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"The Portrayal of Paddington Bear as 'Racialised Other' in Michael Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington* (1958) and Paul King's *Paddington* (2014)"

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To my family and friends.

It just does not bear thinking about where I would be without them.

List of abbreviations

ABCP
Abroad
Goes to Town
Here and Now
On Top
P1
P2
Races Ahead Paddington Races Ahead (Bond, 2012

List of figures

Fig. 1: scene establishing shot (P1, 00:11:34) $\dots \dots \dots$	37
Fig. 2: Mr Brown's protective gesture (P1, 00:12:37)	38
Fig. 3: Mary and Paddington separated by the other Browns (P1, 00:13:10)	40
Fig. 4: two shot of an impatient Mr Brown, turned away from Paddington (P1, $00:14:07$)	.41
Fig. 5: a billboard (right) warning citizens about doorstop crime (P1, 00:32:57)	43
Fig. 6: "ursine risk analysis" (P1, 00:24:48)	45
Fig. 7: Mr Curry's formal introduction in a 'Dutch angle' (P1, 00:31:39)	47
Fig. 8: mimicry and mockery (P1, 00:33:31)	56
Fig. 9: Millicent towering over Paddington (P1, 01:06:41)	58
Fig. 10: a hard stare (P1, 00:47:31)	68

Table of Contents

1.	Intro	oduction	
	1.1	Research Focus and Hypotheses	
	1.2	Thesis Outline	
2.		oretical Framework	
	2.1	Literature Review	
	2.2	Work Definitions and Key Concepts	
	2.3	Thesis Caveats	
	2.4	Methodology	. 19
3.	A Be	ear Called Paddington (1958)	
	3.1	Contextualisation of the Work	. 22
		3.1.1 The Author Michael Bond	
		3.1.2 Genre Classificiation: Magic Realism	
		3.1.3 Temporal Context: Britain in the 1950s and 1960s	
	3.2	Plot Summary	
	3.3	Interpretation of Selected Passages	
		3.3.1 'Darkest Peru' – Paddington's Home Country	
		3.3.2 Stowaway – Category Labels for Migrants	
		3.3.3 The Christening of the Bear	. 30
4.	Pade	dington (2014)	32
	4.1	Contextualisation of the Work	. 32
		4.1.1 The Director Paul King	
		4.1.2 Temporal Context: Britain in the 2000s and 2010s	
	4.2	Plot Summary	
	4.3	Interpretation of Selected Scenes	
		4.3.1 Henry Brown	
		4.3.1.1 The Initial Meeting	
		4.3.1.2 Of Mimicry and Bear I: Mary Brown	
		4.3.1.3 The Christening of the Bear	
		4.3.1.4 The Stranger in the House	
		4.3.1.5 Taxicab Drive	
		4.3.1.6 Of Millinery and Bear II: Mr Brown	
		4.3.2.1 The Stranger in the Neighbourhood	
		4.3.2.2 The Stranger in the Home Country	
		4.3.3 Millicent Clyde	
		4.3.3.1 Postcolonial Melancholia	
		4.3.3.2 Taxidermy and the Racial Epidermal Schema	
		4.3.3.3 Of Mimicry and Bear III: Millicent Clyde	
	4.4	Preliminary Conclusion	
5.	Civi	lity	
J.	5.1	Contextualisation of the Topic	
	5.2	"If We're Kind and Polite" – Aunt Lucy's Adage	
	5.3	Racial Socialisation and Necropolitical Vulnerability	
	5.4	Colonial and Conservative Conceptualisation of Civility	

	5.5	Hard Stares
	5.6	Preliminary Conclusion
6.	Cond	usion
7.	Refe	ences
Abst	ract.	
Zusa	mmei	assung

1. Introduction¹

When *A Bear Called Paddington* was published in 1958, author Michael Bond did not expect to write a second book about the talking bear from 'Darkest Peru' and his adventures in postwar London, much less that Paddington would go on to become one of Britain's most beloved literary characters and subject of a great many books, TV shows, stage plays and films. Yet, not only is Paddington one of the most famous characters in British children's literature, he is arguably also one of Britain's most prominent migrants. As a new generation is now discovering Paddington for the first time thanks to the critically acclaimed films directed by Paul King and produced by StudioCanal (2014 and 2017), Paddington's status as an 'irregular' migrant – he is native to 'Darkest Peru' and arrives in London as a 'stowaway' on a lifeboat – provokes a critical examination, especially considering the temporal change from a postwar London characterised by colonial migration to a contemporary United Kingdom, defined significantly by the 2016 referendum to leave the European Union.

Whereas the films tell original stories about the accident-prone bear, certain elements needed to be grandfathered in from Michael Bond's episodic, domestic fantasy books given the audience's pre-existing knowledge and expectations. Paddington's ethnic origins and his initial meeting with the Browns, the British middle-class family of four that takes him in, are most noteworthy among these. Michael Bond repeatedly stated in interviews that memories of his encounters with WWII children evacuees who were forced to flee London inspired his writing during the first Paddington book (BAKER 15). Coincidentally, Bond happened to publish his early books in a time when Britain was becoming multicultural very fast (A. Smith 27) due to migration from former colonies (Castles and Miller 73). These ethnographic changes were met with negative reactions from both the British society at large (GRAYSON 378) and conservative politicians who answered with an instigation of laws aimed at restricting immigration (Castles and Miller 73). While the early books' socio-historical backdrop of 1950s and 1960s Britain differs significantly from the political circumstances surrounding the recent film adaptations, the reactions to migrated citizens from these two periods bear some resemblance to one another. This is exemplified through both periods' methods of restricting citizenship to 'native-born'3 - that is, implicitly white - Britons or the culmination of racial

An exposé assignment for UE Schreibwerkstätte - Grundlagen interdisziplinärer Gender Studies (SS2019-240031) at University Vienna has been adapted and reused for parts of this chapter.

I use the term 'irregular' instead of the more common 'illegal' as the latter has deprecatory connotations (Koser 17) and is merely the consequence of legislature aimed at regulating migration (Castles and Miller 96).

I will use the adjective 'native-born' in single quotation marks in reference to people born in a particular place throughout this thesis. The word choice is preferable to 'native,' which has strong colonial conno-

violence such as the so-called Notting Hill race riots of 1958 or the significant spike in hate crimes following the EU referendum of 2016 ('Brexit'). Even if the two surveyed time periods are emphatically not treated as synonymous with each other, their apparent commonality provides a frame of reference for a diachronic comparison of the fictional bear and the resultant assessment of its changes and alterations over the last six decades.

1.1 Research Focus and Hypotheses

The research focus of my thesis is the portrayal of Paddington as a migrant and 'racialised Other' in the two recent films by StudioCanal. This inquiry originates in the presupposition that Britain's imperial past - be it a nostalgia for empire (theorised by Paul Gilroy as 'postcolonial melancholia') or the comeback of racial tropes (Shabi) – keeps re-emerging in British (popular) media during times of civil and political discord. The Paddington franchise currently bridges two of those junctures and thereby also bookends six decades of British history: A Bear Called Paddington was released during the 1950s in the prime of the so-called 'Windrush generation,' which was named after the Afro-Caribbean migrants that arrived in London on the HMT Empire Windrush in 1948 but is used to collectively refer to the subsequent generation of Commonwealth migrants as well (BUETTNER 254-255), whereas the Paddington films of the 2010s were released in the years surrounding 'Brexit'. These aforementioned time periods' similitude raises questions of the distinctiveness and malleability of Paddington's portrayal throughout media and time. Has his portrayal from Bond's early books to King's current films changed and if so, how? Does the characterisation of the young bear merely reflect a British majority's hegemonic sentiments about migrant minorities or do the Paddington books and films offer counter-narratives? Finally, and most importantly, does a postcolonial interpretation of the films indicate a colonial subtext in the popular media on Britain's most famous ursine migrant?

To answer these questions, I will make the similarities and differences in Paddington's characterisation tangible by contrasting the text of the early children's books to the two recent StudioCanal films. By virtue of the Paddington franchise's extensive catalogue⁴, limitations to the surveyed materials are a necessity. Thus my main focus will be on the first Paddington

tations ("native, adj." def. 11a), and 'autochthonous,' which seems more appropriate in biological, medical and geological contexts ("autochthonous"). I use the term exclusively for distinguishing purposes in instances when having two categories of 'native-born' and not serves the argumentation.

Due to the lack of a single authoritative source, slightly differing accounts exist on the Paddington canon but it is safe to state that there are around 22 novels (including special publications), many single-story picture books, three TV series with a forth announced for 2020, and two feature films with a third instalment expected to be released in 2020 (ASH AND BOND 135-140; KESLASSY; PADDINGTON.COM; REED).

book (A Bear Called Paddington, 1958) and the first of the two recent films (Paddington, 2014). References to and examples from other publications of the Paddington franchise are inevitable but limited. The great exception in this delimitation of material is a central statement from Paddington 2 (2017) which provides additional context for the understanding of the eponymous character and his behaviour and beliefs in both films. Therefore, chapter five will also incorporate a few examples from Paddington 2 albeit without the same level of detail that is necessitated for the discussion of its predecessor.

I hypothesise that the Paddington films take a decidedly positive stance towards migration and multiculturalism, and accordingly become part of a counter-narrative to contemporary nationalist sentiments that are spurred by the conservative right-wing of British politics. To test this hypothesis, I will first examine how Paddington is characterised by his three (quasi) 'antagonists' - Mr Brown (Hugh Bonneville), the distrustful neighbour Mr Curry (Peter Capaldi) and the first film's villain Millicent Clyde (Nicole Kidman) - and how these characterisations evoke, perpetuate or, alternatively, challenge colonial discourses. At the same time, I propose that the colonial undertones of the early Paddington books – while extenuated in the cinematic manifestations – have not disappeared entirely, and that Paddington's ethos of being 'kind and polite' cannot be read exclusively as a pedagogical instruction to the films' young viewers, but may also be interpreted as an imperative on how immigrants ought to behave in order to become naturalised citizens. As a consequence, my second main focus will be on how concepts of civility have been constructed in colonial and contemporary contexts to consolidate the perception of marginalised groups (of indigenous, colonial or foreign origin) as 'the Other.' These two foci – the cinematic portrayal of Paddington as propagated by three adversarial characters and the discussion of 'hegemonic civility' as a cultural-racist strategy of strengthening the othering of certain groups - are intended to supplement each other and yield a thorough analysis of Paddington as the 'racialised Other.'

My research aims to offer a critical examination of an under-researched pop culture icon; one that has gained only more relevancy in recent years as the political landscape of the United Kingdom (and elsewhere) has veered into populist and reactionary directions. Children's media has the potential to oppose dominant discourses on race and ethnicity (Grzegorczyk 17) and may aid to create "a vital form of moral discourse that grants a unique insight into the means of social renewal and regeneration available to the Western world" (126). It needs to be examined whether Paddington can be a popular icon to educate current and future generations about the merits of migration and multiculturalism, or even pass on his ethos of kindness as verbalised through Aunt Lucy's adage – "If you're kind and polite, the world will be right" (*P2*, 00:13:05; 00:42:02) – and exemplified through his own behaviour in both films.

1.2 Thesis Outline

Following this general introduction, I will now provide an overview of the thesis' structure. In chapter two, I will outline the theoretical framework, beginning with a review of pre-existing research on Paddington. After that, I will identify more general literature that facilitates the critical analysis of the character, such as works on children's literature through a postcolonial lens and publications on the symbolic function of (anthropomorphised) animals in media (chapter 2.1). In chapter 2.2, I will provide work definitions to the most significant terms and then introduce the major theoretical concepts used in my analysis, most noteworthy Paul Gilroy's 'postcolonial melancholia,' Sara Ahmed's 'strangerness,' Homi Bhabha's 'mimicry,' Frantz Fanon's 'racial epidermal schema,' and Achille Mbembe's 'necropolitics.' Chapter 2.3 addresses potential caveats of my thesis and its theoretical focus, respectively. Finally, chapter 2.4 will lay out the methods I employ to analyse the films that simultaneously facilitate a comparison to the novels⁵ while also permit the application of critical theory.

Chapter three centres on the first Paddington novel, *A Bear Called Paddington* (1958). In this chapter, biographic details on author Michael Bond, a plot summary, as well as a literary and historical contextualisation cater to place the book's release in a broader discourse of Britain in the 1950s and 1960s, in particular regarding race and migrant issues of the time. I will then analyse selected excerpts from the book, in particular the first chapter, and perform a postcolonial interpretation with the assistance of pre-existing literary criticism.

The focus of chapter four is on the first Paddington film, *Paddington* (2014). Parallel to chapter three, biographic details on director Paul King, a plot summary of the film, context on the film's creation and its place in British cinema, as well as a brief sociohistorical contextualisation ought to bring the film's text and themes in discussion with contemporary UK politics and its citizens' attitudes on migration. In addition to contrasting chapter three's selected passages to their cinematic counterparts and evaluating their similarities and differences through a postcolonial lens, this chapter is concurrently divided into three subchapters, each revolving around one of the film's antagonistic characters: Mr Brown (4.3.1), Mr Curry (4.3.2) and Millicent Clyde (4.3.3). This antagonism is brought forth largely due to Paddington's outward appearance and is, at least in Millicent's case, the product of dated biological racism.

Chapter five centres the discussion on Paddington himself. The purpose of this chapter is to look beyond the bear's 'exterior' and challenge his 'kind and polite' conduct and ethos

It is difficult to unequivocally classify the Paddington books. They usually contain an average of seven stories each and could therefore be described as short story collections, as well. Given that individual episodes are sometimes connected by overarching story lines and the repackaging of episodes from different books into new collections, I have decided to describe the Paddington books as novels in this thesis.

with regard to contemporary discourses on civility. Unlike chapter four's analysis of predominantly biological and scientific racism as the basis in othering Paddington, this chapter instead focuses on cultural constructions of difference by way of said civility concepts. First, I will analyse Aunt Lucy's adage from *Paddington 2* (2017) in depth to then reflect on civility in general: how was it conceptualised in colonial times and how are current constructions of the term weaponised against minority groups. Finally, the chapter closes with an argumentation on Paddington's signature 'hard stares' that, at first, suggest a digression from his 'kind and polite' nature.

Finally, I conclude that while the Paddington films amend some of the early novels' colonial subtext, the cinematic portrayal of Paddington as well-spoken and polite migrant remains equivocal. As the films content themselves mostly with the rejection of antiquated biological racism and a caricature of modern conservative beliefs, extradiegetic and extratextual knowledge is critical to uncover the films' full ideological potential. In the end, the films offer the audience unfaltering optimism as an answer to contemporary societal ills.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Literature Review

Despite the clear postcolonial focus of this work, this thesis necessarily also encompasses theory from various other fields. To meaningfully contrast the book *A Bear Called Paddington* (1958) with not just the film *Paddington* (2014) but also their respective societal and political backdrops, a moderately broad theoretical basis is required. This chapter will highlight the most significant works and concepts that have been utilised in constructing a theoretical foundation.

Naturally, literature research is the initial step in this process. Yet, scholarly work with Paddington as its research subject has been rather scarce to date. Two academic analyses, both focusing predominantly on A Bear Called Paddington, are central for this thesis: Angela Smith's paper on immigration and otherness in Bond's Paddington books (2006) and Kyle Grayson's interpretation of Paddington as a 'foreign subject' in a liberal society (2013). As the ensuing chapter will show, Smith highlights some of Bond's curious linguistic choices and identifies the presence of a colonial subtext by compiling examples of how Paddington is othered in the text, either directly or by way of his home country. She concludes that the book's stories "present the case for toleration and understanding towards immigrants in general, but with the condition that the immigrant conforms to the dominant culture's norms" (A. SMITH 48). My thesis will expand on Smith's assessment and argue that two of Paddington's antagonists, Mr Curry and Millicent Clyde, deny Paddington said option to 'conform to the dominant culture's norms' by marking him as too different – too other – to become a naturalised citizen. Grayson's analysis, on the other hand, centres on the bordering practices of a liberal society (such as the United Kingdom) that covertly separate foreigners like Paddington from society at large. In reference to Bond's novels, Grayson remarks how Paddington, the immigrant, is portrayed as unhygienic, poor and uneducated and by implication "a socioeconomic threat, a harbinger of Malthusian demise, an eraser of cultural identity and a resource drain" (390). In my thesis, his main argument on Paddington as symbol of a liberal society's fear of the 'Other' is integral to the discussion on how ideas of 'civility' are frequently conceptualised by (conservative) pundits and politicians for the purpose of othering marginalised groups.

An explicitly postcolonial albeit brief interpretation of Paddington is provided by Peter Hunt and Karen Sands in their survey of British post-empire children's literature. While they refer to Bond's bear protagonist only in passing, Paddington's willingness to abandon his original name and language is interpreted as the British society's instruction to foreigners seeking integration (48). In this regard, their interpretation resembles Smith's conclusion and can be linked to various historic examples such as naming of slaves or working-class indigenous, Black⁶ people, people of colour and other non-white groups (henceforth BAME⁷) under British colonial rule (see for example FISHER 60) or suggested adoption of Anglicised names by Asian migrants in contemporary times. Hunt and Sands' contribution is included in an anthology on children's literature from a postcolonial perspective (McGillis, 2000); an anthology, which, along with Blanka Grzegorczyk's *Discourses of Postcolonialism in Contemporary British Children's Literature* (2015), informs the underpinning to my own analysis.

These publications contest that as the British Empire and its colonial violence gave way to new discriminatory practices along racial lines in post-war Britain, neocolonialist themes emerged in children's literature that presented minority cultures as inferior to a 'native-born' English national culture (Grzegorczyk 37; McGillis xxiv). Hunt and Sands similarly suggest that the animal protagonists in British post-war books for children come to realise that 'majority culture' Britons are still in control, as if the British Empire had never ceased to be (48). At the same time, Hunt and Sands see potential in children's literature to undermine some parts of a (neo)colonial discourse, if not in its entirety (42). Grzegorczyk corroborates the assertion and maintains that "the children's book [...] both colludes with and opposes particular ideologies of race" (17). Furthermore, children's literature may be beneficial to a new British generation's moral growth, the recognition of their nation's postcolonial heritage (126), and ultimately help bring about a greater understanding of discourses on race and ethnicity, to furthermore advance the goal of a true global postcoloniality (XIE 13).

A claim that is sometimes made by children's literature scholars is that children's literature, too, is a site of colonisation, namely "the colonisation of children by imperialist adults" (Grzegorczyk 22). The argument can be condensed to the assertion that "children submit to the power and authority of adults" in the same way that "colonized subjects eventually submit to the power and authority of colonialism" (Eckford-Prossor 247). This analogy is not entirely convincing, as race and class politics are neglected (Grzegorczyk 23) and thereby also the fact that the intended 'Western' readership is part of a privileged majority (Reimer 111). What is more, children can eventually age into adults whereas colonised people cannot outgrow their colonised position (Ramraj 263-264). As a consequence, the exploration of this proposition lies outside the scope of this thesis.

The convention to capitalise 'Black' throughout the thesis follows Patricia Hill Collins' *Black Feminist Thought*.

I use the acronym BAME (for Black, Asian and minority ethnic) in contexts like these, when referring to this broad and heterogeneous group of people. The acronym strives for inclusivity as some Black people do not self-identify as people of colour (HAMPTON), and does not centre whiteness as the similarly encompassing term 'non-whites' would.

Regarding Paddington's place in British literature in general, Louisa Smith and Maggie Ann Bowers offer two seemingly disparate classifications. While the former describes the Paddington series as an example of 'domestic fantasy,' which features stories set in plausibly real domestic scenarios with the exception of a fantastic element (L. Smith 293, 298), the latter relegates Paddington to 'magic realism,' which presents its audience with a plausibly real world in spite of one or more magical elements (Bowers 20-21). Hence, Smith and Bowers unmistakably classify Paddington alike albeit through differing descriptors. I have adopted the 'magic realism' designation in this work and will expand on this preliminary classification in chapter 3.1, which provides some context to the early Paddington books in relation to British literature and society at the time.

The magical (or fantastical) element that Smith and Bowers refer to is clearly Paddington himself, an anthropomorphic bear with human traits. To discuss the symbolism of anthropomorphism in context of the Paddington franchise, I rely on Anne Royall Newman's "Images of the Bear in Children's Literature" (1987), and more importantly Gail F. Melson's Why the Wild Things Are: Animals in the Lives of Children (2001). Anthropomorphism in this thesis is understood as "the attribution of human personality or characteristics to something non-human, as an animal" ("anthropomorphism," def. 1b), which in Paddington's case means that he is walking upright on his hind legs, using his paws as hands, mostly behaves like humans would, speaks English flawlessly, and dresses (or is dressed) in human clothes. Anthropomorphised animals have possibly been a staple of literature since time immemorial; particularly in fables, the most enduring genre to feature animal characters, with its earliest popular examples being Aesop's fables from 550 BCE (Lefkowitz 2). Animals have taken on protagonist roles even in the comparatively young genre of children's literature since the nineteenth century (MAGEE 157). Furthermore, the 'animalisation' of the genre increased noticeably during the twentieth century and reflected a societal shift in conceiving bears as wild and dangerous creatures in the seventeenth and eighteenth century to innocent Teddy bears in the beginning of the twentieth century (Melson 143). Paddington epitomises this development as the kind and polite bear that has yielded most of typical animal behaviour.

For children, Paddington's civilised nature and largely human conduct undoubtedly facilitates self-identification. Animal protagonists usually mark children's initial encounter with literature (139-140), and in particular books for young children (up to age five) predominantly feature animal characters (133). In a 1950s study, 74% of third-graders voiced a preference for stories containing animals over identical stories containing humans (BOYD AND MANDLER 396). Animals are viewed as interspecies peers (Melson 25) and represent "a meaning system through which children make sense of both themselves and their surrounding environments"

(15). It seems that children can identify more easily with an animal protagonist than another child, which is reflected in contemporary children's literature with its abundance of "anthropomorphized, neotenous animal stand-ins for children" (142). This means that it is possible to draw a connection from animals in literature to humans and assert that the former can function as a symbolic stand-in for the (child) reader (Melson 156, Newman 132). It may be concluded that Paddington can be discussed as a symbolic child if it were not for the ambiguities surrounding his age⁸. Angela Smith, for example, concurs that "he is clearly not a child any more than he is an adult" (47). The resulting liminal state arguably contributes to Paddington's already quite 'hybrid' character of being an anthropomorphised bear, as well as a very British migrant from 'Darkest Peru.' However, an inquiry into Paddington's ambiguous age lies beyond the scale of thesis. While it is quite likely that young readers and viewers recognise Paddington as a peer, he will be theorised more generally as a symbolic *person* (of young but unspecific age) for the remainder of this thesis. Finally, equating an anthropomorphic talking bear to real people (and specifically those in marginalised positions) necessarily creates some difficulties and deficiencies, which I will address in chapter 2.3).

The penultimate paragraph of this review chapter is reserved for publications that do not explicitly discuss Paddington or anthropomorphic bears or children's literature, but allow for a contextualisation of the Paddington franchise to the societal and political environment of the respective time. Naturally, the provision of an in-depth analysis of either Britain in the 1950s and 1960s or its contemporary developments is virtually impossible. Yet, it is not this thesis' intention to do so; much rather the inclusion of necessarily simplified overviews aims at accentuating elements in Paddington's literary and cinematic oeuvre that are either parallel or orthogonal to its socioeconomic and cultural surroundings. For the time period of the 1950s and 1960s, this overview is based on Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller's standard work The Age of Migration (1998), James Hampshire's Citizenship and Belonging (2005) and Elizabeth Buettner's Europe after Empire (2016). While neither of these books is centred solely on Great Britain, the focus on migration and policy makes them an appropriate choice for this purpose. The surveyed contemporary time period is loosely defined as the 2010s, with a focus on the years leading up to the EU referendum in 2016, as this phase is the most critical in regards to the Paddington films. Even if the referendum's outcome is presumably best understood as the result of a variety of factors, the main focus of this thesis necessarily lies on migration. A

The child protagonist in children's literature is oftentimes well on their way into adulthood (Grze-Gorczyk 16), and the ambiguous age of Paddington parallels this archetype. Yet, Paddington does not fit neatly into the coming-of-age mould, as he does not significantly change over the run of the series. The novels remark on how "bears' years are different" (Ash and Bond 50), and charitably give Paddington two birthdays a year (40). The films are also ambivalent about Paddington's developmental stage by e.g. referring to him as an orphan (*P1*, 00:18:11) or sending him to a prison for adults (*P2*, 00:28:21).

noteworthy scholarly resource that is cited frequently within these is Paul Gilroy's concept of 'postcolonial melancholia,' and will be discussed in chapter 2.2. Finally, I have decided to relegate these historical outlines to my analysis and in close proximity to the corresponding media (3.1 and 4.1). This structural choice appears rather advantageous in view of my media analysis' repeated references to societal and political circumstances.

Finally, I feel obliged to emphasise Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Susanne Reichl's thought-provoking impulses in the creation of this thesis. Considering her own current research on Paddington, a cross-fertilisation of ideas is unavoidable. Regrettably, however, appropriate means to indicate this – mostly verbal – exchange in an adequate, formal manner are amiss. This remark is therefore intended to make the reader aware of this exchange in lieu of proper citation.

2.2 Work Definitions and Key Concepts⁹

As stated in the introductory chapter, this thesis takes a postcolonial approach in analysing the construction of Paddington as a migrant and 'racialised Other.' First, a common understanding of postcolonialism, postcolonial theory, and what is meant by the term 'racialised Other' is necessary. After all, much of this thesis presupposes that Paddington is constructed as a 'racialised Other' relative to the Browns and other established citizens of London. The 'Other' denotes a common concept in social sciences, and is not just used in postcolonial studies but also feminist, postmodern, poststructural, and critical race theories (Mountz 329-332). As a noun, the term simply refers to "a person or group of people who are different from oneself", while in its verb form, the term intends to "distinguish, label, categorise, name, identify, place and exclude those who do not fit a societal norm" (328). Finally, its gerund form, 'othering,' relates to the methods and procedures employed in making someone the 'Other' (ibid).

Racialisation, on the other hand, can be defined as "the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group" (OMI AND WINANT 111, original emphasis). Similar to 'othering,' racialisation is exercised on individuals and groups of people, "whose characteristics, practices and activities are explained by racially causal explanations," which in themselves are predominantly racist (GANS 2). Hence, racialisation describes "a process, which generally begins with the arrival of new immigrants, voluntary or involuntary, who are perceived as different and undeserving" (ibid). The act of racialisation

Parts of various assignments written in AR Theory (MA) (SS2019-128303) at University Vienna have been adapted and reused in this subchapter, especially the paragraphs on Bhabha's theory of mimicry, Fanon's racial epidermal schema, and Mbembe's concept of necropolitics.

may be viewed as a type of othering and in particular one that conceivably fixes the target's position as 'Other' in a more persistent manner (11).

The ultimate justification for racialising practices or corollary racist beliefs can range from biological and scientific convictions of superiority to cultural-centric theories of difference. While a move from biologistic reasoning to discourses of culture ultimately does not mitigate the impact of racism for racialised individuals (Balibar 18), the distinction within this thesis is nevertheless of importance. As the analysis in chapter four will show, Paddington may be constructed as a 'racialised Other' due to his 'strange' culture (especially through Mr Brown) or even based on superannuated scientific racism (as represented by Millicent Clyde). However, whereas Millicent's racialisation is portrayed as comically evil to the audience, the biases of Mr Brown and Mr Curry are not as overtly exaggerated but seem to parallel the beliefs of real-life Britons. Mr Brown and Mr Curry's main reasons for racialising Paddington is less "biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences," a form of racism that scholars refer to as 'new racism' or 'differentialist racism' (BALIBAR 21) which, in Britain's example, is "the consequence [...] of post-colonial intimacy, where the constitutive outside is now inside and 'integrated'" (FORTIER 10). In other words, a dichotomy is constructed that supposes a 'native-born' majority to possess culture whereas minority groups are merely commanded by culture (Brown 151). Chapter five will argue that this form of racialisation resurfaces in contemporary concepts and discourses surrounding the term 'civility,' for instance to dismiss private customs or public demands by marginalised groups.

In viewing Paddington as a potential victim to both 'othering' and 'racialisation,' the compound term 'racialised Other' is defined within this thesis as an individual who is repeatedly constructed to be different from, and inferior to, a 'native-born' white British majority because of their 'marked' outward appearance, customs and/or conduct; the process of which is substantiated on racial grounds and in particular a recourse to racist beliefs. Louis Althusser's concept of interpellation is beneficial to fathom this process. According to Althusser, "ideology hails or interpellates individuals as subjects" (192), which means that different ideologies determine an individual's insertion in different subject positions, each with their own corresponding set of social practices (Ferretter 89). While Paddington may also be interpellated in a variety of ways (as for example according to his class affiliation), the main investigative category in this thesis is his interpellation as a 'racialised Other' with regard to colonial and migrant contexts.

Given the terms' various interpretations, definitions and surrounding misconceptions, it is disingenuous to assert the existence of a single and all-encompassing definition to post-colonialism, which is why a working definition must be provided instead. For the purpose of

literary and media analysis, my definition relies on John McLeod's list of postcolonialism's features, which centres reading and re-reading texts (and other cultural products) made by people from countries with a colonial past, either as colonisers or colonised (33-34). In line with the confines of his definition, 'postcolonial' and 'postcolonialism' is understood here in reference to "historically situated representations, reading practices, attitudes and values which range across past *and* present" (16, original emphasis) and which are transmitted via written materials or other creative products such as film (34). While McLeod's focus lies on "re-reading texts produced during the colonial period often by members of the colonising nations; both those that directly address the experiences of Empire, and those that seem not to" (ibid), this thesis' obvious alteration is to draw on modern works for the analysis. After all, the lasting consequences of colonialism are a key concern for postcolonial theorists, and the continuation of colonial practices and discourses in contemporary settings is no exception (CASTRO VARELA AND DHAWAN 25).

Consequently, the rationale of pursuing a postcolonial approach for the analysis of media on Paddington (as determined by the research focus in chapter 1.1) is twofold. On the one hand, Paddington's fictional home country, his migrant status, as well as his history of origins lend themselves quite organically to a theoretical focus located within postcolonial studies or critical race theory. On the other hand, "Britain's imperial past continues to play a key role in its representations of race, identity and history" (GRZEGORCZYK 125) with "[p]opular culture [being] an important site for neocolonial activity" (McGillis xxiv). It is virtually irrelevant that the bulk of Bond's Paddington novels were written in 'colonial times' during which the British Empire existed at least in a de jure form¹⁰ whereas King's films may be considered 'post-colonial'— spelled here in this hyphenated form to denote the era following the Empire's end (McLeod 16). Postcolonialism – spelled without the hyphen – enables the critical examination of texts that transgress historical borders (ibid). As McLeod puts it, "postcolonialism does not refer to something which tangibly is, but rather it denotes something which one does" (ibid, original emphasis). For these reasons, postcolonial theory remains highly relevant even in modern post-colonial settings and, as the ensuing analysis will show, aids the unmasking and challenging of new structures of power and oppression.

Whereas the postcolonial school of thought encompasses a broad variety of thinkers and concepts, this thesis places a special focus on Paul Gilroy's conception of 'postcolonial melancholia,' Sara Ahmed's work on 'strangerness,' Homi Bhabha's concepts of 'mimicry,' Frantz Fanon's theory of the 'racial epidermal schema,' as well as Achille Mbembe's concept of 'necropolitics.' These concepts appear beneficial to an interpretation of the Paddington

¹⁰ The handover of Hong Kong in 1997 is often seen as the final act of the British Empire (BUETTNER 77).

franchise for reasons laid out previously, but also given the intriguing amalgam of different 'ethnic origins' that the titular character represents. Originally, Paddington was supposed to be African (Baker 14) and was modelled by illustrator Peggy Fortnum on a Malayan Sun Bear (Ash and Bond 19). Instead he helms from 'Darkest Peru' and portrays "an English eccentric who eats very English food such as marmalade and dumplings, and takes his elevenses in a quaint antique shop" (49). Thus, Paddington's origin story remarkably combines four different continents, even if only two of those have been canonised in textual form.

Paddington's status as a de-localised individual renders him a subject to arguments on citizenship and nationalism, respectively. Reactionaries likely hold the belief of an exclusionary perception of citizenship according to which individuals belong to one nation, and possibly one 'culture,' only; a mindset that is antithetical to (more progressive) 'multicultural' or 'transnational' conceptions of citizenship. Paul Gilroy's theory of 'postcolonial melancholia' offers an explanation why this conservative worldview is apparently on the rise in England. Arguing that "incomers may be unwanted and feared precisely because they are the unwitting bearers of the imperial and colonial past" (Melancholia 100-101), the concept alludes to some of the animosity that Paddington faces. Gilroy refers to the work of psychoanalysts Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich, who theorised about the German people's inability to process their own and their nation's culpability in the Second World War, with the result of alienation, denial of responsibility, or even indifference (98-99). Gilroy himself transfers this social psychological concept to Britain (and other former imperial nations) and proposes that the acknowledgement of an imperial past with its lasting colonial violence is similarly traumatic, but instead of dealing with that guilt and turning it into productive shame, quite often the answer is a melancholic reaction (99). As a result, the presence of immigrants brings forth "unspoken colonial relationships and imperial fantasies," as much as "all the discomforting ambiguities of the empire's painful and shameful but apparently nonetheless exhilarating history" (100). In the scope of this thesis, the concept of 'postcolonial melancholia' is considered as a factor in contemporary Britain's cinematic output aside from the Paddington films (in chapter 4.1.2) as well as explaining the behaviour of the first film's main villain Millicent Clyde (in chapter 4.3.3).

Most critically, solely to be perceived as a stranger may be sufficient to elicit this emotion in 'native-born' citizens and the reactionary actions that follow from it. Gilroy points out that migrants do not necessarily need to have connections to the host country's imperial and colonial past in order to fall victim to ill will and discrimination (101). This may be due to them being *recognised as a stranger* rather than plainly being *unrecognisable* – an important distinction according to Sara Ahmed (21). Ahmed's work on 'strangerness' is a guiding pub-

lication for examining the arrival of Paddington in the Browns' home and its West London neighbourhood (in chapters 4.3.1 and 4.3.2), respectively. Mr Brown's first words upon seeing Paddington are "stranger danger" (*P1*, 00:12:34), a central term in the discourse of threats supposedly emitting from strangers. The related phenomena of 'doorstep crime' (or rather, its discursive construction) and neighbourhood watch schemes will be discussed in these chapters as well.

Considering the aforementioned blend of ethnic identities, Paddington certainly is not entirely strange. He may be a bear in West London, but still shares similarities to the 'native-born' British majority, such as his language and a familiar if old-fashioned conduct. As per the previous description as 'citizen of the world,' Paddington avails himself to Bhabha's concept of 'mimicry,' one of the most significant components for this thesis' theoretical framework. First published and discussed in his 1983 essay "Of Mimicry and Man," Bhabha's understanding of 'mimicry' builds on Lacan's use of the concept, who centred the eye (and thus visual perception as a whole) in relation to a subject (MA 134). Bhabha transfers this idea to colonial settings, stating that (colonial) mimicry "is the desire for a reformed, recognizable 'Other,' as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" ("Mimicry" 126, original emphasis). According to Bhabha's concept, a coloniser 'civilises' colonised subjects by making them adopt elements of the dominant group's culture (meaning – to various degrees - language, beliefs, morals, manners, and more) but not in their entirety. In the case of the British Empire, this means 'anglicising' 'Others' without making them English ("Mimicry" 127-128). It is important to note that for Bhabha, mimicry becomes possible through ambivalence. Bhabha's notion of ambivalence is inspired by Edward Said's description of the contradictory nature of colonial discourses, which is simultaneously synchronic and diachronic, forever the same but also always changing (HUDDART 40). Bhabha identifies this ambivalence as an innate feature of colonialism, especially in view of how the colonisers' supposed 'civilising mission' is inherently inconsolable with colonial violence directed at colonised subjects (41). By the same token, creating 'subjects of a difference that are almost the same, but not quite,' too, is ambivalent.

Paddington's ambivalence is remarkable insofar as it supports his integration in the Brown family, but concurrently increases the enmity of others. After all, when colonised 'Others' are transformed into 'partial' presences mimicry not only becomes resemblance but also a menace ("Mimicry" 127). In "Of Mimicry and Man," Bhabha provides two examples that illustrate how colonisers perceived their supposed superiority (and British identity) to be threatened by colonised subjects who had become too similar to them, thus menacingly "disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse [and] also disrupt[ing] its authority" (129).

Bhabha furthermore seems to imply that a strategic use of mimicry by the colonial 'Other' might be possible ("Mimicry" 131), but given the concept's largely psychological nature, the conscious employment of mimicry as strategy is questionable. Although the concept of mimicry is applied several times throughout this thesis, it is particularly conducive for the analysis of Millicent Clyde's antagonism towards Paddington (chapter 4.3.3). I propose that Paddington's incidental yet undermining mockery of Britishness is the result of his upbringing and constitutes a type of mimicry that is unsettling to Millicent Clyde.

I further argue that by the way Millicent Clyde reacts to the young bear she can be regarded as a personification of the British Empire during colonial times. Through this analogy, Clyde's plan to turn Paddington into a taxidermy mount can be compared to colonisers' frail attempts of fixing colonial subjects in place as a stereotypical 'Other.' In view of Millicent's profession and her beliefs which are based on obsolete racial science, the main theoretical focus of this chapter is Frantz Fanon's concept of the 'racial epidermal schema.' This idea, first presented in Fanon's 1952 book Black Skin, White Masks, proposes that when a Black man¹¹ "comes into contact with the white world he goes through an experience of sensitization [through which h]is ego collapses [and h]is self-esteem evaporates" (SARDAR xiii). In Fanon's own words this means that "the black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man" (83) and is thereby "deprived of the possibility of being a man" (65). Fanon's theory is undoubtedly inspired by Hegel's master-slave dialectic, which, among other things, proposes that "self-consciousness exists in and for itself when, and by the fact that, it so exists for another; that is, it exists only in being acknowledged" (Hegel 111). For all practical purposes, the concept of 'racial epidermal schema' can somewhat reductively be summarised as the attribution of a (white) majority's racist prejudices towards BAME predicated on tangible visible differences (i.e. skin colour in Fanon's case), which in turn causes BAME to internalise the outsiders' perspective as feelings of inferiority.

In *Paddington*, this concept is useful to illuminate Clyde's conception of the bear, even as Paddington himself apparently does not experience the effects of a 'racial epidermal schema.' Given Clyde's profession and Paddington's classification as a bear (beyond his function as a symbolic person), Pauline Wakeham's application of Fanon's concept in taxidermy contexts, where skin is utilised to represent and give shape to bodies and their interiority, is equally applicable to this chapter. Wakeham proposes that the epidermis is "both biological tissue and discursive schema overdetermined by colonialism's obsession with racial and species categorizations" (25) and re-evaluates the taxidermic body as an affective expression of

The gendered nature of this definition is adopted from Fanon's work and is likely a reflection of the general intellectual era and Fanon's phenomenological approach. For a critical analysis of Fanon's use of the Black man as universal subject see for example Bergner.

colonial dominance (27-28). In the context of the films, Paddington's physicality motivates much of the racialisation perpetuated by Millicent Clyde and in part by Mr Curry. To make matters worse, Paddington may also be affected negatively by a racialisation that is grounded in cultural beliefs.

For this reason, I examine concepts of civility in the ensuing chapter, in the course of which Achille Mbembe's concept of necropolitics serves as part of the underlying theory. The concept is an extension of Foucault's concept of biopower, which separates "people into those who must live and those who must die;" a separation that Foucault calls racism (Мвемве 17). Necropolitics too identifies certain groups of people but instead of condemning them to death, "leaves them in a constant state of near death or living death, where chronic abuse and lack of access limits the life chances of entire communities" (PHILLIPS 2). While Mbembe discusses necropolitics in context of plantations and colonies, other scholars expand the concept to other, more current areas relevant to this thesis, such as refugees in Europe (see for example Davies, Isakjee and Dhesi 2017) or police violence and vulnerable Black youth. The latter is exemplified in Amanda Phillips' exploration of the "applicability [of necropolitics] to contemporary domestic police terrorism, which governs poor communities of color by implementing policies of engagement that disproportionately render men and women of color as threats to agents of the state" (8). With the far-reaching fatal shooting of Mark Duggan in Tottenham in 2011 (Kellner 18) and the racial profiling of Black youth (Dodd), London too can be conceived as a necropolitical city. Generally, Mbembe's concept permits a broad interpretation, especially when it comes to implications of "death-worlds, new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of *living dead*" (40, original emphasis). This chapter will assert that Paddington does not merely live through a 'death-world' but also that Aunt Lucy's education suggests foresight of this possibility, which in turn effectively becomes an integral component in her imparted ethos of being 'kind and polite.'

Aside from a postcolonial through line, this thesis further employs a few ideas and concepts from other academic fields. Most significantly here is theory that builds on sociologist Norbert Elias' seminal work on civilising processes and thus aid the theorisation of civility in regard to Paddington's case. Elias' central idea is that the pacification in the behaviour of citizens throughout time, which ultimately accounts for our modern understanding of civility, was the result of a state's increasing monopolisation of physical violence (370). This development occurred from the fifteenth century onwards and permitted the genesis of social spaces in which early notions of civility emerged (Nehring 315; White 448). Civil law, however, increasingly broadened its reach beyond violent acts and led citizens to change their conduct

to be more pacified and self-restrained (RUCHT 394; WHITE 449). Individuals exhibited "a more dispassionate self-control" (ELIAS 373) which ultimately resulted in the "transformation of the whole drive and affect economy in the direction of a more continuous, stable and even regulation of drives and affects in all areas of conduct, in all sectors of life" (374). In this understanding, civility in time became "the defining trait of the upper class vis-à-vis lower classes" (Antonsich 7). The eighteenth century Enlightenment can be surmised as the "initial phase in the development of British civility", which was followed by a "phase marked by social disciplining and imperial expansion" in the early- to mid-nineteenth century (BAUMGAR-TEN, GOSEWINKEL AND RUCHT 300). The concept of civility thereby transcended the marker of class and became a method of distinguishing British Empire citizens from those of 'barbaric' colonial states (Antonsich 7). Timothy Fitzgerald traces the rhetoric surrounding the barbarian-civilised dichotomy from a pre-Enlightenment area to nineteenth century colonialism and beyond (54) and notes that colonisers interpreted signs like the "relative civility of the Mexica or the Inca" as unrealised potential to measure up to the Empire's moral, educational, and technological standards (129-130). This colonial perception mirrored the colonisers' intranational distinctions at home in class and location; that is, the supposition of the civilized nature of urban citizens versus the unwrought, rural peasantry (FITZGERALD 130). While Elias' work pays particular regard to the historical era ranging from the Middle Ages to the mid twentieth century (WHITE 449), more recently the term 'civility' has been transformed and mobilised to meet various ends (451). Political philosophers in the liberal tradition, for example, have also theorised civility and portray it "as a guiding principle in the negotiation of diversity within pluralist societies" (Antonsich 7). The consequent construction of certain expressions of behaviour as 'civil' at the exclusion of others (White 451) may legitimise the penalisation of 'uncivil' behaviour. In the context of Paddington's group affiliations as a migrant and symbolic BAME, this legitimacy facilitates conservative conceptions of civility to be levelled against Paddington, either as a racialising or a silencing mechanism. Chapter five will explore this aspect in more detail.

2.3 Thesis Caveats

A few common concerns with postcolonial studies need to be addressed before proceeding. Prevalent critiques of the terms 'postcolonial' and 'postcolonialism' are that they seem to imply a Eurocentric view on how formerly colonised countries developed in a linear and homogeneous manner across the world (McClintock 11), or that the terms suggest the end of colonialism altogether (Shohat 102). As the previous distinction in spelling – hyphenated

and not – forecloses, the terms do not solely address particular periods of time (i.e. an 'after') but as Stuart Hall asserts also a 'going beyond' (253). Postcolonial studies or postcolonialism, respectively, therefore need to be understood as an analytical tool to expose colonial beliefs in society and culture and by doing so establishing counter-narratives to hegemonic discourses on 'racialised Others' and other marginalised groups.

The objection about the potentially homogenising nature of postcolonial theory, on the other hand, deserves critical attention, especially in regards to this thesis. Paddington, the anthropomorphised bear and literary figure, is both a 'symbolic person' (as previously detailed in chapter 2.1), and by all appearances also a 'citizen of the world' (as elaborated in chapter 2.2). This combination makes him into a very versatile subject capable of plausibly representing many real-world (human) beings. Yet, to unthinkingly treat him as a universal stand-in would be questionable for two reasons. First, a discussion of Paddington as the postcolonial migrant runs the risk of homogenising the very different histories, circumstances, and aftereffects experienced by people who were either subject to colonial rule or originated from countries with a colonial past. In return, it would also be negligent to link Paddington exclusively to specific countries or people, as for example Peru under Spanish colonial rule (until the nineteenth century), the refugee children of World War II that inspired Michael Bond, or the Windrush Generation that overlapped chronologically with the early novels. As a result, while passages from the Paddington books and films are brought in context to historical events and real groups of people, my primary goal is to draw parallels between the two and highlight what colonial discourses said passages are reminiscent of, but never directly equate those literary or cinematic examples with real world cases.

Paddington's race (or ethnicity) needs to be dealt with in a similar manner. Peru is a multiethnic nation and Paddington being a "very rare bear" (*P1*, 00:13:42) suggests that he might be indigenous to 'Darkest Peru.' At the same time, his fur and the colour of his fur link him to some of the prejudices and mistreatments BAME have to endure on account of their outward appearance. In this context, the second reason for a reflected handling of Paddington as signifier for real-world individuals needs to be addressed. In the interest of cultural analysis, this thesis necessarily relates an anthropomorphic animal to groups of people who were (and still are) subjected repeatedly to racist discourses that portrayed them as animalistic or less than human (Bhabha, "Other Question" 111; Fanon 86; Kendi 435). As I fail the possibility to fully avoid the evocation of these discourses, I feel obliged to highlight this difficult concern ahead of this thesis' analysis. After all, academic writing is not "merely 'objective' knowledge about a certain subject [but is] also a directly political and discursive *practice*" (Mohanty 62, original emphasis). Therefore this work does not seek to replicate said discourses but rather

to make the case that colonial violence oftentimes expands beyond the victimisation of actual humans, past and present. After all, colonial beliefs and epistemic violence can be perpetuated in cultural products as well, sometimes targeting symbolic 'Others' such as Paddington.

Finally, race and ethnicity are used solely as distinguishing categories in this work. Both are understood as merely constructed categories within shifting socio-economic and historical surroundings with no material basis in biology. Yet, race and ethnicity are 'real' categories in a social and political sense, as well, with oftentimes far-ranging implications for individuals and groups of people that are constructed as 'non-white.' These categories need to be replicated here for the ensuing argumentation. When it comes to anti-racist language, this thesis will generally aim to distinguish distinct groups of people in order not to homogenise their history. In other instances, collective nouns are more advantageous, for example when referring to the colonial past of various groups under the British Empire, despite the differing experiences and ramifications for individual groups. In these cases, the aforementioned acronym BAME (for Black, Asian and minority ethnic) may be used.

2.4 Methodology

Considering that a lot of this thesis' analysis is concerned with what the Paddington books and films are 'saying,' it is imperative to highlight that films in general cannot be interpreted analogous to literature. Rather, films present a complex combination of a broad range of signs (encompassing cinematography, music, dialogue, sound, set design, costumes, and much more), each of which contributes to the affective and signifying qualities of the final product (BATEMAN AND SCHMIDT 28). In order to make a comparison between the book and the film feasible, I intend to adopt an analytical, multimodal approach for key scenes of the films, without neglecting a concomitant postcolonial interpretation.

The rationale behind this particular approach for analysing film is as follows. In general, approaches to the study of film may be reductively classified into two tendencies: (more) 'discursive' approaches and (more) 'empirical' approaches (BATEMAN AND SCHMIDT 22). Approaches within literary sciences and cultural studies, such as the so-called screen theory of the 1970s and 1980s (McDonald 6), belong to the former, while cognitive (or perceptual) approaches, such as the neoformalist approach developed in the 1980s and 1990s (139), are examples of the latter. Screen theory centres on how cultural products (here, films) tie into the structural disparities and inequalities of a society (92), and how to examine these products critically in practices akin to literary analyses (BATEMAN AND SCHMIDT 21). The neoformalist school of thought, on the other hand, can be seen as a reaction to discursive approaches (Mc-

DONALD 145), with the approach's prominent figureheads, David Bordwell and Noël Carroll, actively pushing against 'Grand Theory' (ibid). Instead of using theory to "question basic assumptions like logical positivism, empirical evidence, or the rationality of human subjectivity" (146), neoformalists focus on a "detailed technical, even mechanical, analysis of the objects of study and their reception" (BATEMAN AND SCHMIDT 22). As a result, literary and cultural approaches are perceived to be fairly nonchalant towards the semiotics of film, while cognitive approaches conversely are regarded to be rather unconcerned with meaning-making aspects of film (BATEMAN AND SCHMIDT 23-24). John Bateman and Karl-Heinrich Schmidt's multimodal approach sets out to position itself between the two poles and "define[s] a framework in which analyses can be pursued that, on the one hand, are anchored in the details of technical form but which, on the other hand, can nevertheless serve as a basis for broader, more abstract interpretations" (24). This approach is not solely concerned with what is portrayed in a singular shot but also how shots are grouped to form larger meaning-making segments (BATEMAN 60) to create a singular statement (BATEMAN AND SCHMIDT 6). Due to the multimodality of films and the complexities in ascertaining what each individual filmic contribution signifies (13), the combined whole necessarily leaves room for interpretation in regards to a scene's narrative and emotive intentions. Keeping in mind the many creative elements contributing to a film's final form, multimodal analyses can take on a high level of granularity¹². Consequently, it is fairly impossible to discuss all meaning-making channels and aspects of the Paddington films in the course of this thesis, which is why I will focus predominantly on dialogue and visual aspects, in particular how cinematography contributes to the films' semiotics. Other artistic features may only be identified in cases where their contribution seems specifically significant. In short, I intend the thesis to follow a 'more discursive multimodal approach' that meets the demands of cinematic language but also ensures a more immediate comparability with the literary works.

As a final remark, it is advisable to mention the particular releases of the sampled material that are used throughout. In this thesis, I work with the region 2 DVD releases (in the PAL standard of 25 frames per second) of *Paddington* and *Paddington 2* for the analysis, images, and time codes. Countries such as the USA that use the NTSC standard (of 24 frames per second) have separate releases with oftentimes different runtimes despite a parity of content¹³.

Bateman and Schmidt's own example is an attest to that: in their book, segments of an early fifteen-minute silent film are analysed syntagmatically and paradigmatically over the course of about fifty pages.

The reasons for these discrepancies are purely technical. In brief, this is commonly referred to as 'PAL speed-up' (although it is a 'slow-down' in the case of European films such as Paddington) and means that in order to make films which are in the NTSC standard compatible for PAL devices, and vice versa, the video material needs to be sped-up (or slowed-down) by 4% due to the standards' differing frame rates of twenty-four and twenty-five frames per second, respectively.

The PAL/region 2 release of the first Paddington film, for example, has a total runtime of 01:31:18, while NTSC/region 1 releases run for 01:35:12. Accordingly, the time codes provided in citations (and given in an hh:mm:ss format) would no longer be accurate for NTSC/region 1 version of these films.

3. A Bear Called Paddington (1958)

3.1 Contextualisation of the Work

In this chapter, the first Paddington book, *A Bear Called Paddington* (1958), will be analysed to disclose how Paddington is made into a symbolic 'racialised Other' in literature. The character's introduction and its practical adaptation in the film *Paddington* (2014), the book's year of release, and its close temporal connection to the Windrush generation make it a highly appropriate choice for this purpose. The subsequent analysis focuses on the novel's inaugural chapter only, as it comprises a large portion of the first film's adopted material. Prior to that, a brief biography of Paddington author Michael Bond will be provided, followed by a rough contextualisation of the book series in its early years and its time and place, both in the actual world but also within literature. The aim of this chapter is a preliminary understanding of Paddington's portrayal in literature, which will later be contrasted with the cinematic portrayal in chapter four.

3.1.1 The Author Michael Bond

Thomas Michael Bond was born on 13 January 1926 in Newbury, Berkshire (BBC News, "Obituary"). Bond volunteered for the Royal Air Force as a seventeen-year-old (ibid) and two years later, in 1945, joined the army and started writing while being stationed in Egypt (BAKER 12). From 1947 onwards Bond worked for the BBC and became a cameraman three years later (BBC News, "Obituary"). On Christmas Eve in 1956, Bond sought shelter from snowy weather and entered the department store Selfridges where he discovered a single teddy bear on an otherwise empty shelf and decided to gift it to his wife (BAKER 13). He chose Paddington as the teddy bear's name because it "sound[ed] sort of solid and west London" (ibid). At that time, Bond already had some rudimentary experience as a writer (12) and for a lack of other inspiration, he started writing about the bear (14). Thanks to his wife's encouragement Bond continued to do so until he ended up with the first book (ibid). Much of Paddington's character and look is defined in this first novel and remains largely unchanged until today.

Paddington as a character is influenced by his creator's life. For one thing, Paddington's distinctive clothes originate from Bond's own government surplus duffel coat and his military bush hat (15). For another, Paddington's suitcase and especially the label around his neck which reads 'Please look after this bear. Thank you.' derive from Bond's childhood memories of the Second World War (ibid). When writing the book, Bond recalled newsreels reports

on French refugees and child evacuees from London arriving in the countryside with only a suitcase and a label with their name (16). As for Paddington's personality, Bond modelled the bear after his own "very polite" father, who always wore a hat to have something to greet with, should he chance upon an acquaintance (ibid). Chapter five will critically examine how Bond's penchant for decorum enduringly influenced the bear character.

A Bear Called Paddington turned out surprisingly successful, which is why the publishing company Collins asked for a second book (ibid). After several Paddington books, Bond made the move to become a full-time writer (19) and over the ensuing decades created two further successful, if not as prominent, book series called Olga da Polga and Monsieur Pamplemousse, respectively (Pauli). Olga da Polga revolves around the adventures of a guinea pig with a can-do attitude (Cronin), whereas the Monsieur Pamplemousse series has a French restaurant inspector as its main subject (Pauli). The different writing projects decelerated the output of Paddington novels in the 1970s and in between 1979 and 2008 Bond did not release a single 'regular' Paddington novel. To date, the Paddington books have been translated into forty languages and sold more than thirty-five million copies (Frenetic Films 3). Michael Bond died on 27 June 2017 at the age of ninety-one (Grierson, Sweney and Kean).

3.1.2 Genre Classificiation: Magic Realism

Although it is impossible to condense whole decades of British post-war literature to one unified thread, it is safe to state that Paddington's origins coincide with a time when "exploitative structures of colonial power [were] replaced by the unbalanced, racialised divisions of labour in post-war Britain," which decades later became an engaging era for literary scholars concerned with issues of race and ethnicity (Grzegorczyk 37). In this post-war time period, minority writers countered racist and anti-migrant narratives with ideas of hybrid and multicultural identity (37-38), while white middle-class Britons formed "culturally homogenous communities in the suburbs" in response to demographic changes (43). With regard to children's literature, Peter Hunt and Karen Sands remark on the trend of fantasy in fiction to obfuscate colonialist themes (46-47). Animal fantasies in particular often focused on foreigners, who, once in England, had to abandon their former life and adopt the mores of their new host country (47). Kenneth Grahame's The Wind in the Willows (1908) or Margery Sharp's 'Miss Bianca' books, for example, bring up questions of home and empire, presumably advise to remain in one's place of origin, and "that the English know best about what is good for foreigners" (47). Hunt and Sands assert that Michael Bond's Paddington and Olga da Polga books can be read in similar terms, with the protagonists voluntarily abandoning their hitherto identity in order to enculturate Britishness (48).

However, unlike Grahame's and Sharp's novels, which are inhabited mostly by animal characters, the Paddington series is almost exclusively populated with humans. As such, the book series can also be regarded as an example of magic (or magical) realism. Magic realism can, somewhat reductively, be defined as art that represents worlds and narratives which not only appear real to the reader or viewer, but also do so despite the inclusion of imagined or magical elements or events (Bowers 20-21). Bowers states that E.B. White's *Stuart Little* (1945) and Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington* belong to this category merely on account of embedding an animal character with human characteristics into a human family (102). In line with this style of fiction, Paddington's extraordinary nature derives from his unusual name or messy eating habits rather than the fact that he is a walking and talking bear in London (103). This circumstance possibly explains why Bond's editors never raised objections to the bear stories, despite often turning down fantasy (BAKER 17). Accordingly, the franchise can be considered as a prominent representative of magic realist animal fantasies in post-war Britain whose foundation in a recognisable reality permits more immediate interpretations of its text and authorises direct comparisons to the real world.

3.1.3 Temporal Context: Britain in the 1950s and 1960s

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Bond wrote the first Paddington books during a period when London became noticeably more multicultural in comparatively little time as citizens from (formerly) British colonial states migrated to England (Castles and Miller 73). These migratory movements are sometimes portrayed as the result of British government incentives due to a labour shortage after the Second World War (HAMPSHIRE 62). While London Transport certainly aided in some cases (Castles and Miller 73), James Hampshire terms the account of incentivised migration a myth "which represents the decolonization process and the British Empire in general as a benevolent and reciprocal arrangement" (21). In either case, British society at large reacted especially negatively towards dark-skinned newcomers (Grayson 378) which arguably culminated in the so-called Notting Hill race riots of 1958 and the instigation of laws aimed at restricting immigration from the early 1960s onwards (Castles and Miller 73). Additionally, Britons appeared to be quite ignorant about British colonies and the people living there (BUETTNER 259), a generalisation that is reflected, as I argue in chapter 3.3.3, in the Browns' nonchalant attitude towards Paddington in the first Paddington book. By 1951, 218,000 migrants from past and existent colonies in Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and the Caribbean were living in Britain; a figure that grew to 541,000 by

1961 and more than doubled again in the ensuing decade¹⁴ (Castles and Miller 73). *A Bear Called Paddington*'s arrival on bookshelves in 1958 puts Paddington in temporal proximity to the Windrush Generation, with the publication taking place a mere month after the Notting Hill race riots (A. Smith 38). Hence, Paddington as a character and his experiences in the books can be interpreted to reflect the political, social, and ethical sentiments of an author reacting to his nation's changing demographics.

While the 1948 British Nationality Act (BNA 1948) and the creation of imperial citizenship had unwittingly facilitated free movement among the United Kingdom and its colonies (HAMPSHIRE 19), 'Britishness' continued to be constructed as something reserved for white citizens only (20) and already in the 1950s the ruling Conservative party pursued a sub rosa policy of obstruction to limit migration from colonial and Commonwealth countries (21-22). New Commonwealth citizens experienced a barrage of discrimination in their access to proper housing, employment, or in confrontations with law officials and 'native-born' Britons (Morgan 76-77). The Afro-Caribbeans of the Windrush Generation expressed frustration about how Britain's colonial rule had taught them the English language and trained them on British culture, only to have their access to proper citizenship denied on the basis of racialised differences (Buettner 259).

In view of legislature designed to relegate certain groups of people "to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of *living dead*" (MBEMBE 40, original emphasis) Mbembe's concept of necropolitics feels appropriate in imagining the lives of the Afro-Caribbean population in 1950's London¹⁵. British law's indifference towards racial discrimination combined with a conservative government's secretive policies of curtail immigration suggest that racially-motivated hatred was not only avoidable but stimulated in part through state-approved inaction. The issue of housing further contributed to the hardship of big cities' migrant populations. Chapter five will take a closer look at what the notion of London as a 'necropolitical city' means for present-day Paddington and why it is influential to his 'kind and polite' conduct.

3.2 Plot Summary

Due to the episodic nature of the Paddington books, the subsequent summary predominantly

It bears mentioning that this figure includes family reunions (Castles and Miller 73), as well as children born to first-generation migrants who made up a third of the total number (BBC News, "Immigration").

Parts of this paragraphs' argument have been made before in a mini-paper on Jean Rhys' *Wide Sargasso Sea* for AR Theory (MA) (SS2019-128303) and reappear here in an adapted and rewritten form.

focuses on the most significant aspects in the characterisation of Paddington and the Browns, as well as relevant details that were adopted into the first film. *A Bear Called Paddington* (1958) begins in medias res with Mr and Mrs Brown discovering a young bear hiding in a dark corner of Paddington station. After they learn about Paddington's recent immigration from Southern America and his lack of possessions, finances and acquaintances, they decide to temporarily let him stay with them in West London. After Mrs Brown has picked up the Browns' eldest child Judy and Mr Brown has dined with Paddington at a buffet, the first episode ends with the four of them taking a taxicab to 32, Windsor Gardens.

In chapter two – the novels' episodes are called chapters – Paddington gets to meet Mrs Bird, the Browns' housekeeper, and Jonathan, Judy's brother. While taking a bath, Paddington almost drowns but is saved by the children. Flooding the bathroom marks Paddington's first of many domestic misfortunes, brought about not only through his clumsiness and accident-prone nature, but also the Browns' laissez-faire approach in educating Paddington on English practices (Grayson 387).

The next chapter has Paddington travelling on the Underground, where he has his first encounter with the police, who scold him for causing 'serious offences' (that is, travelling without a ticket and stopping the escalator). Judy manages to argue Paddington out of his troubles by remarking that the Underground's rules and regulations do not apply to bears. In Chapter four, Paddington joins Mrs Brown in her shopping but gets lost and decides to tidy up the store's window, which leads to him being mistaken for a criminal by the store's detective. In Chapter five, Paddington makes the acquaintance of Mr Gruber and inadvertently helps Mr Brown to win the first prize in a painting competition.

Paddington attends the theatre in chapter six, and being unfamiliar with acting, he confuses the performance with real life, whereas chapter seven marks Paddington's first trip to the seaside. This chapter is remarkable insofar Paddington is caught by the tide and then needs to get back on land with nothing but a bucket to sit in and a shovel to paddle. As Grayson remarks, it is striking how "in a few short chapters, migration has been transformed from a rite of passage containing serious tests of physical and mental hardship into physical comedy" (384).

The book's eighth and final chapter revolves around Paddington's birthday party. Here, it is also remarked that Paddington does not know his age, and the Browns not only decide on a date but also that bears ought to have two birthdays a year. This chapter furthermore introduces Mr Curry as the Browns' stingy and ill-tempered neighbour.

3.3 Interpretation of Selected Passages

As previously mentioned, two papers are central to a postcolonial reading of the first Paddington book, Angela Smith's "Paddington Bear: A Case Study of Immigration and Otherness" (2006) and Kyle Grayson's "How to Read Paddington Bear: Liberalism and the Foreign Subject in *A Bear Called Paddington*" (2013). In their analyses, these scholars fixate on Paddington's 'bearness,' country of origin and associated status as migrant, and the Browns' behaviour towards him. The ensuing chapter is both an encapsulation of the findings that are most relevant to a contrasting juxtaposition with the first Paddington film but also an expansion of certain arguments from a decidedly postcolonial lens. At less than 3,000 words the initial chapter of *A Bear Called Paddington* is comparatively short but quite productive for critical readings. Smith observes that the book's first sentence already establishes a prioritisation, and thus hierarchisation, by making the Browns into the story's active agents (39): "Mr and Mrs Brown first met Paddington on a railway platform" (*ABCP* 11). The text continues, "In fact, that was how he came to have such an unusual name for a bear, for Paddington was the name of the station" (ibid), foreclosing the young bear's christening pages later.

3.3.1 'Darkest Peru' - Paddington's Home Country

One of the first – and for the sake of this thesis also one of the most important – details the reader learns about Paddington is his country of origin, 'Darkest Peru.' Mr Brown is the first to discover Paddington, who is hiding in a dark corner behind mailbags (ABCP 12). Interestingly enough, Paddington is not actively seeking help at that moment, but asks the approaching Mr Brown whether he happens to be in need of help (13). Upon Mrs Brown's inquiry where he is from, Paddington replies "Darkest Peru. I'm not really supposed to be here at all. I'm a stowaway!" (ibid). Smith points out that while the adjective 'Darkest' shrouds Paddington's country of origin in mystery, it "also acts as a semantic link to 'Darkest Africa'" (39). Indeed, the author had originally intended Paddington to be of African origin, but changed the bear's motherland to Peru after his editor had pointed out the absence of bears native to Africa (Аsн AND BOND 32; BAKER 14). Bond states that he "thought Peru sounded far enough away that people wouldn't know too much about it. Then I thought if I made it Darkest Peru, 'darkest' sounds a bit mysterious, so I used that" (BAKER 14). According to Russell Ash and Michael Bond, the original draft of the novel also collocated 'Darkest' with 'Africa' (16). This connects the book series to the colonial discourse of difference applied to Africa as the 'Dark Continent' from the eighteenth and nineteenth century (KALUA 27). The 'darkness' of Africa was constructed antipodal to the Christian light of the colonial enterprise and constituted a form

of othering that would ultimately justify the division of West Africa among European colonial powers at the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885 (ibid). Bond's adaptation of the modifier 'darkest' for his Paddington books, ultimately connects the series to a larger colonial discourse in culture and literature.

Paddington – himself – is "fiercely proud of his Peruvian origins, rarely passing up an opportunity to point out that he is from Darkest Peru" (A. Sмітн 48), which contributes significantly to why 'Darkest Peru' is mentioned forty-eight times throughout the fourteen novels. At the same time, Paddington never calls himself Peruvian, and even takes offence at being called a foreigner ("I'm not a foreigner," exclaimed Paddington hotly. 'I'm from Darkest Peru." (BOND, Here and Now ch. 1)). The adjective 'darkest' seems to carry a special distinguishing meaning to Paddington, as he sometimes emphasises it similarly to James Bond's catchphrase "The name's Bond, James Bond" (Bond, Goes to Town ch. 7; On Top ch. 6; Here and Now ch. 5; Races Ahead ch. 2). It is unclear whether Michael Bond does this to accentuate the remoteness of Paddington's place of origin (ASH AND BOND 32) or merely for comedic effect. The plausible link to literary tropes on the 'darkness' of Africa suggest that Bond imagined ('Darkest') Peru as backward and underdeveloped in comparison to England. What is more, Paddington's ears and fur are also described as dark early on (ABCP 13, 38). Given that Paddington's homeland remains 'dark' throughout the book series – with none of the episodes being set in 'Darkest Peru'16 - it can be argued that Paddington's vague place of origin only helps to emphasise his otherness.

3.3.2 Stowaway - Category Labels for Migrants

Paddington's immediate disclosure of having emigrated from 'Darkest Peru' by irregular means – the aforementioned "I'm not really supposed to be here at all. I'm a stowaway!" (ABCP 13) – deserves attention too, in particular as it raises questions about Paddington's status as a migrant. The information unsettles Mr Brown at first, as he worries about punitive consequences by the executive and legislative branches of government (ABCP 13, 15). Smith observes that the word choice – "stowaway" – in Paddington's self-descriptive exclamation "carries connotations of romantic adventure and therefore is an interesting choice [especially compared to] immigrant or refugee" (41). In a study on attitudinal judgments of category labels for migrants (such as 'asylum seekers,' 'illegal immigrants,' and 'refugees'), Martha Augoutinos and Cheryl Quinn reveal "significant difference to people's subsequent evalua-

Although Darkest Peru is mentioned regularly, especially by Paddington himself, it is never explicitly shown. When Paddington returns to Darkest Peru at the end of the sixth novel *Paddington Marches On* (1964), the subsequent book only describes his return on a ship close to England's coast.

tions [depending on] the social category in question" (34). As a result, Paddington's choice of words coincidentally contributes in making him more acceptable to the Browns and more likely to receive help.

Beyond the book's word choice to refer to Paddington's migrant status, the ensuing reason given for his emigration deserves discussion as well. Paddington's remark that "Aunt Lucy always said she wanted [him] to emigrate when [he] was old enough" and that "[t]hat's why she taught [him] to speak English" (ABCP 14) implies foresight and planning, making Paddington's emigration ultimately a 'choice.' Grayson, in reference to Maykel Verkuyten, consequently argues that this information positions the bear unclearly between dichotomous repertoires: whether the migration was motivated by 'choice' or a 'lack of choice.' On this basis a country's 'native-born' people evaluate the rights of 'non-native-born' individuals' in seeking permanent residence and citizenship within said country (386). Verkuyten's studies highlight how opinions on immigrants (and multiculturalism as a whole) are informed significantly depending on whether their emigration was incentivised by the wish of improving their living conditions – i.e. groups of people commonly called 'economic refugees,' 'fortune hunters' or simply migrant workers – or spurred by external causes such as war, prosecution or natural catastrophes, i.e. so-called 'real refugees' (237-238). Needless to say, "the endorsement of multiculturalism [is] greater in the latter condition" (223), whereas Paddington, at first sight, seems to belong to the former group.

In Paddington's case, however, the 'personal choice,' was not entirely his but Aunt Lucy's. Hugo adds that in our present reality, the resolution to migrate is commonly made within the family collective and not individually, sometimes in view of dire economic situations or even chances of survival (qtd. in Castles and Miller 25). Apparently, these are also the motivating factors of this family of bears, as Aunt Lucy's "[need] to go into a home for retired bears" (ABCP 14) would have left Paddington without a guardian. The label that is put around the young bear's neck saying "Please look after this bear. Thank you." subsequently intensifies the perception that Paddington is not yet a fully mature bear and in need of (parental) protection. Bond's inspiration for this "came about because of childhood memories of the war," when child evacuees sought shelter with his family in Reading (BAKER 15). Bond's reference to evacuation efforts during World War II, such as the Kindertransport across Europe or the 1939 transport of 827,000 schoolchildren to rural and coastal villages to save them from the harm of German air raids on England's major cities (Morgan 46, 53), elicits mental connections that elevate the bear's already highly vulnerable position and deemphasises the 'choice'-component of his emigration. These conflicting facts – the 'choice'-implying wish of Aunt Lucy for Paddington to one day emigrate, but also the label around Paddington's neck

which references war and is indicative of a 'lack of choice' – complicate Paddington's reasons for coming to London. The first Paddington film makes the 'lack of choice' even more explicit by including a natural catastrophe and the death of Uncle Pastuzo that prompts Paddington's migration to London.

3.3.3 The Christening of the Bear

The discussion of the Browns and the unfamiliar bear then progresses from questions about Paddington's migrancy to the inquiry of his name. Paddington has a name, but "only a Peruvian one which no one can understand" (ABCP 16, emphasis added). Smith remarks how the word choice (counter a more intuitive 'pronounce') aids in further foregrounding Paddington's otherness (42). Mrs Brown's decision to name the bear after the place where he was found recalls the taxonomic procedure of giving a geographic name to a newly discovered species (Winston 164). Akin to this interpretation is Smith's reference to the historical practice of immigration officers to provide newcomers with an Anglophone name (42). Even earlier, the naming of Paddington can also be linked to how enslaved Africans were deprived of their name and customs and renamed by their enslavers (FITZPATRICK 40). For slavemasters, the practice of unnaming and renaming furthermore indicated ownership of the enslaved (Bur-TON 41). In this regard, it is noteworthy that Paddington is discovered close to the station's lost property office (ABCP 12) where he is also named (16). The family patriarch, Mr Brown, sanctifies the new English name, despite the bear's immediate contestation: "It seems a very long name" (ibid). This sentiment is repeated in the subsequent chapter, as he "wish[es] it wasn't quite so long" and remarks that "it was rather difficult to spell" (30). As a consequence, Paddington misspells his name as "Padingtun" for much of the series (A. Smith 42). Given the importance of name-spelling for the development of spelling and literary skills¹⁷, Paddington's plentiful misspellings are unsurprising. If anything, what might be interpreted as intellectual shortcomings on Paddington's part, for outsiders, is once again due to a lack of awareness and engagement on the Browns' part.

Indeed, throughout the series, the Browns' benevolent willingness to help Paddington is only surpassed by their privileged ignorance concerning Paddington's legal status and the potential consequences if he is found out. The fourth novel, *Paddington Abroad* (1961), is especially illustrative of this, with Paddington and the Browns going on a vacation to France. Only after the Browns are asked to present their passports at the airport, do they realise that Paddington's "circumstances were a trifle unusual to say the least" (Bond, *Abroad* ch. 3,

¹⁷ See for example Puranik, Lonigan and Kim for the importance of name-writing for school children's development of literary skills.

original emphasis), and that there is a real chance of Paddington being deported – a concern explicitly voiced by Mrs Brown (Bond, *Abroad* ch. 3) – regardless of whether or not he has a passport¹⁸. In this and other instances, the Browns can be ideated as spiritual successors of the 'absent-minded imperialists' in Bernard Porter's disputed 'minimal impact' theory, according to which many Britons possessed only "vague and highly inaccurate understanding of empire [and the] British colonies" (Buettner 61). Bond himself highlights the Browns' negligence in recognising what it is like for Paddington "to be a refugee, not to be in your own country" (qtd. in McVeigh). For the Browns, Paddington is probably the first to give tangible shape to the colonial 'Other.'

In combination with the magic realist elements of the franchise that render Paddington's 'bearness' unremarkable, the Browns' ostensible indifference towards Paddington's potential hardship becomes interpretable as a representation of 'colour-blind' attitudes. The rhetoric of colour-blindness emerged in the United States in the late 1960s (Bonilla-Silva 16) and expressed the utopian desire for a society without racial classification. Colour-blindness reflects the belief that racialised issues can be resolved by ignoring them (Kendi 467) and constitutes an ideology that "otherizes softly" in a covert and institutionalised manner (Bonilla-Silva 3) while merely "rearticulat[ing] elements of traditional liberalism (work ethic, rewards by merit, equal opportunity, individualism, etc.) for racially illiberal goals" (7). In short, the Browns' continued indifference towards the prejudice and discrimination that Paddington might face results in a modus vivendi which fails to meet Paddington in his right to achieve equal treatment.

Overall, Paddington occupies a passive role in the initial chapter of *A Bear Called Paddington* with Mr and Mrs Brown as stand-ins for benign but ignorant middle-class Britons that dominate much of the book's early action. The text hints towards some colonial beliefs in examples such as the suggestive 'Darkest Peru' or the romanticised circumstances of migration.

The chapter ends with Paddington producing his passport which he had kept in the secret compartment of his suitcase. However, this neither resolves Paddington's travels by irregular means nor his overextended stay in London. In Bond's final novel, *Paddington's Finest Hour* (2017), a policeman inquires whether Paddington is "one of them illegal immigrants" (ch. 1), which Mr Brown counters with, "[he] does have a Peruvian passport, so you could say he's here on an extended holiday" (ch. 1).

4. *Paddington* (2014)

4.1 Contextualisation of the Work

This chapter critically discusses Paddington's portrayal in the film *Paddington* and is structured analogously to the foregoing chapter on *A Bear Called Paddington*. Before an in-depth analysis of Paddington's portrayal through the film's three antagonists, a brief biography on writer and director Paul King as well as a rudimentary contextualisation of the film within Britain's cinematic output and the political climate at the time are provided. First, it is important to note that, unlike most novels, films are collaborative efforts where hundreds and sometimes thousands of people contribute to the final product and by that influence the final product in varying degrees. The content, themes and philosophy of the Paddington films are inherently linked to writer and director Paul King, but are not solely the product of his vision and creative control. While it is unfeasible to acknowledge the contributions of every person to the film's gestalt, at least co-writer Hamish McColl, director of photography Erik Wilson, and animation director Pablo Grillo deserve to be mentioned briefly here as valuable contributors to the film's look and artistic rendition.

4.1.1 The Director Paul King

Paul King started his career as a director for television series, most notably *The Mighty Boosh* (2004-2007) and *Come Fly with Me* (2010-2011) (Shoard). King wrote and directed his first feature film, *Bunny and the Bull*, in 2009. The artistic low-budget film made use of various animation techniques and in an interview King highlighted the Paddington TV series (1976-1980) – a stop motion series with 2D paper cutouts for each object and character except for Paddington, who is represented by a three-dimensional puppet – as one of his inspirations (King and Ross, 00:08:55-00:09:36). Despite grossing no more than £55,000, the film caught the attention of David Heyman (Shoard), who had secured the film rights to the Harry Potter franchise in 1999 and produced all eight films (Macnab). Heyman optioned the Paddington books in 2007 and ultimately entrusted King with co-writing and directing the film (Shoard). King himself refutes the perceived political undertones in *Paddington*, stating that "the UK is one comparatively small market" and the film's message of kindness is "more universal" (ibid). Following the international success of the film, King returned as the director for *Paddington* 2, which saw its release in 2017.

4.1.2 Temporal Context: Britain in the 2000s and 2010s

Released nationwide on November 28th 2014, Paddington went on to become the year's top grossing UK film at the box office (BFI, "Top Films" 4) and became the highest grossing independent UK title globally in the ensuing year (BFI, "Statistical Yearbook" 73). With a worldwide gross of \$268 million (Box Office Mojo), Paddington became the financially most successful non-US studio family film and ensured the production of a sequel (Frenetic Films 4). A success of this magnitude was unexpected, even if it may not have been entirely accidental. In Paddington's case, the parents and grandparents of today's children that conceivably grew up with Bond's books contributed significantly to the film's financial success (BFI, "Audiences" 6-7). British film producer Damian Jones purports that ever since early 2012, the age group of 50+ has been recognised as the United Kingdom's most dependable cinema-going demographic, which is part of the reason why there has since been such an abundance of nostalgic films in the years (BARBER). Nicholas Barber however points out that these "nostalgic movies [are] centred on Britain in the period in and around the second world war," whereas Paddington, its post-war origins notwithstanding, is set in contemporary London. Beaumont highlights the importance of the Second World War to the UK's self-fashioning (385), with imagery surrounding national glories being used not exclusively by the Leave campaign (see for example Shirbon) but part and parcel of the contemporary British film and TV output. The years 2014 to 2018 saw the theatrical releases of UK film productions set during the Second World War such as The Imitation Game (2014), The Monuments Men (2014), Dad's Army (2016), Their Finest (2016), Dunkirk (2017), Churchill (2017), and Darkest Hour (2018). Given the considerable lead times in the making of feature films as the seven year period until *Paddington*'s cinematic release shows, Britain's cinematic output cannot be reductively viewed as the artistic extension of an increased Euroscepticism that culminated in the EU referendum of 2016. Yet, it would be equally negligent to completely divorce these cultural products from their concurrent political backdrop. As a consequence, the Paddington films can equally be perceived as examples that follow this trend of evocating wistful sentiments for a retroactively glorified past.

However, whereas the aforementioned war films "have come to be seen as a reflection and endorsement of the Brexit mood" (Jack) and "peddle fantasies of national greatness" (Brendon), *Paddington* takes a more critical stance towards glorifications of the past. Not only does Paddington come to realise that "London is not how [he and his guardians] imagined it" (*P1*, 00:24:00) but, as the subsequent analysis will demonstrate, the character most qualified to represent the British Empire's 'former glory,' Millicent Clyde, happens to be the film's main villain. Furthermore, with the EU referendum of 2016 to take place during *Paddington 2*'s

pre-production phase (FREI), it stands to reason that the film makers opted for a more overt pro-immigration tone in the sequel and deliberately chose to include a diversified cast, in particular in Paddington's neighbourhood¹⁹. In these particular aspects, the Paddington films challenge the nostalgia of concurrent British film productions.

It is difficult to contextualise the Paddington films with surrounding socio-economic and political developments analogous to the brief outline of Britain in the 1950s and 1960s. Undoubtedly, the topic dominating the United Kingdom during the most in recent years has been the 2016 EU Referendum that cemented the decision to leave the European Union. Yet, at the time of writing, this development is still ongoing, with its possible aftermath entirely unknown. While the analysis in chapter 4.3 will treat the vote to leave as a paradigmatic aspect of modern Britain's political climate, the years surrounding the production and release of the Paddington films cannot be reduced to this single albeit commanding issue.

Another central issue in view of the subsequent chapters is the denaturalisation of British citizens. Lorenzo Marsili and Niccolo Milanese state that "[b]etween 2006 and 2015, the UK Home office stripped at least fifty-three British citizens of their nationality" (141). Since 2014, the denaturalisation of citizens became a lawful possibility even in cases that would leave the aggrieved party stateless (141-142). In other words, *Paddington* was released in the same year that saw citizenship in the United Kingdom turned conditional and revocable (142). Furthermore, legislative changes in 2014 and 2016 criminalised employing irregular migrants (DAVIES 438) or merely letting rooms to them (CRAWFORD, LEAHY AND McKNEE 116). Finally, the so-called 'Windrush Scandal' of 2018 highlights how these legal changes and the concurrent risk of denaturalisation affects the Afro-Caribbean community in particular; a connection that will be discussed in the context of the Paddington films in chapter 5.3.

4.2 Plot Summary

The film opens in Peru, a land that remained 'dark' through the Paddington novels, and provides a backstory to Paddington before arriving in London. First, a short segment, made to look like an old black-and-white travelogue, introduces Paddington's Aunt Lucy and Uncle Pastuzo, and shows how they made acquaintance with the explorer Montgomery Clyde (Tim Downie), saved his life, and began communicating with one another in English. This is fol-

While the inclusion of a diversified cast is certainly noteworthy, *Paddington 2*'s main cast remains rather white. The film's diversity implementation may furthermore be challenged for not giving every BAME a name (Meera Syal for example is billed merely as 'prosecutor,' Richard Ayoade as 'forensic investigator') and the directorial decision to include stereotypical accents "to highlight the multicultural local universe" (@TVSanjeev).

lowed by present time 'Darkest Peru,' which introduces Paddington (voiced by Ben Whishaw), his clumsiness and love of marmalade, as well as interactions with his aged aunt and uncle. After an earthquake surprises the bears at night, Uncle Pastuzo dies tragically, and Aunt Lucy decides that the time has come for Paddington to move to London. As she is putting him in a lifeboat, she directly refers to the Kindertransport of World War II to assuage Paddington that people will look after him.

After arriving in the port of London, the young bear hides in a mailbag and is delivered to Paddington station, where he attempts to strike up conversations with busy Londoners to no avail. A family of four, the Browns, arriving hours later from a day trip, initially ignore Paddington but the mother Mary Brown (Sally Hawkins) walks back to him to inquire about his situation. She offers help and, with her husband's reluctant blessing, decides to take him home for the night. She furthermore proposes the name Paddington to the bear as his real name proves hard to pronounce. After Mr Brown makes it clear that the young bear needs to find 'a proper guardian,' Paddington recalls the explorer but does not know his (human) name. Mary offers Paddington to 'freshen up,' which results in the first catastrophe, as Paddington accidentally floods the bathroom.

Meanwhile, Millicent Clyde, a taxidermist at the British Natural History Museum learns about the arrival of a 'marmalade-eating creature' at the London docks and sets out to find Paddington. As is revealed later, she is the daughter of the explorer and seeks fame by adding a rare specimen to the museum, in particular a marmalade-eating bear. She resents her father, who perceived the bears as intelligent and civilised, and opened a petting zoo instead of revealing the bears' location to the Geographers' Guild.

The next morning, Mary Brown and Paddington visit Mr Gruber (Jim Broadbent), owner of an antique shop, who discovers that Paddington's hat once belonged to an explorer in the Geographers' Guild. Mr Brown is persuaded not to deliver Paddington to the authorities and joins Paddington in the quest to retrieve information about the explorer at the Geographers' Guild. In the meantime, Millicent Clyde discovers Paddington's whereabouts and charms Mr Curry, the Browns' disapproving neighbour, into helping her remove the bear from the Windsor Gardens neighbourhood. In the evening of the same day, the family meets at Mr Gruber's antique shop to watch the expedition footage that Mr Brown and Paddington retrieved from the Geographers' Guild and learn the name of Montgomery Clyde.

When the Browns leave Paddington alone at home the next day, Millicent Clyde breaks in to kidnap him. The attempt fails and results in a gas explosion, which renews some of the Browns' mistrust in the bear. As a consequence, Paddington sneaks away at night to look for Montgomery Clyde on his own, only to finally ring Millicent's doorbell. She promises him a

home and drives him to the Natural History Museum, planning to anaesthetise and stuff him. When Mr Curry learns of her intention, he alarms the Browns, who then rush to the museum to rescue Paddington. By working as a team with their specific skills combined, they manage to free him. A standoff on the museum's roof between the Browns and Millicent Clyde ends with Mrs Bird (Julie Walters), the family's quasi-housekeeper, inadvertently pushing Millicent off the roof. The film ends with the Browns reunited, with Paddington now as a permanently adopted family member, Aunt Lucy reading a letter by Paddington in the Home for Retired Bears in Peru, and Millicent Clyde being punished to do community service at a petting zoo.

4.3 Interpretation of Selected Scenes

The subsequent analysis is divided into three subchapters, each of which revolves around (but is not limited to) a character in *Paddington*: Henry Brown, Mr Curry, and finally Millicent Clyde. This structure permits a fairly chronological discussion of how Paddington is characterised, and oftentimes racialised, in relation to the story's three antagonists: Henry Brown, at first, is Paddington's adversary at a domestic level, Mr Curry opposes Paddington's presence in his neighbourhood (and, metonymically, at a national level), and Millicent Clyde, finally, is a threat to Paddington on an existential level. Each of these characters represents different realisations of the contemporary colonial attitudes that 'native-born' people express towards the 'racialised migrant Other.' These realisations are, as the analysis will show, unstable, alterable and overlapping. In other words, the attitude of Millicent Clyde becomes interpretable as a continuation and aggrandisement of Mr Curry's, while Mr Curry's mindset is, in turn, partially shared by Henry Brown. Yet, despite the potential for a shift in the antagonists' attitudes, they are distinct enough in their motivations and realisations to be discussed separately.

4.3.1 Henry Brown

While King's *Paddington* tells a largely original story, several scenes from Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington* had to be adapted for the first 34 minutes of the film. The great and obvious example here is the necessity of Paddington meeting the Browns at Paddington station and then staying at their residence in Windsor Gardens somewhat indefinitely. Yet, unlike the book, King decided to make the willingness of the Browns to accept Paddington as a quasi-permanent guest, if not even part of the family, one of the two overarching conflicts in the plot (King and Ross, 00:13:20-00:16:38). In contrast, in *A Bear Called Paddington*, this decision is made improbably fast. Mary Brown asks her husband whether Paddington can stay with

them for a few days at their initial encounter (*ABCP* 14-15) and in just the ensuing chapter (set on the same evening) the family decides unanimously to let him stay indefinitely (31-32). The film's Browns are not nearly as decisive, resulting in the plot of trying to find him a (different) home by looking for the explorer.

The Browns' first encounter with Paddington at the station and their subsequent taxicab ride to Windsor Gardens is the largest shared story segment between Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington* and King's *Paddington*, and not only facilitates the direct comparison of how the racialised characterisation of Paddington was updated for a modern setting, but also provides disclosure on Mr and Mrs Brown's personality vis-à-vis strangers. For the sake of comprehension, said story segment will be divided into multiple scenes: Paddington's meeting with the Browns (*P1*, 00:11:17-00:14:06) in chapter 4.3.1.1 and chapter 4.3.1.2, Paddington's 'christening' at the station's cafe (*P1*, 00:14:06-00:16:04) in chapter 4.3.1.3, Mr Brown's reluctance in aiding Paddington in chapter 4.3.1.4, and the drive via taxicab to the Browns' home at Number 32, Windsor Gardens (*P1*, 00:16:04-00:17:02) in chapter 4.3.1.5. These three scenes close with a discussion of Mr Brown's action on the first and second night of Paddington's stay in London in chapter 4.3.1.6.

4.3.1.1 The Initial Meeting

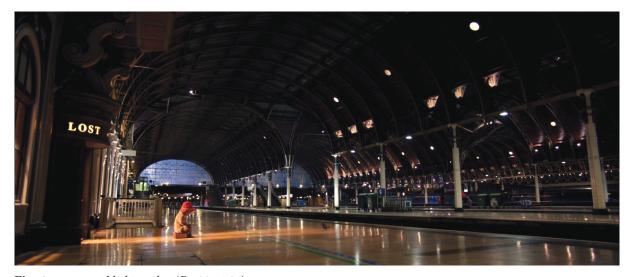


Fig. 1: scene establishing shot (P1, 00:11:34)

The scene opens with a crane shot that moves from a 'close up' of the station's clock showing 8:27 pm to a an 'extreme long shot' of Paddington sitting on his suitcase in front of the lost property office, as mentioned in the book (*P1*, 00:11:17). This field size (or sometimes, shot size) is characterised by emphasising a character's surrounding, oftentimes shrinking the character in relation (HICKETHIER 55). These shots are oftentimes employed to establish a scene (as is the case here) but the size relations, in combination with the illuminated "lost" of

the lost property office behind him, may also suggest that Paddington is feeling overpowered by his new and unwelcoming surroundings. The shot communicates to the audience that a lot of time has passed, in which Paddington, sitting now in a mostly empty station, could not find help. At the same time, the shot composition implies that while Paddington is facing an unknown future, the feeling of being lost is (about to be) behind him.

After Paddington briefly struggles with hungry pigeons, he notices a train arriving and tries to look presentable. The Browns exit the train and are immediately characterised for the audience through a few salient personality traits (*P1*, 00:12:07): Jonathan (Samuel Joslin) jumps around and talks about wanting to become an astronaut, while Mr Brown berates him on the dangers of jumping, and Judy (Madeleine Harris) has her headphones over her ears and is embarrassed by her mother, who likes to come up with nicknames for her children and just before jumped into a bathing pond naked.



Fig. 2: Mr Brown's protective gesture (P1, 00:12:37)

After this brief introduction to the Browns, Mr Brown is the first to notice Paddington. At once, he alerts his family by remarking "Oh! Stranger danger" (*P1*, 00:12:34), accompanied with a noticeable shift in his body posture from walking upright to tilting his head slightly forward and putting his arms around his children. Whereas the remark seems to be comically softened by the immediate follow-up "There's some sort of bear over there. Probably selling something," the mere mention of 'stranger danger,' along with the protective gesture, carries significant meaning. In general, the term 'stranger danger' denotes the perceived threat of strangers to children (Stokes 7), particularly, the threat of their abduction (23). Mary Anne Stokes indicates that the perceived dangers are largely socially constructed (16) and contribute to the fabrication of 'blameable scapegoats' and 'folk devils' (18), as well as the erosion of adult solidarity (Furedi). Mr Brown's sentiment is also immediately oppositional to Aunt Lucy's assurance that "[Londoners] will not have forgotten how to treat a stranger" (*P1*, 00:08:38).

The difference from the novel's text to its cinematic adaptation is immediately noticeable in this change: while the book's Mr Brown actively seeks out a somewhat hidden Paddington, the film's Mr Brown "want[s] nothing to do with him" (*P1*, 01:18:26) and would prefer to avoid the clearly visible bear completely.

4.3.1.2 Of Mimicry and Bear I: Mary Brown

To Paddington's great luck, Mr Brown's wife Mary is leaning more closely towards Aunt Lucy's assurance than Mr Brown's own safeguarding precaution would allow. Henry's announcement of 'stranger danger' cautions Mary to the presence of the bear and she supposedly stops walking, out of frame. As Mary walks back into the frame, Paddington only sees her legs at first, and when he looks up, his perspective is similar to the one the audience is presented with: a low angle shot of Mary Brown, illuminated by the light of the lost property office. She addresses Paddington with a "Hello there," while score composer Nick Urata's string arrangement swells and the "found" segment of the lost property office's sign lights up with a soft 'bling' sound.

Paddington's immediate reply is "Oh, hello!" while doffing his hat, followed by a "Coming down in stair-rods, isn't it?" The latter is a reference to the earthquake segment (*P1*, 00:04:46-00:06:14), in which Aunt Lucy and Uncle Pastuzo can be seen repeating basic English expressions that are played from a vinyl record. The recorded voice advises 'to talk about the weather to take conversations further'²⁰ (*P1*, 00:05:00), and what is more, to "follow these simple rules and you will always feel at home in London" (*P1*, 00:05:17). The vinyl record, along with the gramophone and other cultural products, was given to the bears by the explorer Montgomery Clyde and can very well be seen as more than just gratitude for saving his life.

Rather than interpreting the gifts in a purely benevolent sense, they ought to be viewed as part of his then adopted 'civilising mission.' In stating "I have learnt so much from these bears but I wonder what, if anything, they have learnt from me" (*P1*, 00:02:20), Montgomery Clyde reveals that – despite believing the bears to be "intelligent and civilised" (*P1*, 01:09:09) – he still perceives a need to educate them in his ideal of civilisation, Englishness. The cultural products he 'gifts' to the bears can be perceived as an expression of this desire, a "desire for a reformed, recognisable Other, as *a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*" (Внавна, "Mimicry" 126, original emphasis). After all, the English expressions that the bears dutifully repeat are dated²¹ and would appear strange or comical to a contemporary Londoner.

The vinyl recording gives various examples for the 107 ways that Londoners have to refer to rainy weather, of which "Nice weather for the ducks" and "It's coming down in stair-rods" are the first two (*P1*, 00:05:03), and are repeated later in the film by Paddington.

²¹ While the OED cites a 1964 article in The Times as a potential first occurrence of the 'coming down like

Mary appears charmed by the quaint expression (*P1*, 00:13:07) but to a modern viewer Paddington's outdated expressions are likely to have a comedic effect. The 'simple rules' proposed by the explorer and his cultural products lead to Paddington's "exaggerated copying of language, culture, manners, and ideas" that discloses the "comic quality of mimicry" (Huddart 39). This aspect of Paddington's behaviour will be analysed more in depth in chapter 4.3.3.3 and 5.4, but for the time being, his eagerness to emulate outmoded English decorum is likely humorous to a modern audience who knows how antiquated these expressions of politeness are. In this sense, *Paddington* derives some of its humour by placing its main character in unfamiliar surroundings, the so-called 'fish out of water' concept, but unlike many other examples of the genre, Paddington's unfamiliarity is caused by the *contemporariness* of his new environment. In the end, Paddington makes use of these largely phatic expressions in order to connect to Londoners, due to the urgency in finding a new home; even if earlier he shook his head at his guardians' language learning (*P1*, 00:05:02).



Fig. 3: Mary and Paddington separated by the other Browns (P1, 00:13:10)

With Judy trying to get her mother's attention, the perspective switches to a full two shot. The blocking of the actors and their orientations in this shot is illustrative of the family's early attitudes towards the strange bear. Mary and Paddington are standing opposite each other in the foreground, whereas the rest of the Browns are slightly out of focus in the background. Mr Brown's body is turned away from the pair and, presumably, towards an exit, whereas the children are facing them. Together, Mr Brown and the children are standing between Mary and Paddington, not just in the frame itself but also as a metaphorical barrier between the two characters. This shot is also illustrative of costume designer Lindy Hemmings' colour scheme and its symbolism: Mrs Brown, Paddington and Jonathan are wearing red, while Mr

stair-rods' proverb ("stair-rod, n."), the phrase 'nice weather for the ducks' can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century ("duck, n." def. I.2).

Brown and Judy are mostly wearing shades of grey. Hemmings made the choice to have warm colours signify the Browns' personal warmness (or lack thereof) towards the bear throughout the film (VISIT BRITAIN).

Mary's reaction after her daughter's yell and her husband nodding towards the exit is to put down her handbag and kneel down. This action puts her on eye-level with Paddington, gesturing that they are now equals. Unlike in the book, Mary Brown's questions revolve more around Paddington's home and family and less around the logistics of his journey, which are only briefly discussed after Jonathan's "How did you get here?" (*P1*, 00:13:34). A reason for this change is likely due to the audience already having seen Paddington's journey, but simultaneously hint towards Mary's indifference about the origin of someone who is in need of help. The scene ends, just like in the book, with Mary asking "What are you going to do now?" (*P1*, 00:13:46) and offering help despite her husband's slight agitation.

4.3.1.3 The Christening of the Bear



Fig. 4: two shot of an impatient Mr Brown, turned away from Paddington (P1, 00:14:07)

The ensuing scene, set at one of the station's cafés, does not significantly broaden Mr Brown's characterisation but is noteworthy enough for the naming of Paddington. The scene (*P1*, 00:14:06-00:16:04) opens with a profile two shot on Mr Brown and Paddington sitting opposite one another. Mr Brown looks around, appearing impatient and avoids eye contact, while Paddington is deeply focused on eating. Mr Brown breaks the silence by asking Paddington for his name and Paddington replies twice with a growl. Upon Paddington's encouragement, Mr Brown tries to pronounce Paddington's name but fails. Hence, when Mrs Brown indirectly asks for Paddington's name by stating "Excuse me. Um, I'm terribly sorry; I don't actually know your name" (*P1*, 00:15:21), he replies "Oh. Well I've got a bear name. But it seems to be rather hard to *pronounce*" (*P1*, 00:15:26, emphasis added). Not only does the word choice 'pro-

nounce' seem to remedy Smith's criticism of the book's selection of 'understand,' the change from 'Peruvian' to 'bear' is equally remarkable. Unlike the book, the film seems to centre Paddington's affiliation to a species in favour of his country of origin which implies that the former is a more stable marker of otherness than the latter.

The conversation then continues its divergence from the book's dialogue. The Browns' declarative commitment "Then we'd better give you an English one" (*ABCP* 16) is replaced by the closed question "Oh perhaps you'd like an English name?" (*P1*, 00:15:31), and only after Paddington's "Like what?" does Mrs Brown propose the name 'Paddington.' Hence, although the name change is, again, incited by the Browns, the film's Paddington now has the final word in the matter. Furthermore, in both media, Paddington rehearses his new name a few times, but whereas he complains about the name's length in the book (*ABCP* 16), he states "I like it!" in the film (*P1*, 00:15:51). These small changes undoubtedly bestow Paddington with some agency in the creation of his new English alias, and constitute an improvement of the source material from a postcolonial perspective. Paul King commented on these ameliorations by stating that the Browns' naming of the bear "always had this slight imperial overtone" for him and he therefore decided to give him the family name also (KING AND FARNABY, 00:11:53). Yet, it is unclear in how far this distinguishes the films from the novels, in which Paddington is called by his 'full name' on several occasions as well.

4.3.1.4 The Stranger in the House

The most poignant information about Mr Brown in this scene is his continued resistance to care for Paddington, and what is more, give him shelter. This is not just a testament to his overcautious character, but exemplary of a certain type of Briton in general. For Mr Brown, housing Paddington – even for one night – invites the 'danger of a stranger' from a public place into his own home. The invitation of strangers into one's home with potentially detrimental and dangerous consequences has been formalised in the public discourse as 'doorstep crime,' and linked to 'stranger danger' (see for example Gorden and Buchanan), both of which involve "face-to-face contact" with "the victim [being] deceived and manipulated by the perpetrator" (Gorden and Buchanan 498). In some sense, the biggest difference of the two concepts is spatial: whereas doorstep crime threatens the sanctity of one's private home, stranger danger upsets the safety of public spaces and neighbourhoods. The statistics on offences underneath both umbrella terms indicate a low frequency relative to its public awareness (Gorden and Buchanan 498; Jackson and Scott 92-93), with (especially elderly) people agonising over their safety as a plausible negative consequence (Gorden and Buchanan 506). An example of a campaign to raise public awareness is briefly shown in

the underground scene (*P1*, 00:32:11-00:34:06), where presumably authentic advertisement billboards alert citizens about the dangers of doorstep crime. Although Mr Brown's worries about the safety of his children have long been part of his personality, his paternal anxieties also seem to be influenced by the larger public discourse on the supposed threat of intrusive strangers and merits discussion.



Fig. 5: a billboard (right) warning citizens about doorstop crime (P1, 00:32:57)

In this context, Sara Ahmed stresses the utility of strangers as a means to construct violence "as exceptional and extraordinary – as coming from outside the protective walls of the home, family, community or nation," with immigrants representing the utmost strangeness (36). They are visually recognisable as being 'out of place' (AHMED 21), and their "behaviour seems unpredictable and beyond control" (MERRY 125 qtd. in AHMED 36). Paddington's full journey to Windsor Gardens (*P1*, 00:09:01-0:17:02) delineates an encroachment wherein he perturbs increasingly private spaces. After crossing England's borders by irregular means, he becomes a migrant – who, at best, ought to be "liv[ing] on the fringes of a society which is determined to preserve myths of a static culture and a homogeneous identity" (Castles and Miller 29), but instead continues his transgressive journey 'from the margin to the centre,' i.e. from a formerly colonised country to a former imperial centre, from the Port of London to Paddington Station in Central London.

4.3.1.5 Taxicab Drive

The final stage of the journey is completed in a taxicab, utilised by the filmmakers to portray some of London's famous landmarks and Paddington's awe in seeing them up close. It is notable that a cover version "London is the place for me" by the calypsonian Aldwyn Roberts, better known as Lord Kitchener, is played during this scene. Lord Kitchener arrived on the HMT

Empire Windrush in 1948 as part of almost 500 Commonwealth citizens from the Caribbean and hence was an early notable figure of the Windrush Generation (BUETTNER 254-255). Migratory movements such as the arrival of Caribbean people were inadvertently facilitated by the aforementioned 1948 British Nationality Act (BNA 1948), which was originally intended to merely strengthen the ties between the UK and its colonies (HAMPSHIRE 19). "London is the place for me" mirrored the hopes of a generation of migrants coming to Britain in the 1950s (BUETTNER 255). Only a few years later, however, Lord Kitchener released the disinclined song "My Landlady" about "the rude and condescending behaviour from those who charged extortionately for squalid rooms that marred the British experiences of so many" (262). The film's taxicab scene, whether knowingly or by mere chance, alludes to all of the above. Like many people embarking from formerly colonised countries, Paddington anticipates a better life in Britain (as in "London is the place for me"), but finds himself exploited by 'native-born' Britons (as in "My Landlady"). The taxicab ride is the first of the book series' many examples of Paddington being perceived as "a gullible foreigner who can easily be duped into parting with his money" (A. Smith 46), and the taxi driver notifies the Browns that "bears is sixpence extra [...] sticky bears is ninepence" (ABCP 22)22. This story segment marks one of the first transactions for Paddington in the new country, and in both the book and the film, Mr Brown is asked to overpay for the transportation of Paddington.

But whereas the book's taxi driver bills extra on the mere account of Paddington being a bear, the film's taxi driver is imposing an additional service. None of the film montage's sights are actually en route, with Paddington station being rather close to Windsor Gardens in West London. For the audience's amusement, Mr Brown draws attention to the unlikely course on arrival by complaining "What sort of route do you call that?" – to which the driver replies "Well, the young bear said it was his first time in London. I thought I'd show him the sights" (*P1*, 00:16:37). If, then, "taxi rides often provide a barometer for political sentiment in a city" (MARSILI AND MILANESE 205), the attitude towards foreigners in the book's London of the late 1950s must be decidedly different from the contemporary Londoners portrayed in the film. In other words, whereas the book's Paddington functions as a stand-in for the undesired 'Other' that can easily be financially exploited, in the world of the film there is at least something offered in return.

However, it is worth noting that in both instances of the taxicab ride, the Browns are the ones tricked out of their money, presumably because of their upmarket West London destination. In both the film and book the taxicab driver speaks in an accent reminiscent of

Later editions of the book reflect the United Kingdom's decimalisation of currency, changing the taxicab driver's statement to "Bears is extra, [...] sticky bears is twice as much again" (BOND, Complete Novels, *ABCP* ch. 1).

Cockney English, presumably to highlight a class difference. In this regard, the scene may be interpreted as a comment on class rather than Paddington's 'racialised otherness.' The only time Paddington is betrayed directly in the films is through the false testimony of *Paddington 2*'s villain Phoenix Buchanan (Hugh Grant) that lands Paddington in prison. In this regard, the films 'improve' upon the novels, in which characters often try to dupe Paddington out of his valuables.

4.3.1.6 Of Mimicry and Bear II: Mr Brown

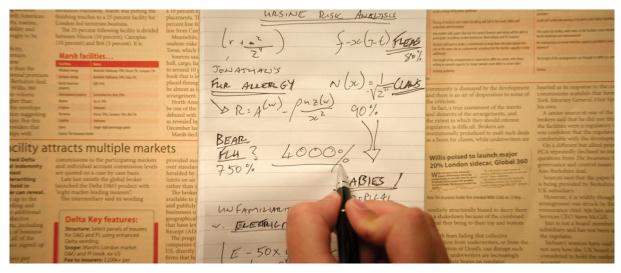


Fig. 6: "ursine risk analysis" (P1, 00:24:48)

Mr Brown is the last family member to become compassionate towards Paddington's dilemma and the film's narrative of how his transformation is achieved merits critical attention. On Paddington's first night at the Browns' residence, Mr Brown is quick to phone his insurance company and modify his home insurance policy to be covered for damages caused by the bear (*P1*, 00:19:33). Shortly thereafter, he can be seen calculating the risk of having this ursine stranger in the house, itemising Paddington's fur, claws, and potentiality to transmit fleas, rabies and the 'bear flu'²³ (*P1*, 00:24:40). Physical characteristics and the fear of infectious diseases aside, the words "unfamiliarity w. electricity" can also be seen, revealing Mr Brown's presumption that the bear must have grown up in uncivilised surroundings²⁴, whereas the

There seem to be no documented cases of influenzal bear-to-human contagions, and given the low population size of bears in inhabited places (as opposed to productive livestock such as poultry, cattle and pigs), they will remain to be highly unlikely host animals (Nachbagauer). Interestingly enough, there have been instances of bears in captivity contracting influenza viruses through other animals or humans (see for example Boedeker). Accordingly, a sole bear in London is at a significantly higher risk of infections through humans than vice versa. Finally, the term 'bear flu' is reminiscent of 'bird flu' and may have a humorous intention.

In fairness to Mr Brown, his presumption might be correct. In the film, the bears' most technologically advanced item, the gramophone, can operate on a wind-up mechanism, while the books make the absence of electricity in 'Darkest Peru' canonical in *Paddington Here and Now* (ch. 3).

knowledge of Aunt Lucy's residence in a retirement home "offers a link between the known civilisation of the British Welfare State and some similar system in Peru" (A. SMITH 44). In view of these concerns, Mr Brown repeatedly utters his conviction that the stranger in their home is a danger to the children throughout the film (*P1*, 00:24:29, 00:40:15, 00:59:52).

To Judy, the best immediate strategy to have her father relate to Paddington is by making him look 'more presentable' (P1, 00:41:58). Indeed, upon seeing his children playfully blow-drying the bear and Mrs Bird dressing him in the blue duffel coat that he himself wore as a child²⁵, Mr Brown finally warms up to Paddington (P1, 00:42:39-00:43:45). This preliminary bond, however, is not formed solely based on Paddington's 'presentable' appearance, but he is made to resemble a childhood Henry Brown. Paddington explicitly refers to the duffel coat as "a human coat," which makes him, as Mary Brown puts it, "look like one of the family" (P1, 00:43:17). His formerly exposed indigenous body, publicly displaying his 'bearness' and dissimilarity to the rest of the family, becomes 'presentable' - that is more human-like and acceptable – by being cloaked in the fabrics of the British family's patriarch. Beyond presentability, the playful rapport of the bear, i.e. being dressed in the clothes of a human child, creates, in Bhabha's terms, an ambivalent space for Paddington to 'mimic' being part of his host family, while also remaining unchallengingly different to the Browns' self-perception. This means that through the act of clothing, Paddington becomes "a reformed [but] recognizable Other" (Внавна, "Mimicry" 126). Despite the aforementioned ambiguities surrounding Paddington's age, from this point onwards he is often treated as one of the children and worthy of parental protection.

In addition, the instruction to clean himself up and being aided in the process by Judy and Jonathan is ripe with colonial undertones. A slightly uncharitable postcolonial interpretation might link this scene to the long art history surrounding a racist proverb on the futility of "trying to scrub an Ethiopian" (Massing 182). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, depictions of coloured skin being washed to cleanse its pigmentation were eventually picked up by soap companies such as London-based Pears, and reinforced the discourse of colonisation's 'civilising mission' (Popović 106). The motif survived long into the twentieth century on signs of British pubs, often in combination with either the phrase "Labour in Vain" or "Devil in a Tub" (Massing 200). The applicability of this racist notion seems limited by the fact that Paddington is a *furred* subject. Yet at least the source material permits this nexus: a similar passage in *A Bear Called Paddington* points out that following his first bath at the Browns' home Paddington's fur turned "really quite light in colour and not dark brown as it

This instance represents a noticeable divergence from the novel. In *ABCP*, the duffel coat is bought by Mrs Brown at a fictional high-end department store called Barkridge's (which in all likelihood is a reference to Selfridges, where Michael Bond bought the teddy he christened Paddington).

had been" (*ABCP* 38). While this transformation is not visually adopted in the film, the bathing of Paddington by Judy and Jonathan certainly seems to contribute to his (visual) acceptability. In short, Mr Brown only develops sympathies for Paddington after the bathing and clothing of his markedly indigenous body, which renders him more 'like one of the family' and infantilises him. In this regard, Mr Brown's reaction to Paddington visually increasingly resembling his own kind is in stark contrast to Millicent Clyde's response, detailed in chapter 4.3.3.

4.3.2 Mr Curry



Fig. 7: Mr Curry's formal introduction in a 'Dutch angle' (P1, 00:31:39)

For the analysis of Mr Curry's opposition to Paddington three shorter scenes are considered: his complaint to the Browns (P1, 00:31:24-00:31:57) and meeting with Millicent Clyde at the telephone booth (P1, 00:45:00-00:45:56) will be discussed in this chapter, whereas the scheming of Millicent Clyde and Mr Curry at his home (P1, 00:51:31-00:52:39) will be interpreted in chapter 4.3.2.2. The first-mentioned scene is likely a result of Paddington's "spot of bother with the facilities" at the Browns' residence the evening before (P1, 00:23:08), and Mr Curry complains "Heck of a racket coming from your way last night, Brown" (P1, 00:31:30). Even if Mr Curry is briefly shown during Paddington's arrival in Windsor Gardens, the complaint marks his formal introduction to the audience. The accusation is foreclosed artistically by the camera tilting to the right and the music score's sudden, mid-bar interruption, while the Browns leave their house. The ensuing exchange between Mr Curry and the Browns continues in a composition of tilted shots, also known as 'Dutch angles' in technical terminology (MIKUNDA 133-134). This cinematic technique is oftentimes used to visualise disorientation, the mental instability of a character, or merely the emotional tension of a situation (135-136). In this particular case, Mr Curry's appearance visually topples a shot depicting the Browns and Paddington as a group – if not yet as a family – and presumably signalises not just Mr

Curry's disapproving personality to the audience, but also his involvement in future plot complications.

4.3.2.1 The Stranger in the Neighbourhood

Mr Curry's characterisation as a suspicious misanthrope is similar in both the books and films, but whereas he is portrayed as miserly in the books, with many stories revolving around his attempts of exploiting Paddington's readiness to help others, the Mr Curry of the films would rather not have anything to do with Paddington, nor is he ever seen interacting with the bear directly. Paddington's 'strangerness,' in Ahmed's understanding, suffices for Mr Curry to make up his mind about the young bear, and the mere fact that Paddington looks 'out of place' in the posh neighbourhood of Windsor Gardens raises Mr Curry's suspicions. It is possible that Mr Curry had similar reactions to new arrivals in the neighbourhood, whereas he "lived here all [his] life" (*P1*, 00:51:36). Paddington being a bear – the first and only bear in Windsor Gardens – supposedly makes him stand out even more as an 'Other.' Motivated by his xenophobia, Mr Curry comes to a similar decision as Mr Brown early on – that is that Paddington needs to go – but unlike Mr Brown, the childless Mr Curry is concerned about the sanctity of his neighbourhood (and pars pro toto his perception of a fairly homogeneous British nation).

His aversion towards the unknown is likely to have begun before the plot of *Paddington*, and hence is not limited to Paddington. In his own words, he "keep[s] an eye on all the comings and goings and there's been a few unsavoury characters hanging around." (*P1*, 00:45:37). His meticulousness can also be observed in a later scene, when Mr Curry makes the acquaintance of Millicent Clyde. Millicent is standing in a telephone booth and spying on the Browns, when Mr Curry appears and scolds her, "You've been in there for forty-seven minutes. Either a very long call or you're placing unauthorised advertising material in a public telephone box" (*P1*, 00:45:18). The attention to detail in Mr Curry's statement, as much as the implication that Millicent may be illegally soliciting sex work (The National Archives), signals concern about his neighbourhood. Similar to Mr Brown's incipient compulsion to enlist 'the authorities' to tend to Paddington, for Mr Curry, the threat of 'unsavoury characters' to "the imaginary community of the neighbourhood hence requires enforcement through Law" (Ahmed 26). In his monitoring behaviour, Mr Curry fashions himself into an extension of the law, even if he fulfils this function in a voluntary, informal and largely covert capacity at first.

His allegiance becomes more explicit in *Paddington 2* through his self-fashioning as 'commander of the Community Defence Force' – a recurring reference to Neighbourhood Watch schemes (*P2*, 00:19:06). These schemes are "a form of community crime prevention which aims to contribute to the safety and quality of life in residential areas" (Lub 4). In

the UK, Neighbourhood Watch schemes emerged in the 1980s, and exceeded more than ten million people in 161,000 schemes in the year 2000 (AHMED 26-27), with the most engaged citizens living in middle-class neighbourhoods (Ahmed 27; Lub 16). Neighbourhoods in these schemes are under the surveillance of volunteers who, aside from engaging in educational work about security practices, report 'physical or social signs of disorder' and suspicious activities to the authorities (Lub 4). What exactly qualifies as a 'suspicious activity' is left to the imagination of the monitoring citizen, or rather their reliance on 'common sense' (Ahmed 28). This leads Ahmed to propose that the signifier 'suspicious' is empty and thereby permits drawing close connections from 'suspiciousness' to 'strangerness' (28-29). In the eyes of Mr Curry, Paddington's 'strangerness' in the middle-class neighbourhood of Windsor Gardens comprises a suspiciousness worth monitoring, and not just for the safety of the people but also the protection of property (HILL 150 qtd. in Анмер 27). After Paddington is mistaken for a thief by the police in *Paddington 2*, Mr Curry sees his long-held suspicions confirmed and scorns the neighbourhood for 'opening their hearts and their doors' only for Paddington to 'rob them blind,' while he – in another reference to Neighbourhood Watch schemes – kept his "triple locked in accordance with the guidelines" (P2, 00:23:48).

4.3.2.2 The Stranger in the Home Country

Before Mr Curry's formalisation of self-appointed community safeguard in *Paddington 2*, however, he is briefly persuaded by Millicent Clyde to pursue a path outside of lawful enforcement, in order to rid his neighbourhood of this, as he calls it, 'unpleasant creature.' An exchange between the two characters, following their meeting at the telephone booth, reveals, for one, their greater function for the plot, but also portrays them as caricatures of certain proponents within the United Kingdom's contemporary political discourse. When Mr Curry utters a slightly deflated "I think I should be grateful that it's only one bear," Millicent counters his surrender by telling him "Oh, but it always starts with just one, Mr Curry. Soon, the whole street will be crawling with them. Drains clogged with fur, buns thrown at old ladies, raucous all-night picnics" (*P1*, 00:51:49). In appealing to his fears, Millicent entices Mr Curry to act as her informant, so that Paddington "is sent where he belongs, no questions asked" (*P1*, 00:52:12). For Mr Curry all that matters is that Paddington is removed from the neighbourhood, despite a heavily implied circumvention of the law's standard procedures, given Millicent's mention of 'certain connections' with 'no question asked.'

The rhetoric surrounding the supposed threat of immigrants becoming an unbearable strain for the safety of 'native-born' citizens and stability of state finance may sound familiar to British viewers, particularly in the years leading up to the EU referendum in June 2016. Mil-

licent's talking points, the collapse of infrastructure ("drains clogged with fur") and the deterioration of English orderliness, social norms and practices ("buns thrown at old ladies, raucous all-night picnics"), are effective in spurring Mr Curry's fear of increasing immigration despite their obviously absurd nature. Conservative columnist Iain Martin fittingly mirrors Millicent's scaremongering scenario in his comment on the film by stating "One well-spoken and polite bear turning up is fine. What if 260,000 turn up every year? [...] Could Britain's marmalade industry cope with the demand? Probably not." In turn, the fictional Mr Curry parallels the fears of his real life compatriots who perceived the EU's principles on free movement for EU nationals (European Commission) as a culprit of increased migration (Clarke and Newman 72). Conservative politicians presented themselves as being at the European Union's mercy in matters of inner-European migration, despite possessing the necessary sovereignty to curtail migration by legal means (The Economist). This possibility was left unutilised and instead "the figure of the Migrant" – as well as immigration as a whole – became principal points for the 'Leave' campaign (Clarke and Newman 72). Similar to the campaign pledges in the 'Brexit' debate, the solution promised to Mr Curry for a hypothetical future scenario lies outside of hitherto existing 'standard procedures.'

Mr Curry may be even somewhat aware of Millicent's duplicity, indicated by his proposed code name for her, 'honeypot.' While the term, in general, describes "A person who or thing which is very attractive, tempting, or a source of pleasure or reward; spec. an attractive young woman" ("honeypot," def. 2a, original emphasis), its usage connotes trickery and entrapment (Kelland). Furthermore, honey and honeypots are commonly believed to be capable of attracting bears (CAMPER 23). Yet, despite his outcome-oriented way of reasoning – i.e. his wilful disregard on the moralities or legalities of Millicent's method of removal – he seems genuinely surprised to learn that Millicent's goal is not, as he assumed, Paddington's deportation to Peru (P1, 01:07:15) but to stuff him for the National History Museum. With Millicent operating so nonchalantly outside of 'standard procedures,' it is unsurprising that Paddington's 'strangerness' "becomes a mechanism for the justification of acts of violence" (AHMED 37). The Notting Hill race riots of 1958 mentioned earlier can be apprehended in similar ways, just as the stark increase in racist hate crimes following the weeks of the EU referendum (YEUNG) was seemingly motivated by little less than the 'strangeness' of the victims, given "the way its perpetrators made little attempts to distinguish between black and brown citizens and white European migrants" (VIRDEE AND McGEEVER 1808).

In conclusion, Mr Curry's opposition to the 'racialised Other' constitutes an interim position between an early Mr Brown (i.e. Paddington needs to be handed over to the authorities who will provide him with care and shelter in an institution) and Millicent Clyde

(i.e. Paddington needs to be stuffed and put on display). For Millicent, however, the intention to display a taxidermy mount of Paddington in the museum does not register as violent or 'barbaric,' as Mr Curry calls it. Whereas Mr Brown and Mr Curry grant Paddington at least some basic (human) rights, Millicent denies him those on grounds that he is *just* a bear. She explicitly never refers differently to him, except when she calls him a 'specimen' to his face (*P1*, 01:06:40). The next chapter will elaborate on Millicent's hostility towards the bear and present the colonial attitudes at the heart of her obsession to stuff him.

4.3.3 Millicent Clyde

As Millicent does not interact directly with Paddington until sixty-six minutes into the film, the key scene for analysing her antagonism through a postcolonial lens is only in the film's final act: their first common scene at the Natural History Museum at night, from the arrival at the museum until the anaesthetising of Paddington (P1, 01:08:20-01:10:41). As they both walk through Hintze Hall, the museum's main entrance hall, Millicent reveals her motives to Paddington (and the audience) by offering a condensed history of scientific exploration on the basis of exotic species brought to England by British explorers (*P1*, 01:08:34-01:09:02): Charles Darwin brought a Giant Tortoise, Robert Falcon Scott procured Emperor Penguins, and James Cook the kangaroo. Simultaneously, Millicent and Paddington walk by showcased exemplars of these species. It is left ambiguous whether these taxidermy mounts are supposed to represent the actual animals collected by those famous explorers or merely conspecifics, but the implication is clear: specimens that were collected up to almost 250 years ago are still existent in this, as Millicent calls it, "cathedral of knowledge" (P1, 01:08:35). As a consequence, explorers, adding their greatest acquisitions to a museum's collection, were not alone in being immortalised, the specimens also, in a sense, continued to 'exist' for centuries to come, even in cases of a species' extinction.

4.3.3.1 Postcolonial Melancholia

As far as Millicent's narration of exploration is concerned, significant aspects are highly embellished. Charles Darwin did, in fact, bring Giant Tortoises with him from his second voyage on the HMS Beagle (1831 to 1836) (Nicholls), but Scott did not survive the British Antarctic Expedition (1910 to 1913) which resulted in the Natural History Museum's possession of three Emperor Penguin *eggs* (not penguins) (McKie), and the first taxidermy mount of a kangaroo was exhibited only in 1789, a decade after James Cook's death (Cowley and Hubber 8). Provided the filmmakers inserted these errors deliberately, Millicent reveals herself to be

misguided about the achievements of famous explorers. On a narrative level, she seemingly never felt the need to contest the history of the British Empire's scientific conquest, despite being a professional in the field of taxidermy. This circumstance hints towards an ingrained entitlement that also contributes to how injurious she perceives the childhood episode that she lays out next. On a discourse level, the casual mention of recognisable historical figures potentially makes the audience feel more engaged in Millicent's narration.

Her narration of overly embellished achievements is contrasted with her father's failure to collect a rare specimen of his own. This is visualised through a black-and-white flashback scene to Millicent's childhood, set at the Geographers' Guild (P1, 01:09:02-01:10:01). The scene portrays Montgomery Clyde standing in front of dozens of formally dressed and mostly elderly men, with his wife, daughter Millicent and a shorthand typist as the only women at a short distance away. The film's audience has been introduced to the Geographers' Guild through an earlier scene, in which Mr Brown and Paddington retrieve the Guild's redacted information on the expedition to 'Darkest Peru' (P1, 00:45:56-00:51:31). In this scene, the Guild's pneumatic tube system, introduced and expanded considerably in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Self), and deprecated computer technology from the mid to late 1980s is shown, visually emphasising the Guild's adherence to the past, which seem to result in their regressive beliefs. Millicent's memory of the Geographers' Guild and its denunciation of her father is another testament to the retrograde mindset of this scientific society. In a series of medium close ups, the Guild members question the bears' ability to speak English, play cricket, drink tea, and doing the crossword (P1, 01:09:10). The portrayed scientific community render these aspects into decisive factors for a species' intelligence and culture, and by doing so they level an imperial English notion of civilisation against the Peruvian bears.

The bears' peaceful behaviour and aptitude in learning a second language is outright disregarded in a similar manner as Paddington's character and conduct is wilfully disregarded by Millicent in the film's present. After all, in her view, her family "could have been rich and famous but instead [her father] put the happiness of a few furry creatures over his own flesh and blood" (*P1*, 01:09:45). Through her sense of superiority in relation to the 'Other,' she fails to distinguish between the highly different interests at stake, meaning the bears' vital interest in their survival versus the comparatively trivial interest in wealth and fame. Instead, Millicent views the two interests as coequal and their decision in favour of the bears' survival as an affront to her perceived appanage. In a sense, Millicent's paternal affliction is comparable to Gilroy's concept of postcolonial melancholia, and especially so as her expectation of wealth and glory mirrors imperial fantasies and a "restoration of British greatness" (*Melancholia* 100). Consequently, the plan to take revenge on Paddington is Millicent's personal means of recti-

fying the past, while at the same time it constitutes an act that is reiterative of centuries-old colonial praxes.

4.3.3.2 Taxidermy and the Racial Epidermal Schema

For a postcolonial interpretation of *Paddington*, it is worth putting Millicent's intentions into a greater context of the purpose and symbolism of taxidermy and natural history museums. Although not explicitly a colonial museum, the British Natural History Museum, nevertheless, exhibited and advertised the Empire (Aldrich 138-139). Robert Aldrich states that "natural history museums from the 1700s onwards displayed specimens of flora and fauna, and of arts and crafts, often with mummies and skulls and other bits and pieces of human bodies" (138). Early 1900s conservationists anguished over colonialism's far-reaching decimation (and sometimes eradication) of indigenous animal populations, and felt impelled to hunt, flay and stuff wildlife in order to 'preserve' it (WAKEHAM 21). These 'rescue' missions carried forth the frontier's colonial violence, but now with the pretext of heroic altruism (ibid). Taxidermic animals that were then put on display in museums aided the propaganda of the colonisers' dominion and justification of the related expatriation of additional minerals, plants, and, occasionally, animal and human remains (ALDRICH 138). Pauline Wakeham, however, remarks that taxidermy mounts were also used as artistic elements in dioramas that "depict[ed] socalled primitive peoples in their rituals of everyday existence" (3). Positioning taxidermic animals in close proximity to wax or plastic mannequins of 'native-born' people reinforced insidious beliefs of "colonialist hierarchies of race and species that position[ed] native[-born] peoples as evolutionarily inferior to the fitness of white supremacy" (4). Millicent Clyde's strategies constitute a loose continuation of the Empire's 'heroic rescue missions,' as she illegally acquires live exotic animals, to turn them into taxidermy mounts without the museum's explicit knowledge (P1, 00:28:49-00:29:07). In this sense, the killing of living animals just to add 'odd choice specimens' (P1, 00:29:05) to the museum's collection is comparable to the colonial violence against indigenous wildlife mentioned earlier.

Paddington is now threatened to become an exhibit in the Natural History Museum through the hands of the Empire personified in Millicent. This raises the question of how indigenous people were affected by 'imperial science' given that Paddington is theorised as a symbolic representative for the 'racialised Other' within this thesis. Even from this perspective, Paddington's potential fate is disturbingly far from being exceptional. Before the twentieth century, human remains were procured and expatriated by explorers through mostly illegal (or at the very least immoral) means such as grave-robbing. Similar in reasoning to the aforementioned pretence of the preservation of alien flora and fauna, these actions were triv-

ialised to merely 'preserve' indigenous people and use their remains for racial science (Jenkins 3, Schramm 133). According to a scoping survey from 2003, British museums held more than 60,000 human remains, of which close to 20,000 resided in the Natural History Museum in London (Jenkins 3). Until the early 2000s, requests for repatriation of these remains were denied by the Natural History Museum's director due to their supposed value for the scientific community (1). In addition, the legalities surrounding human remains were complicated by the British Museum Act of 1963 (2) and only the Human Tissue Act 2004 facilitated their de-accession for museums (Jenkins 49, Museums Association). The display of these remains arguably constitutes the continuation and institutionalisation of ethnological expositions and their praxis of displaying indigenous people to reproduce conceptions of racial differences via the body. Millicent, who has long embraced the embellished history of scientific exploration and the outdated notions of capital-C culture prevalent in the Geographers' Guild, made skin her profession. For her, it is Paddington's 'corporeal reality' – the purely physical features of a bear native to 'Darkest Peru' – that annuls everything else about him.

Hence, Paddington's 'corporeal reality' merits a deeper examination. In this regard, Wakeham's book *Taxidermic Signs: Reconstructing Aboriginality* offers an inspiring endeavour in relating the semiosis of taxidermy to Fanon's concept of the 'racial epidermal schema' (22). The concept refers to discriminating discourse on the basis of appearance (i.e. skin colour) and the internalisation of this biological racism by the victimised (FANON 4). With respect to colonial settings, Bhabha states that "skin, as the key signifier of cultural and racial difference in the stereotype, is the most visible of fetishes, recognised as 'common knowledge' in a range of cultural, political, historical discourses, and plays a public part in the racial drama that is enacted every day in colonial societies" ("Other Question" 30). In taxidermy, however, "the epidermal schema [not only highlights] exterior tissues but also the relationship between skin and the structures of the skulls, bones, and organs it clings to" and by that subsumes even earlier race sciences, such as physiognomy and craniometry (Wакенам 25). In contrast, Paul Gilroy rightfully points out that the racialisation of 'Others' via an epidermal schema has undoubtedly lost some of its persuasive power in the scientifically and technologically advanced twenty-first century (WAKEHAM 23). Instead, Gilroy purports that "the boundaries of "race" have moved across the threshold of the skin [and now] are cellular and molecular, not dermal" (Camps 47). Beyond this shift in scientific racism, contemporary discourses that create 'racialised Others' oftentimes eschew a biological foundation altogether to reply on supposedly inconsolable cultural differences instead. The apparent insignificance of dermal and osseous actualities in contemporary discourses on race (48) puts Millicent Clyde's deep racialisation of Paddington into question. Millicent's ideology does not permit to look beyond

Paddington's surface, his physicality as a bear is all that matters. Tensions arise, however, when Paddington's physicality is simultaneously covered in human clothes, while he is walking upright, communicating flawlessly in Millicent's native language, and evidentially capable of reasoning. Therefore, Paddington is, by every account, not quite 'just a bear,' but, as he would put it, "a very rare bear" (*P1*, 00:13:42); one that transgresses the discourse of how his 'species' is supposed to behave in the eyes of a modern-day imperialist like Millicent²⁶.

4.3.3.3 Of Mimicry and Bear III: Millicent Clyde

Paddington's considerable Englishness in spite of his 'Darkest Peruvian' origins is evocative of Bhabha's concept of mimicry. According to Bhabha, the supposedly 'reforming' mission of colonial powers necessitated the intermediation of English notions about taste, opinions and morality for the ruled colonial 'Other' ("Mimicry" 127-128) to create "a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (126, original emphasis). Colonisers sought purposefully mixed results by aspiring for the colonised subject to become more like themselves, but still different enough to maintain their non-equivalence that would divide them into a superior and inferior party (Huddart 40). However, the resulting resemblances of the colonised to the coloniser put the identity of the latter, as well as its construed superiority and the justifiability of colonialism, as a whole, into question (ibid). The colonised, on the contrary, does not imitate simply with abject obedience, but rather farcically 'mimics' the coloniser's culture, manners and language (39). In this context, Bhabha believes that "mimicry emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge" ("Mimicry" 126), through being "at once resemblance and menace" (127).

Paddington's mimicry has its origin in Montgomery Clyde's expedition to Peru, on which he brought various cultural items from the homeland (*P1*, 00:00:52). As previously mentioned, Montgomery's exploration grows into a quasi 'civilising' mission after Pastuzo saves his life (*P1*, 00:01:25). In return, Montgomery teaches English to the bears and kindles their fondness for marmalade²⁷. Decades later, Lucy and Pastuzo pass on their slightly archaic knowledge of English culture onto Paddington, who, once in London, mimics and inadvertently parodies British characteristics through, for example, politely doffing his hat to greet strangers and addressing them as 'Mr,' 'Mrs,' or their profession²⁸. In addition, the combina-

It is worth mentioning that Kayvan Novak, the actor playing Millicent's animal supplier Grant, is 'native-born' Londoner to migrant Iranian parents. Millicent's mistreatment of Grant thereby adds another layer to her neocolonialist patterns.

Michael Bond himself had a preference for marmalade and transferred it onto Paddington due to its 'Englishness' (ASH AND BOND 32). Bond's remark that marmalade arrived in South America through orange seeds by Christopher Columbus (32-33) creates another colonial link to Paddington's origins.

²⁸ The reader or audience, respectively, consequently never learns the first name of many characters, and

tion of Paddington's "difficulty of negotiating unfamiliar cultural mores" and the Browns' indifference to properly educating him on certain everyday practices (Grayson 387-388) results in many of the books' comical scenes. A film example would be Paddington's interpretation of the information boards in the underground that advise travellers to carry their dogs and to stand on the right, which leads to Paddington 'borrowing' a dog and standing on his right leg (*P1*, 00:33:12-00:33:52).



Fig. 8: *mimicry and mockery* (*P1*, 00:33:31)

The mere existence of this very English and Peruvian kind of bear is already sufficient to threaten the integrity of a 'native-born' Briton's self-image, but Paddington's outmoded conduct and modern-day misconceptions further contribute to an incidental but undermining mockery. For Bhabha, "the degree to which [this] is an actively pursued strategy" is less important than its defiant results (Huddart 42) and Paddington seems unaware of how his attempts to fit in are perceived by others. Bhabha locates ambivalence wherever conflicting ideas in colonial settings clash, be it English colonialism's alleged humanism in contrast to the reverberant aftermath of colonial violence ("Mimicry" 126, 128), the colonial subject being discussed as both animalistic and uncultured but also a dignified servant ("Other Question" 34), or the aforementioned reformation of the 'Other' into someone anglicised but decidedly not English ("Mimicry" 126). This ambivalence not only allows mimicry to arise (ibid) but reveals the malleability of the defining categories for both the coloniser and the colonised.

Millicent Clyde, as the personified representation of empire, complete with its colonising project and obsolete ideas of race, as detailed above, has only one resort of restoring the imaginary category of the fixed colonised subject, and that is by literally transfixing it in place. Taxidermy renders Paddington into a motionless representation of his species in this 'cathedral of knowledge,' which, henceforth and for time immemorial, will define him and his

kindred through solely visibly biological traits²⁹. Through this lens, Millicent's lifelong plan to "finish the job [her] father never could" (*P1*, 01:09:57) takes on a much bigger meaning than being mere petty revenge on the Dark Peruvian bears. Instead, Millicent's taxidermy of Paddington ought to relegate him permanently to the designated position of a racialised, stereotyped, colonial 'Other' – a position that was constructed by the racist discourse of Millicent's (occupational) ancestors over centuries – to restore her own imagined position as deserving of (more) wealth and fame, even in cases of deadly harm to the 'Other.'

4.4 Preliminary Conclusion

In this chapter, the film *Paddington* was interpreted through a postcolonial lens to reveal how the titular character is interpellated into a 'racialised Other' by his three 'antagonists.' Mr Brown starts to accept Paddington as soon as the bear appears more like himself (and the rest of his family) and in doing so loses some of the 'strangerness.' Mr Curry's stance parallels a reactionary conservative's, who is unwilling to come to terms with the neighbourhood's changing population. For him, Paddington's 'strangerness' will permanently be defined *also* by his outer characteristics, i.e. his 'bearness,' which cannot be mended solely through human clothes or an orderly conduct. Finally, Millicent Clyde's old scientific racism and sense of superiority result in her need to obliterate the 'Other' to preserve her own identity and measure up to her illusions of grandeur.

More importantly, two additional key findings in this chapter are crucial. For one, the racist beliefs that underlie the three characters' mindsets range from biological and scientific justifications to constructions of difference based on culture. While Millicent Clyde's world-view is organised around the former, Mr Brown's fear of the 'Other' arguably stems predominantly from the latter, and Mr Curry's attitude appears to be a blend of both extremes. The three positions can be subsumed as protective to hostile reactions towards who Paddington is and less towards what he *does*. That is, the incidental 'strangerness' of his outward appearance and its associated dangers influence how he is received more than his actual behaviour.

Second, the film's audience knows that Millicent's plans are cruel and rooted in an unjust perception of Paddington. At the same time, Millicent Clyde is also an overemphasised villain, not unlike for example Cruella de Vil in the Disney adaptation of Dodie Smith's *The Hundred and One Dalmatians* (Travers). Millicent's villainous nature is overtly visualised to

²⁹ This is also visualised briefly for the audience. After Millicent reveals her plans to Paddington, he imagines himself mounted on a branch in a display, with his eyes and mouth wide open – his 'human coat,' as he calls it, noticeably absent (*P1*, 01:10:14).

the audience by placing her in slightly underlit sections of the frame (*P1*, 00:39:14, 00:43:52) or depicting her towering over Paddington (Tarbox 144). Frequently, Nicole Kidman's height of about 179 cm is further increased by her snakeskin stilettos and the use of low angled shots (as in Fig. 9). The cinematographic depiction of the character, along with her extreme actions, make Millicent Clyde feel less grounded in reality than Mr Brown or Mr Curry, who may appear as heightened representatives of actual 'native-born' British people.



Fig. 9: Millicent towering over Paddington (P1, 01:06:41)

The implication of these two findings is that this chapter's analysis is largely constricted to Paddington's outward aspect and how he is racialised through the eyes of a fantastic character with her biological racist worldview. In the end, the film penalises Millicent – and figuratively her beliefs and what she represents – by sentencing her to do community service at a petting zoo, but the commonplace antagonism of Mr Curry is left unresolved. Contemporary racialisation is often based on a 'racism without races,' meaning "the division of humanity within a single political space" which is the result of "the era of 'decolonization,' of the reversal of population movements between the old colonies and the old metropolises" (BALIBAR 21). Given that this 'new racism' refocuses the insuperability of cultural differences instead of the earlier centricity of biological causation (ibid), the cultural-centric notions of conservatives like Mr Curry (but also liberal-minded citizens like Mr Brown) deserve a deeper exploration. Consequently, the subsequent chapter will examine 'what Paddington does' on the basis of his ethos and conduct (in short, his 'civility'). This inquiry seeks to deepen the present understanding of how Paddington can (or could) be made into a 'racialised Other' beyond his physical properties.

5. Civility

5.1 Contextualisation of the Topic

The previous chapter gives evidence to a modernisation of Bond's original work in the Paddington films beyond its contemporary setting, but in regards to some of its colonial subtext. Be that as it may, certain aspects of Paddington's characterisation are deeply ingrained in the public's knowledge and expectations of the franchise and Paul King himself acknowledged that in adopting Paddington for the screen "[s]ome of the very, very broad strokes of the story are sort of set in stone" (King and Ross, 00:12:10). Accordingly, some aspects of Paddington are fairly immutable, and most significant among them are his friendly demeanour, courtesy, and honesty. For Bond, these characteristics seemingly represented traditional middle-class values (Ash and Bond 48), in face of his impression "that there [was] so little politeness left [in contemporary society]" (Baker 16). Bond's fondness for his father's antiquated politeness influenced his writing and had an enduring effect on the ursine character. This raises the question of what Paddington's conduct and beliefs represent in the two contemporary films.

On a surface level, Paddington's kindness and ethos provide little reason for critique. These character traits are literalised through Aunt Lucy's adage "If we're kind and polite, the world will be right" (*P2*, 00:13:05, 00:42:02), which at first merely seems to present little beyond a good-hearted take-home message. Yet, Paddington's kind and polite nature is complicated by his affiliation to migrant and 'racialised Others.' His positive traits not only make Paddington a protagonist that is easy to like, but also an exemplary migrant (Grayson 389-390). As such, it is debatable whether Paddington would have been accepted into the Browns' family, or even just their neighbourhood and country, had it not been for his adherence to Aunt Lucy's advice. Consequently, the appeal for politeness and kindness cannot be understood exclusively as a message to the film's viewers, but may also be read as an implicit instruction to foreigners on how to conduct themselves to be 'naturalisable' for a host society.

While this chapter will refer to scenes and statements from *Paddington 2* at times, it is fair to say that these represent Paddington's ethos across both films, albeit not in such an overt and literal form in the first film. Aside from the aforementioned adage by Aunt Lucy, the single most important background knowledge on *Paddington 2*'s plot is that Paddington enters the working world and later lands in prison through no fault of his own, where he meets prison chef Knuckles McGinty (Brendan Gleeson). Phoenix Buchanan, Paddington's main antagonist in this instalment, is not an essential character within the scope of this analysis.

The aim of the ensuing chapters is to critically relate Paddington's code of conduct and

prosocial behaviour to his group affiliation in a contemporary London setting. A preliminary discussion of Paddington's education through Aunt Lucy (in chapter 5.2) and the race-conscious subtext of her central tenet (in chapter 5.3) establishes an analysis of Paddington's ethos in opposition to colonial and modern conceptions of civility (in chapter 5.4). The chapter closes with a contextualisation of Paddington's 'uncivil' hard stares (in chapter 5.5), and finally addresses the ambiguities surrounding the films' politics.

5.2 "If We're Kind and Polite..." – Aunt Lucy's Adage

Judging by his behaviour, Aunt Lucy's adage is without a doubt one of Paddington's most firmly held beliefs. It is first uttered by Paddington to Mr Brown at the steam fair in *Paddington 2* following Mr Brown's inquiry whether Paddington, newly fired from working at a grooming salon, really believes himself ready for the working world. Mr Brown's ensuing "It's a tough, competitive world out there, and I worry a good-natured little bear might get trampled underfoot" along with Judy's immediate agreement "He's right, you know? You can't trust anyone. That's why I'm doing my newspaper alone" (*P2*, 00:12:40) lead Paddington to argue that "Aunt Lucy said, 'if we're kind and polite, the world will be right.' [...] You're kind, Mr Brown, and you made it to the top" (*P2*, 00:13:03). This scene demonstrates Paddington's ingenuous belief system, which seemingly presupposes the existence of divine intervention, cosmic justice, and/or moral desert. Even small gestures of courtesy are part of this sentiment, as for example when Paddington holds the door for Knuckles McGinty "because it's polite" (*P2*, 00:42:00).

Considering its centrality for Paddington's conduct and beliefs, Aunt Lucy's maxim merits closer examination. Three aspects coincide in the statement "if we're kind and polite, the world will be right": its conditional construction, the binomial expression 'kind and polite' (just as their nominalised terms 'kindness' and 'politeness'), and the grammatical person. First of all, the adage's phrasing as a first conditional sentence establishes a future outcome that is probable but by no means guaranteed (Swan 233). The conditional could be linked to Bond's aforementioned recollection of past customs, and may be regarded as Bond imbuing the novels with 'conservative' or 'traditional' values, whereas the main clause is looking ahead and recognising "the fact that children will not just inherit the future, but need to participate in shaping it" (Reynolds 14). In a similar manner, Grzegorczyk's proposes that children's literature "often acts as a conservative repository of tradition" (17-18) while also comprising "utopian feelings of possibility" (Mickenberg and Nel 1). However, the adage is an invention of either Paul King or his co-writer Simon Farnaby, and while it seems to reflect the spirit of Bond's writing does not appear in the Paddington novels. The first thirteen novels

describe Paddington as 'a polite bear' for a total seven times, mention twenty instances of Paddington saying something 'politely,' and thirty-four instances of Paddington raising his hat 'politely.' While kind acts are fairly common in the stories, they are rarely referred as such and on some occasions even entirely unintentional. It seems as if Bond is more concerned with foregrounding Paddington's politeness rather than kindness.

For that matter, the second aspect of Aunt Lucy's statement deserves consideration. It is essential to premise that the binomial pair of kindness and politeness is not used for the purpose of emphasis, but refers to two different concepts altogether. Kindness indicates expressions of one's good nature in action ("kindness," def. 1a; emphasis added), while politeness refers to one's manners, courtesy, and mindfulness of others ("politeness," def. 3a). This is not to say a display of manners is not an 'act' - after all, even a verbal greeting is a speech act – but that the personal cost in acts of kindness is higher than in acts of politeness. After all, politeness is comparatively effortless and as a consequence fraught with discrepancies, for example when 'unkind' acts are done under the pretence of benign intent. In these instances decorum is prioritised above action and the agent turns into an actor, with their 'acting' now more in line with a performance or simulation ("act, v." def. 3a.), or alternatively the colloquial idiom of 'putting on an act' ("act, n." def. P8). Paddington's effort of returning a lost wallet to its seemingly rightful owner (P1, 00:36:02-00:37:57), cleaning his neighbour's window for free (P2, 00:18:19-00:19:06), or trying to apprehend a burglar (P2, 00:20:50-00:23:04) may be classified as acts of kindness, whereas Paddington doffing his hat or holding the door rather belongs in the category of politeness. Given Paddington's good nature, this distinction sounds fairly negligible, but for the purpose of analysis, it facilitates a better separation of acts of decorum and prosocial behaviour. After all, subsequent chapters will illustrate that the two categories are oftentimes conflated in contemporary discourse and supposedly impolite tone or improper conduct (i.e. 'impoliteness') is understood to reflect an underlying character (i.e. 'unkindness').

The third and final aspect of the adage concerns the grammatical person. The conditional's first-person plural 'we' instead of the second-person singular 'you' is notable insofar as it includes Aunt Lucy in the project of shaping the future too. Her transformative belief in the power of kindness and politeness is thereby also self-assigned and collectivised instead of merely being an instruction to her fosterling.

Going beyond the events portrayed in the films, it seems unlikely that Aunt Lucy uttered the adage without precedent. Rather, the saying probably followed teachable moments, such as the misbehaviour of a younger Paddington³⁰. Accordingly, the statement remains a

³⁰ Interestingly enough, the film never portrays a larger society beyond Lucy, Pastuzo and Paddington.

pedagogical tool as well, despite the collective first-person plural. The adage takes on potentially differing normative intent depending on who is advising whom to be kind and polite. These directions of speech can be divided into three somewhat distinguishable categories for analytical purposes: 'authority figure to child,' 'child to authority figure,' and 'film to viewer.' Although it is not shown explicitly in the film, in the original constellation (that we know of³¹), Aunt Lucy advised Paddington to be kind and polite. This is the 'authority figure to child' configuration. Consequently, in *Paddington 2*, Paddington utters the proverb to Mr Brown, Knuckles McGinty ('child to authority figure'), and to a lesser extent Judy and the rest of the Browns. Finally, the saying is communicated to the film's audience ('film to viewer'), for which it obtains various connotations depending on the individual's identity. That is, the informal request to be kind and polite in order to 'mend the world' is asking for different actions, depending on who the viewer is and which group affiliations they share.

5.3 Racial Socialisation and Necropolitical Vulnerability

The first category, 'authority figure to child,' appears unremarkable at first but is complicated through Paddington's group identities. In the first scene of *Paddington 2*, the audience learns that Aunt Lucy and Uncle Pastuzo had firm plans to visit or even migrate to London³² but had to postpone the undertaking after rescuing Paddington, then still a cub, from a torrential river. As mentioned in chapter 3.3.2, the book's Aunt Lucy intended that Paddington would go to London one day (*ABCP* 14), while the film's Lucy displays an optimistic view of London as an almost utopian place, in which 'the world' is seemingly 'right' already. Tellingly, in the pop-up book scene of *Paddington 2* (*P2*, 00:08:01-00:09:10), Paddington imagines how his aunt repeatedly emphasises the politeness of (human and animal) Londoners.

Despite all, Lucy is probably not naive when it comes to the kindness of humans. When Paddington voices his concern about the possible animosity of Londoners to bears, Lucy tells him that "[t]here was once a war in the explorer's country. Thousands of children were sent away for safety, left at railway stations with labels around their necks, and unknown families took them in and loved them like their own. They will not have forgotten how to treat a

From this point of view, training the young bear's social behaviour would be rather dispensable if it were not for Lucy and Pastuzo's resolution to go abroad some day.

While we know where Paddington heard the saying first, we do not know whether it is Aunt Lucy's own invention, or handed down among bears, or even part of the colonial civilising lessons by Montgomery Clyde. In view of the bears' immediate act of kindness (that is, saving Montgomery's life), it is reasonable to assume that the bears' ethos of kindness is their own invention.

The film's opening lines, Pastuzo's "Our last rainy season," and Lucy's reply "Just think, Pastuzo, this time next month we'll be in London" (*P2*, 00:00:46) imply that the bears are moving indefinitely. At the same time, the lines could also be intended mainly for comedic effect.

stranger. Now take care, my darling. Remember your manners" (*P1*, 00:08:14-00:08:49). The statement reveals that Lucy knows of the human capability to both provide humanitarian aid but also cause anthropogenic hazards like global wars. Her views on England and its inhabitants are undoubtedly coloured by her encounter with Montgomery Clyde and her later engagement with his cultural products (which promoted the British in an idealised manner) but in referring to the Second World War, she also displays awareness of human atrocities. That is why Lucy reminds Paddington to remember his manners, as she does not want Paddington to fall out of favour with 'native-born' Britons. In this regard, being kind and polite is premised as a universal cure *for oneself*, and, a fortiori, when you are a bear among humans. Through this interpretation, Paddington's upbringing by Aunt Lucy is seemingly conscientious of the discriminatory potential in her fosterling's future.

Lucy's heightened awareness on the topic of conduct speaks to the greater investment for the social acceptance of bears. Due to the bears' marked features, any ill-advised rupture with their kind and polite demeanour can first of all result in perpetuating stereotypical beliefs about their group. Being a rare representative of his 'species,' Paddington's behaviour is likely to be perceived as representative of 'Darkest Peruvian' bears in general. Unlike for a 'native-born' white majority, the demand to continuously perform a flawless conduct is heightened for racialised and marginalised individuals, as moments of unexpected behaviour are more likely to be perceived as characteristic of a whole group of people. This fallacy is comparable to how sometimes white people individualise the negative behaviour of another white person, while generalising the negative behaviour of a Black person (Kendi 43).

Worse yet, missteps in conduct can cause potentially dangerous situations for the individual. Presupposing Lucy considered this possibility in bringing up Paddington, her concerns about public behaviour would recall racial and ethical socialisation practices³³. These "refer to the transmission from adults to children of information regarding race and ethnicity" (Hughes et al. 748) and, most critically, aim to advance children's knowledge about ethnic discrimination and how to cope with it (756). In a US context, police brutality and the shooting of young Black men led scholars to research the "relationship between parental racial socialisation with various forms of racism" (Thomas and Backmon 78) and a 2014 study linked Black parents' fear for the safety of their children to the fatal shooting of seventeen-year-old Trayvon Martin (84). In this study, a third of the parents interpreted the shooting as a symptom of racism or racial profiling, whereas another third understood it as a reminder of the increased risk the Black men and boys face in confrontations with strangers or the police (84-85). The

The distinction of 'racial' and 'ethical' socialisation here merely reflects the usage in psychology publications, in which African-Americans tend to be described by the former and other ethnic groups by the latter (Hughes et al. 748).

heightened danger to life for marginalised populations suggests a contemporary example to Mbembe's theory of necropolitics. As previously mentioned, necropolitical policies condemn certain groups of people to live a social existence in which they "are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of *living dead*" (MBEMBE 40, original emphasis). This applies, for example, to situations in which individuals are "being deprived of the opportunity or freedom to improve [their] hazardous or miserable condition" due to a state's "deliberate withholding of care" (DAVIES, ISAKJEE AND DHESI 7). Paddington's relegation to so-called '3D jobs,' "work that is dirty, dangerous, or difficult" (KOSER 32) is conceivable as an example of such situations from the world of work, with *Paddington 2*'s window-cleaning sequence (00:16:21-00:20:24) comically portraying the dangers and uncleanliness of the labour³⁴. To make matters worse, amendments in the Immigration Act 2016 make it illegal for Paddington to work in the first place (DAVIES 438).

In a similar vein, Paddington's wrongful conviction shortly thereafter sees the young bear imprisoned with human adults – and as a result quite possibly in another position of vulnerability. In 2017, Peter Clarke, the Chief Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales, repeatedly lamented the increase in violence, self-harm and suicide in British prisons since 2012 and called "the conditions in which we hold many prisoners [appalling]" (GARSIDE, GRIMSHAW AND FORD 26). 27% of the UK's prison population identified as BAME in 2019, a percentage twice as high as in the general population (STURGE 11). In lieu thereof, it is fair to assume that incarceration constitutes another necropolitical site for Paddington and his peers.

Finally, necropolitical policies directed towards Britain's Afro-Caribbean population are depressingly topical again, as the current Windrush Scandal illustrates. As previously argued, Afro-Caribbeans around the time of *A Bear Called Paddington* saw themselves relegated to necropolitical living conditions due to the law's indifference towards racial discrimination, the noticeably racialised issue of housing (Buettner 262), and racial violence. In recent times the same generation of people, now "retirement-age citizens who have lived and paid taxes in the UK for decades[,] have been detained, made homeless, sacked or denied benefits and NHS treatment because they have struggled to prove they are British" (Gentleman). Thereby, citizens are declared 'illegal' after failing to provide documentation of their citizenship, which, in Mbembe's understanding, quite apparently places them in a state of injury (21). Due to these many sites of vulnerability for Paddington, Aunt Lucy's racial awareness favoured socialisation practices that would ensure Paddington's survival abroad.

Interestingly enough, the direction of speech from 'child to authority figure' can be

The inspiration to the initial window-cleaning sequence (P2, 00:16:22-00:17:40) is likely chapter 2 "A spot of decorating" in Bond's *More About Paddington* (1959).

interpreted as just an extension of Paddington's vulnerability. The film's two examples of the adage that follow this pattern are Paddington's conversation with Mr Brown (P2, 00:12:40) and Knuckles McGinty (P2, 00:42:00). They both are figures of authority: Mr Brown is the family patriarch and a dominant voice in the domestic sphere, while Knuckles McGinty is in a clear position of power over his prison inmates despite being severely restricted through his incarceration. Paddington offers Aunt Lucy's adage only after being prompted by these figures of authority. To Mr Brown, the adage is meant to convey Paddington's feelings of being ready for the world of work, because he is as kind and polite as Mr Brown, who (in Paddington's view) "made it to the top" (P2, 00:13:10). Likewise, in Paddington 2 the adage is prompted after Knuckles insinuates that Paddington wants to stab him in the back. The statement therefore fulfils two important functions. First, by informing these figures of authority about kindness and politeness, Paddington tries to include them in his ethos. Second, and more importantly, by justifying his behaviour Paddington shields himself from potential misunderstandings or even harm. Consequently, Aunt Lucy's admonition conceivably forms the basis of Paddington's explanatory statement here as well.

In summary, the Paddington films comically refer to the hardships and necropolitical aspects of migrant life in London (the difficulties of finding a home, '3D work,' or even imprisonment). He either averts or adjusts to these dangers thanks to his education by Aunt Lucy, which ultimately shields Paddington from potential harm but also aids him in becoming more acceptable to Londoners despite his markedness. In the end, Paddington's behaviour is also a vantage point for a larger discussion on 'civility.' Paddington's words and actions parallel common contemporary ideas surrounding the semantic field of 'civility,' despite his exclusion from proper 'civilized citizenship' due to his othered position.

5.4 Colonial and Conservative Conceptualisation of Civility

Given these particular circumstances, Paddington arrives in London as an already 'civilised' bear. He recalls his manners upon arrival at Paddington station (*P1*, 00:10:55) and worries about looking presentable (*P1*, 00:12:07). While his conduct undoubtedly is the result of his upbringing (by Aunt Lucy and Uncle Pastuzo), it is in part formed indirectly through Montgomery Clyde's cultural products as well. The vinyl record taught Paddington his dated stock phrases, and without the explorer's hat (gifted originally to Pastuzo), Paddington would have nothing to doff. It appears that the coloniser's cultural products enable Paddington mainly to express or do something *politely*. By this logic, Aunt Lucy raised Paddington to follow the bears' beliefs of kindness, whereas his decorum reflects a colonising nation's outdated ideas

of politeness.

However, as I have discussed in chapter 4.3.3, the repetition of Paddington's outmoded manners result in a mocking form of mimicry that unsettles the self-image of ill-disposed individuals such as Millicent Clyde. From a postcolonial point of view, it is difficult for the young bear to meet the expectations of a hegemonic discourse of what English civility should look like. Paddington is put in a bind without resolution: he needs to perform 'Englishness' to be perceived as 'civil' and become acceptable to his British compatriots but simultaneously his performance rings inauthentic and exaggerated. The incongruity of Paddington's conduct versus others' perception of him raises the question of how the concept of civility is understood and constructed in contemporary times.

The term 'civility' subsumes various empirical and normative interpretations that are accompanied by cultural implications, and are as contingent on spatiotemporal circumstances, as on one's own analytical focus (Baumgarten, Gosewinkel and Rucht 294, 298). As stated in chapter 2.4, theories on civility often remark on the concept's relation to violence. Norbert Elias' fundamental work has cleared the way for contemporary scholars to conceptualise civility for various applications. Chapter two already foreclosed that discourses of civility were employed in colonial settings to subjugate BAME, but Paddington is not exempt from potentially detrimental conceptualisations of civility even in contemporary London.

After all, the constitution of civility in modern settings is often to the disadvantage of minority or special interest groups. Constructions of civility provide legitimacy to specific expressions of conduct deemed 'civil' and depreciates others as 'unapt,' 'uncivil,' 'unwelcome' or even 'unlawful' (White 451). The term itself is associated with a multiplicity of qualities, such as "tolerance, non-discrimination, the willingness to listen to arguments" (ibid), the recognition of different groups' claims as legitimate (Nehring 321), self-control, compassion, tolerance, justice, and the recognition of the 'Other' and their claims (Rucht 394-397). Most importantly, it can also function as "a means of distinction that authorizes certain forms of dialogue at the expense of others and as a mechanism of pacification whereby constraints are placed on dialogue to give voice to the marginalised" (White 445). Finally, it is fair to state that civility has been conceptualised as a tenet of emphatically different political and ethical discourses by contemporary sociologist and philosophers (453).

Paddington's migrant and minority status leaves him specifically vulnerable to conservative conceptions of civility which are oftentimes employed by politicians and public figures in an attempt to alter or restrict the means of expression of so-called special interest groups – LGBT+, feminist, environmentalist, ethnic and other minority groups – whose political claim-making is viewed by conservatives as disruptive to a liberal society's project of

the common good (ibid). Among them, sociologist Edward Shils argues that in situations of conflicting interest, the civil person ought to prioritize "the civil society as the object of his obligations" above "the members of his family, or his village, or his party, or his ethnic group, or his social class, or his occupation" (1 qt. in White 454). However, claims of special interest groups are oftentimes predicated on exclusions from the common good (as for example the historic and present legal disadvantages of same-sex couples) or the need to be exempt from public laws and regulations that are discriminatory to group-specific beliefs (such as polyethnic rights that protect religious and cultural practices (KYMLICKA 38)). In Shils' conception, 'hegemonic civility' commands certain groups to a submissive state (WHITE 454), similarly to what is referred to as 'tone policing' presently. Activists who raise their voice in favour of a more equitable society are sometimes reprimanded and advised to "calm down and try being more polite" instead (Bybee 30). This strategy attempts to derail the discourse from actual content to how it is transmitted, with opponents acting as self-appointed judges of which forms of speech are tolerable (POLAND 47). This is by no means an original course of action, as concerns about proper tone and conduct have been raised at least as early as 1859 in John Stuart Mill's On Liberty (Bybee 29). In short, one of the ways civility is conceptualised in contemporary political discourses is to act as a normative instrument intended to stifle the claims of vulnerable groups on grounds of 'impoliteness.'

5.5 Hard Stares

For Paddington, the ever-polite bear, this is seemingly irrelevant at first sight. He does not publicly claim anything in either of the films, albeit being in need of housing for a predominant part of the first film, and lacking financial means at the beginning of the second film³⁵. Paddington's legal situation makes it highly doubtful whether he would be eligible for state support, but in either case he is likely to remain as mannerly as possible and would not make demands solely on his account. The big exception to Paddington's usual 'civil' conduct is his hard stare.

The hard stare has been a part of Paddington's repertoire ever since *A Bear Called Paddington* (*ABCP* 57-58) and despite being a silent form of protest, characters – and especially those who are unfamiliar with Paddington – might perceive it as a threat of violence. In the first film Mr Brown's insinuation that Paddington might be lying about the existence

Working in '3D jobs,' the young migrant bear would be a likely candidate for making public claims. The Grunwick dispute in the 1970s and current strikes within the gig economy are examples of migrants (although more often specifically migrant women) at the helm of campaigns for labour rights (MARSILI AND MILANESE 91-94).

of Montgomery Clyde is met with a hard stare, and in the sequel Paddington stares down prison chef Knuckles McGinty in reply to his offensive remarks about Aunt Lucy. In both instances, the recipient's unease and increasing uncertainty becomes noticeably visible until Paddington releases the tension by reverting to his usual 'civil' demeanour to disclose: "It's called a hard stare," which Aunt Lucy taught him to do "when people had forgotten their manners" (P1, 00:47:38; P2, 00:44:18). Visually the rising tension is conveyed through a series of shot/reverse-shot cuts³⁶, that slowly zoom in on Paddington's increasingly threatening facial expression and his conversation partner's growing unease. In both cases, a cue of eerie music supports the sudden tonal shift, and in Paddington 2 the shots' luminance range is steadily amplified by the simultaneous brightening of facial areas and darkening of the surrounding background. As these cinematic choices are often made by filmmakers to create tension and uncertainty in the audience, their application in the Paddington films is purposefully misleading. Accordingly, the viewers are affected by the cinematic techniques in a similar way to how the hard stare impacts Paddington's counterpart.



Fig. 10: a hard stare (P1, 00:47:31)

The disconcerting hard stares put Paddington's unbridled civility in question. Not only does the civil citizen "[refrain] from violence, intimidation, harassment and coercion" (Calhoun 256), the hard stare could also be perceived as a remnant of Paddington's animalistic origins. As such, it links to the threat behaviour of real-life bears anticipating a hostile situation, even if it is mostly auditory such as huffing, grunting or bellowing (Jordan 58). However, Paddington's hard stares are not necessarily a betrayal of his principles, but rather help him stand his ground. When Mr Brown patronisingly questions Paddington's account of the explorer, the hard stare persuades Mr Brown to put more faith into Paddington and to dress up as a clean-

This pattern is often used to alternatingly show the faces of two people, who are in discussion and at a 180° axis to one another (BORDWELL AND THOMPSON 236).

ing lady. In *Paddington 2*, Knuckles McGinty reluctantly agrees to help make marmalade only after Paddington's impressive hard stare. The two scenes exemplify that merely being kind and polite may not suffice to further one's goals, particularly if the other has 'forgotten their manners,' i.e. is unwilling to behave in the same accommodating manner that Paddington extends to his fellow citizens. By that logic, Paddington "looks for the good in all [people]" (P2, 01:17:00) and treats them emphatically and benignantly for as long as they do not 'forget their manners'; only then does Paddington gesture a threat of violence to assert his claims. As a consequence, the resolution to be kind and polite all the time would necessitate that everyone else is too, which may be the reason why Lucy opted for the collective formulation of "If we're kind and polite, the world will be right." In contractualist terms, the adage establishes an implicit social contract between all citizens (bear and human alike) founded on the criteria of kindness and politeness. In encounters where kindness is not reciprocal, Paddington, by extension, is permitted (if not obliged) to display 'uncivil behaviour' (i.e. the threatening hard stare). Within these guiding principles, the claim-making of the vulnerable, marginalised subject is legitimised, and to do so even in a mode of expression that may be considered 'uncivil' or 'disruptive' by disapproving opponents, for as long as said opponents are 'unkind,' that is, uncooperative.

This conclusion may appear surprising in view of the fact that Paddington's 'kind and polite' demeanour is often foregrounded. However, as I have argued in this analysis, the hard stare ought to be conceived as part and parcel of Paddington's ethos rather than a violation of or diversion from it. In this regard, Paddington's modus vivendi parallels claim-making of special interest groups which sometimes is dismissed as being 'uncivil' or 'impolite' by 'majority culture' conservatives. Anne-Marie Fortier postulates, in reference to Wendy Brown's critical examination of civility via the concept of tolerance (205), that "a critical understanding of the limits of civility is to take seriously [...] the articulations of inequality, abjection, subordination, and colonial violence that are suppressed in the fantasy of the 'civil nation'" (104). Yet, the question remains whether the Paddington films manage to unequivocally realise a challenging potential and convey their political beliefs to the audience in a tangible form, or alternatively are susceptible to diverging interpretations.

5.6 Preliminary Conclusion

The Paddington films' message of kindness and politeness are not an unambiguous success. This chapter's examination conveyed that several factors influence the reception of the invocation to be kind and polite: while within the film (i.e. intradiegetic) Aunt Lucy's adage is

voiced only by Paddington to Mr Brown and Knuckles McGinty, the audience can also discern an extradiegetic narrative (that is, beyond the portrayed events) of Aunt Lucy directing the adage towards Paddington, and the meta-narrative of being the film's addressees. At this level, the viewer's individual identity becomes an extratextual factor in how they may perceive Aunt Lucy's adage. Additionally, the saying itself is sometimes misquoted with the imperative 'you' instead of the collective 'we' in articles, film reviews and social media. As a result, the film's invitation for kindness remains somewhat ambiguous on a diegetic level.

However, on a mimetic level the film provide a clearer understanding of their central message. In *Paddington*, it is Mrs Brown's kindness that helps alter her family's early reservations concerning the bear, while in *Paddington 2* the ethos of kindness transforms the tough prison chef Knuckles McGinty to ultimately put Paddington's interests above his own. In both films one of Paddington's adversaries is persuaded by the philosophy of kindness, eventually resolving central conflicts. As noted previously, the two characters are white men in somewhat influential positions upon their immediate vicinity, which leads to the speculation that this may be the demographic most urgently addressed by the film's message of kindness. In addition, the bear's attitude and behaviour are likely to function as a pedagogical tool for a young audience that views Paddington as a symbolic stand-in. As such, the Paddington films make use of a 'dual address' to appeal to two distinct audiences. Young viewers are shown that goodness does not always shield a person (or bear) from unintended or unfavourable consequences but is rewarded in the end.

Despite the films' well-intended message of kindness, Paddington's position as migrant and 'racialised Other' complicate the complete decoupling of the message from its bear(er). The analysis shows that Aunt Lucy's pedagogy suggests awareness of racial discrimination and gears towards shielding her fosterling from the necropolitical perils of London. As a result, Paddington's ethos is not entirely voluntary but founded *also* in necessity: while the racialisation based on his outward appearance is difficult to avoid, violating the constraints of 'hegemonic civility' would just further increase his racialised status. Being kind and polite thereby becomes a strategy to make the world right *for oneself* as well, especially as a migrant or 'racialised Other.'

Presumably, this is one of the reasons why some conservatives do not shy away from embracing Paddington either. Already decades ago, Paddington seemed to enjoy popularity among Tories (Ash and Bond 110) with Margaret Thatcher holding a Paddington teddy bear aloft at a Conservative party conference in 1978 (ibid). Recently, Boris Johnson designed a Paddington statue as part of a marketing campaign for the first Paddington film (VISIT LONDON) while Paddington was also a welcome guest at the 10 Downing Street children's

Christmas party in 2017 (@10DowningStreet). Paddington may be an irregular migrant, but a "well-spoken and polite [one]" (MARTIN), who is unlikely to challenge his marginalised position in society. As Bond remarked, Paddington "is accepted [...] because he can somehow be relied upon to react in a certain way" (BAKER 17). His digressive hard stares are an effective means only for as long as his counterparts are fairly unfamiliar with the bear's conduct and do not know what will happen next. Conservatives, however, may possess the extratextual knowledge of the books' countless hard stares that did not result in violence. Conceivably, Paddington represents the ideal migrant for conservatives exactly because he cannot change his marginalised position in society within the constraints of civility.

As Paddington's threat display offers no incentive for disagreeing viewers to adopt the bear's guiding beliefs, the films need to be transformative in another way. Mr Brown and Knuckles McGinty's engagement with a 'racialised Other' has ostensible personal detriments – Mr Brown feels his sense of security and the sanctity of his home threatened whereas Knuckles McGinty faces re-imprisonment after a successful escape attempt – but their commitment to Paddington is ultimately rewarded. The films therefore posit that kindness towards migrant, marginalised or 'racialised Others' in spite of real or imagined personal cost improves the lives of everyone involved, and that 'majority culture' Britons can actively choose their interpersonal conduct and politics, whereas minority groups are restricted in their options.

6. Conclusion

Paddingon's role as a stand-in for both racialised migrants and an idealised form of British civility and conduct remains complex and challenging. It is fair to state that the recent films rectify some of the early novels' colonial subtext in instances such as the naming, Paddington's migratory circumstances and overall agency. In other instances, however, the canonised source material dictates a perpetuation of colonialist beliefs, be it Paddington's homeland, 'Darkest Peru,' or how he is made to look more 'presentable.' While the films question the liberal laissez-faire mindset of the books' Browns, mock conservative fright tactics reminiscent of contemporary British politics, and vilify the outdated biological racism personified by Millicent Clyde, Paddington's kind conduct remains a troublesome avenue for racialising practices.

Despite the films' mimetic narrative of how Paddington's ethos significantly reforms two white men to supersede their self-concerned philosophies for altruistically aiding a marginalised 'Other,' the audience – in particular a younger viewership – is more likely to identify with Paddington, for whom the prompt to be civil and kind might have pacifying connotations. To counter potentially misguided interpretations, the films would have needed to challenge a 'majority culture' audience to adopt a kinder, more empathetic social intercourse, while concurrently emphasising the necessity of 'minority culture' citizens to be 'uncivil' and 'disobedient' in their claim-making for an equitable society.

As big budget film productions geared at the mass appeal of a global audience, the Paddington films evidently work within the constraints of liberal politics that may permit some social critique but not to an extent that would deter disagreeing conservative views. By predominantly criticising the racialisation performed by Millicent – i.e. an overly biological racism that is based on outmoded beliefs, likely to be represented by only a small group of modern viewers – instead of engaging more critically with the covertly cultural beliefs of difference represented early on by Mr Brown – and quite possibly shared by a greater subsection of the audience – the Paddington films are careful not to offend. Instead they champion an unswerving optimistic view of the power of kindness itself, and hope to transform the audience in this manner. As a result, the Paddington films challenge the postcolonial melancholia of Britain's contemporary cinema but also provide a counteroffer to the debilitating cynicism of modern society.

In the end, Paddington continues to embody the well-spoken and polite 'racialised Other' who facilitates various interpretations of how citizens – 'native-born' and not – are supposed to both conduct themselves and interact with one another. My analysis suggests that the films

are knowledgeable of Paddington's precarious situation and do not deliberately argue that migrants ought to behave in one particular way to be accepted. This interpretation, however, hinges on inferring from extradiegetic and extratextual information beyond the cinematic oeuvre. Given these caveats, an uncertainty whether all audiences would necessarily arrive at those same conclusions persists. At the very least, the perception of the Paddington films depends on the viewer's age and generation. Parents and grandparents of today's children may possess an increased awareness for the bear's literary past and the films' themes of race and migration. Conversely, these aspects may not be entirely tangible for young viewers. As a result, Paddington's cinematic adventures may ultimately be more successful in the exemplification of kindness in social relationships than the merits of migration and multiculturalism.

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Abstract

The continuous cultural influence of Michael Bond's Paddington stories – ushered in more than six decades ago with *A Bear Called Paddington* (1958) – is remarkable in its own right, and yet Paul King's recent Paddington films (2014 and 2017) further increased the young Peruvian bear's notoriety. Accompanied by universal critical acclaim and unexpected financial accomplishment, the films introduced Paddington to a new generation of children. Yet, just as Paddington, the literary figure, is largely neglected in academic research, a critical examination of the cinematic material through scholars failed to materialise so far.

This circumstance is especially regrettable in view of Paddington's status as an irregular migrant in search of a home in contemporary London, who experiences animosity largely based on his outward appearance. Given the colonial undertones of early Paddington books and the films' promotion of the marginalised migrant bear's kindness and politeness, this thesis aims to fill a gap in research by examining how, first, Paddington is brought into the subject position of a 'racialised Other' through the first film's three 'antagonists,' and secondly assess whether the films apply a contemporary concept of 'civility' to figuratively silence the bear.

To do so, an analytical, multimodal approach is adopted for key scenes of both films and combined with a concurrent interpretation through concepts of postcolonial theory. Most noteworthy to this analysis are Paul Gilroy's concept of 'postcolonial melancholia,' Sara Ahmed's 'strangerness,' Homi Bhabha's 'mimicry,' Frantz Fanon's 'racial epidermal schema,' and Achille Mbembe's 'necropolitics.' Furthermore, changes in Paddington's characterisation are made palpable by contrasting the early books to the contemporary films, whereas a particular focus is placed on the initial chapter of *A Bear Called Paddington* (1958) and the first film, *Paddington* (2014).

The thesis concludes that Paddington's position as a symbolic 'racialised Other' remains complex. On the one hand, the cinematic depictions ameliorate – if not entirely eradicate – the colonialist connotations of the early books and vilify the biological racism of Paddington's main antagonist. On the other hand, a covert cultural racism, as represented on early in the film by Mr Brown and implied in modern conceptions of civility, potentially perpetuates harmful beliefs of difference. In the end, extradiegetic and extratextual knowledge beyond the cinematic text – not readily available to every viewer, especially the young – is necessary to disclose the films' genuine political potential. Hence, Paddington's role as a kind and polite migrant may ultimately lead to divergent interpretations.

Zusammenfassung

Der anhaltende kulturelle Einfluss von Michael Bonds Paddington-Büchern, die vor über sechs Jahrzehnten mit *A Bear Called Paddington* (1958) ihren Anfang nahmen, ist für sich bereits beeindruckend. Dennoch gelang es dem Regisseur Paul King mit den zwei jüngsten Paddington-Filmen (2014 und 2017) den Bekanntheitsgrad des jungen peruanischen Bären noch weiter zu erhöhen. Begleitet von einer überwiegend positiven Rezeption der Kritik und unerwartetem finanziellen Erfolg stellten die Filme Paddington einer neuen Generation von Kindern vor. Doch ebenso wie Paddington als literarische Figur bislang weitgehend von akademischer Forschungsarbeit vernachlässigt wurde, so ließen auch kritische Analysen der Filmproduktionen auf sich warten.

Dieser Umstand ist insbesondere bedauerlich hinsichtlich Paddingtons Status als irregulärer Migrant, der im zeitgenössischen London nach einem Zuhause sucht und aufgrund seines Äußeren Feindseligkeiten erfährt. Des Weiteren beinhalten frühe Paddington-Bücher koloniale Untertöne, während die Paddington-Filme den marginalisierten Migrantenbären zur Aufforderung zu Güte und Höflichkeit benutzen. Folglich zielt diese Diplomarbeit darauf ab eine Forschungslücke zu schließen, indem untersucht wird, wie Paddington einerseits durch die drei "Antagonisten" des ersten Films in die Subjektposition eines "rassisierten Anderen" ('racialised Other') einnimmt, und andererseits eine Beurteilung erfolgt, ob die Filme eine zeitgenössische Auffassung von Zivilität ('civility') einsetzen, um den Bären im übertragenen Sinne zum Schweigen zu bringen.

Zu diesem Zweck wird ein analytischer multimodaler Ansatz auf Schlüsselszenen beider Filme angewendet und eine gleichzeitige Interpretation durch Konzepte der postkolonialen Theorie verfolgt. Am relevantesten für diese Analyse sind Paul Gilroys Konzept der "postkolonialen Melancholie" ('postcolonial melancholia'), Sara Ahmeds "Fremdenartigkeit" ('strangerness'), Homi Bhabhas "Mimikry" ('mimicry'), Frantz Fanons "epidermales Rasseschema" ('racial epidermal schema') und Achille Mbembe's "Nekropolitik" ('necropolitics'). Darüber hinaus werden Änderungen der Charakterisierung Paddingtons durch den Vergleich der frühen Bücher mit der modernen filmischen Umsetzung greifbar gemacht, wobei ein besonderer Fokus auf das erste Kapitel von *A Bear Called Paddington* (1958) und den ersten Film, *Paddington* (2014), gelegt wird.

Die Diplomarbeit kommt zu dem Schluss dass Paddingtons Position als "rassisierter Anderer" vielschichtig bleibt. Zum einen verteufelt die filmische Darstellung den biologischen Rassismus der Bösewichtin des ersten Paddington-Films und melioriert gleichzeitig die kolonialistischen Assoziationen der frühen Bücher, wenngleich diese auch nicht komplett

getilgt werden. Zum anderen werden durch verborgenen kulturellen Rassismus, anfänglich vertreten durch die Figur des Mister Brown und in modernen Konzeptionen von Zivilität ('civility') impliziert, potentiell schädliche Überzeugungen von Differenz aufrechterhalten. Letztendlich ist extradiegetisches und extratextuelles Wissen jenseits des filmischen Textes für die Offenlegung des wahren politischen Potenzials der Filme notwendig, worüber jedoch nicht jedes Publikum verfügt. Infolgedessen kann Paddingtons Rolle als gütiger und höflicher Migrant letztlich zu divergierenden Interpretationen führen.