measurements were taken before the intervention, however it does align with the well-researched finding that tendency to read fiction and social cognitive ability correlate (see 2017 meta-analysis by Mumper & Gerrig). Although it is yet to be established clearly whether or not this is a causal link, the theory presented in Chapter IV, as well as numerous empirical studies conclude that it is. This is encouraging for literature teachers keen to establish the importance of their subject in developing crucial social competences for life in the modern world.

6.1.1 Empathy with fictional others (Fantasy scale)

<u>Empathy with fictional characters inconclusive, however lifetime exposure to fiction did predict (Hypothesis 3a & 3b)</u>

There was a 5.6% divergence in average Fantasy scale (FS) change between both conditions, however there was a slight decrease in FS in the experiment condition (EXP=-.5%; CON=-6.1%). Factoring in the aforementioned external factors in Class 2 however, the experiment condition would have likely seen a small increase. In support of Hypothesis 3b. however, there was a moderate positive correlation between lifetime exposure to fiction and empathy with fictional characters of **.5** (see Figure 7). This suggests that learners that enjoyed reading were likely to be high in this aspect of empathy. Overall however the intervention failed to enhance it conclusively. One possibility is that the classroom, communal reading setting was not conducive to *feeling into* fictional others, but that reading a novel over a longer period of time, most of which would be alone at home, may be more conducive. Another possibility is that learners found the protagonist of the short story used in the intervention hard to relate to.
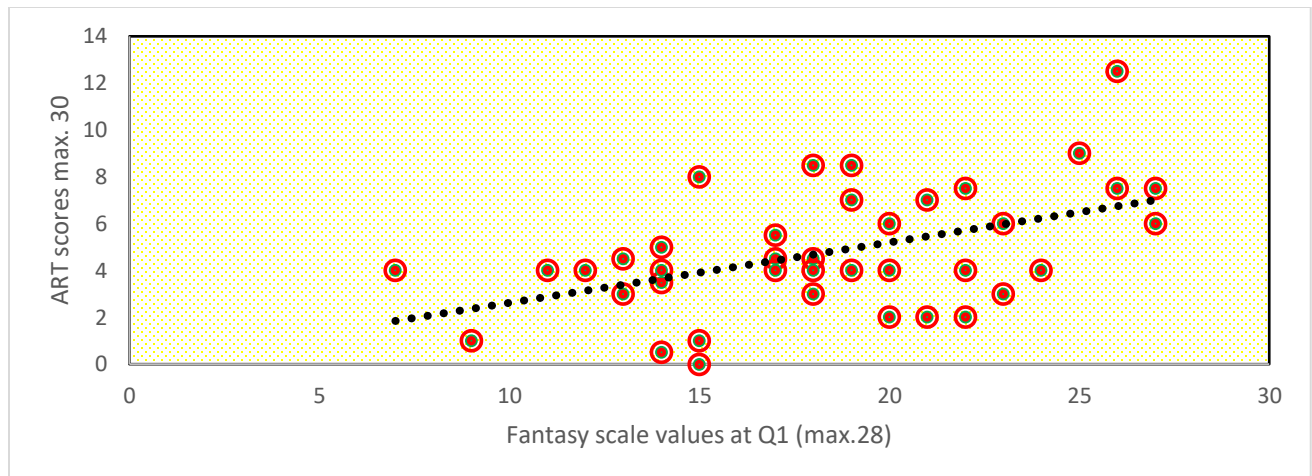
*Figure 6: Interaction between exposure to fiction and fantasy scale (correlation of **.5**)*

6.1.2 Empathetic concern

<u>Empathetic concern scale values showed significant increase after reading fiction, whereas lifetime exposure to fiction had slight negative correlation (Hypothesis 4a & 4b).</u>

Empathetic concern (EC) increased by 3.2% on average in the experiment condition, and fell by 6.6% in the control condition (divergence of 9.8%), providing strong support for Hypothesis 4a (see Figure 8). This finding supports literary didactic theory that emotions play an important role in engaging with fiction (see Donnerstag & Wolff and Abendroth-Timmer in **3.5** and related findings of Djikic et al. 2009) as well as Dewey's integral aesthetic theory (**4.2**). Hypothesis 4b. was however rejected as lifetime exposure to fiction showed no significant correlation with empathetic concern. In fact, there was a slight negative correlation of < **.1** so lifetime exposure to fiction actually predicted slightly worse empathetic concern.
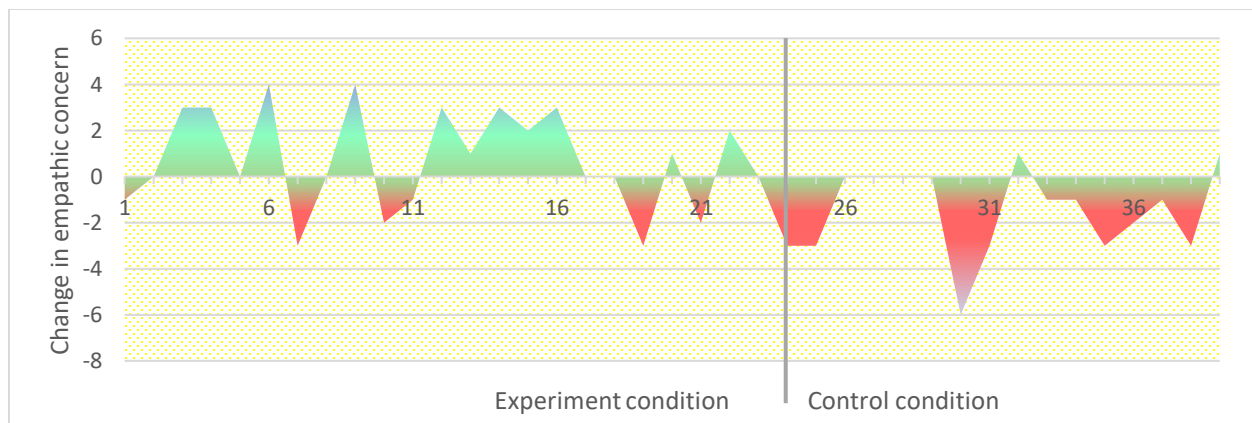
Figure 7 Change in empathetic concern from Q1 to Q2

6.1.3 Perspective-taking

<u>Perspective-taking change weak, lifetime exposure to fiction small positive correlation (Hypothesis 5a & 5b).</u>

Hypothesis 5a. received weak support as perspective-taking increased by 0.5% in the experiment condition and fell by 3.4% in the control (divergence 3.9%). These figures were however again dampened by the downward acting external factors in Class 2 (the experiment condition in Class 1 increased by 4.5%) and the actual perspective-taking effect of the intervention is likely to be slightly higher. This finding provides only weak support then for the central line of argument running through the present paper that engaging with fiction relies on perspective-taking above all and therefore trains this ability. The results of Hypothesis 5b. showed equally weak support for fiction's capacity to train perspective-taking as lifetime exposure to fiction showed only a small positive correlation of **.2** with perspective-taking.

6.2 INTERACTION BETWEEN SUBSCALES

<u>Personal distress did not negatively correlate with Perspective-taking (Hypothesis 6).</u>

In rejection of Hypothesis 6, personal distress did not negatively correlate with perspective-taking. In fact, there was a small positive correlation of **.1**. Personal distress was however by far the lowest scoring scale in the intervention (average PD score 11/28, average of all other scales 18/28) which, as the participants were in late adolescence would confirm findings that personal distress recedes

throughout adolescence (e.g. Hawk et al. 2013). It would appear then that the Hypothesis was poorly grounded because the present study is cross-sectional and cannot detect developments over time. A better Hypothesis would have been that Personal distress values would be lower than Perspective-taking and Empathetic concern, which was indeed the case.

Empathy for fictional characters and Empathetic concern, and Perspective-taking and Empathetic concern showed a small positive correlation of .2 (Hypotheses 7 & 8).

There was weak support for Hypotheses 7 & 8 and therefore also for theory based on the parallel functioning of social cognition in reading fiction and in the real world (**4.1**), but also for fiction-led empathetic and social competence (Chapter III). However, the significant divergence between both conditions across all three scales supports the validity of fiction-led empathy interventions and of engaging with fiction with the educational aim of enhancing empathetic and social competence.

6.3   THE RMET

Theory of mind according to the RMET did not increase after reading fiction (Hypothesis 9)

In emphatic rejection of Hypothesis 9, performance on the RMET fell on average by 15% in the experiment condition and 8.8% in the control condition. What is more, the most empathetic half of learners in the experiment condition (according to IRI scores at Q1) performed exactly as poorly as the least empathetic half. This is in line however with Black 2019's findings that the RMET fails to distinguish between higher than average Theory of mind performance. Black concludes that the RMET is then unsuitable for manipulations to enhance Theory of mind such as the present study, and that results from previous manipulations (such as Kidd & Castano 2013 & 2017, Black & Barnes 2015) were likely due to inaccurate measurements. While the present study would appear to have confirmed these findings, a more reliable Theory of mind instrument had not been developed at the time the study was carried out.

Furthermore, interaction between IRI and RMET was very poor (Hypothesis 15) as there was an insignificant positive correlation of less than **.1** between the two measures at Q1 and again at Q2. The correlation between change in the two measures from Q1 to Q2 was slightly stronger, but at

.2 still weak. This points to poor validity in one of the two measures considering the closely related nature of Theory of mind and empathy (see **1.1.2**). Due to the poor performance of the RMET in detecting enhanced empathy according to the IRI, its known validity problems (Black 2019) combined with its poor interaction with the ART, it seems that the weak link was indeed the RMET.

6.4 TRANSPORTATION, TASK ENJOYMENT & ASSIGNMENT GRADE

Empathy predicted transportation but not task enjoyment (Hypothesis 11).

In moderate support of Hypothesis 11, empathy predicted reader transportation into the fictional world moderately with a **.5** correlation, but did not predict task enjoyment (**.1**). This supports the findings of Mar et al. 2006 that empathetic people tend to read fiction and suggests that the motivation to become involved in the story did not carry over into the post-reading task. The explanation for the dampened enthusiasm for the post-reading task might lie in the mode of the task i.e. writing, the specific task i.e. writing from the perspective of a specified other person, or other factors to do with the setting i.e. writing in silence. It would seem odd however for empathetic learners to enjoy reading because they find empathising enjoyable, but not to enjoy an empathy-based task. The most likely explanation lies in the fact that some learners seemed to struggle with generating ideas for the letter (particularly in Class 2 there was a slightly restless atmosphere amongst some learners during the task) and that learner identification with the three minor characters the task was based on was likely inhibited by the predominantly negative perspective given on them by the protagonist.

Reader transportation weakly predicted IRI and RMET change (Hypothesis 10) & negatively predicted assignment grade (Hypothesis 13).

In weak support of Hypothesis 10, reader transportation into the fictional world showed a correlation with change in total IRI of **.2** and in total RMET of **.3** and negatively predicted assignment grade. This represents perhaps the most unexpected result of the study and provides the least supports for the present thesis. The present research question is derived from the hypothesis that well-established literary teaching methods (i.e. tried and tested task templates

following a 3-phase task structure) would effectively improve learner engagement with the text (measured by transportation into the fictional world) which would enhance empathy.

In this case, it would seem that the pre-reading and while-reading tasks were reasonably effective at enhancing learner engagement, with an average transportation score of 16.5/28. Considering the added cognitive challenge of reading short stories over other genres (see **5.2.1.1**), combined with Junker & Jacquemin 2017's findings that perceived text difficulty reduces reader empathy and text engagement, this would appear to support the efficacy of the pre-reading and while-reading tasks used. However task enjoyment, which in the experiment condition related to the post-reading task only, was lower in the experiment group with an average score of 12/20 , than in the control group (14.5/20). This would suggest that the post-reading task was only moderately popular which may have dampened any enhancement in empathy from being transported into the story. This explanation receives added support from the result of Hypothesis 11.

What is more, Hypothesis 13 was emphatically rejected as transportation had a moderate (**.3**) negative correlation with assignment grade i.e. the more learners were transported into the fictional world, the lower the grade they were likely to get. Although there was a **0** correlation between transportation and task enjoyment, if assignment grade is taken to be a secondary measure of task enjoyment (assuming that those that enjoyed the task were able to engage with it effectively) then this would support the explanation that learners that engaged with the story did not engage with the post-reading task.

<u>Task enjoyment predicted neither IRI or RMET change (Hypothesis 12), nor assignment grade (Hypothesis 13).</u>

In rejection of Hypothesis 12, task enjoyment in the experiment condition did not predict change in IRI or RMET values (IRI=**.1**; RMET=**-.1**). Task enjoyment did however predict change in IRI values moderately in the control group (r=**.5**), but the correlation to RMET values was negligible. Task enjoyment also had an insignificant positive correlation (**.1**) with assignment grade.

<u>IRI and RMET change had a moderate negative correlation with assignment grade (Hypothesis 14).</u>

Hypothesis 12 was emphatically rejected as IRI and RMET change actually had a moderate negative correlation with assignment grade i.e. those that increased in the two measures tended to

get a lower grade, whereas those that got a high grade actually tended to fall in the measures (IRI=-.3; RMET=-.4).[15] The results relating to assignment grade are therefore disappointing from a teacher's perspective as a main role of the teacher is arguably to motivate learners to engage with the learning tasks at hand, so that they maximise their engagement and learning experience.

VII. CONCLUSION

7.1 GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present thesis has investigated the question of whether engaging with fiction in EFL instruction enhances learner empathy. The research question was based on the hypothesis that laboratory findings suggesting a causal link between reading fiction and empathy will be accentuated in an EFL setting where established teaching methods are designed to increase learner engagement with the text. This assumption was based on the findings of three high-profile studies that found that reader transportation into the fictional world is the best predictor of a significant and sustained increase in learner empathy (Bal & Veltkamp 2013, Mar et al. 2006 & Johnson 2012). In the case of reading fiction, increasing learner engagement with the text necessarily means increasing learner empathy with fictional characters, because empathetic perspective-adoption is the foundational competence learners require in order to understand a fictional text (Chapter III). Empathetic perspective-adoption is therefore also the competence most intensively trained when reading fiction.

The empirical findings of the present intervention study provide strong support for the research question. Empathy according to a thoroughly validated measure (the IRI) was found to increase significantly in Class 1, and fall by significantly less that the control condition in Class 2, and overall there was a substantial divergence between the two conditions. This lends support to the conclusion that emotions (**3.5**, **4.2** & Djikic et al. 2009) and imaginative capacity (**4.3** & **4.4**) play a significant role in the learner reading process. This finding does also lend tentative support to the proposition that engaging with fiction enhances the Moral imagination (**4.4**) by increasing the reader's sensitivity to the needs of others (measured by the Empathetic concern scale and Fantasy

---

[15] In fact the five learners that achieved the top 1 grade fell in empathy by 6% on average, 7% lower than the experiment group average.

scale) and ability to mentally simulate the potential effects of various courses of action on others (indirectly measured by the Perspective-taking scale). However moral reasoning is a highly complex cognitive function and it lies beyond the remit of the present thesis to quantitively assess the moral competence of learners. It can certainly be concluded though that, at least in the framework of the present study, the ability to imaginatively adopt the position and feelings of another person was trained by reading fiction.

The overall increase in empathy and marked divergence between the two conditions was however clearly carried by the Empathic concern values. As noted, this provides substantial validation for the central role of reader emotion in the reading process discussed in **4.2**, but provided weaker support for fiction's capacity to enhance reader imagination, as the Perspective-taking and Fantasy scale values were less conclusive. Adjusted for the apparent external factors dampening empathy in Class 2 however, Perspective-taking and Fantasy values would likely also have been significantly enhanced. The apparent confounding factors in Class 2 highlights that there are advantages and disadvantages of the classroom as a field of study over the laboratory (see **2.2.2**). Whilst the classroom is clearly more representative of the actual interaction of empathy and fiction reading in EFL instruction and therefore in this sense more valid, it is also far more complex with many more potentially disruptive variables and this reduces validity.

In validation of the present study design however, the ART-IRI interaction supported the well-validated correlation between reading fiction and empathy (see meta-analysis Mumper & Gerrig 2017) and the similarity of brain activation in real-world and fictional social cognition (Tamir et al. 2016). Although this correlation is not an effect of the present intervention, it both supports the criterion validity of the IRI generally and the construct validity of the present study.

7.2 DIDACTIC CONSIDERATIONS

Whilst the overall enhancement in empathy is no doubt encouraging to secondary level English teachers looking to justify the structured use of fiction in their EFL teaching, not all of the findings were positive. The least supportive finding in this regard was undoubtedly the weak correlation between reader transportation, task enjoyment and assignment grade. The hypothesis driving the present research question was that learner transportation into the fictional world could be

significantly enhanced by engaging with fiction in a structured, group setting (school) using well-established tools for improving learner engagement with the text i.e. tasks based on the Three-phase model. There was however little support for this hypothesis in the present study data. It seems likely that the study design was at least in part the cause. As noted above, the reasonably high average transportation value (16/28) suggests that the pre-reading and while-reading tasks were effective at helping learners to engage with and understand a cognitively demanding text.

The empathy-dampening effect seems to have centred on the post-reading task. Transportation did not translate into task enjoyment (0 correlation) although the task and the text both mainly demanded the same competency i.e. perspective-adoption. What is more, transportation even negatively predicted assignment grade. It seems likely that the assignment was problematic for two reasons: firstly, due to the nature of the genre, the choice of minor perspectives that the learners were offered were of characters that they knew very little about and have almost no voice in the narrative (and when they do it is reported by the protagonist). This demanded more imaginative effort of the learner than, say, a character from a novel that the reader knows well and whose thoughts, feelings and speech have been presented unmediated by another character. Secondly, the three characters, all male, were not portrayed in a positive light by the protagonist (the uncle was an abusive misogynist, the boyfriend wanted C as a trophy, and Juan's only positive trait was that he was protective of C). This is likely to have reduced the learners' propensity to identify with the characters, an important dimension for text selection with the learning aim of empathy according to Nünning (2000: 113).

An important conclusion for teaching empathetic competence with literature in the EFL class then is that texts and tasks that revolve around characters that are either: 1) identifiable to the learner, 2) the learner has sufficient information about, are likely to be more conducive to stimulating empathy. What is more, this makes short stories poorly suited to interventions to enhance empathy. The learner cannot build a relationship to the characters in a way they can when reading a novel over a prolonged period of time, and the gaps in information typical of the short story (see **5.2.1.1**) may frustrate learners (see Junker & Jacquemin 2017).

7.3   CONSIDERATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Future empirical interventions investigating the effects of reading fiction in EFL instruction would need to find solutions to the above mentioned study design problems. Regarding research setting, a compromise between the class and the laboratory that is less complex than the classroom but still representative of education-based fiction reading would improve validity. This might for instance entail inviting groups of learners into the laboratory to take part in a prolonged and structured reading program, which would use pre-, while- and post-reading tasks to stimulate learner engagement, as well as varied social forms and left ample room for discussion and interpretation of the text. Regarding text selection, a better defined theoretical framework would be needed to help teachers distinguish between texts with the educational aim of enhancing empathetic perspective-adoption. Particular attention should be paid to the propensity for learners to identify with the characters when selecting a text. Furthermore, the potential pitfalls of the short story genre for future interventions should be noted, although in a regular teaching context the information gaps of short stories could be compensated for with additional tasks, and could even in certain contexts be beneficial to empathy-enhancement. Regarding task design, the possibilities of effective tasks using a three-phase structure are endless (see Thaler 2016 or Nünning & Surkamp 2008), however they will always rely on a suitable text. In this sense, the text selection is of more pressing importance.

VIII. ATTACHMENTS

8.1 DEUTSCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Empathiedefizite haben nachteilige soziale Auswirkungen. Wenn sie sich auf Außengruppen beziehen, können diese Defizite besonders weit verbreitet sein und Konflikte und menschliches Leid verstärken. Der Kausalzusammenhang zwischen dem Lesen von Fiktion und verstärkter Empathie ist in den letzten Jahren gut erforscht worden, aber die Beweise sind noch nicht schlüssig, und es wurde keine Forschung über diesen Zusammenhang in einem Umfeld der Sekundarstufe durchgeführt. Ein Faktor, der konsequent eine fiktionale Empathieerhöhung voraussagt, ist der Transportion in die fiktionale Welt. Auf dieser Grundlage war es die Hypothese der vorliegenden empirischen Interventionsstudie, dass die erprobten literarischen Lehrmethoden des EFL zur Steigerung des Text-Engagements der Lernenden den Transport und damit auch die Empathie steigern würden. Die Studie wurde in zwei Wiener Gymnasialklassen der 7. Klasse (16-17 Jahre, N=39) durchgeführt, wobei der Interpersonal Reactivity Index und der "Reading the mind in the eyes" Test zur Messung der Empathie bzw. Theory of mind jeweils verwendet wurden. In beiden Klassen wurde eine signifikante Zunahme der Empathie im Vergleich zur Kontrollbedingung festgestellt, und die Konstruktvalidität wurde teilweise bestätigt, indem der Author Recognition Test verwendet wurde, um die gut etablierte nicht-kausale Verbindung zwischen Lust-Lesen und höherer sozialer Kognition zu replizieren.

8.2 STUDY DATA, MATERIALS & INFORMATION

8.2.1 Lesson Plan & Materials: Experiment

9.1.1.1 LESSON PLAN (EXPERIMENT)

CELT
CENTRE FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

Name: David Hill

Matr. No.: a1007803

Lesson Plan © CELT

Lesson Plan: Invoking empathy with short stories

Lesson 1

time	procedure	int. for-mat	skills / syst-ems	materials	notes
3-4'	Pre-reading: Fantasy journey	T-Ss	L		"The year is 2035 and you are an architect… You are getting desperate because you can't find a job…. Europe is no longer rich and unemployment in Austria has risen to over 50%…. Many young, talented people like you are going to China to search for a job… After thinking long and hard about it, you decide to go too… When you reach Shenzhen, you can't find a job in architecture and begin working in a restaurant kitchen to earn a living…People give you funny looks and ask people still have phones in Europe… You feel alone and outcast. No one understands you here…Then you meet a Chinese person that seems different…They have been to Europe many times and love European culture… Finally you feel understood."
4'	Pre-reading: Title Prediction (alone, pair-share, plenum)	S, S-S, T-Ss	Sp.(I)	board & chalk	"You're going to read a story about a young Nigerian woman arriving in America where she feels misunderstood by people there. Read the title (on board) and think what the story might be about." -- "Share your ideas with your neighbour."
8-10'	Read first section (2 pages -> "…wild animals."), discuss (pair-share, plenum)	S, S-S, T-Ss	R	Story print-out 1p.p.	On board: **Which questions was C asked?** **How did they make her feel?** **Which story did her uncle tell her?**
20-25'	Read remainder of story	S	R	Story print-out	

94

CELT
CENTRE FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

5'	**Homework & Story feedback**	T-Ss, S	L, W	Character pro-file sheets, Story feedback sheets	"Next lesson, you are going to take the perspective of one of the men in the story… "Try to make your character profile as realistic as possible… *3"
	Lesson 2				
	Sit in 2s & 3s				
5'	**Share profiles with group**	Ss	Sp.(P)	Character profile sheets	Informal sharing of character profile findings & ideas
	Fantasy trip	T-Ss	L		"You need to tell C something that will change everything!"
40'	**Write letter to 'C'**	S	W	Lined writing paper, board & chalk	

8.1.1.2 CHARACTER PROFILE SHEET: UNCLE

'Uncle'

What kind of person is he? (character traits: arrogant, kind, self-centred, aggressive, gentle, truthful etc.)

Why did he behave the way he did in the story? How did he see 'C'?

How do you think he felt interacting with C in the story? What was he thinking?

8.2.2 Lesson Plan & Materials: Control

8.2.2.2 LESSON PLAN (CONTROL)

Lesson Plan: US Immigration

				Lesson 1	
time	procedure	int. for- mat	skill s / syst- ems	materials	notes
5-7'	**Pre-reading: Brainstorming to photo of illegal immigrants on near Texas border**	PA, Pl.	Sp.(I)	Photo printed A4	Pairs discuss: Who might that be in the picture? What might the story behind the picture be? Collect ideas in plenum. **Solution: Immigrants from El Salvador turn themselves in to border agents near Rio Grande City, Texas.**
35-40'	**Reading: article about Trump's wall. Answer questions.**	EA, PA	R, W	Article (double-sided A4, 1 per student)	
				Lesson 2	
30-35'	**Post-reading: Presentation groups research topic and create poster**	GA	R, W	Note-taking sheet, A3 paper, felt pens	**2 groups of 3-4** can be formed. Each group gets one the **2 themes** and suggested internet sources are provided: 1. **History of the Mexican-US border** 2. **Timeline of US immigration** 3. **Ellis Island** Sources provided on sheets: Wikipedia: Mexico United States Border Google: ny times immigration explorer Google: history.com immigration us timeline
10-15'	**Groups present their findings**	GA	Sp.(I)	Posters, board	

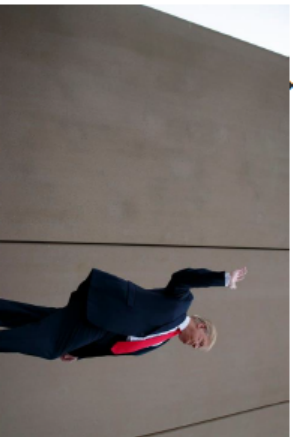#### 8.2.2.3 WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE AND WHILE-READING TASK: TRUMP'S BORDER WALL IS NOW A MONUMENT TO HIS FAILURE

The Washington Post

Trump's border wall is now a monument to his failure

(Evan Vucci/AP)

By Paul Waldman
Opinion writer
September 5

Donald Trump has failed at many things since becoming president, but none may be more glaring than his failure to build the wall he promised across the entirety of our southern border.

From the outset it was an idea both stupid and malign, but he was committed to it. Yet again and again, he tried to obtain funding for it, only to find that even many Republicans in Congress weren't interested. He even shut down the government to get it, but failed then, too.

Until this February, when he declared a farcical "national emergency" as a way of circumventing the Constitution, which says that the executive branch may spend money only on things Congress has authorized. The administration will be taking funds from the military budget and using it to build 175 miles of new fencing and barriers at various points along the border.

That's not to mention the fact that it's all for something that isn't popular and never has been: Polls consistently show about 6 in 10 Americans oppose the building of a border wall. Trump's most ardent supporters are, of course, in the other 4 in 10. But let's consider what the border wall meant when he sold it to them back in 2016 and what it means today.

The idea of building a wall on the southern border began as an idea some of Trump's aides had, as a way of reminding their undisciplined candidate to talk about immigration, since it was simple for him to understand and appealing to him as a builder. But when he began talking about it at rallies, the rapturous response from his supporters convinced him that it should be the emotional centerpiece of his campaign.

Before long, he added the idea that Mexico would pay for the wall, using it in a gleeful call-and-response during those rallies. "Who's going to pay for it?" he'd ask, and the crowd would shout, "Mexico!"

It was never about the money, of course. It was a way of saying to people who felt that the world had left them behind: *Make me president, and we'll stand tall again. I will give you back the feeling of potency that you've lost.* The point of making Mexico pay was not that we'd save a few billion dollars but that we'd dominate them, humiliate them, and in so doing regain the status people felt we had lost. We'd make them losers, and we'd be winners.

But Trump couldn't do it. Mexico isn't paying — instead, U.S. taxpayers are, and we're doing it by taking money away from military bases and service members' kids. There is no "big, beautiful wall" stretching from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico.

This is part of a broader failure of Trump's on immigration that I've discussed before. For all of the venom he spews, all the children ripped from their parents' arms, all the efforts to make it harder for nonwhite people to come to the United States, he hasn't delivered what he really promised. The United States has no fewer immigrants now than it did before he was elected. His supporters are no less likely to experience the trauma of being in line at the supermarket and hearing someone speak Spanish. America has not been Made Great Again, in the way they wanted it to be.

So as we embark on the 2020 presidential campaign, what does Trump's wall represent? Does it, as he had hoped, represent power and manliness, a country reasserting control of its destiny, getting rid of all the no-good foreigners and keeping the rest of them out?

Hardly. The wall barely exists, and accomplishes none of what he promised. It's a monument to Trump's failure: his rancid appeals to xenophobia and racism, his grandiose dishonesty and his incompetence.

When he runs in 2020 saying, "I told you I'd build the wall, and I did" (which he will), his supporters will applaud, but not so loud this time. And the rest of the electorate will feel nothing but contempt.

---

1. Does the writer support Trump's wall? What arguments for or against the wall does he make? (make a bullet-point list if argument points)
2. How does he say the wall became a big issue in the last election?
3. Make a character profile of one a Trump-Wall supporter, according to the author's description.
4. What effect does he think the wall will have on the 2020 election?

8.2.2.4 US BORDER IMMIGRANT PHOTO

8.2.3 Questionnaire 1 (sample pages)

Name:

Fragebogen 1

Lies jeder Aussage genau durch und mach ein Kreuz um anzugeben, wie sehr es für dich zutrifft.

	Trifft gar nicht zu	Trifft nicht ganz zu	Ich bin mir nicht sicher	Trifft zu	Trifft sehr gut zu
1. Ich mache hin und wieder Fehler.	o	o	o	o	o
2. Ich lerne gern Menschen kennen.	o	o	o	o	o
3. Ich bin jemand, der gerne für andere organisiert.	o	o	o	o	o
4. Ich bin jemand, der einen großen Freundeskreis hat.	o	o	o	o	o
5. Ich bin jemand, der Abwechslung sucht.	o	o	o	o	o
6. Ich habe Tagträume und stelle mir recht regelmäßig Dinge vor, die mir passieren könnten. (f)	o	o	o	o	o
7. Ich empfinde oft warmherzige, sorgende Gefühle für Leute, denen es weniger gut geht als mir. (e)	o	o	o	o	o
8. Ich bin schnell enttäuscht.	o	o	o	o	o
9. Mir fällt es manchmal schwer, Dinge aus der Sicht einer anderen Person zu sehen. (-p)	o	o	o	o	o
10. Manchmal habe ich wenig Mitleid für andere Menschen, die gerade Probleme haben. (-e)	o	o	o	o	o
11. Ich lasse mich stark auf Gefühle von Romanfiguren ein. (f)	o	o	o	o	o
12. Ich repariere gern Dinge.	o	o	o	o	o
13. In Notfallsituationen fühle ich mich ängstlich und unbehaglich. (d)	o	o	o	o	o
14. Ich bin normalerweise objektiv, wenn ich einen Film oder ein Theaterstück ansehe und vertiefe mich nur selten komplett darin. (-f)	o	o	o	o	o
15. Ich versuche bei Meinungsverschiedenheiten zuerst alle Ansichten zu betrachten, bevor ich eine Entscheidung treffe. (p)	o	o	o	o	o

98

39. gedankenreich — irritiert — sympathisch — ermutigend

40. amüsiert — bereuend — flirtend — erschrocken

41. ratlos — kontemplativ — beharrlich — nervös

99

Author recognition test

If you recognise any of the names below as authors of fiction (in any language), circle their name.

e.g. 13. (J.K. Rowling)

1. John Grisham
2. Ingrid Bergman
3. J.D. Salinger
4. Rod Maclean
5. Berthold Brecht
6. Stefen Zweig
7. Ned Vizzini
8. Margaret Atwood
9. Julia Jentsch
10. Jay Asher
11. Michael Davis
12. David Levithan
13. Ernst Jandl
14. Franz Kafka
15. Leo Tolstoi
16. Julie Smithson
17. Chimananda Ngozi Adichie
18. Boy George
19. Armin Stahl
20. Orson Harrison
21. Steven Bush
22. Daniel Brühl
23. Annie Robinson
24. Romy Schneider
25. Gloria Richardson
26. Kazuo Ishiguro
27. Solomon Burke
28. Justus von Dohnányi
29. George Orwell

30. Thom Yorke
31. Maren Kroymann
32. Salman Rushdie
33. Jessica Schwarz
34. Edward Douglas
35. Elias Canetti
36. Pierce Johnson
37. Roald Dahl
38. Nicole Reynolds
39. Stephen King
40. Alec Nünning
41. Ian McEwan
42. Maya Angelou
43. Tom Jefferson
44. J. R. R. Tolkien
45. Anthony Jameson
46. Klaus Kinski
47. Hermann Hesse
48. Günter Grass
49. Fyodor Dostoevsky
50. Suzanne Collins
51. Denzel Jefferson
52. Haled Hosseini
53. Antonio Rodriguez
54. Mark Haddon
55. Daniel Day-Lewis
56. Wolfgang Herrndorf
57. Harrison Ford
58. Phil Jones
59. Ursula Poznanski

100

8.2.4 Transportation & Task Enjoyment scales

8.2.4.1 TRANSPORTATION

Name:

Reading feedback

		Trifft gar nicht zu	Trifft nicht ganz zu	Ich bin mir nicht sicher	Trifft zu	Trifft sehr gut zu
1.	The story affected me emotionally………………………………………	O	O	O	O	O
2.	During reading the text, when a main character succeeded, I felt happy, and when they suffered in some way, I felt sad …………………………………	O	O	O	O	O
3.	I felt sorry for some of the characters in the text…………………………………	O	O	O	O	O
4.	At key moments in the film, I felt I knew exactly what the characters were going through emotionally………………………………………	O	O	O	O	O
5.	Whilst reading the story, my body was in the room, but my mind was inside the world created by the story………………………………………	O	O	O	O	O
6.	I was worried for some of the characters in the story………………………………	O	O	O	O	O
7.	I liked the story and wanted to read more………………………………………	O	O	O	O	O

8.2.4.2 TASK ENJOYMENT (EXPERIMENT)

Name:

Task feedback

		Trifft gar nicht zu	Trifft nicht ganz zu	Ich bin mir nicht sicher	Trifft zu	Trifft sehr gut zu
1.	I found the tasks interesting and enjoyed doing them…………………………	O	O	O	O	O
2.	Whilst writing my letter I lost track of time………………………………………	O	O	O	O	O
3.	I didn't like writing and never do………………………………………………	O	O	O	O	O
4.	I will probably think about the characters and their lives again………………	O	O	O	O	O
5.	I would like to explore more fictional worlds in this way……………………	O	O	O	O	O

Name:

Task feedback

	Trifft gar nicht zu	Trifft nicht ganz zu	Ich bin mir nicht sicher	Trifft zu	Trifft sehr gut zu
1. I was unhappy not to be put in the reading group……………………………	O	O	O	O	O
2. I enjoyed researching the topic and found out something new………………	O	O	O	O	O
3. I enjoyed finding out about new aspects of US immigration……………………	O	O	O	O	O
4. I found the tasks interesting and enjoyed doing them………………………………	O	O	O	O	O
5. I would like to find out about other themes in this way……………………………	O	O	O	O	O

8.2.5 Additional Information on Studies

8.2.5.1 CLASS ENVIRONMENT

8.2.5.2.1 AHS SCHULSCHIFF

Over the four-lesson, one-week, duration of the study, 7C/D interacted well with one another and appeared to the experiment leader to have well-developed social competences. The experiment group participants worked on group tasks with a minimum of fuss and appeared not to mind whom they worked with. The experiment leader noted no tension between the pupils noted at any point. Small class ca. 25m^2 but lots of natural light. Seating arrangement: rows facing front of classroom. The control condition took place in 7C's classroom. The experiment condition took place in the school library.

8.2.5.2.2 AHS THEODOR-KRAMER

Like 7C/D at the 'Schulschiff', 7C can be described as a 'social' class in that they are remarkably open and friendly and appear to get on well together. 7C is an independent work class so they have been exposed to more autonomous learning methods during their time at the school. Throughout the study they appeared to work well together and no tension between pupils became apparent at

any point. Mag. Pintar-Fuchs commented that the independent work classes are "nicer" and "more social" than the standard classes. The control condition took place in 7C's classroom under Mag. Pintar-Fuchs' supervision. The experiment condition took place in two different classrooms which were reserved in advance for Lesson 1 and Lesson 2 due to school organisatory reasons.

8.2.5.2 ATTENDANCE

8.2.5.2.1 AHS SCHULSCHIFF

Attendance was good over the 4-lesson period. The data from 21 of 22 pupils was included in the study. One pupil from the control group (L♀) was absent for lesson 1 and lesson 2 and was therefore excluded from the study.

Questionnaire 1 (Thurs. 10/10, 8:05-8:25): three pupils were absent. Of these three, two (M♂ & A♀) completed the questionnaire in their own time before Lesson 1. SM♀ was also absent from Lesson 1 and completed her questionnaire before Lesson 2. Her data was included in the study as she was exposed to the experiment condition to a satisfactory degree (she read the story quietly and began the post-reading task) but she did not take part in the pre- or while-reading exercises, nor did she complete the post-reading task.

Lesson 1 (Tues. 15/10, 11:55-12:45): Also missing from the experiment group and therefore not exposed to the pre- or while-reading exercises were Sa♀, Sr♀ & F♀. These three were included in the study as they were exposed to the experiment condition to a satisfactory degree (all three read the story quietly during Lesson 2 and had completed at least a first draft of their post-reading task). From the control group A♂ & L♀ were absent.

Lesson 2 (Weds. 16/10, 10:55-11:45): both the experiment and control groups were complete, apart from L♀, whose data was not included.

Questionnaire 2: Thurs. 17/10, 8:00-8:20: All present apart from E♀ who completed her questionnaire during lesson time on returning to school one week later on 24/10. F♀ was asked to repeat questionnaire 2 on 24/10 as an extreme drop in her IRI from Q1 to Q2 (-19 points, average for remaining experiment participants: +2.2) was anomalous and suggested an abnormal psychological state at Q2. Mag. Pintar-Fuchs confirmed that F♀ was currently experiencing

difficulties in her home life. She received no prior explanation as to why she was repeating the test and her second Q2 results were in line with the rest of the participants.

8.2.5.2.2   AHS THEODOR-KRAMER

Attendance was good over the four-lesson period. One boy was absent for the duration and therefore was not included in the study. The remaining 18 pupils were included.

Questionnaire 1 (Friday 18/10, 10:50-11:35): H♂, Av♀ and T♂ were absent but completed the questionnaire at the beginning of Lesson 1.

Lesson 1 (Monday 21/10, 9:00-9:45): 100% attendance.

Lesson 2 (Wednesday 23/10, 10:00-10:45): Fatima and Tarik were absent. Their data was included in the study because they were exposed to the experiment condition to a satisfactory degree (they participated in the pre- and while-reading exercises and read the story quietly during lesson 1).

Questionnaire 2 (Friday 25/10, 10:50-11:35): 100% attendance.

Experiment condition:

	FS1	FS2	Dif.	EC1	EC2	Dif.	PT1	PT2	Dif.	PD1	PD2	Dif.	IRI1	IRI2	*Dif.*	RM1	RM2	*Dif.*	ART	Transp	Enjoy.	Tr.+Enj.	Grade
Fab.	13	11	-2	26	25	-1	17	17	0	11	9	-2	56	53	-3	6	8	2	3	7	11	18	1
Gab.	15	12	-3	13	13	0	14	13	-1	11	13	2	42	38	-4	7	7	0	0	14	8	22	2
Car.	22	26	4	13	16	3	10	15	5	11	8	-3	45	57	12	6	6	0	7,5	6	9	15	2
Sar.	18	23	5	23	26	3	17	15	-2	13	13	0	58	64	6	7	10	3	4,5	22	14	36	3
Emi.	21	15	-6	17	17	0	9	13	4	19	16	-3	47	45	-2	7	5	-2	7	4	15	19	2
Kai.	15	19	4	16	20	4	18	19	1	14	15	1	49	58	9	8	8	0	1	14	5	19	2
Leo.	27	27	0	18	15	-3	15	18	3	8	7	-1	60	60	0	8	5	-3	6	21	5	31	2
Sam.	23	23	0	16	16	0	13	11	-2	6	2	-4	52	50	-2	10	8	-2	6	9	5	26	3
Pia.	26	28	2	12	16	4	24	23	-1	16	16	0	62	67	5	8	6	-2	12,5	17	5	26	2
Ley.	19	22	3	23	21	-2	15	20	5	17	15	-2	57	63	6	7	5	-2	8,5	16	5	36	1
Mor.	14	13	-1	21	20	-1	18	16	-2	6	10	4	53	49	-4	8	7	-1	5	19	5	32	2
Sop.	20	20	0	20	23	3	18	17	-1	17	19	2	58	60	2	10	8	-2	6	21		21	
Mic.	21	20	-1	16	17	1	17	15	-2	11	10	-1	54	52	-2	10	5	-5	2	14	14	28	1
Jor.	15	11	-4	7	10	3	22	14	-8	7	7	0	44	35	-9	10	8	-2	8	18	5	23	1
Leo.	22	25	3	25	27	2	23	25	2	15	14	-1	70	77	7	12	11	-1	2	24	15	39	2
Flo.	25	26	1	15	18	3	19	18	-1	8	7	-1	59	62	3	12	9	-3	9	18	15	33	2
Bri.	9	8	-1	20	20	0	10	15	5	9	11	2	39	43	4	11	10	-1	1	20	12	32	3
Fel.	22	18	-4	22	22	0	19	20	1	11	13	2	63	60	-3	12	7	-5	4	16	13	29	2
Max.	13	7	-6	22	19	-3	21	21	0	6	5	-1	56	47	-9	12	8	-4	4,5	15	12	27	2
Fat.	18	20	2	20	21	1	17	18	1	14	13	-1	55	59	4	13	10	-3	3	21		21	
Lau.	20	19	-1	22	20	-2	18	15	-3	19	20	1	60	54	-6	11	8	-3	4	24	9	33	2
Tar.	14	17	3	11	13	2	12	10	-2	7	10	3	37	40	3	10	10	0	0,5	14		14	
Har.	27	28	1	28	28	0	26	28	2	4	4	0	81	84	3	5	10	5	7,5	24	13	37	3
Ell.	12	10	-2	11	8	-3	11	9	-2	6	6	0	34	27	-7	10	8	-2	4	13	14	27	1

Control condition:

	FS1	FS2	Dif.	EC1	EC2	Dif.	PT1	PT2	Dif.	PD1	PD2	Dif.	IRI1	IRI2	*Dif.*	RM1	RM2	*Dif.*	ART	Enjoy.
Pat.	18	14	-4	21	18	-3	11	11	0	6	4	-2	50	43	-7	8	8	0	8,5	14
Pau.	7	11	4	11	11	0	15	15	0	7	4	-3	33	37	4	7	8	1	4	n.d.
Sim.	20	14	-6	23	23	0	17	18	1	16	15	-1	60	55	-5	7	7	0	2	8
Lau.	14	16	2	27	27	0	14	9	-5	8	7	-1	55	52	-3	6	7	1	3,5	19
Ale.	18	20	2	23	23	0	12	11	-1	9	8	-1	53	54	1	7	8	1	4	14
San.	26	25	-1	26	20	-6	22	22	0	25	23	-2	74	67	-7	9	4	-5	7,5	13
Ann.	17	12	-5	24	21	-3	17	17	0	15	12	-3	58	50	-8	7	7	0	5,5	10
Isa.	17	13	-4	18	19	1	10	11	1	10	7	-3	45	43	-2	4	7	3	4,5	16
Sop.	11	8	-3	20	19	-1	16	14	-2	12	10	-2	47	41	-6	6	6	0	4	16
Sel.	19	16	-3	20	19	-1	14	18	4	17	11	-6	53	53	0	12	6	-6	7	16
Ron.	14	13	-1	18	15	-3	23	23	0	9	9	0	55	51	-4	10	8	-2	4	14
Nik.	17	19	2	20	18	-2	15	14	-1	6	6	0	52	51	-1	11	9	-2	4	15
Vik.	23	22	-1	20	19	-1	9	8	-1	13	12	-1	52	49	-3	11	11	0	3	13
Ava.	19	20	1	22	19	-3	19	18	-1	15	15	0	60	57	-3	11	9	-2	4	14
Ana.	24	25	1	24	25	1	19	16	-3	13	9	-4	67	66	-1	9	9	0	4	n.d.

IX.   BIBLIOGRAPHY

Didactics & Pedagogy:

Aarnoutse, Cor & Schellings, Gonny. 2003. "Learning reading strategies by triggering reading motivation". *Educational Studies* 29(4), 387-409.

Acheson, Daniel; Wells, Justine & MacDonald, Maryellen. 2008. "New and updated tests of print exposure and reading abilities in college students". *Behavior Research Methods*, 40(1), 278-289.

Alber, Jan; Inversen, Stefan; Skov Nielsen, Henrik. 2011. *Why study literature?* Aarhus: University Press.

Alderman, Gary & Green, Susan. 2011. "Fostering lifelong spellers through meaningful experiences". *Reading Teacher* 64(8), 599-605.

Anderson, Vicki; Spencer-Smith, Megan & Wood, Amanda. 2011. "Do children really recover better? Neurobehavioural plasticity after early brain insult". *Brain* 134(8), 2197-2221.

Atkinson, Lynette; Slade, Lance; Powell, Daisy; Levy, Joseph P. 2017. "Theory of mind in emerging reading comprehension: a longitudinal study of early indirect and direct effects". *Experimental Child Psychology* 164, 225-238.

Barnes, Marcia A.; Raghubar, Kimberly P.; Faulkner, Heather; Denton, Carolyn A. 2014. "The construction of visual–spatial situation models in children's reading and their relation to reading comprehension". *Experimental Child Psychology* 119, 101-111.

Bloom, Harold. 2001. *How to read and why*. London: Fourth Estate.

Bobkina, Jelena; Stefanova, Svetlana. 2016. "Literature and critical literacy pedagogy in the EFL classroom: Towards a model of teaching critical thinking skills". *Second Language Learning and Teaching* 6(4), 677-696.

Booth, Wayne C. 2008 (2nd edition). *The rhetoric of fiction*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press ; 2008.

Bredella, Lothar. 2007. „Bildung durch Interaktion zwischen literarischen Texten und Leser/innen. Zur Begründung der rezeptionsästhetischen Literaturdidaktik". *Neue Ansätze und Konzepte der Literatur- und Kulturdidaktik*. Eds. Wolfgang Hallet & Ansgar Nünning. Trier: WVT, 123-143.

Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung. 2017. *Interkulturelle Bildung – Grundsatzerlass 2017: Rundschreiben Nr. 29/2017.* Available at: https://www.bmbwf.gv.at/Themen/schule/schulrecht/rs/1997-2017/2017_29.html [Accessed: 21.01.2020].

Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung. 2018. *Lehrpläne der AHS*. Available at: https://www.bmb.gv.at/schulen/unterricht/lp/ ahs8_782.pdf?5i81ny [Accessed on 24. Sept. 2019).

Bundesministerium für Europa, Integration und Äußeres. 2019. *Integrationsbericht 2019*. Ed. Expertenrat für Integration. Available at: https://www.bmeia.gv.at/fileadmin/user_upload/Zentrale/Integration/Integrationsbericht_2019/Integrationsbericht_2019.pdf [Accessed: 21.01.2020].

Calloway-Thomas, Carolyn. 2018. "A call for a pedagogy of empathy". *Communication Education* 67(4), 495-499.

Caspari, Daniela. 1997. "Übersicht über kreative Umgangsformen mit literarischen Texten". *Der Fremdsprachliche Unterricht Englisch* 3, 44-45.

Council of Europe. 2001. *The Common European Framework of Reference for languages: learning, teaching, assessment*. Cambridge: CUP.

Dawidowski, Christian. 2006. „Theoretische Entwürfe zur Interkulturellen Literaturdidaktik: zur Verbindung pädagogischer und deutschdidaktischer Interkulturalitätskonzepte". *Interkultureller Literaturunterricht*. Ed. Christian Dawidowski. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider, 18-36.

Donnerstag, Jürgen & Wolff, Martina. 2007. „Literarische Texte und Emotionen im Fremdsprachenuntrricht". *Neue Ansätze und Konzepte der Literatur- und Kulturdidaktik*. Ed. Wolfgang Hallet & Ansgar Nünning. Trier: WVT, 143-166.

Ennis, R. H. 1987. "A taxonomy of critical thinking dispositions and abilities". *Teaching thinking skills*. Eds. J. B. Baron & R. J. Sternberg. New York: Freeman, 9-26.

Granena, Gisela. & Long, Michael H. 2013. *Sensitive periods, language aptitude, and ultimate L2 attainment*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hartmann, Ulrike; Sauer, Michael & Hasselhorn, Marcus. 2009. „Perspektivenübernahme als Kompetenz für den Geschichtsunterricht". *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 12(2), 321-342.

Hoggan, Chad; Cranton, Patricia. 2015. "Promoting transformative learning through reading fiction". *Transformative Education* 13(1), 6-25.

Hu, Adelheid. 1997. "Warum ‚*Fremdverstehen*'? Anmerkungen zu einem leitenden Konzept innerhalb eines ‚interkulturell' verstandenen Sprachunterrichts". *Thema Fremdverstehen*. Eds. Lothar Bredella, Herbert Christ & Michael Legutke. Tübingen: Narr, 34-54.

Junker, Christine R. & Jacquemin, Stephen J. 2017. "How does literature affect empathy in students?" *College Teaching* 65(2), 79-87.

Kaiser, Gerhard. 1996. *Wozu noch Literatur? Über Dichtung und Leben*. Beck'sche Reihe: München.

Kim, Young-Suk Grace. 2016. "Direct and mediated effects of language and cognitive skills on comprehension of oral narrative texts (listening comprehension) for children". *Experimental Child Psychology* 141, 101-120.

Kim, Young-Suk Grace. 2017. "Why the simple view of reading is not simplistic: unpacking component skills of reading using a direct and indirect effect model of reading (DIER)". *Scientific Studies of Reading* 21(4), 310-333.

Leubner, Martin; Saupe, Anja & Richter, Matthias. 2016. *Literaturdidaktik*. 3rd ed. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Liddicoat, Anthony & Scarino, Angela. 2013. *Intercultural language teaching and learning*. Chichester UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lightbown, Patsy & Spada, Nina. 2013. *How languages are learned*. 4th ed. Oxford: OUP.

Lind, Georg. 2016. *How to teach morality: promoting deliberation and discussion, reducing violence and deceit*. Berlin: Logos Verlag.

Malti, Tina & Perren, Sonja. 2011. "Social competence". *Encyclopedia of Adolescence* 2, 332-340.

Malti, Tina & Perren, Sonja. 2016. *Soziale Kompetenz bei Kindern und Jugendlichen : Entwicklungsprozesse und Förderungsmöglichkeiten*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

McPeck, J. E. 1981. *Critical thinking and education*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Morris, Amanda Sheffield; Silk, Jennifer S.; Steinberg, Laurence; Myers, Sonya S. & Robinson, Lara Rachel. 2007. "The role of the family context in the development of emotion regulation". *Social Development* 16(2), 361-388.

Nam, Kyoung-Ah & Condon, John. 2010. "The DIE is cast: The continuing evolution of intercultural communication's favorite classroom exercise". *Intercultural Relations* 34(1), 81-87.

Nussbaum, Martha Craven. 1997. *Cultivating humanity: a classical defense of reform in liberal education*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press.

Nünning, Ansgar. 2000. „Intermisunderstanding Prolegomena zu einer literaturdidaktischen Theorie des Fremdverstehens: Erzählerische Vermittlung, Perspektivenwechsel und Perspektivenübernahme". *Wie ist Fremdverstehen lehr- und lernbar?* Ed. Lothar Bredella. Tübingen: Narr, 84-132.

Nünning, Ansgar & Surkamp, Carola. 2008. *Englische Literatur unterrichten: Grundlagen und Methoden*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Klett-Kallmeyer.

Nünning, Ansgar. 2007. "Fremdverstehen und Bildung durch neue Weltansichten: Perspektivenvielfalt, Perspektenwechsel und Perspektivenübernahme durch Literatur". *Neue Ansätze und Konzepte der Literatur- und Kulturdidaktik*. Ed. Wolfgang Hallet & Ansgar Nünning. Trier: WVT, 123-142.

Nünning, Vera & Nünning, Ansgar. 2012. *An introduction to the study of English and American literature*. 10th ed. Stuttgart: Klett Lerntraining.

Nyhout, Angela & O'Neill, Daniela K. "Constructing spatial representations from narratives and non-narrative descriptions: evidence from 7-year-olds". *Informatics* 32, 158-165.

Qureshi, Muhammad Asif. 2016. "A meta-analysis: Age and second language grammar acquisition". *System* 60, 147-160.

Rose-Krasnor, Linda. 1997. "The nature of social competence: A theoretical review". *Social Development* 6(1), 111-135.

Schwerdtfeger, Inge C. 1991. „Kulturelle Symbole und Emotionen im Fremdsprachenunterricht". *Info DaF* 18(3), 237-251.

Shapiro, Johanna; Morrison, Elizabeth; Boker, John. 2004. "Teaching empathy to first year medical students: evaluation of an elective literature and medicine course. *Education for health* 17(1), 73-84.

Spinner, Kaspar H. 2018. *Kreativer Deutschunterricht: Identität - Imagination – Kognition.* 6th ed. Seelze: Klett Kallmeyer.

Stefanova, Svetlana; Bobkina, Jelena & Pérez, Francisco. 2017. "The effectiveness of teaching critical thinking skills through literature in EFL context: a case study in Spain". *Applied Linguistics and English Literature* 6(6), 252-266.

Stormshak, E.A. & Welsh, J.A. 2008. "Enhancing social competence". *Handbook of research methods in developmental science*. Douglas M. Teti (Ed.). Malden, MA: Blackwell, 271-294.

Thaler, Engelbert. 2016. *Teaching English literature*. 2nd ed. Paderborn: UTB.

Wallace, Deanne & Tamborello-Noble, Jocelyn. 2017. "Diverse perspectives of the immigrant experience". *Teaching intercultural competence across the age range: from theory to practice*. Ed. Manuela Wagner, Dorie Perugini Conlon & Michael Byram. Blue Ridge Summit, PA: Multilingual Matters

Wolff, Dieter. 2004. "Kognition und Emotion im Fremdsprachenerwerb". *Emotion und Kognition im Fremdsprachenunterricht*. Ed. Wolfgang Börner. Tübingen: Narr, 87-106.

Literary Science & Linguistics:

Forster, Edward Morgan. 2000 (1927). *Aspects of the novel*. London: Penguin Classics.

Nussbaum, Martha Craven. 1992. *Love's knowledge: essays on philosophy and literature*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Nussbaum, Martha Craven. 1995. *Poetic justice: the literary imagination and public life*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press.

Saricks, Joyce G. 2009. *The readers' advisory guide to genre fiction*. 2nd ed. Chicago: American Library Association.

Simpson, John (ed.). 2016. *Oxford English Dictionary*. (3rd ed. Online). Oxford: OUP.

Thomson, Alex. 2014. "What is literature?" In *The Edinburgh introduction to studying English literature*. 2nd ed. Ed. Dermot Cavanagh. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 3-15.

Whitman, Walt. 1976. *Selected poems*. Ed. & introd. James Reeres and Martin Seymour-Smith. London: Heinemann.

Psychology & Philosophy:

Ames, Daniel L.; Jenkins, Adrianna C.; Banaji, Mahzarin R. & Mitchell, Jason P. 2008. "Taking another person's perspective increases self-referential neural processing". *Psychological Science* 19(7), 642-644.

Aristotle. 1997. *Aristotle's Poetics*. Trans. George Whalley, John Baxter & Patrick Atherton. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Bal, P; Veltkamp, Martijn. 2013. "How does fiction reading influence empathy? An experimental investigation on the role of emotional transportation". *PLoS One* 8(1), e55341.

Baldick, Chris. 2015. *The Oxford dictionary of literary terms*. 4th Ed. [Online] Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www-oxfordreference-om.uaccess.univie.ac.at/view/10.1093/acref/9780198 715443.001.0001/acref-9780198715443-e-661?rskey=7b6ajr&result=1 [accessed 23.12.2019]

Baron-Cohen, S.; Wheelwright, S.; Hill, J.; Raste, Y. & Plumb, I. 2001. "The 'Reading the Mind in the Eyes' test revised version: A study with normal adults, and adults with Asperger syndrome or high-functioning autism". *Child Psychology Psychiatry* 42, 241–251.

Baron-Cohen S. 2011. *Zero degrees of empathy: a new theory of human cruelty*. London: Penguin.

Batson, C. Daniel; Chang, Johee; Orr, Ryan; Rowland, Jennifer. 2002. "Empathy, attitudes, and action: can feeling for a member of a stigmatized group motivate one to help the group?". *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 28(12), 1656-1666.

Batson, C. Daniel; Early, S., & Salvanari, G. 1997. "Perspective taking: Imagining how another feels versus imagining how you would feel". *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 23, 751–758.

Batson, C. Daniel; Fultz, J. & Schoenrade, P. A. 1987. „Distress and empathy: Two qualitatively distinct vicarious emotions with different motivational consequences". *Personality* 55, 19–39.

Batson, C. Daniel & Shaw, Laura L. 1991. "Evidence for altruism: toward a pluralism of prosocial motives". *Psychological Inquiry* 2(2), 107-122.

Belluck, Pam. 2013. "For better social skills, scientists recommend a little Chekhov". Article. New York Times online since 3 October 2013 [Accessed 20 June 2019].

Black, Jessica E.; Barnes, Jennifer L. 2015. "The effects of reading material on social and non-social cognition". *Poetics* 52, 32-43.

Black, Jessica E. 2019. "An IRT Analysis of the Reading the Mind in the Eyes Test". *Personality Assessment* 101(4), 425-433.

Brunner, Jerome. 2004 [1987]. "Life as narrative". *Social Research* 71(3), 691-710.

Bölte, Sven (trans.). 2005. "Reading the mind in the eyes test: Erwachsenenversion". From the English by Simon Baron-Cohen et al. 2001. Accessible from: http://www.as-tt.de/assets/applets/Augentest_Erwachsene.pdf. [Accessed on 30.9.2019].

Busselle, Rick & Bilandzic, Helena. 2009. "Measuring narrative engagement". *Media Psychology* 12(4), 321-347.

Cikara, Mina; Bruneau, Emile G & Saxe, Rebecca R. 2011. "Us and them: Intergroup failures of empathy". Current Directions in Psychological Science 20(3), 149–153.

Chiou, Wen-Bin; Wan, Chin-Sheng; Wu, Wen-Hsiung & Lee, King-Teh. 2017. "A randomized experiment to examine unintended consequences of dietary supplement use among daily smokers: taking supplements reduces self-regulation of smoking". *Addiction*, 106(12), 2221-2228.

Davis, Cassandra; Jiang, Li; Williams, Patti; Drolet, Aimee; Gibbs, Brian J. 2017. "Predisposing customers to be more satisfied by inducing empathy in them". *Cornell Hospitality Quarterly* 58(3), 229-239.

Davis, Mark H. 1983a. "The effects of dispositional empathy on emotional reactions and helping: A multidimensional approach". *Personality* 51(2), 167-184.

Davis, Mark H. 1983b. "Measuring individual differences in empathy: Evidence for a multidimensional approach". *Personality and Social Psychology* 44 (1), 113–126.

Davis, Mark H. 1996. *Empathy: A social psychological approach*. Madison: Westview.

Davis, Mark H. & Franzoi, S. 1991. „Stability and change in adolescent self-consciousness and empathy". *Research in Personality* 25, 70–87.

Davis, Mark H.; Luce, Carol & Kraus, Stephen J. 1994. "The heritability of characteristics associated with dispositional empathy". *Personality* 62(3), 369-391.

Davis, Michael. 1992. *The poetry of philosophy: on Aristotle's Poetics*. Indiana: St Augustine's.

De Corte, K.; Buysse, A.; Verhofstadt, L. L.; Roeyers, H.; Ponnet, K. & Davis, M. H. 2007. „Measuring empathic tendencies: Reliability and validity of the Dutch version of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index". *Psychologica Belgica* 47, 235–260.

Dennett, Daniel C. "Why everyone is a novelist". *The Times Literary Supplement*, September 16-22, 1988. Available from: https://dl.tufts.edu/concern/pdfs/rx9141776 [Accessed on 25.12.2019].

Djikic, Maja; Oatley, Keith; Zoeterman, Sara & Peterson, Jordan B. 2009. "On being moved by art: how reading fiction transforms the self". *Creativity Research* 21(1), 24-29.

Dodell-Feder, David; Tamir, Diana I. 2018. "Fiction reading has a small positive impact on social cognition: a meta-analysis". *Experimental Psychology: General* 147(11), 1713-1727.

D'Onise, Katina; Lynch, John W; Sawyer, Michael G & Mcdermott, Robyn A. 2010. "Can preschool improve child health outcomes? A systematic review". *Social Science & Medicine* 70(9), 1423-1440.

Dworkin, Gerald. 1988. *The theory and practice of autonomy*. Cambridge: CUP.

Edelstein, Wolfgang; Keller, Monika & Wahlen, Karl. 1984. "Structure and content in social cognition: conceptual and empirical analyses". *Child Development* 55(4), 1514-1526.

Eisenberg, Nancy. 2000. "Emotion, regulation, and moral development". *Annual Review of Psychology* 51, 665–697.

Eisenberg, Nancy & Eggum, Natalie. 2009. „Empathic responding: Sympathy and personal distress". *The social neuroscience of empathy*. J. Decety & W. Ickes. Eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 71–83.

Eyal, Tal; Steffel, Mary & Epley, Nicholas. 2018. "Perspective mistaking: accurately understanding the mind of another requires getting perspective, not taking perspective". *Personality and Social Psychology* 114(4), 547-571.

Farrelly, Daniel; Bennett, Michael. 2018. "Empathy leads to increased online charitable behaviour when time is the currency". *Community & Applied Social Psychology* 28(1), 42-46.

Finlay, Krystina A.; Stephan, Walter G. 2000. "Improving intergroup relations: the effects of empathy on racial attitudes". *Applied Social Psychology* 30(8), 1720-1737.

Galinsky, Adam D; Maddux, William W; Gilin, Debra & White, Judith B. 2008. "Why it pays to get inside the head of your opponent: the differential effects of perspective taking and empathy in Negotiations". *Psychological Science* 19(4), 378-384.

Gregory, Robert J.; Canning, Sally Schwer; Lee, Tracy W. & Wise, Joan C. "Cognitive bibliotherapy for depression: a meta-analysis". *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* 35(3), 275-280.

Hammer M.R.; Bennett M.J. & Wiseman R. 2003. "Measuring intercultural sensitivity: the intercultural development inventory". *Intercultural Relations* 27:421–43.

Hawk, Skyler T.; Keijsers, Loes; Branje, Susan J. T; Graaff, Jolien Van Der; Wied, Minet de; Meeus, Wim. 2013. „Examining the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) among early and late adolescents and their mothers". *Personality Assessment* 95(1), 96-106.

Hein, Grit; Engelmann, Jan B.; Vollberg, Marius C. & Tobler, Philippe N. 2016. "How learning shapes the empathic brain". *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 113(1), 80-85.

Hoffman, Martin L. *Empathy and moral development: implications for caring and justice*. Cambridge: CUP.

Hoffman, Martin. 2008. *Empathy and prosocial behavior*. *Handbook of emotions*. M. Lewis, J. M. Haviland-Jones, & L. F. Barrett. Eds. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Guilford, 440–455.

Holt-Lunstad, Julianne; Smith, Timothy B; Baker, Mark; Harris, Tyler & Stephenson, David. 2015. "Loneliness and social isolation as risk factors for mortality: a meta-analytic review". *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 10(2), 227-237.

Hume, David. 2003 [1739]. Treatise of Human Nature. Project Gutenberg: https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/4705 (accessed on 14.12.2019).

James, Spencer L; Abate, Degu; Abate, Kalkidan Hassen; Abay, Solomon M; Abbafati, Cristiana; Abbasi, Nooshin; Abbastabar, Hedayat; Abd-Allah, Foad; Abdela, Jemal; Abdelalim, Ahmed; Abdollahpour, Ibrahim; Abdulkader, Rizwan Suliankatchi; Abebe, Zegeye; Abera, Semaw F; Abil, Olifan Zewdie; Abraha, Haftom Niguse; Abu-Raddad, Laith J; Abu-Rmeileh, Niveen M. E; Stovner, Lars Jacob; Murray, Christopher J. L. 2018. "Global, regional, and national incidence, prevalence, and years lived with

disability for 354 diseases and injuries for 195 countries and territories, 1990–2017: a systematic analysis for the Global Burden of Disease Study 2017". *Global health metrics* 392(10159), 1789-1858.

Johnson, Dan R. 2012. "Transportation into a story increases empathy, prosocial behavior, and perceptual bias toward fearful expressions". *Personality and Individual Differences* 52(2), 150-155.

Johnson, Mark. 1993. *Moral imagination: implications of cognitive science for ethics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Johnson, Mark. 2016. "Moral imagination". *The Routledge handbook of philosophy of imagination*. Ed. Amy Kind. London: Routledge, 355-367.

Kafka, Franz. 1980. *Briefe: 1902- 1924*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag.

Kant, Immanuel. 1968 [1902]. *Kants Werke. Akademie-Textausgabe. Band IV: Logik, physische Geographie, Pädagogik.* Berlin; De Gruyter.

Kant, Immanuel. 1991 [1785]. *The moral law: Kant's groundwork of the metaphysic of morals*. Trans. H. J. Paton. London: Routledge.

Kant, Immanuel. 2015 [1775–80]. *Kant's lectures = Kants Vorlesungen*. Ed. Bernd Dörflinger, Claudio La Rocca & Robert Louden. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Kant, Immanuel. 2009 [1788]. *The critique of practical reason; works.* Trans. Thomas Kingsmill Abbott. Waiheke Island: Floating Press.

Khan, U & Dhar, R. 2006. "Licensing effect in consumer choice." *Marketing Research* 43(2), 259-266.

Kidd, David Comer; Castano, Emanuele. 2013. "Reading literary fiction improves theory of mind". *Science* 342(6156), 1-6.

Kidd, David; Castano, Emanuele. 2017. "Different stories: how levels of familiarity with literary and genre fiction relate to mentalizing". *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts* 11(4), 474-486.

Kidd, David Comer; Castano, Emanuele. 2017. "Panero et al. (2016): Failure to Replicate Methods Caused the Failure to Replicate Results". *Personality and Social Psychology* 112(3), e1-e4.

Kidd, David; Castano, Emanuele. 2019. "Reading literary fiction and theory of mind: three preregistered replications and extensions of Kidd and Castano (2013)". *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 10(4), 522-531.

Kim, Jung-Hyun. 2019. "Longitudinal associations among psychological issues and problematic use of smartphones". *Media Psychology: Theories, Methods, and Applications* 31(3), 117-127.

Koopman, Eva Maria (Emy). 2015. "Empathic reactions after reading: The role of genre, personal factors and affective responses". *Poetics* 2015 50, 62-79.

van Kuijk, Iris; Verkoeijen, Peter; Dijkstra, Katinka; Zwaan, Rolf A. 2018. "The effect of reading a short passage of literary fiction on theory of mind: a replication of Kidd and Castano (2013)". *Collabra: Psychology* 4(1).

Kuiken, D.; Mial, D. S. & Sikora, S. 2004. „Forms of self-implication in literary reading". *Poetics Today* 25 171–203.

Leiberg, Susanne; Klimecki, Olga; Singer, Tania & Verdejo García, Antonio. 2011. "Short-term compassion training increases prosocial behavior in a newly developed prosocial game (compassion training increases prosocial behavior)". *PLoS ONE* 6(3), p.e17798.

Leung, Kwok; Ang, Soon & Tan, Mei Ling. 2014. „Intercultural competence". *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior* 11(1), 489-519.

Lovett, B. J. & Sheffield, R. 2007. "Affective empathy deficits in aggressive children and adolescents: A critical review". *Clinical Psychology Review* 27, 1–13.

Luecken, Linda J; Roubinov, Danielle S; Tanaka, Rika; Butler, Emily A (Ed) & Sbarra, David A (Ed). 2013. "Childhood family environment, social competence, and health across the lifespan". *Social and Personal Relationships* 30(2), 171-178.

Mar, Raymond A.; Oatley, Keith; Hirsh, Jacob; Dela Paz, Jennifer; Peterson, Jordan B. 2006. "Bookworms versus nerds: Exposure to fiction versus non-fiction, divergent associations with social ability, and the simulation of fictional social worlds". *Research in Personality* 40(5), 694-712.

Mar, Raymond A. Oatley, Keith. Peterson, Jordan B. 2009. "Exploring the link between reading fiction and empathy: Ruling out individual differences and examining outcomes". *Communications* 34(4), 407-428.

Matherne, Samantha. 2016. "Kant's theory of the imagination". *The Routledge handbook of philosophy of imagination*. London: Routledge, 55-68.

Mol, Suzanne E. & Bus, Adriana G. 2011. "To read or not to read: a meta-analysis of print exposure from infancy to early adulthood". *Psychological Bulletin* 137(2), 267-296.

Monin, Benoît & Miller, Dale T. 2001. "Moral credentials and the expression of prejudice". *Personality and Social Psychology,* 81(1), 33-43.

Moore, Mariah & Gordon, Peter. 2015. "Reading ability and print exposure: item response theory analysis of the author recognition test". *Behavior Research Methods* 47(4), 1095-1109.

Mumper, Micah L.; Gerrig, Richard J. 2017. „Leisure reading and social cognition: a meta-analysis". *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts* 11(1), 109-120.

Neumann, Melanie; Scheffer, Christian; Tauschel, Diethard; Lutz, Gabriele; Wirtz, Markus; Edelhäuser, Friedrich. 2012. „Physician empathy: Definition, outcome-relevance and its measurement in patient care and medical education [Ärztliche Empathie: Definition, Outcome-Relevanz und Messung in der Patientenversorgung und medizinischen Ausbildung]". *GMS Zeitschrift für Medizinische Ausbildung*, 29(1), Doc11.

Northrup, David A. 1997. *The problem of the self-report in survey research: working paper*. North York, Ont.: Institute for Social Research.

Nussbaum, Martha Craven. 2001. *Upheavals of thought: the intelligence of emo*tions. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Oatley, Keith. 1999. "Why fiction may be twice as true as fact: Fiction as cognitive and emotional simulation". *Review of General Psychology* 3(2), 101–117.

Panero, Maria Eugenia.; Weisberg, Deena Skolnick.; Black, Jessica.; Goldstein, Thalia R.; Barnes, Jennifer L.; Brownell, Hiram; Winner, Ellen; Smith, Eliot R. (editor). 2016. "Does reading a single passage of literary fiction really improve theory of mind? An attempt at replication". *Personality and Social Psychology* 111(5), 46-54.

Prinz, Jesse J. 2011. "Against empathy". *Southern Philosophy* 49, 214-233.

Prinz, Jesse J. 2011a. "Is empathy necessary for morality?". *Empathy: Philosophical and Psychological Perspectives*. Ed. Amy Coplan & Peter Goldie. Oxford: OUP.

Richardson, D. R.; Green, L. R. & Lago, T. 1998. "The relationship between perspective-taking and nonaggressive responding in the face of an attack". Personality 66, 235–256.

Richardson, D. R.; Hammock, G. S., Smith; S. M., Gardner, W. & Signo M. 1994. "Empathy as a cognitive inhibitor of interpersonal aggression". *Aggressive Behavior* 20, 275–289.

Ricœur, Paul. 1990. *A Ricoeur reader: reflection and imagination*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rorty, Richard. 2001. "Redemption from egotism: James and Proust as spiritual exercises". *Telos: Revista de Estudios Interdisciplinarios en Ciencias Sociales* 3(3), 243-263.

Roth, Eric. 2017. "Pro-social behavior: contributions of religiosity, empathic concern, and spirituality". *Latin American Religions* 1(2), 401-417.

Samur, Dalya; Tops, Mattie; Koole, Sander L. 2018. "Does a single session of reading literary fiction prime enhanced mentalising performance? Four replication experiments of Kidd and Castano (2013)". *Cognition and Emotion* 32(1), 130-144.

Saroglou, Vassilis; Pichon, Isabelle; Trompette, Laurence; Verschueren, Marijke & Dernelle, Rebecca. 2005. „Prosocial behavior and religion: new evidence based on projective measures and peer ratings". *Scientific Study of Religion*, 44(3), 323-348.

Sartre, Jean-Paul & Maccombie, John. 1964. "Black Orpheus". *The Massachusetts Review* 6(1), 13-52.

Schmitt, Sara; Lewis, Kendra; Duncan, Robert; Korucu, Irem; Napoli, Amy. 2018. „The effects of positive action on preschoolers' social–emotional competence and health behaviors". *Early Childhood Education* 46(1), 141-151.

Shamay-Tsoory, Simone G; Aharon-Peretz, Judith & Perry, Daniella. 2009. "Two systems for empathy: a double dissociation between emotional and cognitive empathy in inferior frontal gyrus versus ventromedial prefrontal lesions". *Brain* 132(3), 617-627.

Shih, Margaret J.; Stotzer, Rebecca; Gutiérrez, Angélica S. 2013. "Perspective-adoption and empathy: generalizing the reduction of group bias towards Asian Americans to general outgroups". *Asian American Psychology* 4(2), 79-83.

Sierksma, Jellie; Thijs, Jochem; Verkuyten, Maykel. 2015. „In-group bias in children's intention to help can be overpowered by inducing empathy". *Developmental Psychology* 33(1), 45-56.

Singer, Tania & Klimecki, Olga M. 2014. "Empathy and compassion*". Current Biology*, 24(18), R875-R878.

Smith, Adam. 2002 [1759]. *The theory of moral sentiments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stanovich, Keith E. & West, Richard F. 1989. "Author recognition test". *Reading Research Quarterly* 24(4), 402-433.

Strawson, Galen. 2004. "Against narrativity". *Ratio* 17.4, 428-452.

Stürmer, Stefan; Snyder, Mark & Omoto, Allen M. 2005. „Prosocial emotions and helping: the moderating role of group membership". *Personality and Social Psychology* 88(3), 532-546.

Tamir, Diana I; Bricker, Andrew B; Dodell - Feder, David; Mitchell, Jason P. 2016. "Reading fiction and reading minds: the role of simulation in the default network". *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience* 11(2), 215-224.

Tanner, R. J. & Carlson, K. A. 2008. "Unrealistically optimistic consumers: a selective hypothesis testing account for optimism in predictions of future behaviour". *Consumer Research* 35, 810-822.

Tappolet, Christine. 2016. *Emotions, Values, and Agency*. Oxford: OUP.

Theurer, Kristine & Wister, Andrew. 2010. "Altruistic behaviour and social capital as predictors of well-being among older Canadians". *Ageing and Society* 30(1), 157-181.

Thompson, Kayleigh & Chambliss, Catherine. 2016. "Empathy and depression: too much or too little empathy?" *Empathy rules: depression, schadenfreude, and freudenfreude research on depression risk factors and treatment*. Ed. Catherine Chambliss & Amy Hartl. New York: Nova Science.

Weng, Helen Y; Fox, Andrew S; Shackman, Alexander J; Stodola, Diane E; Caldwell, Jessica Z. K; Olson, Matthew C; Rogers, Gregory M & Davidson, Richard J. 2013. "Compassion training alters altruism and neural responses to suffering. *Psychological Science* 24(7), 1171-1180.

World Health Organisation. https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/depression

Zaki, Jamil. 2014. "Empathy: a motivated account". *Psychological Bulletin* 140(6), 1608-1647.