Jane Austen's Mean Girls:
A Biocultural Approach to Shared Female Experience in Literature and Life

Von der Philosophischen Fakultät der
Rheinisch-Westfälischen Technischen Hochschule Aachen
zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades einer Doktorin der Philosophie
genehmigte Dissertation

vorgelegt von
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Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 14.07.2021

Diese Dissertation ist auf den Internetseiten der Universitätsbibliothek online verfügbar.

Acknowledgements

I am immensely grateful for the Federal Republic of Germany's higher education policies which have enabled me to not only finish what I began without entering personal bankruptcy but to do so while enjoying affordable health care. I can only hope that my fellow U.S. Americans will someday also have this opportunity. My sincerest appreciation goes to both Professor Dr Ralf Schneider, Chair of English Literature, and Professor Sven Strasen of the Institute of English, American, and Romance Studies at Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule Aachen.

I also wish to thank the many fantastic scholars who are working to understand what makes us human and what makes humans happy. Without the generous knowledge sharing of the PhD Owls group and Professor Dr Tara Brabazon, this dissertation would not have been possible. I also thank the many wise, witty Janeites who have shared their love for the divine Jane.

I thank the truly wonderful, strong women in my life who strive to support other women. They aspire to be Elizabeth Bennet turning the pages for Georgiana to deflect the uncomfortable spotlight of her shameful escapade with Wickham. They want to be Elinor, able to keep another woman's secret, even if it hurts; they hope to be Emma, who, after being ashamed of her behaviour towards Miss Bates, does her best to atone. These women I thank for their encouragement and forgiveness. I especially thank women who wear sweaters to bars. Most of all, I thank my son and husband for their patience and love. I owe everything to my parents, who never once suggested I study a more ″practical″ subject.

A Note on Gender and Readers

Gender

This dissertation is gynocentric. As a CIS female researcher, writing about a CIS female author who published *as* a female, writing primarily about CIS female experiences, and known for her legions of CIS female fans, my research will focus on relations between Austen's female characters and female readers' responses to them. I will leave the definition of female to the individual who identifies herself as female. Although this dissertation uses the binary applied during Austen's lifetime. in no way do I wish to be disrespectful of Austen's male, trans, or queer readership. The terminology is intended to keep the focus narrow for the sake of clarity and brevity as well as reflecting my very personal relationship with the content of this study. Steven Pinker's (2002) explanation outlines how important this distinction is when adopting a biocultural approach:

> No sex difference yet discovered applies to every last man compare with every last woman, so generalisations about sex will always be untrue of many individuals. The politics of gender is a major reason that the application of evolution, genetics, and neuroscience to the human mind is bitterly resisted in modern intellectual life. But unlike other human divisions such as race and ethnicity, where any biological differences are minor at most and scientifically uninteresting, gender cannot possibly be ignored in the science of human beings. The sexes are as old as complex life and are a fundamental topic in evolutionary biology, genetics, and behavioural ecology. To disregard them in the case of our own species would be to make a hash of our understanding of our place in the cosmos . . . to ignore gender would be to ignore a major part of the human condition (343).

Readers

In this study, the term "readers" includes both academic and non-academic Western female readership, as it links to the socio-cultural experience of European, North American, and Australian women. The basis of my research is focused on Western females and their experience from the schoolroom to the boardroom. Certainly, Austen enjoys enormous

popularity in Asian countries,[1] and numerous notable male readers have published influential books and essays on the author and male experience of her work. Elizabeth Jenkins goes so far as to claim Austen "has probably given pleasure to more men in bed than any woman in history, except perhaps Agatha Christie" (vii). While offering further scope for research, male experience falls outside the focus of this study.

[1]The popular press indicates that non-Western female readers find resonance in Austen themes related to their contemporary experience, such as arranged marriage (Chatterjee 2017). For an overview of non-western intra-female physical aggression, from acid attacks on mistresses in Cambodia to dousing daughters-in-law with kerosene in India, see Phyllis Chesler (3-4, 34-77).

Contents

Acknowledgements 2

A Note on Gender and Readers 3

Abbreviations 7

List of Figures 7

List of Tables 7

Introduction 8

i. The Austen Phenomenon 8

ii. Understanding the Austen Phenomenon: A Biocultural Approach 9

iii. Identifying Shared Experience Through Biology and Culture 15

i.v. Chapter Descriptions 24

1. Approaching Austen Through Shared Experience: Female Indirect Aggression 27

1.1. Female Aggression as Literary Trope 28

1.2. Not All Sugar and Spice: Feminist Viewpoints on Female Indirect Aggression 31

1.3. Scientific Approaches to Female Aggression 32

1.4. Literary Viewpoints on Aggression in Austen 38

2. "I Knew a Mrs Elton, once:" Establishing a Female Audience and Identification with Austen's Fictional Women 48

2.1. Background 48

2.2. Rationale 49

2.3. Method 52

2.4. Procedure 53

2.5. Limitations 54

2.6. Results 55

2.7. Discussion 61

3. A Biocultural Case Study: Caroline Bingley as Literary and Species-Typical 65

3.1. The Question of Universals 65

3.2. Caroline in a Literary Light ____ *70*

3.3. Caroline Bingley as Species-Typical ____ *73*

4. "A State of Warfare:" Benenson and Becoming the Mean Girl in *Emma* ____ **90**

4.1. Female Indirect Aggression in Austen's Emma ____ *90*

4.2. Analysis of Emma According to Benenson ____ *97*

4.3. Becoming the Mean Girl ____ *115*

4.3.1. Becoming the Chosen with Frank Churchill ____ *117*

5. Familiar Frenemies in *Northanger Abbey* and *Sense and Sensibility* ____ **125**

5.1. Regency Female Friendships ____ *126*

5.2. Understanding Isabella Thorpe ____ *126*

5.3. Understanding Lucy Steele ____ *139*

6. Miserly Matrons: Austen's Queen Bees and Tokens ____ **155**

6.1. Continued Scarcity for Women in the Workplace ____ *157*

6.2. Fanny Dashwood as Queen Bee ____ *159*

6.3. Lady Catherine as Queen Bee ____ *166*

6.4. Mrs Norris and Token Women ____ *174*

Conclusion ____ **184**

iii. Future Applications ____ *187*

Appendix A: Austen Questionnaire Text ____ **190**

Appendix B: Austen Survey Raw Data ____ **193**

Works Cited ____ **412**

Abbreviations

JAL	*Jane Austen's Letters*
SS	*Sense and Sensibility*
PP	*Pride and Prejudice*
MP	*Mansfield Park*
E	*Emma*
NA	*Northanger Abbey*
P	*Persuasion*

List of Figures

Figure 1: Suggested Differences in Overlap of Shared Experience _____ *10*

Figure 2: Total Sample Group (TSG) Gender Distribution _____ *55*

Figure 3: TSG Age Distribution _____ *55*

*Figure 4: TSG Janeite Social Media Engagement Rates*_____ *56*

Figure 5: Mean Likeability Rates _____ *57*

Figure 6: Mean Sense of Realism _____ *58*

*Figure 7: Mean Indication of Understanding Character Motivation*_____ *59*

List of Tables

Table 1: Facebook Groups Targeted for Survey Completion *52*

Table 2: Response Categories and Their Numerical Values..... *54*

Table 3: Characters Rated..... *54*

Introduction

"We read Austen because she seems to know us better than we know ourselves."

- Harald Bloom

i. The Austen Phenomenon

No-one who had ever seen Jane Austen in her infancy would have supposed her born to be one of the most important authors in English literature. She herself might be astounded by the fervent adoration of her modern followers, who find comfort in her six novels of "3 or 4 families in a country village" (JAL 287). Austen has become an international media phenomenon two hundred years after her death, and is often referred to as an industry unto herself.[2] Consistently named amongst the best beloved English-language authors of all time, her books are the subject of numerous film and television adaptations, as well as countless online blogs, vlogs, and Facebook groups from the Rustbelt of the USA to the neon lights of Tokyo and the marriage markets of Pakistan. Referred to as "Janeites," thousands of her fans meet regularly to discuss the author, the characters she brought to life, and the world in which she lived.[3]

Adoration of "all things Jane" runs the gamut from unending academic investigations of Austen-related minutiae to the publication of thousands of Austen-inspired novels. According to *The Economist* (2017), each month brings up to seventy new examples of Jane Austen Fan Fiction (JAFF) with scintillating titles such as *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies, Confessions of a Jane Austen Addict,* and *Mr Darcy Broke my Heart*. Outside of the JAFF scene, contemporary bestselling authors depict their characters engaging with Austen's work, or in the case of J.K. Rowling, use Austen characters as namesakes for their own. Both

[2] See "Jane Austen Facts and Figures in Charts," in *The Guardian* (2017).

[3] Referring to *Pride and Prejudice*, Amanda Gilroy (2010) explains that "the novel consistently wins a place within the top English language novels of all time, is the subject of online chat rooms and message boards, and its plot has inspired more fan fiction than any other novel" (unpaged). According to *The Economist* (2017), the quintessentially English author has fandom across the globe. Established in 2006, the Jane Austen Society of Japan has published manga versions of *Pride and Prejudice, Emma,* and *Sense and Sensibility. Pride and Prejudice* has been adapted in a justice system setting for South Korean television. *The Economist* also reports that Austen is seen to reflect traditional Chinese values, and that Jane Austen Societies exist in both India and Pakistan, with Austen's novels inspiring both Bollywood and Tamil films and soap operas.

appropriations function as shorthand characterisation tools understood immediately by those in the know.[4]

ii. Understanding the Austen Phenomenon: A Biocultural Approach

How is it possible that a long-dead author inspires such popularity in modern readers? This dissertation uses a biocultural approach to examine Austen's astute descriptions of human behaviour and their parallels in modern society. According to reader-response scholars, authors achieve and maintain relevance by triggering personal experiences shared between text and readers. Austen's continued, timeless adoration, suggests that the author accomplished this sensation to a significant degree. A demographic breakdown of her primary readership indicates that her work creates resonances, especially amongst women; biocultural analysis uncovers intersections between their world and Austen's texts.

Influenced by E. O. Wilson's (1998) call for "consilience," or the integration of the sciences and the humanities, proponents of biocultural literary analysis assume that the production and consumption of literature fulfil a human function.[5] Shrouded in deep history, literary scholars can only hypothesise about narrative's original objectives. Suggestions range from shared stories as a tool for survival to their place as cognitive calisthenics. For the most part, proponents of biocultural literary analysis rely on cognitive and evolutionary research to open up new possibilities in the study of Austen's work. Previous biocultural interpretations weave together behavioral and social scientific findings with traditional, humanist ones, applying the interpretive framework to Austen's fictional characters. As a whole, the approach rejects the twentieth-century concept of human nature as a primarily cultural construct. By examining literature using cross-culturally, empirically tested scientific models, "a biocultural approach to literature can be richly multileveled," explaining depictions of human behaviour "in a way that is deeper that the writers themselves were usually aware of, deeper than either a common-sense view of human nature or local, culture-bound systems of explanation" (Boyd 2005 6). Proponents encourage literary scholars to draw on lessons from the more robust research norms of anthropology and psychology. In the social and

[4] Some examples include Kate Atkinson, Jodi Taylor, Karen Joy Fowler, Kevin Kwan, and Whit Stillman.
[5] See the work of Art Historian and Anthropologist Ellen Dissanayake (1992, 2008) for a thorough examination of the function of art.

behavioural sciences, claims about cognitive patterns differ drastically from the more those traditionally applied to literary scholarship. Unlike the humanities, their claims receive "only so much traction" until they are "followed up by research conducted with different subject populations, often those from other countries" (Zunshine 2020 172).

This dissertation enhances the biocultural approach, which has focused primarily on Austen's texts, applying scientific knowledge to Austen's characters. This thesis advances another step, identifying a triangular relationship between the texts, the sciences, and readers' real lives. Shared experience is the common denominator; in the reading process, audiences are attuned to narrative elements reminiscent of their own lives. To date, reader-response research has tended to focus on theoretical readers sharing theoretical experiences. Few have drawn on contemporary realities or engaged with readers beyond the ivory tower, both of which a biocultural approach allows.

This study proposes that Austen's popularity with women is linked to her additional experiential resonance with female readers. A simple Venn diagram (Figure 1) illustrates the underlying hypothesis; while Austen's work connects with both men and women, the additional overlap with women's lives is significant. Austen's continued idolization suggests that the narratives not only matched women's needs at their initial publication but continue to resonate with readers' lives.

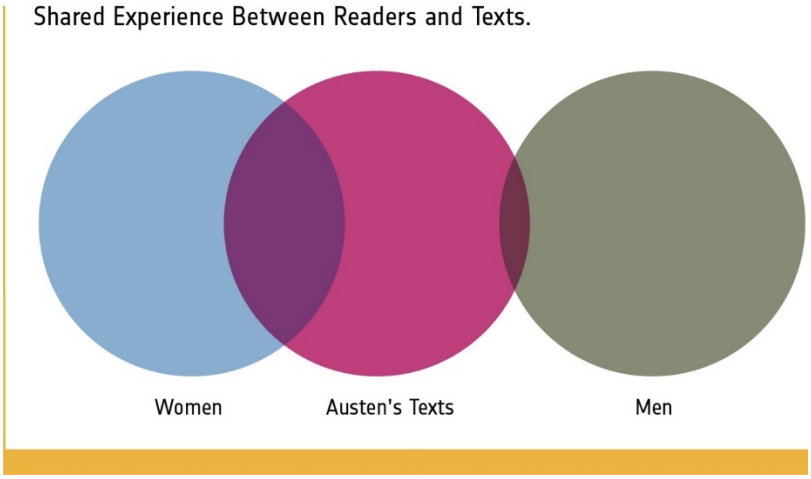

Figure 1: Suggested Differences in Overlap of Shared Experience

a. Understanding Austen's Audience

Lionel Trilling (1951) astutely proposes that reader response to Austen is almost as fascinating as the novels themselves. It is only necessary to look at the hubbub caused by Terry Castle's sardonic question, "Was Jane Austen Gay?" to witness the effect. To this day, internet rages ensue between proponents of Austen films versus prose and the 1995 BBC television miniseries versus the 2005 Hollywood adaptation. When it comes to Austen, academics are also known to become ruthless, slamming each other for not fully understanding the author's "truth."[6] It seems that admiring Austen becomes an event in itself, a narrative worth reading not only by scholars but by "amateurs" as well.[7]

In recent decades, writing about Austen's popularity has become a research subject in itself, inspiring countless academic and trade non-fiction studies, biblio-memoirs, and bibliotherapy. In general, two main streams have developed: examination of Austen' legacy and scrutiny of her passionate admirers. Amongst the books focused on the author herself, the theme of looking for the "true" or "real" Austen features heavily. Deirdre Lynch (2001) and Emily Auerbach (2004) both seek to tear off Austen's perceived ringlets and ruffles to identify the authentic Austen amongst a series of alternates. In *The Real Jane Austen* (2013), Paula Byrne attempts to get intimate with Austen by examining several small, personal objects, as well as private memoirs and diaries of her acquaintances. After biographing the author, Claire Harman (2009) delves into the history of Austen's fame and cultural influence. In *A Truth Universally Acknowledged* (2010), scholar Susannah Carson gathers diverse responses from across literature and the academy to the question, "why do we read Austen?"

Rachel Brownstein looks at the changing face of Austen devotion over time and how the understanding of the author is constructed and evolves according to contemporary ideology (2013). Claudia Johnson (2012) extends this further to examine how Jane Austen came to be both a writer and a cultural concept. Focused primarily on what she terms the "amateur reader," Juliette Wells (2012) investigates the rise of Austen and the development of pilgrimage to Austen sites, belonging to Austen clubs, and writing fan fiction. Deborah

[6] One example is Nancy Armstrong's (1987) response to Gilbert and Gubar (2000 [1979]).
[7] The novels *Austenland* (2007), *The Jane Austen Book Club* (2004), and *The Jane Austen Society* (2020) are examples of fan-focused media rather than adaptations of Austen's work.

Yaffe (2013) and Ted Scheinman (2018) use personal biblio-memoirs to explore the world of the Janeite, often portrayed as living in a parallel universe. Yaffe relates that participants at the Jane Austen Society of North America Annual General Meeting passionately divide themselves into ″Team Willoughby″ and ″Team Brandon″ (201). Examining illustrations and popular readings of Austen over time, Devoney Looser (2017) outlines what she refers to as the ″making″ of Jane Austen in the popular imagination while emphasizing Austen's ferocity with her own roller-derby alter-ego, ″Stone Cold Jane Austen.″[8]

b. Connections Between Reader and Text

Various reader-response critics explain the reported phenomena of ″knowing″ fictional characters by what readers personally bring to the reading act. Instead of asserting that only the author or text holds the true meaning of a narrative, reader-response theorists propose that readers play an active role.[9] Louise Rosenblatt (1995) proposes that ″a novel or poem or play remains merely inkspots on paper until a reader transforms them into a set of meaningful symbols. The literary work exists in the live circuit set up between reader and text″ (24). For Rosenblatt (1994), readers inject ″intellectual and emotional meanings into the patterns of verbal symbols, and those symbols channel,″ in turn, the reader's ″thoughts and feelings″ (24). Bringing Rorschach tests to mind, Rosenblatt explains that her ″transactional view″ of reading ″is especially reinforced by the frequent observation of psychologists that interest, expectations, anxieties, and other factors based on past experience affect what an individual perceives″ in a text (Ibid. 19).

Some scholars reinforce the notion of active reader participation with fiction, be-it consciously, or unconsciously. Wolfgang Iser (1979) proposes that readers construct meaning in literature by connecting texts with their personal concerns. For Stanley Fish (1980), literary meaning is changeable and independent of solitary readers. Instead, it is ″constrained

[8] See www.devoneylooser.com/derby.html.

[9] The meaning of reading in our society continues to fascinate as exemplified by trade publications, including *Why Read?* (Edmundson 2005), *Reading Matters: What the Research Reveals about Reading, Libraries, and Community*, (Ross 2005), *Uses of Literature* (Felski 2008), *Why We Read Fiction* (Zunshine 2012), *Literature: Why it Matters,* (Eaglestone 2019), to name but a few. Literature has also inspired any number of biblio-memoirs on the junction between literature and reality such as: *A Jane Austen Education: How Six Novels Taught Me About Love, Friendship, and the Things That Really Matter* (Deresiewicz 2012), *My Life in Middlemarch* (Mead 2014), and *Life Lessons Harry Potter Taught Me* (Kolongowski 2017).

by the understood practices and assumptions of the institution" which examines them (Fish 306). Fish claims that readers belong to specific interpretive communities, defined as

> those who share interpretive strategies not for reading (in the conventional sense) but for writing texts, for constituting their properties and assigning their intentions. In other words, these strategies exist prior to the act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read rather than, as is usually assumed, the other way around (Ibid. 171).

If resonances between readers' lives and fiction are essential for canonicity, then Austen worship's overwhelming nature indicates her success in expressing reverberations.[10] Austen belonged to a close-knit, small society of female friends and relatives, with whom she shared her drafts.[11] By testing and refining her work amongst women, it seems plausible to view her intended audience as female. If true, it would follow that female readers are more likely to identify with actions in Austen's narratives, despite their distance in time and place, and differences in thought on race, politics, religion, occupation, and education.[12]

It is difficult to substantiate this claim based on reader-response criticism alone. Remarkably, many reader-response studies include very limited or no exchange with real readers (i.e., Richards 1929, Fish 1980, Iser 1979, Culler 1981, Jauss 1982). Additionally, there appears to be little consensus on which type of readers justify investigation at all. Dichotomous pairings used include the "ordinary" versus the "professional" reader (Richards 1929, Wimsatt and Beardsley 1946, 1954, Martindale & Dailey 1995, Hirsch 1973) and "novice" versus "expert" readers (Graves & Frederiksen 1991, Hanauer 1995, Zeitz 1994, Andringa 1996). This failure to acknowledge the importance of lay readers in the continued production and dissemination of fiction seems cavalier in an era that casts the value of humanities education in doubt.[13] As this study attempts to further understanding of Austen's

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[10] According to Elaine Auyoung (2020), Austen's work deserves the title "hypercanonical" (95).

[11] In letters to her sister, Austen relates repeatedly lending novel drafts to a female friend (JAL June 11, 1799) and reading her completed novels aloud to female houseguests (JAL January 29, 1813).

[12] In her correspondence with the Prince Regent's librarian, Austen twice emphasises her position as a female writer, refusing to write from anyone's point of view but her own. In her letter dated December 15, 1815, she writes that she is "*not*" (emphasis original) able to write of "Such a Man's Conversation . . . Which a Woman, who like me . . . Would be totally without power of giving" (sic JAL 318). Similarly, on April 1, 1816, Austen writes that she could only write of "pictures of domestic Life in Country Villages . . . I must keep to my own style & go on my own way" (sic Ibid. 326).

[13] For an in-depth analysis of the current situation in humanities studies and attempts to revive it through the use

enduring appeal to modern women, readers in this dissertation are considered as a single, albeit heterogeneous, group: women.

Janice Radway's (1984) work demonstrates how reader insight can enrich the investigation of reading. Assessing interviews from real readers from all walks of life in her ethnographic examination of romance novel reception, Radway argues that "literary meaning is the result of a complex, temporally evolving interaction between a fixed verbal structure and a socially situated reader" (155). Radway warns of condescending academic scholars who attempt to identify "meaning" in a text without considering the target audience, arguing that "comprehension is actually a process of making meaning, a process of sign production where the reader actively attributes significance to signifiers on the basis of previously learned cultural codes" (196). Radway indicates that readers use literature in various ways, from increasing their knowledge through pretend experiences, emotional compensation, or an escape from everyday life (197).

Other avenues for examining reader reaction to literature is the practice of bibliotherapy, or using books in the treatment of psychological difficulties. Applied Literature scholar Susan Marie Anderson (2014) uses thematic qualitative research interviews to demonstrate that "engagement with literature has the potential to heal, transform, and empower individuals suffering from hardship . . . to find meaning in all experience and take control of their lives" (89). Anderson argues that collective experience and identification with fictional characters is so valuable that it is "one of the central ideas in bibliotherapy," (94) explaining anecdotal evidence of reading Austen for comfort.[14] Citing eighteen systematic reviews and meta-analyses from 2000 to 2017, Daniela Popa and Daniela Porumbu (2017) validate the benefit of reading when coping with personal problems. In this vein, this dissertation considers bibliophiles who come to Austen of their own accord rather than in college courses. Therefore, the term "reader" in this study refers to "ordinary" readers performing what Elaine Auyoung (2018b) describes as "ordinary reading" (61).

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of scientific methods, see Jonathan Gottschall's *Literature, Science, and a New Humanities* (2008a). More recently, the government of Australia's 2020 decision to drastically increase university fees for students pursuing the humanities ensures that liberal arts degrees become an elite pursuit in the future. The determination is purportedly based on attempts to focus students on earning more "employable" degrees, negating the value of humanities education overall (Hurst).

[14] For a general overview of Austen as comfort, see Chira (2016).

iii. Identifying Shared Experience Through Biology and Culture

A biocultural approach can illuminate shared experiences underpinning readers' connection with a narrative. Isabel Jaén and Julien Simon (2012a) point out that invoking both cultural and biological examinations requires balanced cooperation. They liken purely literary approaches to a single tessera, ignoring the broad view of the "whole epistemological mosaic" (3). They are careful to remind scholars that "a mosaic is not a puzzle," or a "problem that needs to be solved" (Ibid.). Instead, Jaén and Simon understand the collage of literary understanding as "a heterogeneous and dynamic landscape. . . formed by a community of disciplines" (Ibid.). This stance galvanises the ambition to contribute a few smaller, yet vividly coloured tiles to Austen's ever-evolving image from sources outside of the literary realm.

According to Wilson, this aspiration is not novel; "the greatest enterprise of the mind has always been and always will be the attempted linkage of the sciences and the humanities" (8). Referring to anthropology, psychology, biology, and other social and behavioural sciences, Wilson hypothesises that evolutionary theory and epigenetic rules predict artmaking and its effects and can be used to understand commonalities between fiction and fact (250). Wilson argues that some twentieth-century literary theorists' attempts to explain human behaviour *without* incorporating scientific scholarship led to the relevancy crisis in the humanities. While Wilson fails to provide a systematic framework for literary investigation, he has inspired a resurgence of interest in including scientific study in the interpretation of literature.

a. The Biological: Evolutionary Approaches to Reading

Emboldened by Wilson and evolutionary psychologists John Tooby & Leda Cosmides (1992), literary scholars Joseph Carroll (2004, 2005, 2008, 2012), Brian Boyd (1998, 2005, 2013), Marcus Norlund (2002), Michelle Scalise Sugiyama (2005), and Jonathan Gottschall (2008a, 2008b, 2012), connect the evolution of the human brain and the development of stories under the moniker "Literary Darwinism." Reaching into deep history to explain the significance of literature for human society, they consider stories a useful human adaption, reflecting Darwinian themes of genetic survival, reproduction, parenting, kinship, and group living. Firmly rejecting constructivist blank-slate theories, Literary Darwinist practitioners work under the assumption that humans display universal, species-typical physical, and

cognitive characteristics, which are the source and subject of all literature. Carroll (1995), the approach's chief evangelist, states, "literary works reflect and articulate the vital motives and interests of human beings as living organisms" (3).

Building upon the reader-response notion of shared experience, Literary Darwinists propose that literary authors represent evolutionary behaviour in ways that correspond to the current understanding of human nature. For Carroll and his colleagues, humans exhibit a primal psychological need to make sense of their environments, and novels like Austen's enable readers to learn vicariously through the activities of others. Carroll (2008) explains, "the Darwinists . . . aim at extending, refining, correcting and contextualising . . . the common understanding," and "can situate any given text or set of texts in relation to the pressure points in human nature" (129).

Gottschall (2008a) argues that understanding human behaviour through evolutionary psychology is vital for the consumption of literature:

> At the core of all classes and orders of literary scholarship are assumptions about the nature of humans: our capacities, limits, and ultimate motives. Even those many scholars who boldly disavow the entire concept of human nature are - in this very disavowal - subscribing to a precisely codified theory of what human nature is: generally, that our nature is to spoon up whatever culture happens to feed us (and that we are what we eat) (17-18).

Scalise Sugiyama (2005) claims that storytelling is an ancient, fitness-promoting phenomenon that emerged with the development of language. She contends that "the function of narrative," is "the representation of the problems humans encounter in their lives and the constraints individuals struggle against in their efforts to solve them" (186). For Scalise Sugiyama, the pay-off for humans generating or processing stories is best described by the Boy Scout motto, "be prepared" (187). In the middle Palaeolithic, when language emerged, shared information promoted human survival. During the Regency, Austen's novels humorously showed readers to question others' motivations.

In today's environment, narrative simulates "a variety of social relationships, behaviours, and consequences," and "provides us with an opportunity to gain information about our social environment" (Ibid. 188). For a highly social species, Scalise Sugiyama proposes, "many of our most fundamental goals (friendship, alliance, status, trade, marriage,

child-rearing) by definition involve others" (Ibid.). As a result, "we are highly dependent upon the cooperation of fellows," and "narrative offers a low-cost, readily available means of amplifying our social experience by enabling us to witness a variety of adaptively momentous actions. . . from multiple perspectives" (Ibid. 189). These perspectives include both victim, perpetrator, friend, and enemy – all of which Austen describes.

Boyd (2009) contends that fiction is a multifunctional and multilevel biological adaptation, providing cognitive play for ultra-social humanity. Through stories, Boyd posits, humans can shape and share attention, driving social cohesion and creativity. Although hypothetical deep historical explanations for the development of narrative are somewhat disconcerting, Boyd's view that modernist theory has often removed the element of pleasure from literature analysis does resonate. It would be challenging to ignore pleasure as a significant factor in Austen's millions of fans' devotion.

While supporting Wilson's call for consilience, Norland is quick to remind scholars that all literature interpretations are theoretical.[15] Drawing on evolutionary literary criticism, Norlund contends that human meaning-making is central to the experience of literature. For Norlund, literary objects are cognitive objects, and empirical criticism cannot exist if an interpretation is involved. He warns that critics may choose to focus on the reader, the text, *or* the world (encompassing the author), but an adequate investigation of all three is impossible. Accordingly, this study primarily examines Austen's readers' experiences rather than those of the author, which has been the subject of exhaustive investigations for two centuries.

The belief that fiction, especially nineteenth-century novels of manners, can increase the human species' chances for survival, seems implausible to some. Roger Seamon (2008) calls the Darwinian Literary Studies proposition, "a hodgepodge of theories within theories" (262). Indeed, the literature is full of various clamouring experts, each promoting her idea of "truth." Although numerous Literary Darwinist studies look at the affective responses activated by reading, few explorations of collective experience delve deeper than theories of biology-based phenomena.[16] Carroll unapologetically promotes this type of reductionism as a

[15] A notable exclusion to this statement is more recent fMRI technology showing that Austen's work increases blood flow in readers' brains (Goldman 2012, par. 2).

16 See, for example, Barash and Barash's *Madame Bovary's Ovaries* (2006) or Gottschall's *The Rape of Troy* (2008b).

means of understanding. As a result, Literary Darwinists have come under harsh criticism, being unable to provide empirical evidence for preferences that developed in deep history and ignoring the uniqueness of both the individual and literature itself.[17]

Evolutionary Psychology itself is a hot button topic. Unlike the "what you see is what you get" stones-and-bones approach of traditional, archaeology-based examinations of evolution, immaterial culture leaves no trace of pre-literate societies. Ellen Dissanayake (2008) points out that in today's Western world, "every educated person accepts that an individual human's personality, talents, susceptibility to disease, and indeed all other physical and psychological traits are influenced by genes and DNA" (161). Dissanayake contends that the modern practice of reading parallels the pre-literate human universal of "listening to and telling stories" (Ibid. 163). For her, "it takes a very blinkered scholar indeed to maintain that cultural products (inventions by humans, such as the many different arts) appear willy-nilly and can be about anything at all" (Ibid. 161).

b. Cognitive Approaches to Reading

Sometimes referring to evolutionary psychology, yet hesitant to tie their entire analysis to prehistoric storytelling, numerous cognitive literary scholars also attempt to get inside the minds of readers. For Jaén and Simon (2012a), the twentieth-century addition of empirical approaches to the cognitivist study of literature, whether from literary critics, psychologists, anthropologists, or philosophers, represents a continuation of earlier reader-response work. For them, cognitive literary practitioners aim "to understand literature in the context of the embodied mind and its dynamic interaction with the environment" (3). In combining contemporary psychology and the neuroscience of reading, the approach remains far from codified. According to Lisa Zunshine (2010), "cognitive literary studies have something to offer to a scholar of any theoretical persuasion; the entry point can be as individualised as one wishes (9)." Like Zunshine, Jaén and Simon emphasise that "there is no such thing as a cognitive literary method, but there is a willingness to leave our comfort zone, our discipline's shell, for the sake of contributing to the construction and coherent image of the human mind and its manifestations" (4). Inspired by this approach, this study includes

17 See Eugene Goodheart's *Darwinian Misadventures in the Humanities* (2007) and the responses of Karl Eibel & Katja Mellmann, Fotis Jannidis, and Jonathan Kramnick to Carroll's *Style* article on Literary Darwinism (2008).

empirical observations of human behaviour from non-humanities scholars, weaving their findings together with Austen's finely depicted female characters.

Marco Caracciolo's (2014) enactivist proposal that "readers respond to narrative on the basis of their experiential background" supports the position that modern readers continue to feel affine with Austen's oeuvre (5). In a cognitive vein, Caracciolo predicates his assumption on two psychological mechanisms. First, "the triggering of memories of past experiences" and second, "mental simulation, which allows readers to put together past experiential traces in novel ways" (Ibid.). Through these systems, readers sustain a "first-person involvement with both fictional characters and the spatial dimension of storyworlds," creating new "story-driven" experiences (Ibid.), which activate what Caracciolo refers to as "sensory residue" (46).

Richard Gerrig (1998) proposes that readers actively perform texts, drawing on their memories to bridge narrative gaps. According to him, readers "exploit analogues to real-life aspects of performance - in the sense that we perform our own real lives - when we look to the experience of narrative worlds" (64). For Foy and Gerrig (2008), narratives "bolster the ability to understand what is happening in the minds of other people," allowing readers "to take a different perspective, such as the perspective of somebody of the opposite gender" (175). Gerrig (1998) assumes that authors "on the whole. . . wish their intentions to be recoverable," writing with their intended participants in mind (113). He argues that authors have "an implicit model of what their readers must know in order to experience a narrative fully" (Ibid.). In his later work, Gerrig (2012) proposes that discussions of cognitive science and literature are a two-way street. Cognitive science informs literary research, but readers' extraction of meaning from texts also bears lessons for cognitive science. Austen's exposition of explicitly female experiences contributes to her timelessness amongst women, drawing attention to behaviours which, in essence, remain valid today.

Together with Micah Mumper (2017), Gerrig provides a meta-analysis of theoretical and empirical studies linking readers' expertise to enhanced narrative experience, which they refer to as "transportation." Gerrig and Mumper make this claim based on received scholarship rather than conducting empirical research, positing that "readers' knowledge also has an impact on the inferences they encode" (242). They apply the term "inference" to "refer to information that readers represent, and that was not explicitly stated in a text," as

"expertise changes the inferences that readers encode" (Ibid.). They provide the example of a study by Spilich et al. (1979), in which participants listened to an excerpt from a fictional baseball game. Those with advanced knowledge of the sport were better able to recall the match's essential features when questioned afterward.

Similarly, Castle (1998) explains Austen's reliance on readers' ability to understand inferences based on their knowledge of female body language. Castle compares Austen's "authorial signals" to "those glances of communion that pass between two people in a crowded room who understand each other perfectly" (xiv). Virginia Woolf makes a similar proposal, stating:

> Jane Austen is thus a mistress of much deeper emotion than appears upon the surface. She stimulates us to supply what is not there. What she offers is, apparently, a trifle, yet is composed of something that expands in the readers' mind and endows with the most enduring form of life scenes which are outwardly trivial (in Carson 236).

David Miall (2004, 2006, 2007) studies non-academic readers under the hypothesis that their feelings play a significant role in the experience of literature. Miall (2006) warns that without some type of empirical approach and the "study of real readers, cognitivism risks becoming merely another vehicle for arriving at interpretations of texts" (12).

Using the "think aloud" approach, Miall captures verbal protocols of real humans feeling real feelings for fictional characters, which he then analyses qualitatively for patterns. Based on his findings, Miall ventures that, in the end, all literature is autobiographical. He posits that "the canon renews itself through the experience of individual readers" and active, self-referential identification with active personal experiences (Ibid. 35). For Miall, the ability to respond to timeless literature is independent of education or class. Considering Austen's canonical status and mass appeal, Miall's view represents a plausible explanation for the author's ability to "remain contemporary" for two hundred years (Dames, par. 5).

Miall (2006) exuberantly proclaims that this type of cognitive "empirical study will come to dominate the literary field," revolutionising the study of literature (12). He explains

> it is destined to play this role . . . just as over the last two centuries the sciences have emancipated themselves from theological control or superstition by subjecting themselves to validation by empirical methods. As astrology was replaced by

> astronomy or alchemy by chemistry, or as evolutionary theory has replaced creationism, despite last-ditch defences in several jurisdictions in the United States, our understanding of literary reading will be recast in the light of evidence gathered from real readers (Ibid.).

Although Miall's statement is hyperbolic, his proposal that beloved, "literary" fiction remains vital by demanding interaction between reader and texts "through its resonances with the individual's autobiographical experiences" rings true (Ibid. 29). Unlike Miall's empirical analysis of readers' reactions to texts in a laboratory setting, this study does not examine feedback to specific parts of Austen's texts. Instead, it examines empirical studies outside of the literary realm, identifying parallels with Austen's work through careful exegesis.

Steen Larsen and Uffe Seilman (1988, 1989) and László Halász (1987) also examine the relationship between reader and text. Using the "remindings" method, requiring subjects to make marks in the margins of texts when memories were activated, they show that literary texts evoke a significant number of personal memories or meaning when compared to non-literary texts or reported incidents. Larsen, Halász, & Seilman (1989/1991), demonstrate that readers identify more with stories depicting their own, familiar culture than others. Initially, these findings suggest that the divide between Austen's world and our own would be challenging to overcome. However, a follow-up study finds the effect negated when the story's point of view is altered. If the text is presented from an "insider" view (as is typical of Austen), readers identify with the protagonist regardless of the reader's or character's cultural background. Peter Dixon and Marisa Bortolussi (1996) further examine the impact of free indirect discourse, a hallmark of Austen's work, on reader bias. They find that the technique has an evident influence on readers' reactions in favour or against specific characters.

Numerous contemporary scholars expand the notion that narrative fulfils a human need. Keith Oatley (2017) calls fiction "the social mind's flight simulator" (265). Ellen Spolsky (2010) refers to narratives as "nourishment," with "useful work to do in human lives" and tools "that serve both individuals and communities" (38). Spolsky proposes that readers "analogise aspects" of their "own bodies and worlds with structures (they) encounter in stories," with the result that "the self-constructed narratives that make up our understanding of our position in the world gain strength and coherence" (Ibid. 41).

Other cognitive literary scholars such as George Butte (2004), Alan Palmer (2004, 2010), Suzanne Keen (2007, 2010), and Wendy Jones (2017), stress that a reader's own experience is vital in engaging with literature. Michael Burke (2011) goes so far as to claim that reading comprehension would be impossible without the availability of experienced-based prior knowledge. In her "concept of fluency," Elaine Auyoung (2018a) proposes that

> [w]hen fictional characters seem intimately familiar or so lifelike that they seem capable of an 'extended life,' readers and critics have tended to presume that there must be something exceptionally faithful or accurate about these characters' resemblance to action human beings. What the concept of fluency suggests, however, is that whether a fictional person feels real has to do not so much with representational fidelity as with a reader's ability to construct, retrieve, and run mental models with ease (53).

Each of these statements indicate that Austen either captured timeless universals in female experience, was able to anticipate modern realities which can only be confirmed by examining scholarship outside of the humanities, or left enough room in her texts for readers to invest her narratives with meaning from their own lives.

c. Nature + Nurture = Biocultural

Each approach discussed above emphasises the importance of readers' individual or group experiences in connecting with literature, yet systematic attempts exploring specific, contemporary experiences are few. This study identifies intersections between a variety of recent quantitative and qualitative scientific findings and Austen's depictions of human behaviour. Not rejecting past humanistic interpretations, it outlines past approaches to character relations in Austen's work while emphasising the value of additional, biocultural information. In line with Chloe Harrison and Peter Stockwell's interpretation of cognitive poetics (2014), each account is "underpinned by transparent technical evidence . . . reconnecting literary scholarship with natural readers" (218).

Inspired by Wilson, and championed by Nancy Easterlin (2012), a biocultural approach subsumes cultural, historical, and literary analysis within a cognitive-evolutionary framework. Based on the premise that literature is both functional *and* pleasurable, it predicates that both biology and culture evolve, and that like other animals, humans continue to evolve. In

Easterlin's words, biocultural practice is diverse, with "only one shared assumption: that findings about human psychology and behaviour might prove illuminating to the study of human artefacts" (11). Easterlin proposes that humans are predisposed to thinking in narrative terms. By reaching out to contemporary sciences such as biology, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and archaeology to examine canonical literature, Easterlin illustrates new avenues for understanding humans *and* the humanities. She explains that

> [w]orks of literature are . . . an ideal resource for looking at this multilevel psychological conflict between the differential, impersonal motivations of inclusive fitness, the problem of individual psychology and autonomy, and the shared emotional and psychological needs of pair-bonding humans (248).

Easterlin agrees with anthropologists and Literary Darwinists that, "the enduring themes of literature repeat the basic themes and motivations of human life, just as the typical formal patterns reflect basic human ways of shaping and organising experience" (42). However, unlike the Literary Darwinists, Easterlin moves beyond a Pleistocene interpretation of human motivations to include an appreciation of readers' aesthetic experience. To do this, she promotes combining cognitive and evolutionary perspectives with more traditional, humanist research.[18]

d. Limitations

Applying a biocultural approach to Austen is a balancing act. Roger Seamon (2008) calls the evolutionary approach "a hodgepodge of theories within theories" (262). Marcus Hartner (2017) warns against literary scholars attempting to use scientific methods that they do not themselves understand. He proposes that "scholars attempting to build bridges between the two cultures need to possess a degree of expertise that allows them to assess potential conceptual conflicts arising from the intersection of the levels of brain, mind, and culture" (25). Calling for moderation, he urges against using "highly controversial, speculative, or experimental ideas that have yet to be tried and tested" (26). Reminiscent of Jaén and Simon's mosaic analogy, Hartner reports that "generally speaking, it is not enough" for

[18] Carroll et al. (2015) also apply the term "Biocultural Theory" to their more recent work yet retain an evolutionary basis to their research program. Their inclusion of anthropological research is limited to that of contemporary hunter-gatherer societies (4).

literary scholars "to analyse the individual components of a composite phenomenon; at some point, active synthesis is required" (Ibid.).

Brian Garvey (2009) also cautions literary scholars attempting consilience ensure consistency between the sciences, and that "evolutionary biological claims should be compatible with those of sociology and psychology" (2). Respectful of the quantity of scientific material available, this study has a single focus: multiple heuristic approaches to a behavioural phenomenon affecting Austen's primary readership. It does not aim to deliver a "Key to all Mythologies," instead to enrich Austen study with credible biocultural insights and open new possibilities for interpretation.

i.v. Chapter Descriptions

The mosaic of this investigation commences with two coloured tiles gleaned from the approaches above. First, that Austen's novels have resonated with readers since their publication. Second, that this resonance results from correspondences between readers' personal experiences and the texts. The first chapter establishes the biocultural focus of this dissertation, a single, primarily female phenomenon found in each of Austen's works: female indirect aggression.[19] It begins with an outline of recent scholarship on the topic and its causes both in the Regency and today. After scrutinising female aggression as a literary trope and outlining feminist reluctance to recognize the behaviour, the chapter details past literary approaches to Austen's female bullies.

The second chapter establishes Austen's primary readership, justifying the legitimacy of a gynocentric approach to the study of shared experience between Austen's texts and readers. Although a plethora of anecdotal evidence supports the notion that a significant majority of contemporary Janeites are female, there is little quantified evidence. An online survey of nearly four hundred self-proclaimed Austen fans substantiates the claim.[20] Its results also confirm modern women's familiarity with the behaviour and motivations of Austen's antagonist characters. Additional qualitative comments provide a window into the

[19] Indirect aggression may also be referred to as relational aggression.
[20] Of course, men also read and enjoy Austen; as Toni Morrison pointed out, Dostoevski wrote for a Russian audience, yet Western readers can still find his work meaningful (in Gerrig 1998, 116).

fascinating world of the female Janeite, with many participants claiming to know or even to themselves *be* Austen characters in real life.

Chapters three to six employ separate contemporary scientific research models to explore intersections between the behaviour described in Austen's texts and that witnessed by modern women. Using examples from *Sense and Sensibility, Pride and Prejudice, Emma, Northanger Abbey,* and *Mansfield Park,* each chapter includes a brief review of past scholarship on the selected novel, including biocultural approaches when extant. Each incorporates an exegesis of Austen's texts, distinguishing overlap with the contemporary model. Combined, the chapters provide a rounded, detailed illustration of Austen's understanding of female behaviour at various stages of life, in contemporary terms. This research does not attempt to analyse Austen's own psychology nor identify a single "truth" to her work. It withholds blaming and shaming examples of female relational aggression or the patriarchal powers behind it.

The investigation begins with a case study of a single female character from *Pride and Prejudice*, Caroline Bingley. Caroline is examined through the lens of Donald E. Brown's (2017) human universals framework, which identifies common physical and behavioural characteristics emerging from a meta-analysis of a century of anthropological scholarship. Despite significant cultural variations, Brown's universals represent a mind-shift towards the anthropological understanding *shared* humanity rather than perpetuating examinations of "otherness." In the same way, this dissertation looks beyond the differences between Austen's world and our own. In this chapter, Brown's findings are applied as a common language between Austen's fictional characters and their modern, non-fiction counterparts. The results indicate Austen's deep understanding of female responses to scarcity, clarifying the hostility between Caroline and Elizabeth Bennet. Through Brown's universals, Caroline Bingley emerges as both literary- and species-typical.

The fourth chapter furthers the investigation of the emerging field of female aggression and Austen's understanding of it. The work of psychologist Joyce Benenson is used to translate Austen's description of the relationship between Emma Woodhouse and Augusta Elton into modern terms. Their behaviour, and their use and abuse of Harriet Smith and Jane Fairfax, mirror evolutionary and empirical modern psychological and sociological findings on female indirect aggression. Applying Benenson's framework, *Emma* is exposed as

an accurate reflection of human behaviour. Austen predicts the five strategies identified by Benenson, twisting her narrative in such a way that readers identify with the perpetrator rather than the victim.

Chapter five applies the work of sociologists Rachel Wiseman and Rosamund Simmons to explore Austen's depiction of "frenemy" relationships between young women. The first duo, Isabella Thorpe and Catherine Morland, enter a friendship of convenience based on societal conventions and as a tool for Isabella to achieve an economically advantageous union. The second frenemy pair, Elinor Dashwood and Lucy Steele, connect over a clandestine engagement. In Lucy's manipulations and Elinor's secrecy, Austen captures the experience of many contemporary young women as they suffer in silence in the attempt to save face.

Like life, Austen sometimes seems cruel and unsparing. Chapter six details the behaviour of Fanny Dashwood, Lady Catherine de Burgh, and Mrs Norris in occupational terms. Unlike previous chapters, these characters represent women who have already achieved the goal of matrimony and are not in direct competition to the novels' heroines. Nevertheless, their behaviour is reminiscent of so-called "Queen Bee Syndrome" and "tokenism" in modern employment terms. Although society has undergone massive transitions since Austen's time, women continue to face various types of scarcity in their professional lives.

Each chapter interweaves biological and traditional literary studies as interpretive tools to add colour, shape, and form to the mosaic of Austen scholarship. In Easterlin's words, applying a biocultural approach to understand readers' connections with the novels "is fundamentally a creative enterprise, not a matter of mastering a model and then slapping it down onto an unsuspecting text" (38). In the end, as both Easterlin and Norlund attest, "patience, feeling, and the love of literature all assist one another" in seeking insight into Austen's art (Ibid.).

1. Approaching Austen Through Shared Experience: Female Indirect Aggression[21]

"It's actually Jane Austen who pushes
Louisa Musgrove off the slippery rocks."
- Diane Johnson

After Jane Austen's death in 1817, her family made great efforts to recast her as a saintly, modest spinster writing for amusement rather than ambition. Austen's beloved sister, Cassandra, moderated her memory by destroying an unknown number of her private letters. The author of her first biography, Austen's nephew James Edward Austen-Leigh, established her Victorian reputation as sweet-tempered "dear aunt Jane," full of "moral rectitude," "correct taste," and "warm affections," very "careful not to meddle with matters which she did not thoroughly understand" (1-2). Disconcertingly, Austen-Leigh's cloying descriptions do not jibe with an oeuvre rife with depictions of indirect aggression between women. Instead, they reflect gendered Victorian notions of "The Angel in the House," expecting selfless and submissive domesticity from women.[22]

Building on the introduction, this chapter further explores the notion of shared experience between reader and text. Assuming Austen's primary readership is female, a single group of behaviours was selected to ensure feasibility. Indirect, or relational, aggression encompasses a specific range of tactics commonly employed by women. This type of aggression is often hidden, empowering perpetrators to harm their victims without physical danger to themselves. Its tactics are often subtle, according perpetrators anonymity while weakening others through both verbal and non-verbal stratagems limiting their access to important resources such as cooperation, reputation, and self-esteem.[23]

This stealthy type of aggression has only relatively recently received attention in the social and behavioural sciences and even less consideration in Austen scholarship. This

[21] Revised portions of this chapter have appeared in Sarah Makowski (2020).
[22] The term refers to Coventry Patmore's 1854 narrative poem, "The Angel in the House." See also Bram Diykstra's *Idols of Perversity* for a visual exploration of Victorian and Edwardian notions of womanhood in art and life (1988).
[23] Joyce Benenson (2011, 2013), Anne Campbell (1993, 1996, 1999, 2011) or Nikki Crick et al. (1995) provide comprehensive overviews of the behaviours.

chapter outlines female aggression as both a literary trope and observable behaviour. After examining problematic undercurrents in modern feminism and current scientific research, the sources of indirect female aggression in Austen's time and our own are sketched out. Past scrutiny of female relations in Austen is reviewed, including previous biological, cognitive, and biocultural approaches to the author's depictions of female aggression.

As outlined in the introduction, Austen's continued popularity may lie in her accurate descriptions of human relations which coincide with the experience of modern female readers. On the surface, this seems implausible; marriage, the mission of all Austen's heroines, no longer carries the same economic and moral significance that it did in the nineteenth century. Contemporary women have career opportunities Georgian women never dreamt of. Women can earn, inherit, and retain their wealth as they see fit. Primogeniture is no longer the norm; in 2020, Princess Charlotte is lawfully ahead of her youngest brother in the line of succession to the British throne. For the most part, women can plan motherhood, with or without a relationship with a man. Nevertheless, despite the appearance of radical change, Austen's characterisations of female experience capture human behaviours which continue to resonate with modern readers. Sayre Greenfield and Linda Troost (2017) explain:

> For any literary work to survive the passage of time, it has to be pre-adapted to cultural conditions that did not exist when it was written. At any one cultural moment, responses to Austen's novels are not unified, but some views dominate, to be replaced by different dominant views in another cultural period. The interpretive potentials lurk in the texts, waiting to be tapped. It is not the same Jane Austen who comes forward through the centuries but different versions of her (par. 6).

One aspect of the Jane Austen who "comes forward" for today's female readers is female indirect aggression.

1.1. Female Aggression as Literary Trope

The phenomenon of female misogyny is ubiquitous and yet bewildering, going against cultural norms which still expect women to be "sugar and spice and everything nice."[24]

[24] English nursery rhyme phrase attributed to Robert Southey (1774-1843).

Despite this sentiment, descriptions of female-female aggression and competition have existed since the beginning of recorded narrative. David and Nanelle Barash (2006) point out tales of female relational aggression harking back to Greek mythology, "particularly among the goddesses Athena, Aphrodite, and Hera" (59). In turn, these stories were passed down through Virgil's description of the struggle between Venus and Juno and later to Shakespeare's account of Regan and Goneril fighting for Edmund (Ibid.). The Judeo-Christian Bible holds further examples; Judith Baskin (1994) even proposes that Biblical bad behaviour between women served to "advance Israel's destiny in unexpected ways," such as Sarah using, then casting away Hagar (222).

Other popular culture examples abound. Cinderella's stepsisters would rather chop off their toes than to see her wed a prince; Snow White's jealous stepmother tried to have her murdered; Princess Aurora was put into a coma by a witch, angered at not being invited to a party. History tells us that Queen Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart hated each other, leading to Mary's decapitation at her cousin's order. More recently, the British press propagated the rumour that the current Queen Elizabeth snubbed and bullied her daughter-in-law, Princess Diana.

Female aggression begins early in the canon for young women: Amy March burns Jo's draft novel, Josie Pye cruelly attacks Anne Shirley, and Aunt Lydia betrays her sex with violence towards the Handmaids. Unfortunately, late twentieth-century research demonstrates that these representations have a basis in real social interaction. In the 1980s, anthropologists aggregated findings on 137 societies from over a century, identifying female aggression in every last one (Österman et al. 2). Not only do women aggress, Phyllis Chesler (2001) explains, they are "significantly more likely to aggress against other women than against men" (39).

Despite a sense of reluctance to scrutinise the subject, female aggression is something that most women encounter. As a Hollywood trope, it sells. Female relational aggression abounds in contemporary popular culture, explaining the appeal of the 2004 film *Mean Girls*, revived in 2018 as a musical, and the 1988 black comedy, *Heathers*, transformed into a television series in 2017. Psychology researcher Tracy Vaillancourt (2010) concludes, "despite the numerous positive changes made in regard to women's opportunities and social

standing in North America, women are still willing to cut each other's throats over what *they* value most - jobs, men, and social approval" (18, emphasis original).

The inclusion of mean girl characters in novels is useful for readers, Susan Weisser (1994) argues, as "they render a quick dose of terrible discomfort within a safe frame that provides an expectation of ultimate comfort and mastery of anxiety" (276). For Weisser, depictions of female aggression vex narratives, rendering "the world of love . . . all the more gratifying when restored" (276). Indeed, what would *Pride and Prejudice* be without a Caroline Bingley to get in the way? Without Lucy Steele, *Sense and Sensibility* would be a short story, and the lack of Mrs Norris would render *Mansfield Park* and Fanny Price even more saccharine.

Keith Oatley (2012) explains the usefulness of unpleasant characters to draw readers into a narrative, encouraging investment in a fictional person's fate. "If in a story, a character whom we like is in danger, we feel anxious. If the character is victimised, we feel affronted on the character's behalf. The process is one of identification and empathy" (Oatley 56). He continues, "the principle here is that in the simplest kind of stories . . . the anxiety, or arousal, or excitement, or interest on behalf of the protagonist will be transformed into relief, a pleasurable emotion" (Ibid. 57). Oatley concludes that "the greater the preceding anxiety, the more eager the page-turning and the greater the pleasure of relief" (Ibid.). William Flesch (2007) argues that in general, readers expect a conclusion to include a form of comeuppance for antagonists. In Flesch's parlance, a wedding scene is not enough. Instead, novels like Austen's require the disappointment of Caroline Bingley, Mrs Elton, or Mrs Norris in order to be truly satisfying.

Although often referred to as romances, this dissertation argues that Austen's novels are primarily narratives of intra-female relations. Despite their typical, matrimonial happy endings, marriage represents only a brief blip in the final pages. Relations between women are the core of each novel, both positive and negative. Not only does Austen pass the Bechdel test with flying colours, some would also argue that she fails the reverse-Bechdel-test, never depicting exchanges between men alone. It seems that Austen's fictional world, like her biographical one, is made up primarily of women.

1.2. Not All Sugar and Spice: Feminist Viewpoints on Female Indirect Aggression

An undercurrent of disappointment flows throughout the literature on female intragender aggression. Almost all female researchers of the behaviour describe encountering both recognition and resistance from other women. Weisser and Jennifer Fleischner, editors of *Feminist Nightmares/Women at Odds: Feminism and the Problem of Sisterhood* (1994), report similar hostility and pressure – by women – to portray them as harmonious sisters. Some female readers perceived their work as detrimental to the feminist cause (3). Likewise, Chesler discloses female colleagues pleading for her to desist from writing her seminal *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman*, claiming that an exposé of female discord would, in the end, hurt women (5). While her detractors agree that "the fact that someone is a woman does not mean that she likes, trusts, or works well with other women," Chesler recounts reluctance towards its systematic investigation (Ibid.). On a similar note, Chesler cites Evelyn Fox Keller and Helene Moglen's 1987 study of stealthy competition between feminist academic staff. Their findings showed that competition was "denied in principle, but unavoidable in practice," surfacing in "forms that may be far more wounding, and perhaps even fiercer and more destructive" than physical aggression (Ibid. 335). Chesler explains this reaction, reporting that "although women may be more emotionally expressive and interpersonally sophisticated than men are," feminists are often hesitant to admit that "some women dislike and distrust other women" (Ibid. 4).

Weisser and Fleischner warn that the failure to grapple with the issue of relational aggression amongst women "has virtually handed over the problem to critics unsympathetic to feminism" (5). They argue "it doesn't take much insight to note that women are not all good to other women" (Ibid.). Nevertheless, Weisser and Fleischner find that both men and women in the media "fairly gloat whenever any particularly flagrant example comes their way. Backlash is a disturbing phenomenon but should not deter feminists from dissent and self-critique" (Ibid.). Instead, they propose, "feminists are feminism's most appropriate and effective critics" (Ibid.). Weisser and Fleischner recommend that women stop evading discussion of female relational aggression, suggesting that they face the phenomenon head-on.

The very title of Weisser and Fleischner's collection of essays, *Feminist Nightmares,* indicates the crux of the issue. They explain that "as daughters, mothers, wives, lovers, friends, and workers," women expect others of their sex to" lift us above the tensions of living in a world of multifarious, interlocking oppressions" (Ibid. 4). Instead, women describe experiencing failures in female solidarity on a daily basis. Weisser and Fleischner warn that the "insistence on sisterhood as a characteristic (rather than ideal) trait of women" is problematic, leading to a grievous dichotomy between the ideal and women's everyday reality (Ibid.).

Female misogyny is an incredibly sensitive topic for women. Sharon Mavin et al. (2014) posit that because acts of aggression "are intra-gender, specifically between women, the mistreatment is perceived to be more severe than similar relations between *men* and women" (452, emphasis original). The "micro-violence" often takes victims by surprise, and women report it to be "intense, personal and violating," leaving enormous emotional impact (Ibid.). In Caracciolo's terms, the "sensory residue" of this destructive behaviour in real women's lives is activated by Austen's fictional depictions (46).

1.3. Scientific Approaches to Female Aggression

Until recent decades, research on aggression ignored women, focussing disproportionately on physical violence between males. Early studies by Kaj Björkvist (1994) and Kaj Björkvist et al. (1992a, 1992b, 1994, 1994b, 1994c), and Nicki R. Crick & Jennifer K. Grotpeter (1995) demonstrate that women are no less aggressive than men, but the nature of their aggression is different. Instead of physical pain, women tend to inflict mental pain through *indirect* or *relational* acts. Steven Arnocky and Tracy Vaillancourt (2017) conclude that the behaviour is an adaptive function tied to "competition for mating success" (16). By aggressing indirectly, females avoid injury both to themselves and their offspring.

Joyce Benenson (2013) identifies clear patterns of female indirect aggression at all stages of life, from crèche to career. In their studies of school bullying, Yvette Ahmad & Peter Smith (1994) report that girls prefer indirect strategies because they are often hard to detect. Investigating victimisation in the workplace, Kaj Bjorkqvist et al. (1994) finds that women, more than men, use indirect forms of aggression, such as spreading false rumours and shunning (207). Other aggressions used primarily by females are the exclusion of newcomers

(Feshbach 2010), the destruction of an adversary's property or reputation (Brodzinsky et al. 1979), ostracism and manipulating public opinion (Cairns et al. 1989). Girls are significantly more likely than boys to become friendly with a third party as an act of revenge, as well as to participate in gossiping (Björkqvist et al. 1992; Crick & Grotpeter 1995). In her aptly named "Tripping the Prom Queen: Female Intrasexual Competition and Indirect Aggression," Tracy Vaillancourt explains that "the methodical application of indirect aggression provides female perpetrators with the means to gain increased access to valued resources by interfering in their competitors' pursuit of the same goal" (25). She warns that "although females tend to express their rivalry in clandestine ways, it is important to not underestimate the effectiveness of these tactics" (Ibid.).

1.3.1. Scarcity as Catalyst for Indirect Female Aggression in the Regency

According to Benenson, female indirect aggression is frequently the result of competition over scarce resources. In Austen's time and our own, women continue to experience insufficiencies of both means and power. In the early 1800s, women were non-persons in the eyes of the law. Unable to own property, they were subject to the decisions of their husbands or male relatives, whose own status increased throughout the 1700s. Mary Poovey (1984) explains, "through the course of the eighteenth century, husbands were becoming more expensive, or to reverse the formula; women were becoming less valuable" (12). The trend was based on the increasing wealth of families independent of land ownership for their livelihoods, enabling them to bequeath higher marriage portions to their daughters. To remain competitive, landowners felt forced to make similar settlements on their girls. Poovey outlines that

> the disproportionate number of socially and economically suitable bachelors also meant that a woman had less choice as to her future husband; the complaisance of male suitors, who took their success for granted, is a commonplace of eighteen-century novels, as is the sad circumstance of uncharted daughters (Ibid. 13).

In essence, only the first-born sons of wealthy families could afford to marry these newly affluent maidens.[25]

[25] Austen depicts this phenomenon in *Sense and Sensibility* and *Mansfield Park*. In the former, Edward Ferrars is no longer considered a viable husband once disinherited. In *Mansfield Park*, the aspiring clergyman and

According to Lawrence Stone (1977), these circumstances lead to a general surplus of spinsters, the numbers rising "from under five per cent of all upper-class girls in the sixteenth century to twenty to twenty-five per cent in the eighteenth century" (381). Stone traces the dearth of suitable males to wars on the continent and in the colonies. Stone cites "the periodical literature of the day" as being "filled with articles discussing 'what shall we do with the old maids?'" as increasing numbers of highly born females remained unmarried (Ibid.).

Edward Copeland (1995) posits that during Austen's lifetime, "women found themselves vulnerable as economic beings, as reflected in novels of the day," which often "featured heroines with specifically economic lives: heroines barred from the possession of land (the period's single most important source of capital), or heroines with fixed incomes, usually in trusts, annuities, and stocks" (17). Copeland argues that "upon the family breadwinner's death, a catastrophic loss of income inevitably faced female survivors" (18). Citing Clara Reeve (1792), Copeland shows that "the daughters of indigent clergymen, of officers in the army and navy, of placement of all kinds, and, in short, all of those whose incomes depend on their lives, and who generally leave their children unprovided" were particularly hard hit. Copeland underscores this sense of tragedy, as "appeals for rescue appeared every week in the advertisements of the
Bath Chronicle" (19).

As Lynda Hall (2012) outlines in "Valuing the Superfluous Spinster: Miss Bates and the Struggle to Remain Visible," old maids like Miss Bates – and Jane Austen herself – were unable to work for a living due to their family situation and social position (285). Hall (2017) suggests that

> [t]he very shame and scorn with which spinsters were regarded in the past often make them virtually invisible. An unmarried daughter was regarded at best as an unpaid domestic servant, at worst a source of shame, since her presence indicated that the family could not afford to marry her off (Hall 9).

According to Hall, "many single women, more particularly in the late eighteenth century, sought marriage as the only rational answer to a worsening economic condition" (Ibid. 8).

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second son, Edmund Bertram, fails to convince the well-off, mercenary Miss Mary Crawford that degradation to parson's wife would be a suitable future.

The only women who could afford to remain single were rich heiresses ″who would have liked marriage but saw their own fortunes as a bar to a happy marriage and avoided it. . . There is no doubt that spinsterhood was a more attractive prospect if one had a fortune″ (Ibid.).

Stone assesses that ″only a few single women from really affluent families seem to have managed to carve out a satisfactory life for themselves″ (386). Their time was filled ″with visits to friends and relatives in country houses and in lengthy correspondence with other spinster friends″ (Ibid. 386). Less fortunate old maids could expect lives similar to those of *Persuasion*'s Mrs Smith or *Emma*'s Miss Bates, whose relief relied on generous gifts of meat and produce from their wealthy neighbours.

Bridget Hill (2001) explains that ″in the past, women who did not marry were regarded at best 'failed women' to be pitied or derided, at worst, ruined women whose presence 'contaminated society' (3). Hill cites Richard Carlisle, who as late as 1858, claimed that spinsters belonged to ″a sort of sub-animal class″ (8). Shockingly, Carlisle wrote that

> [i]t is a fact, that can hardly have escaped the notice of anyone that women who have never had sexual commerce begin to droop when about twenty-five years of age . . . their forms degenerate, their features sink, and the peculiar character of the old maid becomes apparent (Ibid. 9).

With such opinions circulating in society, it is hardly surprising that women did what they could to avoid such labels.

1.3.2. Scarcity as Catalyst for Relational Aggression Amongst Today's Women

Two centuries later, matrimony is no longer the only career choice for women. Nevertheless, Western social psychologists continue to report that a mate remains a form of ″crucial validation″ for young women's self-worth, social standing amongst female peers, and sense of belonging (Wiseman 234). Based on years of working with young women in the United States, female bullying expert Rosalind Wiseman (2002) reports that being part of a couple is so socially expected that ″at some point, most girls will lie, connive, or backstab to get the boy they want,″ indicating a reality not much different from the fictional discord in Austen's world (235).

In part, this sense stems from modern women being fed the narrative that finding a life partner is as wearisome as finding a needle in the proverbial haystack. In 1986, *Newsweek* ran an article suggesting that that single women over forty are "more likely to be killed by terrorists than to get married" (Salholz 54). While the claim has since been debunked, it began a cultural uproar that has yet to cease. The article inspired numerous Hollywood rom-coms and self-help books aimed at women under forty, hopeful to find a life mate in a very limited pool.[26] Officially retracted in 2006, various sources indicate that the gesture was moot, as the message "*felt* true" (Garber par. 3). Megan Garber (2016) assesses that "the piece's core message" of urgent anxiety remains "oddly fresh" (Ibid. par. 8). Its motto, "*panic, ladies, because your professional goals will undermine your personal ones* - lives on, in its way, in every current news story about the difficulty educated women face in the 'marriage market'" (Ibid., emphasis original). The sentiment intensifies "every blithe reference to the 'biological clock,' and indeed in every piece of media that gazes upon women's bodies and sees, in their fleshy fallibility, some form of social determinism" (Ibid.).[27]

Another reason that this sense of partner scarcity for modern women still *feels* true is the phenomenon of modern hypergamy. In Austen's day, hypergamy referred to "marrying up," or landing a husband with higher status and wealth in the manner of Elizabeth and Jane Bennet. According to Bradford Tuckfield (2019), today's successful, financially secure heterosexual women are discovering it increasingly difficult to find a mate with even equal social status. Changes in the rate of women earning advanced degrees and full-time employment mean that a growing number of well-educated, financially stable women are competing for a shrinking number of men whose education and earnings are superior to their own.

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[26] Notable international best-selling examples include Candace Bushnell's 1994-1996 *Sex in the City* series and Helen Fielding's 1990s *Bridget Jones' Diary* columns and novels. Ellen Fein and Sherrie Schneider's 1995 self-help book, *The Rules: Time-Tested Secrets for Capturing the Heart of Mr Right*, is a particularly egregious example, seeming to set feminism back decades by outlining mind-games intended to snare single men.

[27] The preoccupation with finding a life partner continues, as evidenced by millions of viewers tuning in worldwide for the wedding of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle in 2018. Since the introduction of *The Bachelor* 2002, television audiences have accepted and applauded its format of a single man concurrently dating twenty-five different women, eventually selecting one to marry. The trend has not weakened; Netflix has introduced three separate English-language dating programs in the past two years: *Dating Around* (since 2019), *Love is Blind*, and *Too Hot to Handle* (both since 2020).

Discrimination also continues to impact women's access to resources in today's world. According to a 2020 U.N. Development Program survey of data from seventy-five countries, representing 80% of the global population, nine out of ten people are biased against women (Ford par. 4). These shocking results indicate a lack of gender equality in areas of political and economic power but also a paucity of personal agency for a significant percentage of women worldwide. Not only do women face prejudice from 91% of the male population, but 86% of women also reported holding "at least one bias against women in relation to politics, economics, education, violence or reproductive rights" (Ibid.).

Women continue to face occupational scarcity. *Harvard Business Review* reports more women in managerial roles than ever before, with women representing a majority of leaders in some occupations (Scarborough 2018 par. 3). Although this appears to be an advancement, the leadership roles dominated by women tend to be in lower-paid, "pink ghetto" categories: social and community service, education administration, human resources, property and real estate. Women still make up less than 10% of management in disciplines such as architecture, IT, engineering, and construction. The reason for not hiring female leaders is not lack of education; instead, it is often quoted as "lack of fit" (Ibid.). Women who do manage entry into underrepresented disciplines face tokenism, glass ceilings, or glass cliffs, hurdles to their advancement in the working world and the subject of examination in Chapter Six.

In their investigation of female competition and aggression in the workplace, *Sisters at Arms* (2014), Leah Sheppard and Karl Aquino propose that female aggression has become a self-fulfilling prophecy. As women are rare in boardrooms, traditional gender norms are doubly violated when they aggress, resulting in exaggerated media attention. Pointing to feminist backlash over Yahoo CEO Marissa Mayer's 2013 edict ending home office, Sheppard and Aquino point out that women who display agency are considered cold and unlikeable compared to similar men (696). Powerful women who are not witnessed proactively supporting their female colleagues are depicted as "conniving, unsupportive, and backstabbing" (Ibid.). This problematisation by third parties, Sheppard and Aquino conclude, is in itself discriminatory and only serves to escalate gender discrimination.

1.4. Literary Viewpoints on Aggression in Austen

Women have faced scarcity for millennia, both publicly and privately. It should be no surprise that their coping mechanisms, including indirect aggression, are reflected in literature. Nevertheless, Austen has often been taken to task for her female characters' bad behaviour. Just as researchers of female aggression have offended some feminists, Julia Prewitt Brown (1990) states, "female authority figures in Austen have offended feminist critics . . . much in the way feminists today express embarrassment that women in positions of power behave just as badly as men" (310). A common complaint in historicist readings of Austen is that her stories only marginally - if at all - reflect the fact that she was writing during a period of almost constant war. However, Austen does specifically mention war twice, both in relation to female aggression. First, gullible Catherine Morland declares war on Isabella Thorpe (NA 100); later, Emma Woodhouse considers herself in a "state of warfare" with Augusta Elton (E 201). For a female author whose life was filled with the repercussions of war (two brothers in the military and one relative guillotined in France), is it to be brushed aside that she chose to use the term "war" to describe relations between women?

In his aptly titled "Regulated Hatred," D.W. Harding (1998) is one of the first to identify Austen as intensely critical of her sex, using biting humour to rip apart the snobs in her novels. For Harding, Austen's descriptions tread the line between caricature and portraiture. While of the real world, they are not entirely mimetic. Harding finds Austen's work marbled with "the eruption of fear and hatred into the relationships of everyday life," which many readers choose to overlook (10).

Mary Poovey (2008) considers Austen's female characters as patriarchal pawns, only possessing a sense of hierarchy amongst other women. Poovey supports her argument by citing Fanny Dashwood's manipulative robbery of her mother-in-law, Lady Catherine's entitled right to rudeness, and the effects of Lady Susan's vanity on her daughter. Nancy Armstrong (1987) critiques the overall phenomenon of women writing for and about women, fitting Austen within the development of the middle class and the rise of the novel. Building on a foundation provided by male conduct-book writers, Armstrong argues, Austen could assume readers' familiarity with their tenets. This allowed her "unprecedented economy and precision," able to "extrapolate a man's net worth from just a few household objects," and

with few words, to ″place his wife on a psychological scale″ (87). By allowing her characters to be human, Armstrong posits, Austen helped define and empower the sovereignty of women within the domestic sphere.

Scholarly attention to Austen's treatment of women has often focused on their relationships with men (Hardy 1984), or their lack of agency within Regency society, emphasising the misery of spinsterhood and poverty. Nina Auerbach (1978) explores Austen's depictions of women within the society around them. Auerbach identifies various microaggressions, ″beginning with such trivial incidents as the married Lydia's displacement of her older and more level-headed sister Jane at the head of the table, or the married Mrs Elton taking precedence over the elegant Emma at a ball″ (50). In Austen, Auerbach sees an

> unnervingly arbitrary and grotesque quality to the assumption of power by women. If flabby fathers are to be deplored in the novels, strong mothers or mother-substitutes like Lady Susan, Mrs Norris, and Lady Russell are almost always pernicious in their authority: female power is effectively synonymous with power abused (Ibid.).

Overall, while Auerbach also addresses female indirect aggression, she interprets Austen's women as representing limited female agency, their lives spent in limbo, waiting for men.

Assessing Austen's depiction of female relationships in the context of American feminist literary criticism, Deborah Kaplan (1992) ignores Austen's portrayal of friction between women, emphasising instead the notions of sisterhood and the egalitarian nature of female friendships proposed in conduct books of the time. Referencing Austen's strong, personal relationships with other women, Kaplan questions the limited range of self-expression for female authors in the 19th century. Kaplan accuses past critics of focussing solely on their impediments and ignoring the social and psychological support they experienced from close female friends and relatives.

Likewise, Janet Todd (1980) focuses on positive female friendships, claiming that ″sentimental friendship is a close, effusive tie, revealing in rapture and rhetoric. Unlike the sentimental romance which so often ruins, it aids and saves, providing close emotional support in a patriarchal world″ (1). Todd generalises that ″outside of the text, sentimental friendship becomes a means of befriending the female reader,″ and that ″through her relationship with her friend, the heroine can display her exemplary state, and under her mask

of sentiment, stand as a model for other young ladies who may unwisely yearn to stray" (Ibid.). However euphoric these projections may seem, Todd goes on to critically outline fraught horizontal and vertical female relationships in Austen's work.

Examining characters and conflict in Austen, Bernhard Paris (1978), conducts a deep psychological dive into *Mansfield Park* and *Pride and Prejudice*, diagnosing Elizabeth Bennet as if she was flesh and blood. Although Paris asserts parallels between individuals in the Regency and today, his reference to Austen's fictional characters as real individuals and performing since-debunked Freudian psychoanalysis on them through the texts is problematic. Likewise, Elaine Showalter (1977) criticizes attempts to psychoanalyse Austen from a distance of two centuries. Showalter discusses the numerous critics who attempted to make statements about the personal and psychological qualities of women writers like Austen, critiquing that the exercise too often results in "inaccurate, fragmented, and partisan" depictions of "frowsy stereotypes of inky old maids" (6).

More recent scholars acknowledge Austen's astute descriptions of intragender aggression. Deborah Yaffe (2013) concludes that Austen describes her nasty female characters with "ferocious mental clarity" (156). Tara Ghoshal Wallace (1995) considers "the '3 or 4 Families in a Country Village'" Austen describes to be "essentially, permanently hostile, and that the new ideology of bourgeois competition merely provides a useful vocabulary for this hostility" (59). Similar to this study, Wallace critiques women's power through an examination of Austen's Lady Susan, the Dashwood sisters, and Mrs Norris. For Susan Chira (2016), the element of aggression in Austen is an essential part of reading her works for solace.

1.4.1. Darwinian Approaches to Indirect Aggression in Austen

With the emergence of Literary Darwinism and the attempt to marry literature and science, Austen quickly became the focus of evolutionary analysis. Joseph Carroll (2005) finds Austen's work so ripe for dissection that he refers to *Pride and Prejudice* as the "literary equivalent of a fruit fly" (79). Carroll and associates map examinations of Austen's characters onto evolutionary psychological findings focused primarily on mate selection. Exploring *Mansfield Park* through the lens of female choice, Brian Boyd (1998) posits that an evolutionary perspective can help literary scholars see human behaviour in a new light. For

Boyd, Austen's lack of specificity preserves her timeliness, allowing readers to fill in the blanks with their own experience. Anticipating this investigation, Boyd argues that Austen would not remain popular if her characters did not ring true in human behavioural terms. While "literary studies must not always incorporate evolution," Boyd (2013) contends that they "should always be at least compatible with the most powerful theory for explaining life" (3). Boyd pleads for a multi-level use of evolutionary approaches, which he describes as

> the global (common to humans and others), the human (across our species), the local (in time, space, culture), the individual (writer, character or reader), and even the intra-individual (writer or reader at different life or career stages), the particular (a single literary work), and the specific detail (Ibid. 5).

Likewise, Kathryn Duncan and Michael Stasio (2007) emphasise the role of female choice and genetic propagation within Austen's sphere of monogamous mate selection.

In her evolutionary analysis of romance novels, Maryanne Fisher (2012) proposes that novels like Austen's "'hit' evolved triggers pertaining to a critical part of women's reproductive lives: selecting and acquiring high-quality mates" (155). Fisher holds that "romance novels reflect and stimulate evolved female mating psychology in specific cultural contexts. Indeed, perhaps no other literary genre revolves around such an important human activity," and that both "authors and publishers are profiting from triggering women's evolved mate selection mechanisms" (Ibid.). Considering the brevity of their endings and the high proportion of non-romantic narrative, Austen's novels do not represent traditional romance novels. Nevertheless, social media chatter about Austen's heroes suggests an activation.

Numerous other Literary Darwinists have mined Austen's work for examples of evolutionary meaning, based on the assumption that literature has an adaptive function for human society. In their simile-laden chapter focused on Austen, "The Key to Jane Austen's Heart: What Women Want and Why," the Barashes refer to the author as "the poet laureate of female choice" (41). They reduce Austen's six novels to female protagonists "working through their inevitable patches of sexual quicksand" and "hack(ing) their way through innumerable threatening thickets of social environment" to find good men (Ibid. 42). Melissa Lyman (2016) examines female competition in Austen, again evaluating character motivation in Darwinist terms of mate selection. However, instead of focusing on the plethora of

relevant human studies, Lyman unnecessarily applies zoological research to declare Emma's marriage an evolutionary triumph. Rather than viewing Austen *through* Darwin, Peter Graham (2008) pairs the them both as naturalists capable of understanding the cosmic significance of the smallest details.

In summary, attempts to link Austen to Darwin are intriguing and often entertaining, yet problematic. Literary Darwinist theorists have not – cannot – satisfactorily prove that fiction is a human adaptation, promoting genetic propagation, teaching how to hunt or survive childbirth on the prehistoric savannah. However, Literary Darwinists do convincingly endorse the notion that literature teaches humans to expect and recognise certain types of behaviour in others, and how to make the best of it.

1.4.2. Quantitative Explorations of Aggression in Austen

Recent decades have brought forth several qualitative and quantitative examinations of Austen's work, often with flimsy results. As outlined in the introduction, this is part of a movement to establish consilience between science and the humanities, which have suffered a drop-off in university enrolment in recent decades. Constance Moore (2001) explains that "literary studies and its counterparts have gradually removed themselves from the sphere of intellectual exchange that should, ideally, characterise academic pursuits at higher education institutions" (5). Moore warns that this is the result of fixating solely on "research generated from the methodologies and practices of qualitative, humanities-based scholarship" (4).

In addition to interpreting Austen in evolutionary terms, Literary Darwinists have endeavoured to achieve consilience by incorporating questionable quantitative analysis in their research. Strout et al. (2010) examine reader reaction to Austen's female characters.[28] Their participants are limited, as all 87 were recruited from psychology courses at a private East Coast American college. Using written surveys, their results indicate that both male and female readers are able to identify the mating strategies of Austen's female characters. Similarly, Carroll et al. (2012) document reader responses to agonistic structures in numerous nineteenth-century British novels, including Austen's. In an online survey distributed within an academic setting, respondents chose fictional characters to code using a researcher-

[28] Inexplicably, Strout et al. consistently misspell characters' names throughout the journal article, suggesting that the marriage between the humanities and science requires additional finetuning for credibility.

constructed model of human nature usually applied in occupational psychology.[29] Their findings (rather unnecessarily) reveal that readers could identify the difference between protagonists and antagonists. Their inclusion of an excessive number of characters for analysis resulted in minimal numbers of responses for some, resulting in vague generalisations made based on tiny sample groups.[30] Nevertheless, the researchers felt able to justify literary works being "mined as rich sources of data for formal psychological studies" (Carroll et al. 158).

Instead of evolutionary psychology informing literary studies, Carroll et al. propose a circuit in which literature informs psychology. This is reminiscent of Noam Chomsky's statement "it is quite possible – overwhelmingly probable, one might guess - that we will always learn more about human life and human personality from novels than from scientific psychology" (as quoted in Barash and Barash 248). Despite this aspiration, much more vigorous empirical study is required before making such a claim.

Working with larger numbers, social psychologists Daniel Kruger et al. (2013) asked 341 undergraduates from two Michigan universities to read and react to passages from Austen's novels. They hypothesised that women would prefer characters consistent with their fitness interests and that men would favour characters involved in flirting and non-committed sexual relationships. In the end, they surmised that both groups prefer Elizabeth Bennet. Kruger et al. state that despite significant temporal separation, respondents accurately identified the mating strategies of four characters, leading the researchers to generalise that Austen describes "human universals" which remain valid today. Again, the testing of such a limited sample group of relatively similar ages and backgrounds is not sufficient for making global generalisations.[31]

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[29] The researchers applied the "Big Five", or OCEAN model of personality, the basis of many psychometric questionnaires used by Human Resources departments in training and development. One caveat is that the model is based on Western norms and does not translate globally, negating the researchers' claim of "universal" human nature in this study. See *Psychology Today.*

[30] For example, while the character Elizabeth Bennet received eighty-one codings, Augusta Elton, Charlotte Lucas, Mr Bennet and Mrs Norris each received seven. Still others received fewer (205).

[31] These types of subjects are referred within university psychology departments as WEIRD (an acronym of Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich and Democracies) and are considered unlikely to represent universals.

1.4.3. Cognitive Approaches to Austen and Aggression

Cognitive narratologist Blakey Vermeule (2010a) does not shy away from female conflict in Austen. She argues that the role of female antagonists is the display of various fundamental attribution biases which set the stage for strife (174). Citing Fanny Dashwood's maliciousness, Vermeule proposes that Austen encourages "a nation of Fannys" to be "horrified at Fanny, but never at themselves" (Ibid.). For Vermeule, Austen's "devastating. . . vision of human psychology" presages the work of twentieth-century findings on human biases (178).[32] Despite referencing contemporary research, Vermeule remains within Austen's Regency environment. Exploring the personal psychology of individual Austen characters, Vermeule does relate it to the lives of modern readers. However, Vermeule posits that reading provides social information and fiction is a tool for thought, proposing that both the good and bad gossip described in Austen provides life lessons for readers.

In *Jane on the Brain: Exploring the Science of Social Intelligence with Jane Austen*, Wendy Jones (2017) likens the "allies and adversaries" Austen's heroines encounter in their "search for intimacy" as a substitute for "the monsters and warriors typical of the hero's quest" (xix). In line with this thesis, Jones contends that Austen "concentrates on interpersonal relationships, an aspect of human life that's universal" (xix). Likewise, Jones focuses on "Austen's accuracy in representing feelings and relationships," which result in readers' frequent "observation that Austen 'gets us'" (xviii). Where Jones and this study diverge is her curious use of Austen's characters to explore the anatomy and neurochemistry of the human brain.

In contrast, Lisa Zunshine (2009) explores activities of the mind rather than the organ itself. Focused on Austen's uncanny ability to relate Theory of Mind, Zunshine identifies Austen's usage up to five levels of recursive mental embedment in her prose. For Zunshine, "mind-reading" is central "to our engagement with fictional narratives," forming the basis of human attraction to novel reading, "stemming from the intensely social nature of our species" (111). Zunshine demonstrates how Austen, using seemingly "throwaway observations" provides vital information on characters' observations of other characters,

[32] Specifically, Vermeule refers to Israeli psychologists Daniel Kahnemann and Amos Tversky, who are credited with providing the cognitive basis for modern behavioural economics.

"tracing patterns of mutual awareness" (103). Zunshine claims that following characters' thoughts in fictional narratives is "an elusive but satisfying confirmation that we remain competent players in the social game that is our life" (108). As illustrated in later chapters, this behaviour plays an integral part in female-female relations. Zunshine predicts that Austen intensifies her readers' pleasure "by increasing what we may call the mindfulness of social situations that they conjure" (111).

Alan Richardson (2010) claims that "women writers did not need to discover the importance of mind reading and nonverbal communication on their own" (39). Instead, he argues "these behaviours were prescribed to them as part of their official social duty" (Ibid.). Unlike other scholars, Richardson is careful to state that Austen in no way "'anticipated' a body of scientific work on unconscious mental mechanisms," nor identified "social behaviours invisible to her contemporaries and to most everyone else up until the late nineteenth century" (Ibid.). Richardson (2018) does assert that Austen instinctively understood the relationship between memory and imagination which is only currently receiving methodical attention from modern neuroscientists.

Richardson considers narrative pivotal in understanding how the mind works. Like Zunshine, Richardson focuses on Austen's portrayal of Theory of Mind, "placing her characters in situations that force them to guess and guess again at one another's intentions, beliefs and emotional states" (80). Richardson does not hesitate to apply modern psychological terms to Austen's female characters. Egocentric bias, he claims, is the basis of Emma Woodhouse's failure as a friend. Catherine Morland's foolish behaviour, Richardson proposes, stems from a subconscious appropriation of false memories via gothic novels.

1.4.4. Biocultural Approaches to Austen and Aggression

Various scholars have applied scientific studies to the investigation of Austen's female characters in the attempt to illuminate Austen's psychological prowess. As stated by Nancy Easterlin (2012), "biocultural criticism is fundamentally a creative enterprise," instead of a stringent model to be applied to "unsuspecting texts" (38). Easterlin argues that the utilisation of diverse models can enrich understanding of both Austen's world and our reaction to it. Notable contributions include Richard Handler and Daniel Segal's (1999) examination of Austen's novels through the lens of social anthropology. Handler and Segal

describe their work as an investigation of the "correspondences between Austen's texts and anthropological theories of kinship, social organisation, and culture" (1). Furthermore, they perceive their endeavour "as a means of opening anthropological theory to alternative strategies of narration, interpretation, and translation" through the work of Jane Austen (Ibid.). Ambitiously, Handler and Segal claim that Austen's work straddles the divide between fiction and non-fiction, functioning as an early example of ethnographic writing (Ibid. 165).

Applying Bourdieu's theory of social practice, Christopher Wilkes (2009) makes a case for Austen as a social analyst, mining her work for insight into complex social hierarchies, as well as the social worlds of landscape, economics, culinary practice and fashion. Matt Lorenz (2018) uses Henri Taijfel and John Turner's (1982) social identity theory to analyse in-group and out-group behaviour in *Pride and Prejudice*. Lorenz views Elizabeth Bennet as an identity threat to Lady Catherine, ultimately leading to their altercation at Longbourn. Sidestepping the controversy of Literary Darwinism, Beth Lau (2018a) applies cognitive-evolutionary theory to examine Theory of Mind in the context of Austen's *Northanger Abbey*. Lau analyses Austen's treatment of mental processes, declaring the author a keen observer of mental functioning. Trained as a speech-language pathologist, Phyllis Ferguson Bottomer plausibly applies close textual analysis to diagnose Austen's characters along the autism spectrum, ascribing their harmful behaviour to the condition first defined almost a century after Austen's death.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined female indirect aggression as an aspect of women's experience collective in both Austen's time and our own. As outlined in the introduction, shared experience between the reader and text heighten the reading experience. Through the lens of female indirect aggression, it is possible to identify specific emotional triggers enabling participatory sense-making by Austen's primarily female readership. Although the basis of this type of aggression has shifted over time, the behaviours remain shared. Its fictional representation, some scholars claim, is a principal ingredient for a successful narrative, and without her shameless female antagonists, Austen's work would be unnaturally saccharine. Austen's family may have preferred such an image of their famous relative, as they attempted

to swaddle the author's memory in terms of sweetness and docility. Nevertheless, scholars and lay readers recognise the venom in Austen's female characters. Some contend that Austen used them to poke fun at her readers, others consider the described behaviour to be a sign of female agency within a patriarchal society.

The late-twentieth century witnessed an interest in Austen's novels as indicative of evolutionary instincts; others have wrangled them into quasi-scientific studies of human behaviour, psychoanalysis, and neurology. Moving forward, this thesis includes scholarship from within the humanities while substantiating the claim of shared experience with peer-reviewed social and behavioural scientific findings. This biocultural approach is intended to add a richness to the study of Austen's work and reception. Before proceeding to an exegesis of individual Austen novels, it is important to examine the legitimacy of a gynocentric approach to the author and shared experience with her texts. The next chapter investigates the demographics of lay readers of Austen and their reported ability to understand the motivations of her characters, both good and bad.

2. "I Knew a Mrs Elton, once:" Establishing a Female Audience and Identification with Austen's Fictional Women

"Other books are read;
Austen's are devoured, digested, and reinterpreted
in the everyday lives of her readers."
- Susannah Carson

Is it justified to say that Austen's continued popularity is a female phenomenon? While male readers enjoy Austen, popular culture indicates that her readership and modern fanbase is primarily female. As outlined in the introduction, various schools of literary thought propose that readers engage more with fiction representing or activating parts of their own experience. Using an online survey of hundreds of Austen readers, this chapter quantifiably confirms that the overwhelming majority of Janeites are female. In addition, female readers of Austen's novels interpret the female characters as lifelike and their motivations as recognizable.[33] Contemporary female Janeites also indicate feeling strong connections with both protagonists and antagonists, suggesting commonalities in life experience with fictional characters drawn two hundred years ago. Additional qualitative analysis of participant comments reveals that some female readers claim acquaintance with Austen characters in real life or have felt to be Austen characters themselves.

2.1. Background

Jane Austen is an international phenomenon, beloved by both scholars and common readers alike. In a post-Sokal-squared world,[34] literary studies can feel like a grievance-laden, esoteric minefield, especially when focusing on a single gender or an author whose every

[33] The results of this survey were published in part on the survey's Facebook page, https://www.facebook.com/pg/Ageless-Austen-Celebrating-Jane-Austens-Enduring-Appeal-368506830409726/about; raw data is reported in Appendix B.

[34] For an overview of the Grievance Studies Affair, see Helen Pluckrose and James Lindsay (2020), *Cynical Theories: How Activist Scholarship Made Everything about Race, Gender, and Identity – And Why This Harms Everybody.*

sentence, residence, and traceable belonging has been critically examined for two hundred years.[35] Austen lives on in a plethora of Facebook groups from *Jane Austen Runs my Life* to *Jane Austen is Totally My Religion*, and *Jane Austen is my Spirit Animal*. The popular media image of the Janeite is a female, bonnet-wearing fanatic, from the comic-novel-turned-film *Austenland* (2013) to media reporting on Bath's annual Jane Austen Festival and the Jane Austen Society of North America's (JASNA) Annual General Meeting (AGM).

Austen's overwhelmingly female readership seems significant from the viewpoint of shared experience; if more women respond to Austen than men, which of her depictions speak to contemporary female experiences? As outlined in the last chapter, numerous scholars have approached Austen in similar ways since E. O. Wilson's (1998) appeal for consilience between the sciences and the humanities. These scholars argue that despite massive social changes, basic human behaviours experienced by characters in Austen's novels remain true. The sense of sharing is vital; David Miall (2006) considers the ability to resonate and interact with readers' autobiographies the hallmark of true literature (29). Marco Caracciolo (2014) describes literature as a two-way process between reader and text; narrative reminds readers of their own experiences and enables them to rejig their "experiential traces" in new ways. Literary Darwinists Joseph Carroll (2004, 2005, 2012), David and Nanelle Barash (2005), Jonathan Gottschall (2008), Nancy Easterlin (2012), and Daniel Kruger et. al. (2013) suggest that Austen represents Darwinist universalities in her depictions of social organization, female mating strategy, and reproductive choice – arguably very different experiences for women and men.

2.2. Rationale

Investigating descriptions of female behaviour in literature through a biocultural lens is unwelcome in some circles, as is the focus on a single gender.[36] Critics of gynocentric research contend that the approach to Austen exemplified in this study is inherently sexist, as it disregards male viewpoints. While male-generated scholarship is included in the scrutiny of past cultural research, this study focusses on shared experience between reader and text,

[35] See for example Paula Byrne (2013), *The Real Jane Austen: A Life in Small Things* and Devoney Looser (2017) *The Making of Jane Austen.*

[36] See the numerous, often scathing, scholarly responses included in the 2008 special issue of *Style* focussed on Joseph Carroll's "An Evolutionary Paradigm for Literary Studies."

aiming to identify parallels between the described actions of Austen's female characters and those of modern women. Nevertheless, reluctant to propagate grievance studies, this chapter serves as justification of gynocentric approach.

While any number of anecdotal reports on Janeites support the hunch that more women than men are avid Austen readers, hard evidence is difficult to locate.[37] JASNA does not keep records of the gender distribution of its members or AGM attendees. When contacted, the membership advisor referred to Jeanne Kiefer's (2008) survey of 4,501 Janeites, distributed through the JASNA newsletters and online. Kiefer reports that 96% of respondents were female. Although Kiefer illuminates the Janeite demographic to the extent of its preference of tea over coffee, she does not assess reactions to individual characters beyond general rankings of favourite heroines, heroes, parents, comic characters, and "bad boys," resulting in entertaining but very general data.[38] Likewise, Samuel Keel, administrator of the public Facebook *Jane Austen Fan Club*, reports that of its 25,000 members, 94% identify as female, 5.8% as male, and .2% as non-binary as of February 21, 2020.[39]

As a whole, Austen scholarship could be strengthened by the addition of quantifiable data from real, lay readers. For example, Wendy Jones' (2017) thesis that Austen's keen observation of human nature makes readers feel that she empathizes with them could be substantiated with systematic reader interviews, questionnaires, or surveys. Without supporting evidence, her proposal (echoed by Patrick Colm Hogan in 2018) that Austen's descriptions of human nature are so real that they could be used scientifically to understand the workings of the social mind and brain seems fatally flawed.

Some attempts to quantify Austen's realism have been made. According to Gottschall, literature itself offers "fast, inexhaustible, cross-cultural and cheap" data (as quoted in Carroll 2005). Carroll (2008) ventures that

> research that uses a purely discursive methodology for adaptationist literary study remains passively dependent on the knowledge generated within an adjacent field,

[37] Reports on Austen-related events always depict male participants as anomalies. Lyall (2017) describes an Austen tour group to the UK as "a group of highly literate ladies (and one gentleman)." Ted Scheinman (2018) and William Deresiewicz (2012) cash in on this assumption with memoirs outlining their "accidental" Austen educations, their stories often pivoting on the unlikeliness of their fandom.

[38] The survey results may be accessed via http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol29no1/kiefer.html.

[39] https://www.facebook.com/groups/2210708105

> and it does not contribute in any very substantial way to that primary source of knowledge. . . The production and consumption of literature is a large and vitally important part of our specifically human nature. An artificial barrier that leaves . . . literary scholars in the stance of passive consumers of knowledge also leaves . . . social scientists cut off from any primary understanding of one of the most important and revealing aspects of human nature. Literature . . . derive(s) from a uniquely human, species-typical disposition for producing and consuming imaginative verbal constructs. Removing the methodological barrier between humanistic expertise and the expertise of the social sciences can produce results valuable to both fields (134).

In "Jane Austen, By the Numbers," Carroll et al. (2012) demonstrate the difficulty of mining such data meaningfully. Seeking to lend "epistemological credibility to the critical tradition" they survey reader reactions to 435 literary characters, including those of Austen (Carroll et al. 97). Respondents solely from university settings were asked to systematically analyse characters of their choosing according to the "Big 5" personality traits, commonly used in occupational psychology and Human Resources.[40] While their data set hints at interesting insights into interpretations of Austen's characters' motives, mating habits, and personalities, the resulting minuscule sample sizes do not adequately support their sweeping statements. Also, their focus on male/female protagonist relationships leaves a wide gap for the study of intra-female associations.

In addition to ignoring the gender divide of Austen's primary readership, few of the thousands of scholarly publications on the author's work include the voices of everyday Austen readers. A study limited to the confines of the ivory tower seemed disrespectful to the author's passionate followers. Inspired by biocultural literary approaches suggesting that empirical study offers additional nuances to literary understanding, a survey was designed to test three hypotheses:

1. The majority of Austen readers are female
2. Contemporary female readers interpret Austen's protagonist and female antagonist characters as "realistic" or "lifelike"

[40] The Big 5, Five Factor Model (FFM) or OCEAN model, refers to the personality traits Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism, which tend to be examined through self-reporting questionnaires and interpreted by licensed practitioners.

3. Modern women are familiar with the patterns of behaviour and motivations of Austen's antagonistic characters

2.3. Method

Participants

The sample employed for this research project consists of international adults who were recruited online from literature-related social media Facebook groups. Users were invited to click on a link to the study survey site. Participation was voluntary. Respondents received no financial reward for completing the survey but were offered the opportunity to receive information on the results after project completion. As the survey was conducted online using Google Forms, participants can be assumed to have necessary information technology skills, an internet connection, and familiarity with social media. The survey was announced publicly in three Facebook groups (*First Impressions, Jane Austen Fan Club,* and *British Period Literature*) on Thursday, February 21, 2019. Individual invitations were sent to the administrators of the Facebook groups listed in Table 1. The survey was closed to additional responses on March 2, 2019 and is documented in its entirety in Appendix A. The raw response data is documented in Appendix B.

Table 1: Facebook Groups Targeted for Survey Completion

The Republic of Pemberley Discussion Group	Jane Austen is Totally My Religion
Jane Austen Fans	Laughing with Lizzy
All Things Jane Austen	Dressing Miss Dashwood
Drunk Austen	British Period Drama
My Jane Austen Book Club	Jane Austen Runs my Life
Jane Austen Detectives	Jane Austen Daily Dose
The Jane Austen Society of the UK	Jane Austen is my Spirit Animal
Jane Austen is my Homegirl	Austentatious Library

In order to establish the gender distribution of Austen fans and the validity of a focus on female readers, participants were asked to provide information on their gender identity if comfortable doing so. In addition, respondents were asked their general geographic location and age group to allow for possible regional and generational analysis.

2.4. Procedure

After clicking the link to the survey, participants were informed on the purpose of the questionnaire, the estimated time required to respond, and data protection information. Participants were not required to provide additional, identifying personal information. The questionnaire included three demographic questions and seven Austen-related questions. Survey length was kept very limited in order to encourage a high response rate and avoid survey fatigue. The now inactive questionnaire can be accessed via Google Forms under the title *Reader Response to Austen's Characters*. In order to prevent influencing the results, no reference was made to overarching research questions. Responses were required for each question in order to avoid the insignificant sample sizes of Carroll et al. (2012).

Establishing Readership and Engagement

In order to determine familiarity with Austen's written work, respondents were requested to report which of Austen's novels and other works they had read, using a five-point scale, from "Never" to "7+ times," ensuring a final sample group with a more in-depth familiarity with Austen's work. Prior engagement with Austen social media platforms suggested that some Janeites' only exposure to Austen was through film adaptations. To ensure a focus on the novels, participants were asked to rate their agreement to the statement, "I prefer watching films based on Austen's novels to reading them," using a five-point scale, from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree." Respondents were also asked to report their level of contact with other Jane Austen fans, using a five-point scale from "Never" to "Daily." Before examining reader responses to individual characters, respondents were asked to rate their emotional reactions to Austen's work in general. Using a five-point scale, respondents rated the statement "When I read Austen's novels, I feel like I have experienced the emotional reactions of some of her characters" from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree."

Reactions to Individual Characters

The questionnaire listed ten characters from five of Austen's novels; five protagonists and five antagonists, borrowing the agonistic structure used by Carroll et al. (2012). Respondents were asked to:

1. Rate characters on how realistic or lifelike they seem based on the descriptions indicated in Table 2

2. Rate the characters listed in Table 3 on their likeability
3. Indicate their ability understand the character's motivations at critical parts of the story

Text responses were converted to numerical values to enable analysis, with "Don't Know" and "Never" counted as zero.

Table 2: Response Categories and Their Numerical Values

Description	Numeric Value
Agree Strongly/Extremely Likeable/Extremely Realistic	5
Agree/Likeable/Realistic	4
Neutral	3
Disagree/Dislikeable/Unrealistic	2
Strongly Disagree/Extremely Dislikeable/Extremely Unrealistic	1
Don't Know/Never	0

Table 3: Characters Rated

1. Elinor Dashwood (ED)	2. Lucy Steele (LS)
3. Elizabeth Bennet (EB)	4. Caroline Bingley (CB)
5. Emma Woodhouse (EW)	6. Mrs Augusta Elton (AE)
7. Catherine Morland (CM)	8. Isabella Thorpe (IT)
9. Fanny Price (FP)	10. Mrs Norris (MrsN)

Qualitative Responses

In order to gain a richer understanding of reader response, participants had the opportunity to provide additional comments for each of the questions.

2.5. Limitations

This study was limited by Facebook exposure to the survey; a survey communicated via Instagram or TikTok may have encouraged participation by a younger demographic. It was posted as a link, inviting voluntary responses, drawing on intrinsic interest in Austen as a motivator. The questionnaire was kept brief to encourage higher participation but may have limited the number of qualitative comments.

2.6. Results

Readership

In total, 392 individuals responded to the survey. Of the "Total Sample Group" (TSG), 98% identified as female (Figure 2).

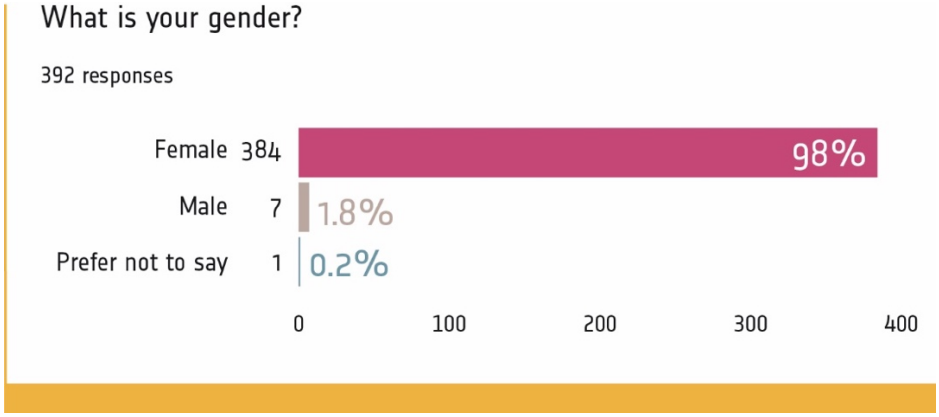

Figure 2: Total Sample Group (TSG) Gender Distribution

A significant majority of respondents were located in Western countries, with 45.2% from North America, 41.3% from Europe, and 8.7% from Oceania (Australia, New Zealand). Respondents ranged from teenagers to septuagenarians and older (Figure 3):

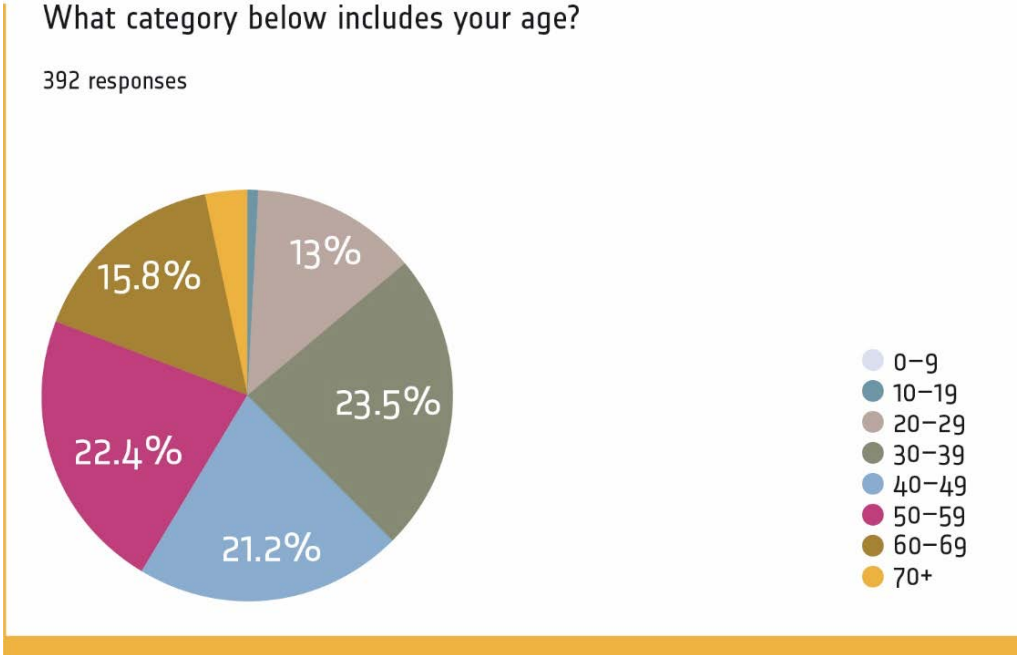

Figure 3: TSG Age Distribution

Reading Rates

Of the 392 respondents, over 97% of the TSG had read the following works at least once: *Sense and Sensibility* (n=379), *Pride and Prejudice* (n=389). 95% had read *Emma* at least once (n=373), followed in readership by *Persuasion* (n=360), *Northanger Abbey* (n=351), and *Mansfield Park* (N=349). In contrast, significantly fewer respondents had read Austen's *Juvenilia* (40%; n=155), *Letters* (38%; n=149) and 48% had read the fragment *Sanditon* (n=188).

Female Reader Responses

In order to accurately reflect the opinions of female Janeite readers, filters were applied to the TSG. Selecting only those who identified as female (n=384), the sample group was further reduced to include only responses from females who reported having read all six Austen novels twice or more, to ensure familiarity with the characters. This second filtering resulted in a "Female Reader Group" (FRG) of n=153.

Social Engagement Rates

Despite being distributed via social media, not all participants indicated engaging with other Austen fans on social media (Figure 4).

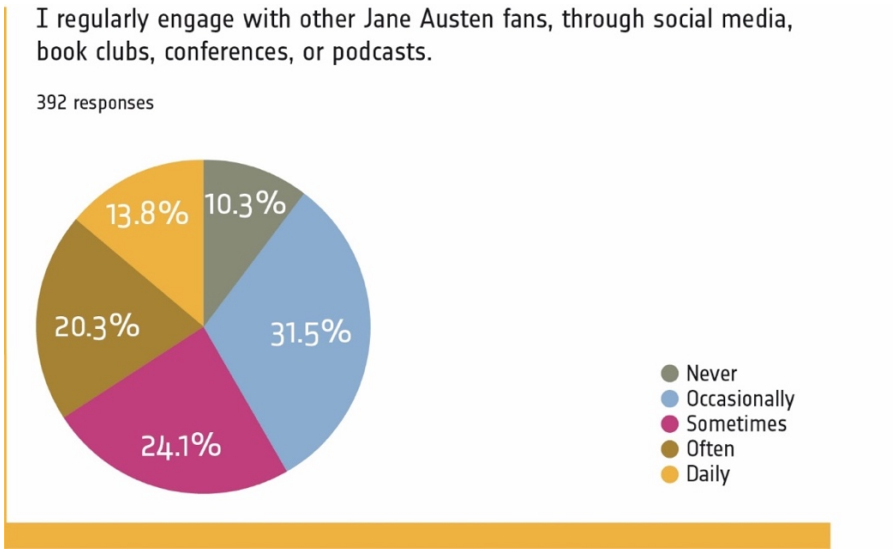

Figure 4: TSG Janeite Social Media Engagement Rates

In contrast, a slightly higher percentage (39%) of the FRG reported engaging "often" or "daily" with other Jane Austen fans; 8% of the FRG (n=13) "never" engage.

The Relation between Multiple Readings and Novel Preference

There was no significant difference between the responses of the TSG and the FRG when asked to rate their disagreement with the statement: "I prefer watching films based on Austen's novels to reading them." On a scale from 1 = "Strongly Disagree" to 5 = "Strongly Agree" and 3 = "Neutral," the TSG average score was 2.38 and the FRG 2.11.

Character Likeability

Figure 5 shows the FRG mean perceived likeability of Austen's characters, in ascending order. Examining the standard deviation rates, respondents within the FRG had fairly consistent responses to Elizabeth Bennet (SD=.58), Lucy Steele and Elinor Dashwood (SD=.70), and Caroline Bingley (.71). Responses varied more widely on Emma Woodhouse, Catherine Morland, and Isabella Thorpe (SD=1.03, 1.02, and 1.0, respectively). Respondents also had a wider range of responses to Fanny Price (SD=.99) than to Augusta Elton (SD=.80), and Mrs Norris (.91).

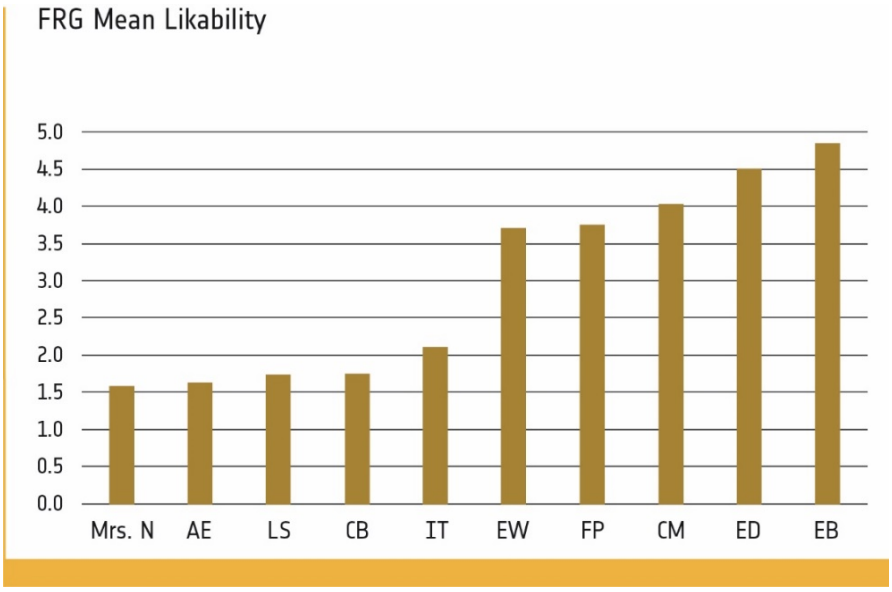

Figure 5: Mean Likeability Rates

Thirty-one individuals provided comments in response to the request: "please rate the likeability of the following characters." Some statements were grouped multiple times.

- 29 statements expressed specific feelings of like or dislike for specific characters
- 3 made a quite specific reference to antagonists, claiming "Lucy Steele makes my skin crawl," "Mrs Norris is the worst of the worst," and "Mrs Norris can go straight to hell."

- Commenters were conflicted by Emma Woodhouse, with six statements along the lines of "deeply flawed but fun," "sometimes I love her and sometimes I'm horrified by her,"
  "I can't tell whether I like the character or not," and calling her a "divisive heroine."
- Five made statements referring to "analysing the characters' circumstances" and feeling "sympathetic" to their bad behaviour due to their limited life options
- Four respondents indicated enjoying the sense of disliking specific characters, with statements including "of course, while I find some of these characters extremely dislikeable, I love them" and expressions of "enjoying a character for their awfulness."
- Four included reference to changing their opinions on characters' likeability over the course of their lifetimes with examples such as, "my opinion on Fanny has changed (improved) most over time" and "I used to love Fanny Price more than any other Austen character in my teens. . . Now she really gets on my nerves"
- Five responded that they could not recall the details of individual characters
- Four made statements unrelated to the question

Realism of Characters

Figure 6 shows respondents' mean sense of each character's realism.

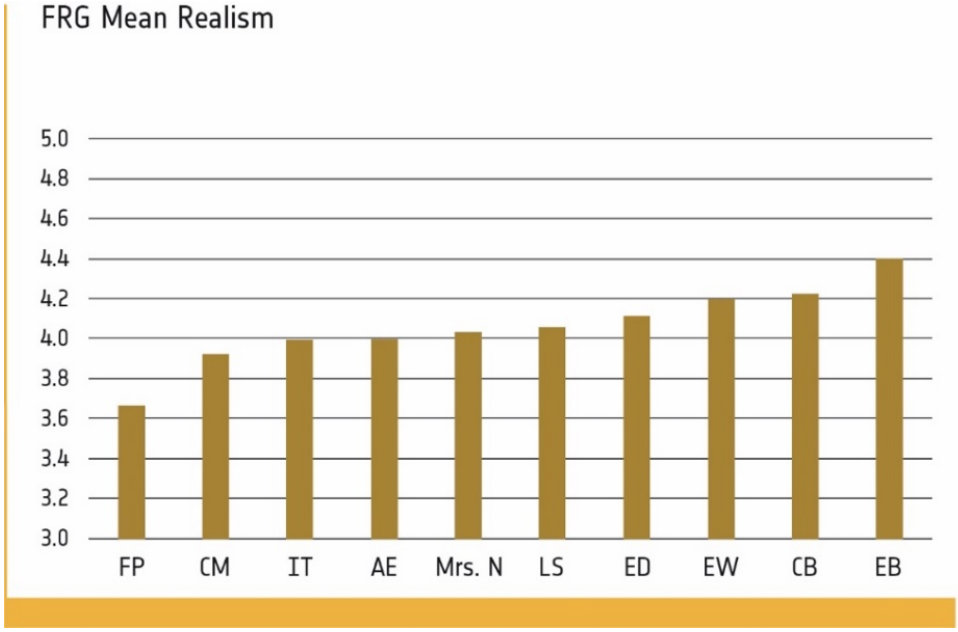

Figure 6: Mean Sense of Realism

Thirty-one individuals commented when asked, "how realistic (lifelike) would you rate the following characters."

- 29 comments included a reference to Austen's characters as realistic
- 7 comments reflect a belief that Austen's antagonists are more believable than her protagonists, "Austen's unlikeable characters, however? The world is full of them!" and "I've seen the behaviours of her female villains in everyday life. I've seen less of the strength of her good characters"
- 6 referred to protagonist characters as "too perfect" or "too good" to be real
- 5 indicate knowing - or being - one of Austen's characters, with statements such as "I knew a Mrs Elton, once" and "We all know these people"
- One indicated insufficient memory to answer, one an inability to answer, and one an inability to click on the chosen selection

Understanding Character Motivation

Figure 7 shows respondents' indication of understanding the characters' motivations at critical moments in the story.

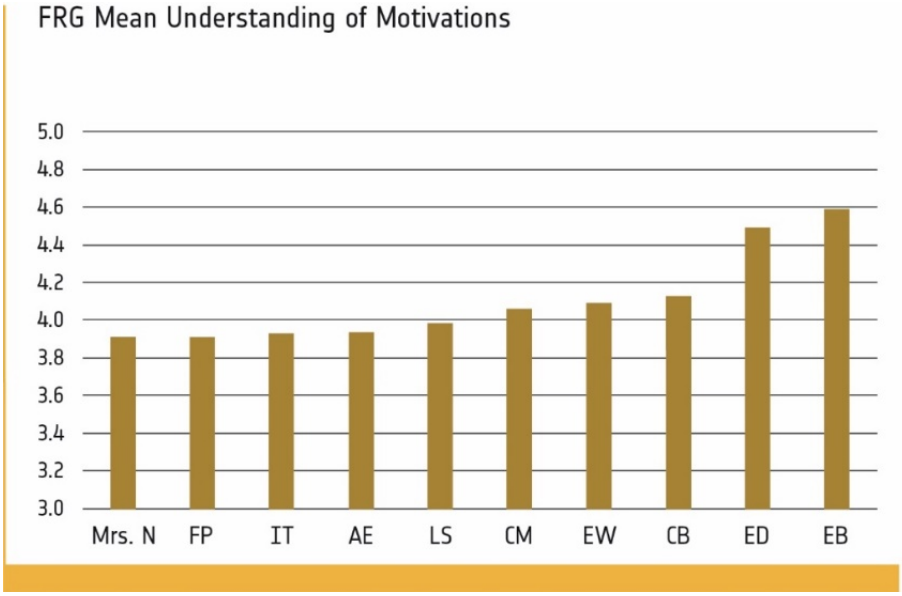

Figure 7: Mean Indication of Understanding Character Motivation

Twenty-three comments were submitted in reaction to the statement "at key moments in the story, I felt I knew why the character behaved the way she did".

- 18 expressed agreement to strong agreement with the statement
- 6 eulogized on Austen's skill, with statements including "Austen is so good at

delineating her characters that their motivations are self-evident," "main Austen characters are always realistic - that's the beauty of it - you know these characters because you have interacted with them in real life," and "great question! And fantastic insight into why Austen is so amazing!!"

- 3 qualified their responses, indicating that "understanding why a character does something does not denote approval," and "might not always like their behaviours, but they are consistent with the characters
- 2 expressed disappointment that Anne Elliot was not included in the questionnaire
- 2 expressed an inability to understand others' motivations, both in fiction and in real life
- 1 expressed limited memory of the characters

Correlations

Calculation of the correlation coefficient between characters' "Likeability" and "Realism" scores indicates no meaningful positive linear relationship. Although the calculation of the correlation coefficient indicates a strong positive linear relationship between characters' "Likeability" and "Motivation" scores, this is not supported by the scatterplot. The same is true for the correlation coefficient between characters' "Realism" and "Motivation" scores, which show a moderate positive relationship that does not hold up in the scatterplot.

Additional Qualitative Results

Comments in response to the questions offered a more vibrant picture of reader reactions to Austen's characters. Based on the TRG, more respondents commented on their preference for books versus film adaptations, with 32% leaving additional remarks (n=126). When asked to rate Austen's realism on a broad scale, 6% (n=25) added comments. Only 11% (n=44) added comments related to their connection to other Austen fans. The questions related to likeability and realism each received 31 comments (8% of the total n=392); only 6% of the total sample group commented on the final question on understanding characters' motivations (n=22).

The comments were grouped according to theme; some received multiple codes. Of the twenty-five responses to the statement, "when I read Austen's novels, I feel like I have experienced the emotional reactions of some of her characters," the following patterns appeared:

- 3 disagreed, including ″I experience the emotions of an outside reader, not the characters themselves″ and ″we don't share the moral code of Austen's characters″
- 12 agreed by providing a general statement along the lines of ″Jane Austen is a master
  at observing human nature″ and ″her characters seem like real people to me″
- 6 statements agreed by explicitly mentioning feeling with specific characters, as in ″after countless readings, I still cry with Elinor, Elizabeth, and Anne″ or ″I get angry on Fanny's behalf″
- 2 statement agreed by indicating personal identification as the character (i.e. ″I WAS Lizzie″)
- 2 statements were unclear

2.7. Discussion

For followers of Austen on social media, the findings are not revelatory. While the plethora of male-authored Austen scholarship over the past two hundred years indicates that many men do enjoy the author's work, the survey results confirm the hypothesis that significantly more contemporary women have a marked interest in Austen's novels than men. Ninety-eight percent of respondents identify as female, clearly justifying a focus on descriptions of female experience in Austen. These results support both anecdotal evidence in the media and replicate the findings of Kiefer's 2008 North American survey in a more international context.

In order to keep focus on literature, it was essential to capture responses to characters based on the novels themselves rather than their modern film adaptions. The massive volume of Facebook threads discussing details of Austen film productions was disconcerting. To this end, results were filtered to include responses from self-identified female readers who had read each of the books at least twice. Happily, the filtered sample group remained large enough to provide meaningful results (N=153). By limiting responses to those familiar with the novels, the results may be considered more robust.

Although a calculation of the correlation coefficients shows a positive numerical correlation between character likeability and motivation, as well as realism and motivation, scatterplots of the relationships reveal no real correlation. This indicates that readers are no

less likely to understand the motivations of protagonists than antagonists. The data shows no apparent relationship between the likeability of a character and the sense of realism, or readers' ability to understand their motivations. There is also no correlation between the amount of a reader's engagement with other Austen fans and their sense of being able to experience characters' emotions or claiming a preference for either the novels themselves or film adaptations of them.

The survey results confirm the hypothesis that, despite a gap of over 200 years, female readers feel able to understand the motivations of Austen's female characters, both good and bad. For biocultural literary theorists, this would confirm that Austen believably depicts human nature, which continues to resonate with contemporary readers. As expected, respondents identified five antagonists: Mrs Norris, Augusta Elton, Lucy Steele, Caroline Bingley, and Isabella Thorpe. Although classified as "Dislikeable" or "Very Dislikeable", all were considered "Realistic" to some extent, confirming the hypothesis that female readers consider Austen's antagonists as just as real as her protagonists.

The comments sections reveal that many respondents interpret Austen's mean characters as more realistic than her protagonists. One claims, "I've seen the behaviours of her female villains in everyday life. I've seen less of the strengths of her good characters." Others write, "I'm quite a pessimist and find negative characters to be more believable," and *"los personajes horrorosos (negativos) son, desafortunadamente, extremadamente realistas."* One respondent goes so far to comment that "Austen's unlikeable characters . . .? The world is full of them!"

Interestingly, the additional comments hint at a negative linear relationship between character "goodness" - not explicitly examined in this study - and the sense of a character's realism. One participant stated, "I think I find the more flawed/devious characters realistic because the heroines are all so good." Elinor Dashwood, while considered likeable and relatable in terms of motivations, was considered slightly less realistic than the polarizing Emma Woodhouse and approximately the same as the evil Lucy Steele and Mrs Norris. One woman commented, "Elinor is just...a little too good to be true sometimes" (sic). Goody-goody Fanny Price was rated by respondents the least realistic of the entire group; with a mean rating of 3.66. The character elicited feedback, including "Fanny Price is just too perfect for reality," "I really can't with Fanny Price (sic)," and "I feel like I've known all of these people

in real life (except maybe for Fanny)." Two respondents indicated that for them, Fanny does not translate to the twenty-first century, stating "her character is unrealistic to us in modern times. I am sure her situation would be more realistic in Austen's time," and "I used to love Fanny Price more than any other Austen character in my teens . . . Now she really gets on my nerves!" The terminology of "likeability" did not equate to a sense of a character's "niceness," leaving this area ripe for further investigation.

The comments indicate a strong sense of identification and recognition with both Austen's good and bad characters. "Her characters seem like real people to me," writes one participant. "The vast majority of her characters are so well drawn that it is possible to find points of similarity between myself and most of them, even if I don't want to!" comments another. One reader reported that "after countless readings, I still cry with Elinor, Elizabeth, and Anne." One reader indicates getting "angry on Fanny's behalf," while another states, "I knew a Mrs Elton, once." Readers repeatedly express understanding of negative characters' motivations in comments such as, "I see why," and caveats such as "knowing or understanding why a character does something does not denote approval of the action," and "might not always like their behaviours but they are consistent with the characters." Lucy Steele, while making one reader's "skin crawl," is interpreted by others as "insecure and jealous." Isabella Thorpe and Caroline Bingley arouse pity. One reader sums it up; "you know these characters because you've interacted with them in real life."

These findings could be made more robust by comparing reader reactions to female characters from another female author, or those drawn by a male author. However, it is difficult to imagine an appropriate comparison, given Austen's unparalleled popularity. The richness of the additional comments indicates that more in-depth insight into reactions to Austen's characters could be elicited by longer questionnaires or individual interviews.

An exciting avenue for further inquiry could be changes in reader response over time. Several respondents indicated that "empathising with Austen characters' emotions increases with age. One's reactions to the feelings experienced by the characters change and deepen as one gets older and has more life experience," and switching allegiances from Mr Darcy to Captain Wentworth. This theory is supported by Richard Gerrig and Micah Mumper's (2017) claim that

basic cognitive processes should also help explain why readers' experiences will

> change over time. Accumulations of new memories will affect which content feels familiar, which characters appear similar, and which outcomes inspire hope and fear. As they grow older, readers may undergo radical shifts in the aspects of texts that successfully transport them to narrative worlds (253).

Conclusion

Despite the popular media depiction of Jane Austen readers as primarily female, the readership gender divide has received little scholarly attention. As biocultural literary approaches suggest that timeless literature speaks to common human behaviours, it follows that those depicted by Austen should resonate particularly with women. An online survey of 394 Austen fans quantifiably confirmed that Austen's contemporary audience is primarily female. Female readers judged all ten characters examined as realistic, indicating an understanding of their motivations at key moments in the narrative. This was true of both protagonists and antagonists. The richness of the additional qualitative comments suggests the need for further research into the negative correlation between goodness and realism and changes in reader responses to Austen's characters at different life phases.

These findings justify a gynocentric approach in establishing shared experience between Austen's lay readers and her texts. Based on this assumption, the following chapters scrutinize contemporary scientific findings on very specific types of behaviour demonstrated by Austen's antagonistic ladies. While the triggers of aggression may have changed significantly from the Regency to today, modern female reactions echo those described by Austen. These correspondences may help explain how, two hundred years after their creation, Austen's characters continue to feel true to life. The next chapter represents a biocultural case study, incorporating close analysis of a single antagonistic character, Caroline Bingley, with anthropological insight into human behaviour. These analytical procedures attempt to understand the basis of statements like that of a female survey participant, asserting "we all know these people."

3. A Biocultural Case Study: Caroline Bingley as Literary and Species-Typical

"The world is profoundly scared of single women, they are loose cannons, the uncontrollable variable, hormones and pheromones afloat and adrift; much more frightening than theextra man at a dinner party, they are the piece that can change the status quo, upset the balance, break up families."

- Elizabeth Wurzel

This chapter explores experiential commonalities between Austen's fictional characters and modern female readers through the lens of anthropologist D.E. Brown's *Human Universals* (2017).[41] Brown identifies traits shared by all known societies, cultures, and languages, concluding that a research mindset of similarity rather than difference advances anthropological understanding of the human condition. Likewise, establishing similarities between negative female relations in *Pride and Prejudice* and contemporary human experience may enhance appreciation of the novel's fascination for its female readership established in the previous chapter. After an initial overview of past literary evaluations of the conflict between Caroline Bingley and Elizabeth Bennet, the narrative is dissected, weaving together the work of Austen and Brown and supplemented with additional social scientific studies. The identification of behaviours encountered in both Austen's time and our own reinforces the case for a biocultural approach as a means to enhance understanding of Austen's continued relevance.

3.1. The Question of Universals

Emotional reactions to narrative are a collective human experience, heightened by personal connections with storylines. This observation has encouraged literary scholars to search for universal triggers and reactions. Patrick Colm Hogan (2011) claims that stories in which the protagonist's primary goal is to achieve happiness are "likely to travel well across audiences and situations" regardless of a lack of "shared situation . . . immediate relevance or

[41] See Pinker (2002) for a simplified overview of the complete list of Brown's universals.

contextual force" (181). Contemplating the work of fiction, Richardson and Spolsky (2004) question how narrative, with its "apparently open-ended set of cultural and historical constructions that are historically distinctive" can be "translatable across the boundaries of time and place" (viii). For them, it is the ambition of cognitive literary scholars to "chart the emergence, manifestation, and readability of these only *temporarily* stable relationships between the humanly universal and the culturally and individually specific, as coded and recorded in cultural artefacts" (viii, emphasis added). In truthfully capturing the human psyche, Austen addresses issues which represent, for some, *permanent* or timeless links.

In *Narrative as Nourishment*, Spolsky (2010) proposes that when examining texts which are, "constantly reread to produce an ever-expanding cluster of interpretations around the same character," that

> we should assume that the authors and interpreters involved are gnawing away at a hard bone; they are trying to make order in a corner of our minds and also in our society on a subject that needs the forming and organising powers of dramatic, pictorial, or narrative art, but is also particularly resistant to attempts at such organisation or clarification (51).

In this instance, the "hard bone" is, to apply Phyllis Chesler's (2001) phrase, "woman's inhumanity to woman."

3.1.1. D.E. Brown's Universals

Based on a meta-analysis of hundreds of *in situ* cultural anthropology studies from across the globe, Brown's (2004) framework comprises "those features of culture, society, language, behaviour and psyche for which there are no known exceptions" (47).[42] Brown explains that "whatever is constant through the many environments in which humans live must be due to something that goes with them wherever they go" (6). A number of these universals are reflected in the female-female micro aggressions depicted by Austen.

Brown argues that anthropologists have too often viewed other societies in terms

[42] Lisa Zunshine (2020) points out that cognitive examinations of literature production and reception are only beginning to embrace the notion of cross-cultural verification found in the social sciences. Examining Austen's work through the lens of Brown's universals is at its core cross-cultural, providing more than a transitory link between her world and ours.

of difference to Western society and that scholars could profit significantly from examining similarities instead. As outlined in Brown (2017) and Steven Pinker (2002), this approach represents a fundamental break with mid-twentieth century anthropological scholarship which promotes the social constructivist idea of the human mind as a blank slate. Brown's work represents a significant change in anthropological study, resulting from the identification of fundamental errors in canonical studies on non-Western pre-literate cultures. [43] Brown relates the story of an anthropologist colleague doing fieldwork in a preliterate society with little to no previous contact with the West as a case in point. Forced to learn the language *in situ*, he was surprised to find mutual understanding relatively easy, despite significant cultural divergences. He ascertained that similarities in fundamental concerns and motivations, such as the need for food, clothing, and shelter and verbal descriptions of kin relationships enabled communication. Likewise, the differences between Austen's world and our own can be distracting; seeming worlds divide modern readers from the social, political, and economic environment experienced by her characters. Nevertheless, examining the likenesses between the fictional realities of Austen's characters and present-day female readers can offer new avenues for understanding.

3.1.2. The Nature/Nurture Debate

The notion of universals and the primacy of nature or nurture has been contested for centuries; simply put, the notion of absolute social constructivism is enticing. In theory, a purely constructivist view of human nature could harken true gender equality and the end of sexism, racism, and class differentials. For an American audience, this sentiment, with its tones of pure self-determination, is essential to continuing the fairytale of egalitarian culture. Denying the notion of the self-made man would mean the death of the American dream, which promises that with hard work, anyone can ascend to the top of society. In Europe, the denial of universal human nature became especially important after the second world war,

[43] Specifically, Brown refers to the revelation that Margaret Mead's (1928) canonical work on adolescence in Samoa was inherently flawed. Brown argues that since-debunked Freudian views skewed Bronislaw Malinowski's similarly influential work. Likewise, Edward Sapir's (1929) linguistic claim that the Hopi lack a concept of time was based not on a real deficit, instead of on the researcher's usage of an "extremely incomplete corpus of linguistic data" (31). Brown suggests that more exchange with real subjects of a focus on similarities would have prevented long-standing misconceptions of all three cultures.

when individuals desperately wanted to separate themselves from shared traits with the National Socialist regime.

At this point, it is essential to emphasise that Brown's framework in no way represents a script for inevitable human crimes. Reassuringly, Tinca Polderman et al.'s (2015) meta-analysis of fifty years of accumulated research on twins separated at birth negate biological determinism. While some traits are pre-wired, life experience, learning, and environment have a meaningful impact. As Michael Shermer (2020) puts it, a realistic understanding of human behaviour "recognises the need for strict moral education through parents, family, friends, and community" (xvii). In reality, "people have a dual nature of being selfish and selfless, competitive and cooperative, greedy and generous." (xvii). Both good and the bad exist within us, and humans vary widely not only physically, but cognitively, and morally.

Instead of a blueprint, Brown provides, in Pinker's words, "an astonishingly detailed set of aptitudes and tastes that all cultures have in common," of which "many arise from an interplay between universal properties of the mind, universal properties of the body, and universal properties of the world" (55). Understanding that the behaviours described by Austen exist in every known society can enrich literary and lay understanding of the universality of her work and generations of shared experiences triggered in readers.

Brown does not propose that every individual shares these universals. Instead, he emphasises that they are known in every human *society* ever encountered. While the core concept is shared, its expression may be dramatically different depending on the culture. For example, Brown witnessed prestige differentials and the propensity to judge others as universals, yet the object of assessment may differ widely from one society to the next. In the case of Austen, few modern readers are immediately able to interpret the financial meaning of a man having ten thousand pounds a year yet understand Mrs Bennet's evaluation of Darcy as a great catch. Despite today's vastly different standards of prestige differentials, modern women are immediately able to evaluate Caroline's snigger at learning that the Bennet's only "'dine with four-and-twenty families'" (48) and that the Gardiners reside in

Cheapside. Austen's use of the shorthand "cheap" ensures that even readers unfamiliar with London would be able to categorise the location as less than fashionable.[44]

Brown cautions that "trying to understand human culture and society divorced from the problem of trying to understand flesh-and-blood people could only produce a blinkered, one-armed kind of anthropology, still able to function but at a considerable handicap" (57). Examining the psychology and sociology of timeless fictional characters without reference to the situation of real humans would appear to restrict relevancy to the ivory tower, ignoring the supposition of similarities in experience between Austen's characters and those of modern readers, which may play a major role in the author's continued mass appeal.

Wendy Jones (2017) considers Austen's description of universals as the foundation of her continued relevance. Jones claims that Austen "captures our attention because she gets us right, creating fictional people whom real people find extraordinarily true to life" (xviii). Despite parallels with the basic research statements of this study, a closer examination of Jones' work reveals her use of broad generalisations. In place of referencing research-backed universals based on decades of cross-cultural studies such as Brown's, Jones' work is riddled with simplistic statements such as "(Austen) concentrates on interpersonal relationships, an aspect of human life that's universal" (xiv). Jones goes on to name an extremely generalised, shortlist of other commonalities between our age and Austen's, such as "we still live in families," and "we still interact with circles of friends" (Ibid.). More troubling is when Jones does go deeper, attempting to use Austen to inform behavioural science. Jones claims to use Austen to examine "the anatomy and neurochemistry" of the brain and telling readers that Austen's fiction could be used scientifically as "imaginary case histories that illustrate the workings of the social mind-brain," going so far as to claim that she discusses Austen's characters "with a difference, peering beneath the surface of the mind into the anatomy and neurochemistry of the brain" (Ibid. xviii). While such usage might be entertaining in an elementary study of the mind, such tone-deaf statements may be partly to blame for the decline of the humanities. It is quite tempting to speak of fictional characters as real people, yet virtually dissecting their brains may be a step too far.

[44] Ironically, the Gardiner's address in Gracechurch street places them within the Square Mile, which currently vies with Manhattan to be the world financial capital, and a stone's throw from the now ultra-trendy, gentrified Shoreditch.

Others, including Ellen Spolsky (2010) and Joseph Murphy (2012) strengthen the adaptationist argument by pointing out that all human societies process information in terms of stories. According to scholars such as Steven Pinker (1997, 2002), Carroll (2004), Gottschall (2005), Boyd (2005, 2009), Ellen Dissanayake (2008), William Flesch (2007), Tooby and Cosmides (1990a, 1990b, 1992), any understanding of the adaptive function of literature rests on the assumption of the existence of human universals.

3.2. Caroline in a Literary Light

Scholarly approaches to the female characters in Austen's best-loved novel, *Pride and Prejudice*, have often focused on the differences between Austen's physical and fictional worlds and our own.[45] Before the rise of Darwinist and biocultural literary approaches, the relationship between Elizabeth Bennet and Caroline Bingley received scant attention. Within feminist literary criticism, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar (2000 [1979]) briefly touch on the rivalry, refusing to see tensions between the Misses Bennets and Bingley sisters as bilateral. Instead, they are interpreted as a commentary on male domination. Clinging to since-debunked psychoanalytical theory, the authors refer the discord as an "obvious example" of "fierce female competition where female anger is deflected from powerful male to powerless female targets" (126). Although women certainly lacked political and economic power in the Regency, Brown's findings on human universals suggest that Gilbert and Gubar are selling women short by identifying Mr Darcy as the centre of power. According to Brown, women in all societies have some agency, and negative behaviour to other females is not always contingent on male actions.

Tara Ghoshal Wallace (1995) also examines *Pride and Prejudice* in terms of male and female power, again finding Darcy culpable for the women's discord. Wallace proses that "by the time Elizabeth gets to Pemberley, the contract between Darcy and Caroline Bingley has lost its force. Darcy has recognised his own dishonesty or vulnerability in colluding to maintain Miss Bingley's false romance" (49). This interpretation is problematic; at no point in the earlier text does the narrator hint at real feeling on Darcy's part beyond the companionability due to his friend's sister. The text describes Darcy's behaviour towards

[45] According to *The Guardian* (2017), *Pride and Prejudice* won out over the Judeo-Christian Bible in a World Book Day poll, with twenty million in estimated sales.

Caroline as entirely proper, in no way encouraging ideas of matrimony. However, Wallace's conclusion that by that point in the narrative, Caroline "has lost the ability to censor herself" bears weight (49). "No longer able to displace truth with silence, she desperately turns to speech to revitalise her fictitious world" (Ibid.), resulting in passive-aggression in Elizabeth's presence and downright nastiness in her absence.

Mary Poovey (1984) briefly examines Caroline Bingley from a Marxist angle, arguing that the character's economic status as the sister of a well-off man, accustomed to living in London, affords her a sense of entitlement to behave poorly towards the Bennet girls. Poovey plausibly assesses Caroline's narrative function as foil to the heroine. Through Caroline's sense of privilege and disdain for Elizabeth's "'conceited independence'" (39), readers are encouraged to cheer Lizzie's self-determination and interpret "conceit" as self-regard.[46]

Susan Weisser (1994) and Patrick Colm Hogan (2016) further examine the importance of characters like Caroline as literary tropes. In her analysis of popular romance novels, Weisser (1994) describes characters such as Caroline as "The Wonderful-Terrible Bitch," proposing that she provides "a stabilizing effect" for readers, "like the third leg of a tripod, by grounding the reader's fears in a known target. As the disruptive element, the Terrible Third, she defines and delineates 'the problem' in terms of the binary gender system and the romantic couple system" (277). In line with Weisser's model, Caroline never seems "truly" in love with Darcy, as "her reasons for wanting him are construed as superficial, materialistic, and 'selfish'" (Ibid.).

In contrast, Elizabeth Bennet is depicted as an individual who "would never simply marry for money, unless it is for the selfless reason of giving a home to an orphaned nephew, or some such windy device" (Ibid. 275). For Weisser, the Bitch figure serves as "a magnet for the instability of aggression that floats unnamed around the text." In contrast to the wealthy hero, characters like Miss Bingley "can be hated and disposed of," essentially deflecting reader animosity from the prideful Darcy onto another (277). Austen's Caroline conforms with Weisser's model Bitch, with her "cold upper-class beauty, taste, and luxury" a sharp

[46] Caroline's depiction of Elizabeth as in some way a "bad" girl, living on her terms, could be especially attractive to modern women. Elizabeth Wurzel (1998) provides a compelling overview of the phenomenon in her controversial examination of real and aspirational bad girls in Western society, *Bitch: In Praise of Difficult Women*.

contrast to Elizabeth's "warm, modest, middle-class domestic uprightness" (278). "In the end," writes Weisser, "the figure of the Bitch constructs a stable, reassuring picture of a world rigidly hierarchical yet structured as a kind of emotional meritocracy: one (deserving) wins only at the loss of the other (alluring but, fortunately, undeserving)" (279).

While not addressing Austen's character specifically, Hogan (2016) describes figures like Caroline Bingley as adding antagonistic texture and tension to a narrative. From the start, Austen's narrator establishes the Bennet girls as Cinderella figures, with no hopes of an inheritance, a weak father and hypochondriacal mother. Caroline serves the part of a wicked stepsister, designed to thwart the heroine's goal achievement. Applying Hogan's terms, the figure of Caroline Bingley is not entirely prototypical, but "derives from social factors that recur cross-culturally" based on "the assumption that men and women will marry" (unpaged). Representing an available female in a society with a dearth of eligible males, Caroline is the third angle of a love triangle, as "the main cultural alternative to marrying one person is not remaining single but marrying another person. Given general cultural imperatives to marry, one would expect that social opposition to a character's marital choice would involve an alternative" (Ibid.).

Literary Darwinists are quick to latch onto the conflict between Caroline and Elizabeth, attempting to interpret it in evolutionary psychological terms. From a Darwinian perspective, Caroline's behaviour makes perfect sense; additional women in a geographic area represent increased competition for mates. Not only is Caroline intent on passing on her genetic material, but she promotes her shared genes with Charles, ensuring both can mate with someone in a position to support their offspring adequately. Although primarily focused on evolutionary explanations for the troubling marriages of the Bennet parents and Charlotte Lucas, Michael Stasio and Kathryn Duncan (2007) fleetingly point out the intra-sexual competition between Elizabeth and Caroline (139). Stasio and Duncan agree with Feminist and Marxist critics in finding "the actions of the characters in *Pride and Prejudice*" explainable "via social concerns and the laws of Austen's era" (135). They go a step further, concluding that "these laws and ideology partially owe their being to the inherent principles of evolutionary psychology," (135) drawing on Robert Trivers' (1972) *Parental Investment Theory* and David Buss and David Schmitt's (1993) *Sexual Strategies Theory* outlined below.

Joseph Carroll (2004) also assesses the friction between Caroline and Elizabeth in primal terms, explaining that

> the mating game is fierce and determined. Mr Bingley's sister wants Darcy for herself and snipes incessantly, cattily, ineffectually at Elizabeth, denigrating her appearance, her temperament, her mind, and most of all, her social status. Miss Bingley also wants Darcy's younger sister, Georgiana, for her own brother - a liaison that would enhance her own social standing – and she thus conspires with Darcy to detach Bingley from Jane Bennet. She at first expresses the warmest friendship to Jane, activating Jane's own affectionate disposition, and then coldly cuts her (211-2).

By examining Austen through the lens of a biologically evolved behaviour, Literary Darwinists like Carroll reduce plots to basic human urges. While primal affinities between modern female readers and those in the Regency support the proposition that readers prefer works with which they can identify with, Literary Darwinism arguably does not go far enough. Rather than limiting the examination of Caroline's behaviour to the context of the Palaeolithic, this dissertation asks how her actions correspond to more complex, recent empirical examinations of human female behaviour.

3.3. Caroline Bingley as Species-Typical

From the very first line of the novel, "it is a truth universally acknowledged that a single man in possession of a good fortune must be in want of a wife," readers are alerted that marriage is the primary objective in *Pride and Prejudice* (3). Translated into basic biological terms, the Regency custom of marriage enabled reproductive success. In this light, it is no wonder that the Bennet girls dislike Caroline Bingley even before she arrives in Meryton; the scarcity of suitable husbands renders the introduction of additional single women into the community a threat to the procreative success of locals.

Caroline is the unmarried sister of Charles Bingley, the eligible bachelor whose arrival at Netherfield Hall sparks delight in the hearts of Meryton mothers seeking husbands for their daughters. The Netherfield party consists of Charles, his sisters Caroline and Mrs Hurst, Mr Hurst, and Bingley's close friend, Fitzwilliam Darcy. While the eyes of all Meryton mothers are on Charles, Caroline herself is angling for his affluent friend. Handsome and educated, Darcy owns a significant estate. Caroline's actions towards him, including attempts to mark

him as her territory, serve to highlight his attractiveness as a mate. Throughout the novel, Caroline endeavours to hinder Darcy's interest in Elizabeth and destabilise the budding relationship between Jane and Charles.

Caroline Bingley's relational aggression towards Elizabeth Bennet is a common female experience. According to Steven Arnocky and Tracey Vaillaincourt (2017), human females engage in competition-related universals relative to "the operational sex ratio, or the proportion of fertilisable females to sexually active males in a given population" (13).[47] When sex ratios are skewed, as in Austen's time (and arguably in our own through modern hypergamy trends), aggression becomes more prevalent amongst the overrepresented sex.[48] Hostility manifests itself in various universals according to Brown: envy, gossip, in-group/out-group bias and distinction, manipulation of social relations, nepotism, prestige inequalities, psychological defence mechanisms, negative and positive reciprocity, judging others and making comparisons.[49]

a. Conflict

According to Brown, conflict (and conflict resolution) are a part of all known human societies. The first hint of gendered conflict in *Pride and Prejudice* is the Bennet sisters' grief at learning that Charles "was to bring . . . such a number of ladies" with him (PP 10). Although the report was false and the number of ladies brought was only two, readers learn that Elizabeth was quick to find fault with them. After hardly any contact, she found "their behaviour at the assembly had not been calculated to please in general" and she ". . . was very little disposed to approve of them," eventually declaring them "proud and conceited" (Ibid. 16). The aversion is mutual and continues throughout the text.

b. Nepotism

Moving beyond a stone age perspective, Austen's descriptions of mating behaviour fit within Brown's definition of nepotism as a human universal. Brown states, "kin selection refers to

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[47] See Arnocky and Vaillancourt for an overview of contemporary cross-cultural studies on human behaviour in perceived environments of mate scarcity. Amongst females, the result is increased promiscuity and a tendency to wear more revealing clothing. For males, a scarcity of females correlates to increased homicide rates amongst males.

[48] Bradford Tuckfield (2019) provides an overview of perceived mate scarcity in contemporary Western societies based on modern hypergamy.

[49] Brown's list is remarkably similar to the techniques identified by Rosalind Wiseman (2002) based on decades working with young women in the United States. According to Wiseman, girls exhibit the following as early as preschool: inclusion, rejection, acceptance, indirect targeting, silent treatment, nonverbal attacks (43).

behaviours that are directed toward individuals bearing copies of one's own genes by proximate common descent, behaviours that are interpersonally altruistic yet potentially result in no reduction of one's genetic representation in the next generation" (82). In these terms, Austen's description of Caroline's efforts to protect her brother's genetic material from an inferior connection represent a human need. Caroline quickly assesses Jane Bennet's lack of education, wealth, and acceptable relations and moves to protect her brother for a preferable spouse.

c. Prestige Inequalities

According to Brown, inequalities of achievement and economic status exist in every known culture.[50] Humans are materialists, and every known language has a concept of possession (132). Adequate resources are necessary; Buss (1989) finds that women place more value on mates with economic resources than men do based on the drastic discrepancies in parental investment between the sexes. In a year, a female can physically produce one or two babies; males can produce hundreds, if not thousands, in the same timeframe. Despite advances in gender equality, the primary female role in gestation and lactation has changed only slightly over the centuries.

Austen clearly outlines prestige inequalities between the Bingley and Bennet girls based on economic status and education. Caroline is shown to be well aware of her greater wealth, actively flaunting it wherever possible. In contrast to the countrified Bennet family, the more urbane Bingley females are described as experienced musicians, displaying "an air of decided fashion" (PP 10), and having fortunes at their disposal. Unlike the Bennet sisters, who could only afford a season in Brighton when accompanying more affluent friends, readers learn that Bingley's sisters "were in the habit of spending more than they ought," "of associating with people of rank," and "entitled to think well of themselves, and meanly of others" (Ibid. 16). Austen marks out Caroline's belief in the stability of her status, founded on kinship and enhanced by wealth, stating "they were of a respectable family in the north of England; a circumstance more deeply impressed on their memories than that their brother's fortune and their own had been acquired by trade" (Ibid.).

[50] These differences are considered separately from sex, age, and kinship differences and displayed in Elizabeth's refutation of Lady Catherine's claim that a marriage between her and Darcy would pollute the "'shades of Pemberley'" (PP 396). In social terms, Elizabeth refutes assertions by citing kinship equality on the basis that her father is a gentleman, although he in no way matches Lady Catherine's economic status.

d. Judging Others, Making Comparisons, and Envy

According to Brown, individuals have a clear sense of being a distinct people and scrutinise others in terms of likeness or dissimilarity with themselves, generally preferring kin and in-groups (134). As indicated in the novel's title, the judgement of others is pivotal in *Pride and Prejudice*, even beyond Elizabeth and Darcy's immediate evaluation of one another. Relations between the Bennet and Bingley ladies begin positively. On first acquaintance, readers learn that Mrs Bennet declares Caroline and her sister "'charming'" (PP 10). The matriarch judges both to be "'fine women,'" (Ibid.) but only as long as they "'admired'" and "'distinguished'" Jane (Ibid. 12). The regard was mutually conditional; readers are privy to the knowledge that although "the mother was found to be intolerable, and the younger sisters not worth speaking to" (Ibid. 23), Bingley's sisters enjoyed the company of Jane. In turn, they were viewed sceptically by Elizabeth, who "still saw superciliousness in their treatment of everybody, hardly excepting even her sister, and could not like them" (Ibid.).

Caroline repeatedly judges Elizabeth, just as Elizabeth ceaselessly appraises her in return. Throughout the text, readers witness Elizabeth's understanding of Caroline's behaviour. The reader learns that Elizabeth knows that Caroline interprets her as a rival, even before Elizabeth herself has developed an attraction for Darcy. Despite initially snubbing Elizabeth, readers – and Miss Bingley – soon learn that Mr Darcy is becoming attracted to her. At the home of Sir William Lucas, Caroline catches Darcy eying the Bennets; encouraging him to disparage the group, she insinuates, "'you are considering how insupportable it would be to pass many evenings in this manner – in such society,'" railing on "'the insipidity, and yet the noise – the nothingness, and yet the self-importance of all those people!'" (Ibid. 29).

Caroline is "'all astonishment'" to hear that Darcy had been "'meditating on the very great pleasure which a pair of fine eyes in the face of a pretty woman can bestow'" (Ibid. 30). Expressing her shock and attempting to shake Darcy in return, Caroline pushes the point to its absolute conclusion, asking "'how long has she been such a favourite? – And pray, when am I to wish you joy?'" (Ibid.). She continues to provoke, pointing out the unsuitability of Elizabeth's mother by insinuating "'you will be having a charming mother-in-law. . . and of course she will always be at Pemberley with you'" (Ibid.). At this, readers learn that "he listened to her with perfect indifference while she chose to entertain herself in this manner; and as his composure convinced her that all was safe, her wit flowed long" (Ibid.).

e. In-Group/Out-Group Bias

For Brown, judgement is based on the fundamental human need to establish a sense of belonging. In evaluating others, humans distinguish in-groups from out-groups, preferring those groups with which they can personally identify. Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1979) found that group delineations such as those marked in *Pride and Prejudice* are key to an individual's sense of identity. These divisions happen automatically and often at the subconscious level based on intrinsic (kinship, gender identification, ethnicity) and extrinsic qualities (e.g. education, class, preferences, and personal goals). Groupings often remain unspoken, and individuals tend to see themselves as part of many groups. Very little differentiation is required to encourage initial classification, yet once established, individuals strive to maintain differentials. The very title of the novel hints at a study of evaluative and possibly discriminatory behaviour.

In terms of Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory (SID), the Bennet sisters are in the in-group of young, uneducated, unmarried women with sparse dowries from Meryton. The five Bennet girls are technically the daughters of a landed gentleman, yet their futures are uncertain. As their father's country estate is entailed to a cousin, the girls must depend upon advantageous marriages to ensure their financial futures. Their mother's lax style of childrearing means that none of the girls has been formally educated, acquired traditional female accomplishments of music or art, or spent significant time outside of their rural home. Caroline shares the traits of singledom and youth with the Bennets, yet as an educated, wealthy urbanite, she clearly considers herself as belonging to a separate group.

In "*Pride and Prejudice* and Social Identity Theory" (2018), Matt Lorenz anticipates this study, identifying intersections between Austen's depictions of group relations and social science, analysing characters in "terms of the binaries of in-group and low-group identification, as well as the group-motivated responses of identity threat and categorisation threat" (115). Lorenz hones in on Austen's descriptions of female hypocrisy, pointing out how Bingley's sisters are pleasant to Elizabeth when she is present, yet begin "abusing her as soon as she was out of the room," adding significantly, "*just as Mrs Bennet would have predicted*" (PP 38, emphasis added). Lorenz sees little difference in Caroline's feelings and those of Mrs Bennet; both "are attractive . . . concerned primarily with appearances and . . . petty, vindictive women who view as enemies those people whom they perceive as competitors in

the marriage market" (126). According to Lorenz, "ultimately, what distinguishes them from each other is their fortunes – Miss Bingley's father left her 'twenty thousand pounds' and Mrs Bennet's 'four thousand pounds' – as well as Miss Bingley's greater vigilance about the propriety of her behaviour" (Ibid. 127). For Lorenz, Elizabeth is disliked by both women as she refuses to "conform to or validate either woman's group identity, and so they perceive her as an identity threat" (Ibid. 126). Miss Bingley cannot understand Elizabeth's attachment to the low-born Wickham; Mrs Bennet cannot understand Elizabeth's refusal of Mr Collins' proposal. Both cannot comprehend traipsing three miles through the muddy countryside to attend to an ill sister. According to Elaine Auyoung (2018a), "besides consistently defining characters in relation to one another, Austen explicitly dramatises the practice of aligning oneself with others in order to enjoy feelings of superiority or, in social psychological terms, to maintain a positive social identity" (57).

f. Gossip

One of the most disturbing parallels between Austen's descriptions of female behaviour and modern female social relations is her portrayal of gossip. Brown defines gossip as using language to "misinform as well as inform," including "ways to be funny and ways to insult" (132). *Pride and Prejudice* is rife with this behaviour; examining the Elizabeth/Caroline relationship alone provides numerous examples. Caroline does not hesitate to use language to share her judgements of Elizabeth with the other Netherfield residents, hoping for a shared sense of superiority, intimacy, and identity.

In evolutionary psychological terms, gossip is a way to manage group relations and establish a sense of community through the dissemination of information such as shared values and objectives. Brown claims that language is strategically vital to the study of human behaviour, because "if not precisely a mirror of," then at least it provides "a window into, their culture and into their minds and actions" (98). Through Caroline's speech acts, Austen outlines the Bingley sisters' expectations for female behaviour within their social set; Elizabeth clearly does not meet the mark. Modern women are familiar with such exhibitions; Tracey Vaillaincourt (2018) explains, "in human females, sexual selection has given rise to two strategies – self-promotion and the derogation of rivals" (111), both evidenced in Caroline Bingley's behaviour.

Gossip, while not physically harmful, is an act of aggression. In her account of the history of gossip in literature, Patricia Spacks (2012) describes "the most common paradigm of gossip – two people talking about a third," in which "aggression becomes in effect a function of sharing," and that this "aggression serves alliance" (23). She proposes that "as a subject matter, gossip impels plots. . . almost always serving instrumental purposes" (Ibid. 7). By denigrating Elizabeth's appearance, behaviour, and family, Caroline highlights her belief in Elizabeth's out-group status. Through Caroline's gossip, Austen subtly encourages readers to want to be part of the out-group, too. "Her manners were pronounced to be very bad indeed, a mixture of pride and impertinence; she had no conversation, no style, no beauty" (PP 39); with this judgement, Elizabeth could not be considered equal to the Netherfield party. Bingley's sisters worked in tandem, indulging "their mirth for some time at the expense of their dear friend's (Jane's) vulgar relations" (Ibid. 40).[51]

Failing to obtain the hoped-for reaction from the object of her affection, Caroline maliciously draws attention to Elizabeth's dirty petticoat and untidy hair upon arrival. "'I am afraid, Mr Darcy,' observed Miss Bingley in a half-whisper, 'that this adventure has rather affected your admiration of her fine eyes'" (Ibid. 39). She could only be disappointed with Darcy's response that he found Elizabeth's eyes were "'brightened by the exercise'" (Ibid.).

Upon this, Caroline changes fronts, attacking Elizabeth's behaviour instead, suggesting that following their (imagined) marriage, he should "'endeavour to check that little something, bordering on conceit and impertinence, which your lady possesses'" (Ibid. 57). In this, Caroline hypocritically accuses Elizabeth of the behaviour that she is demonstrating, declaring Elizabeth to be "'one of those young ladies who seek to recommend themselves to the other sex by undervaluing their own; and with many men, I dare say, it succeeds.'" Failing to realise the fraudulence of her insinuations, Miss Bingley declares them "'a paltry device, a very mean art'"(Ibid. 43). [52]

Missing her mark, both Caroline and her sister attempt to draw attention to the Bennets as a whole, beginning with Jane. Mrs Hurst divulges that "'I have an excessive regard

[51] Spacks points out that in Austen's time, privileged women had few other occupations but gossip (30). The presence of the Bennet girls at Netherfield provided relief from boredom in the form of fodder for discussion.
[52] Darcy picks up on Caroline's machinations, responding "'there is meanness in all the arts which ladies sometimes condescend to employ for captivation. Whatever bears affinity to cunning is despicable,'" at which "Miss Bingley was not so entirely satisfied" (PP 44).

for Miss Jane Bennet, she is really a very sweet girl, and I wish with all my heart she were well settled. But with such a father and mother, and such low connections, I am afraid there is no chance of it'" (Ibid. 40). This verbal barrage was frequent; Caroline "often tried to provoke Darcy into disliking her guest, by talking of their supposed marriage and planning his happiness in such an alliance" (Ibid. 57). Caroline advises him to give his new "'mother-in-law a few hints, when this desirable event takes place, as to the advantage of holding her tongue,'" and to "'cure the younger girls of running after officers'"(Ibid.), because "her jealousy and dislike of one sister much exceeded her affection for the other" (Ibid. 65).

In five separate empirical studies, Tania Reynolds et al. (2018) underscore the timelessness of gossip as shared female experience. They find that real women – like the fictional Caroline – use gossip to harm their rival's social opportunities through the selective transmission of reputation-relevant information, "intended to undermine the romantic and social appeal of same-sex romantic rivals who are perceived to be threatening" (195). In today's society, these stratagems include harming or simply failing to enhance the reputations of other women believed to be a threat to their romantic prospects through indirect and direct means. Reynolds et al. found that highly competitive women disclosed more reputation-damaging information than their less competitive counterparts, and that women transmitted messages regardless of their affection for the target, "suggesting a disconnect between women's intentions and their gossip behaviour" (Ibid.). Claiming this tendency as innate to most women, female readers should be familiar with the behaviour, having either experienced or propagated it themselves.

Outside the social and behavioural sciences, literary scholar Blakey Vermeule (2010a) argues that gossip is the very basis of human interest in fiction, asserting that humans are drawn to fictional characters through a need to know what other people are like, "not in the aggregate, but in the particular" (xii). Reminiscent of Pinker's (1997) claim that the function of fiction is "mental cheesecake" (524), Vermeule goes on to explain that in exchange for our attention and suspension of disbelief, fiction "pays us back with large doses of really juicy social information, information that it would be too costly, dangerous, and difficult for us to extract from the world on our own" (xii). This "basic bargain," she claims, "has been remarkably stable for more than two hundred and fifty years," and that once the reader agrees to participate in fiction, "she is rewarded with the most intense cognitive stimulation

imaginable. What kind of cognitive stimulation? Social information. The deep truth about people's intentions - including, perhaps, one's own" (Ibid. 14). Gossip, Vermeule claims, is the very reason we read Austen.

g. Manipulating Social Relations

For Brown, humans evolved "triangular awareness" of relationships between the individual self and others as well as those between others concerning themselves (138).[53] His anthropological assessment shows that in all known societies, humans plan for the future and covertly manipulate others' behaviour through both pro-social and anti-social means, including gossip (outlined above), lying, withholding information, flattery, charm, smiles, and the withdrawal of attention.

Austen's novels are full of examples of female protagonists and antagonists using these behaviours to manipulate social relations.[54] Not initially suspecting a significant attachment between their brother and Jane, Mrs Hurst and Caroline invite her to spend time with them at Netherfield when the gentlemen would be out. Caroline's invitation demonstrates her first-hand knowledge of female relational aggression. She melodramatically claims that "'if you are not so compassionate as to dine to-day with Louisa and me, we shall be in danger of hating each other for the rest of our lives, for a whole day's *tête-a- tête* between two women can never end without a quarrel'" (PP 33).

Caroline and Mrs Hurst are fortunately unaware of Mrs Bennet's machinations, strategically dispatching Jane to Netherfield on horseback despite the threat of rain. Arriving sodden, Jane becomes ill from exposure. Her visit is extended involuntarily as an invalid; she is later joined by Elizabeth, who walks three miles across the wet countryside to nurse her. Elizabeth's estimation of the Bingley sisters' superficiality proves correct as, despite Jane's ailment, they remain focused on themselves, pro-socially "repeating three or four times how much they were grieved, how shocking it was to have a bad cold, and how excessively they

[53] It is important to note that Brown does not refer to individuals on the Autism spectrum.

[54] Notable in *Pride and Prejudice* are the episodes depicting Mrs Bennet sending Jane out into the rain in the hopes of her becoming ill and encouraged to stay at Netherfield, Charlotte Lucas successfully angling for Mr Collins, and Lady Catherine untruthfully declaring the fixed understanding between her daughter and Darcy. Rather than linking them to universal social behaviours, Michael Chwe (2013) proposes that these exemplify Austen's use of Game Theory.

disliked being ill themselves," and then thinking "no more of the matter" (Ibid. 38). Instead of being disappointed at their indifference, it "restored Elizabeth to the enjoyment of all her former dislike" (Ibid. 37).[55]

The narrator spotlights the meagreness of the Bingley sisters' connection with the Bennets and eagerness to perform to a male audience. When alone, the Bingleys exhibit pro-social behaviour and flattery towards their guest;

> Elizabeth had never seen them so agreeable as they were during the hour which passed before the gentlemen appeared. Their powers of conversation were considerable. They could describe an entertainment with accuracy, relate an anecdote with humour, and laugh at their acquaintance with spirit (Ibid. 59).

Upon the arrival of the gentlemen, "Miss Bingley's eyes were instantly turned toward Darcy, and she had something to say to him before he had advanced many steps" (Ibid.).

Throughout the visit, Caroline unsuccessfully attempts to control social relations at Netherfield by manipulating discourse between Elizabeth and Fitzwilliam. Austen's narrator makes no secret of Caroline's intentions. At dinner, "Miss Bingley was engrossed by Mr Darcy" (Ibid. 38). In the drawing-room, she ceaselessly lauded him "on the evenness of his lines, or on the length of his letter, with the perfect unconcern with which her praises were received" (Ibid. 51). On another evening, "Miss Bingley's attention was quite as much engaged in watching Mr Darcy's progress through his book as in reading her own. . . She could not win him" (Ibid. 60). When Darcy requested music from the ladies, "Miss Bingley moved with some alacrity to the pianoforte; and, after a polite request that Elizabeth would lead the way which the other as politely and more earnestly negatived (sic), she seated herself" (Ibid. 56). These accumulated behaviours prepare readers to discern the hostility hidden behind Caroline's apparent niceties; "in the desperation of her feelings, she resolved on one effort more, and, turning to Elizabeth, said: 'Miss Eliza Bennet, let me persuade you to follow my example, and take a turn about the room.'" Finally, by pairing with Elizabeth, "Miss Bingley succeeded . . . in the real object of her civility; Mr Darcy looked up" (Ibid. 61). Although she attained her objective, it was an empty victory. The Bennet girls' presence at Netherfield allowed Darcy even more time to appreciate Elizabeth and for Mr Bingley to fall

[55] The enjoyment of disliking appears to be a family trait, as Elizabeth's father questions, "for what do we live, but to make sport for our neighbours, and laugh at them in our turn?" (PP, 403).

in love with Jane. Sensing the growing attraction between the two pairs, the Bennet girls represent a threat to Caroline's role as a housekeeper for her brother, leading Caroline to convince Charles to remove to London. Under her encouragement, what should have been a short business trip lengthens to an entire season.

Caroline writes of the departure to Jane, using the correspondence to convey a strong message behind the move. Beginning with flattery, Caroline intimates that their friendship would not be dimmed by distance. Caroline writes, "'I do not pretend to regret anything I shall leave in Hertfordshire, except your society, my dearest friend; but we will hope, at some future period, to enjoy many returns of that delightful intercourse we have known, and in the meanwhile may lessen the pain of separation by a very frequent and most unreserved correspondence. I depend on you for that'" (Ibid. 131). At hearing these claims, Elizabeth immediately becomes mistrustful on her sister's behalf. Her instincts prove right as Jane confides to her that, "'Caroline decidedly says that none of the party will return into Hertfordshire this winter'" (Ibid.).

Again, Caroline couches her message with pretty speech, asserting, "'I wish that I could hear that you, my dearest friend, had any intention of making one of the crowd – but of that, I despair,'" wishing Jane a Christmas bountiful "'in the gaieties which that season generally brings'" (Ibid. 132). Caroline suggests that the Netherfield gentlemen hold no special interest for Jane, expressing hope that Jane's future "'beaux will be so numerous as to prevent your feeling the loss of the three of whom we shall deprive you'" (Ibid.).

The most hurtful passage is archly concealed in praise of Mr Darcy's sister Georgiana, whom Caroline asserts has no "'equal for beauty, elegance, and accomplishments,'" continuing that "'the affection she inspires in Louisa and myself is heightened into something still more interesting, from the hope we dare entertain of her being hereafter our sister.'" Caroline skilfully formulates her message in the manner of confidential, innocent gossip, writing "'I do not know whether I ever before mentioned to you my feelings on this subject, but I will not leave the country without confiding them, and I trust you will not esteem them unreasonable.'" To emphasise her report, Caroline claims that "'her relations all wish the connection as much as his own'" (Ibid.). She then calls on Jane for agreement, as "'with all these circumstances to favour an attachment, and nothing to prevent it, am I wrong, my

dearest Jane, in indulging the hope of an event which will secure the happiness of so many?'" (Ibid.).

Even innocent Jane is perceptive enough to understand the meaning of Caroline's letter, if not necessarily the stratagems behind it;

> '[i]s it not clear enough? Does it not expressly declare that Caroline neither expects nor wishes me to be her sister; that she is perfectly convinced of her brother's indifference; and that if she suspects the nature of my feelings for him, she means (most kindly!) to put me on my guard? Can there be any other opinion on the subject?' (Ibid. 133).

Elizabeth (and likely most readers) interprets the letter differently, seeing Caroline's words as what they are - an attempt at social manipulation. Elizabeth assures her sister that "'Miss Bingley sees that her brother is in love with you and wants him to marry Miss Darcy. She follows him to town in hope of keeping him there and tries to persuade you that he does not care about you'" (Ibid.). Elizabeth tells Jane and the reader what she already suspects; "'no one who has ever seen you together can doubt his affection. Miss Bingley, I am sure, cannot. She is not such a simpleton,'" continuing, "'could she have seen half as much love in Mr Darcy for herself, she would have ordered her wedding clothes'" (Ibid.). Elizabeth knows that the Bennets are not amongst the Bingley sisters' in-group: "'the case is this: we are not rich enough or grand enough for them'" (Ibid.). Caroline's arrow has hit its mark, as the compliant Jane queries, "'but, my dear sister, can I be happy, even supposing the best, in accepting a man whose sisters and friends are all wishing him to marry elsewhere?'" (Ibid. 134).

h. Negative and Positive Reciprocity

Brown asserts that the social universals of negative and positive reciprocity evolved to ensure group survival. In Austen's time, one aspect of reciprocity was a highly codified social system of visiting and receiving guests. Candace Nolan-Grant (2009) explains that

> the convention of calling on one's acquaintances . . . requires either conversing with the members of the household for at least fifteen minutes if they are home or leaving a card if they are not. Calling on acquaintances typically does the following: announces that the caller deems his or her host worthy of notice and feels some obligation to call; obliges the host(s) to receive the caller and to return the visit; and

> opens (or closes, depending on the tenor of the visit) doors for further social intercourse (870).

While making and returning calls may seem antiquated to modern readers, Brown describes the act of reciprocity itself as ″a universal cornerstone of morality, rational action, and group life″ (107-108).[56]

Austen's descriptions of social reciprocity include small acts, such as how after initial introductions at the Meryton Assembly Rooms, ″the ladies of Longbourn soon waited on those of Netherfield. The visit was soon returned in due form″ (PP 23). Although such exchanges are codified differently in each society and time, Brown argues that reciprocity universally has a ″strong moral feeling″ attached to it, and that ″reciprocal action and reaction″ are monitored assiduously. He continues, explaining that ″etiquette and hospitality″ (139) are universal ideals, an understanding which Elizabeth and Jane make strategic use of after Mr Bingley's unexpected departure.

After leaving Netherfield without a known return date, Elizabeth encourages Jane to follow Bingley to London. Jane writes to his sisters, informing them of her arrival. According to social conventions, the letter should have resulted in an immediate return letter or visit. When no response comes, Jane takes the initiative and calls on them without prior invitation. Despite her cool reception, Jane continues to make allowances for them. In a letter to Elizabeth, she remarks, ″'I did not think Caroline in spirits,'″ as she ″'reproached me for giving her no notice of my coming to London,'″ claiming never to have received the letter (PP 166). The two could pretend at this, having failed to respond directly as social reciprocity expectations required. In the course of the very brief visit, the sisters make clear to Jane that Charles was not available and that Georgiana Darcy is a regular guest in their home. Caroline and Mrs Hurst keep the visit short, claiming a prior engagement.

As social reciprocity demands that Bingley's sisters cannot but return the call which it was impossible to claim not to have received, they conduct it in such a manner to be an insult rather than a gratification. Jane writes to Elizabeth, ″'I dare say I shall soon see them here'″ (Ibid. 167). In the end, she waits four weeks for Caroline and Mrs Hurst to present themselves, a snub so plain that even Jane can no longer ignore it. Jane writes to Elizabeth, ″'I

[56] According to Brown, reciprocity has been "central to some of the most famous studies of anthropology" (83), referring to Alvin Gouldner (1960) for a comprehensive overview.

confess myself to have been entirely deceived in Miss Bingley's regard for me . . . Caroline did not return my visit till yesterday'" (Ibid.). Jane is acutely aware that reciprocity demanded a speedy response, relating the fulness of the neglect;

> 'not a note, not a line, did I receive in the meantime. When she did come, it was very evident that she had no pleasure in it; she made a slight, formal apology, for not calling before, said not a word of wishing to see me again, and was in every respect so altered a creature, that when she went away, I was perfectly resolved to continue the acquaintance no longer' (Ibid.).

i. Envy

According to Brown, "envy is ubiquitous" (139), and people in all cultures are "moved by sexual attraction" and "sometimes deeply disturbed by sexual jealousy" (Ibid. 135). Jealousy is envy's triangular sister; a special kind of envy towards another based on the hope to win or retain a third. Throughout the novel, Austen describes Caroline as resentful of Elizabeth's attraction for Darcy. Through Caroline's actions, Elizabeth becomes convinced "that Miss Bingley's dislike of her had originated in jealousy" (PP 295). Reappearing in the narrative after Elizabeth's unexpected arrival at Pemberley, readers learn that Elizabeth "could not help feeling how very unwelcome her appearance at Pemberley must be to her and was curious to know with how much civility on that lady's side, the acquaintance would now be renewed" (Ibid.). Elizabeth finds herself "closely watched by Miss Bingley, and that she could not speak a word, especially to Miss Darcy, without calling her attention" (Ibid. 296).

Indeed, Caroline's "attentions to Mr Darcy were by no means over," as "jealousy had not yet made her desperate" (Ibid. 297). This changes as Miss Bingley witnesses Darcy's desire for his sister to get to know their Meryton guest. Austen's descriptions of Caroline's behaviour mesh with Buss & Lisa Dedden's (1990) findings that faced with competition, individuals tend to apply one or both of two stratagems in the attempt to increase their appeal for the opposite sex: decreasing rivals' desirability and increasing their own.[57]

Witnessing Darcy's attentions to Elizabeth, Caroline attempts to shame her in Georgiana's presence. "In the imprudence of anger, took the first opportunity of saying, with

[57] This harks back to the discussion of accomplished women, in which Caroline promotes an impossible notion of ideal womanhood, attempting to draw attention to her abilities and Elizabeth's lack thereof (PP 42-44).

sneering civility: 'Pray, Miss Eliza, are not the – – shire Militia removed from Meryton? They must be a great loss to your family'" (PP 297). With this query, Caroline obliquely insinuates that the Bennet girls are free with their attentions, an indirect aggression strategy confirmed in Buss & Dedden (1990) and investigated further in Emily White (2002), Elizabeth Armstrong et al. (2014) and Wendy Hess (2016), shown to introduce doubt of biological paternity.

Further probing into the status of Wickham, the narrator reveals Caroline's intended mark through free indirect discourse;

> [s]he had merely intended to discompose Elizabeth by bringing forward the idea of a man to whom she believed her partial, to make her betray a sensibility which might injure her in Darcy's opinion, and, perhaps, to remind the latter of all the follies and absurdities by which some part of her family were connected with that corps (PP 298).

Caroline is not privy to the knowledge of Georgiana's misadventures with Mr Wickham; instead of hurting Elizabeth, she threatens to reopen a Darcy family wound. Throughout the novel, Caroline Bingley's derisions have an effect opposite of that she intended. Instead of drawing attention to Elizabeth Bennet's flaws, her judgements and comparisons only serve to make her appear petty. Attempting to relegate Elizabeth to her proper place as a poor, country maid, she begins, "'I never in my life saw anyone so much altered as she is since the winter. She is grown so brown and coarse! Louisa and I were agreeing that we should not have known her again'" (Ibid. 299). She prattles on, asserting

> 'I must confess that I never could see any beauty in her. Her face is too thin; her complexion has no brilliancy, and her features are not at all handsome. Her nose wants character – there is nothing marked in its lines. Her teeth are tolerable, but not out of the common way; and as for her eyes, which have sometimes been called so fine, I could never see anything extraordinary in them. They have a sharp, shrewish look, which I do not like at all; and in her air altogether, there is a self-sufficiency without fashion, which is intolerable' (Ibid.).

With this statement, Caroline admits the extent to which she has analysed Elizabeth. Not only has she noticed her much-admired eyes, but she has also evaluated all of her features, including her nose, her complexion, her teeth (reminding readers of the proverbial gift horse), and her indefinable "air."

Caroline unsuccessfully attempts to draw Georgiana into her negativity when "venting her feelings in criticisms on Elizabeth's person, behaviour, and dress" (Ibid. 298). However, "Georgiana would not join her. Her brother's recommendation was enough to ensure her favour . . . he had spoken in such terms of Elizabeth as to leave Georgiana without the power of finding her otherwise than lovely and amiable" (Ibid. 299). Caroline redoubles her efforts, declaring to Mr Darcy, "'how very ill Miss Eliza Bennet looks this morning.'" Readers learn that

> persuaded as Miss Bingley was that Darcy admired Elizabeth, this was not the best method of recommending herself; but angry people are not always wise; and in seeing him at last look somewhat nettled, she had all the success she expected. He was resolutely silent, however, and, from a determination of making him speak, she continued: 'I remember, when we first knew her in Hertfordshire, how amazed we all were to find that she was a reputed beauty; and I particularly recollect your saying one night, after they had been dining at Netherfield, "She a beauty! – I should as soon call her mother a wit." But afterwards she seemed to improve on you, and I believe you thought her rather pretty at one time' (Ibid. 299-300).

Austen's descriptions of Caroline's apparent obsession with Elizabeth's appearance mirrors recent findings. Steven Arnocky et. al. (2012) found clear links between jealousy and female perceptions of their own attractiveness. Arnocky & Vaillancourt (2017) cite numerous empirical studies in recent decades which demonstrate that "across diverse human cultural groups, men are remarkably consistent in their expressed preference for physically attractive women" and that more attractive females report being victimised more by their peers than less attractive females (10). In the end, Elizabeth expresses understanding at Caroline's apparent hatred for her; she knows what the stakes are for both of them. Having seen the splendour at Pemberley, she could hardly misunderstand the impact Darcy's fortune would have on the life of his bride and her family.

Conclusion

In the end, Caroline Bingley ultimately accepts Elizabeth. Although "Miss Bingley was very deeply mortified by Darcy's marriage," the narrator relates that, "she thought it advisable to retain the right of visiting at Pemberley," and "dropt (sic) all her resentment; was fonder than ever of Georgiana, almost as attentive to Darcy as heretofore, and paid off every arrear of

civility to Elizabeth" (PP 430). Access to a beautiful home and extensive gardens, it would appear, more than cover the costs of including the interloper Elizabeth into her in-group.

This chapter has explored parallel experiences between modern women and Austen's descriptions of Caroline Bingley using Brown's multi-cultural, anthropology-based Human Universals framework. This approach supplements recent biocultural and Literary Darwinist approaches to female conflict in *Pride and Prejudice* through meta-analytical findings based on *in situ* observations of diverse cultures at various stages of development across the globe. In her struggle to gain the attention and affection of her chosen mate, Caroline Bingley exhibits numerous intrasexual relational aggression behaviours outlined by Brown, including conflict, envy, gossip, in-group/out-group distinction and bias, manipulation of social relations, nepotism, prestige inequalities, psychological defence mechanisms, negative and positive reciprocity, to judging others and making comparisons. The fictional Caroline Bingley is just one example of Austen's canny species-typical descriptions of real human behaviour which remain relatable to women across the centuries. The following chapters illustrate further biocultural models which can be applied to Austen's work and readers with similar results.

4. "A State of Warfare:"
Benenson and Becoming the Mean Girl in *Emma*

"Sometimes it seems as if her creatures were born merely to give
Jane Austen the supreme delight of slicing their heads off."
- Virginia Woolf

Modern critics of Jane Austen have often complained that despite living in a time marked almost invariably by war, Austen did not address it directly. While the author may have limited her references to battles with Napoleon, she refers explicitly to "warfare" amongst the female characters in *Emma* (201). Like all of Austen's work, *Emma* centres on relationships between women, both good and bad. This chapter furthers the investigation of shared female experience between text and readers through the research of psychologist Joyce Benenson. Austen's descriptions of discord between Emma Woodhouse and Augusta Elton, as well as their use and abuse of Harriet Smith and Jane Fairfax, mirror Benenson's findings on indirect aggression. Identifying strategies amongst females of all ages, including toddlers, Benenson acts as a guide, demonstrating Austen's remarkable mimetic achievement. Not only does Austen accurately describe human behaviour, but she twists the narrative so that readers identify with the perpetrator rather than the victim, exposing the very slippery slope between friend and foe.

4.1. Female Indirect Aggression in Austen's Emma

4.1.1. Literary Approaches

For two hundred years, Jane Austen's *Emma* has been the subject of literary criticism and extravagantly personal reader response. Although "handsome, clever, and rich," Emma is not ideal (E 1). Austen herself was the first to recognise the character as difficult. According to her nephew, Austen began the work, stating, "I am going to take a heroine whom no-one but myself will much like" (Austen-Leigh 156). Lionel Trilling notably captured the broad spectrum of reactions to *Emma* in his 1965 assessment, claiming that scholarly opinions of the novel "are almost as interesting and almost as important to think about as the work itself," indicating a record of unusually visceral reader reactions to the work (188). Comments from the survey outlined in the second chapter reflect reader understanding of Emma Woodhouse

as an unconventional heroine. Examples include "Emma . . . is deeply flawed but such fun," and "sometimes I love her, sometimes I'm horrified by her," and describing her as "exasperating but likeable."

The general public and scholars alike are united in finding Emma manipulative. In the year of the novel's publication, Scottish novelist Susan Ferrier writes, "'the heroine is no better than other people, but the characters are all so true to life, and the style so piquant, that it does not require the adventitious aids of mystery and adventure'" (in Lodge 50). Early biographer Mrs Charles Malden (1889) writes that Emma Woodhouse "'is very good. Her faults, follies, and mistakes are completely those of a warm-hearted, rather spoilt girl, accustomed to believe in herself and to be the queen of her own circle. She deserves the amount of punishment she gets, but we are glad that it is no worse'" (Ibid. 61).

Mid-twentieth-century scholars often focus on *Emma*'s marriage plot or its structure as a *Bildungsroman,* following the main character's romantic education and moral development.[58] Henrietta Ten Harmsel (1964) claims that Emma is a "spoiled brat" only because the Highbury community allows her to be one (139). Wayne Booth (1983) writes that Emma is "deficient in both generosity and self-knowledge" (195). Daniel Cottom (1985) proposes that Emma, like all of Austen's heroines, suffers from too much trust in her powers of interpretation; Emma must learn to doubt herself.

Second-wave feminism brought a plethora of research on Austen's depiction of female relationships in the novel, primarily interpreting Emma's fallibilities as a response to patriarchal society.[59] Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar (2000 [1979]) construct Emma as an avatar for Austen herself, attributing Emma's lousy behaviour on boredom, writing "Emma reminds us that the witty woman is responding to her own confining situation with words that become her weapon, a defence against banality, a way at least of *seeming* to control her life" (emphasis original 158). For some critics, *Emma* is an essay in female power, rather than the lack of it. Emily Auerbach (2004) predicts "there is an unnervingly arbitrary and grotesque quality to the assumption of power by women" in Austen's work, claiming "female power is effectively synonymous with power abused" (50).

[58] See Ian Watt for an overview (1957).
[59] Margaret Kirkham (1983) and Christine Marshall (1992) provide notable synopses.

Ruth Perry (1986) also recognises the importance of female relationships to the plotline, referring to the usefulness of female relationships both for the author and Emma, citing Austen's own inclusion of Martha Lloyd in her female household. It was "a common enough arrangement for single women to pool their resources and to make a family of friends," Perry asserts (188). Similarly, Perry sees Emma collecting women as useful tools in her social circle: her sister Isabella, then Mrs Weston, and finally, Harriet Smith (189). For Perry, this insight is crucial for understanding a female author "living in a culture that restricted and subordinated women" (199). She laments that, "most critics have not interested themselves in the issue of relationships between women," and that women's friendship has not been seen as a possible counterplot because patriarchal ideology has informed critical premises at least as much as novelistic assumption" (Ibid.) Perry proposes that Austen's best female characters speak "simultaneously to several audiences at once," as an "obvious strategy adapted to her position in the world as a dependent and a woman" (198). Deborah Kaplan (1992) agrees that same-sex ties were vital for both the author and her characters. Only through other women could they keep up relations, social status, and appearances. Marriage – and subsequent childbirth – could spell death (Kaplan 66).

Considering Austen more a reactionary than a feminist, Marilyn Butler (1987) classifies the presumptuous Emma as one of Austen's "Heroines Who Are Wrong," making bad decisions based on "intellectual error" rather than, as this study suggests, instinct (166). Edward Copeland (1995) appraises Emma in terms of cultural capital, proposing the necessity of its deployment in defence against Augusta Elton as "one of the pseudo-gentry's most important notes of exchange (107).

Julia Prewitt Brown (1979) rejects interpretations of hierarchical structure in the novel, claiming they reduce "the society of Highbury to a sack of struggling types in some matter creating order out of chaos" (88). Ignoring Emma's misbehaviour before the Box Hill incident, Prewitt Brown claims utter "shock" at Emma's "cruelty" to Miss Bates, which she can see "no reason for" apart from the simple "case of unrestrained human hostility" (I68). For Prewitt Brown, "*Emma* is a novel of human interdependence in every sense," with meaning made in both domestic and social concerns (68). She proposes that, from the beginning, Emma's behaviour towards women of lesser social status is wrong, but understandable. Nichola Bradbury finds that "'the characters are inhabited by a strong sense of rank and

social duty . . . the vicar is not close; the schoolmistress is received; the poor are visited'" (in Lodge 217-8). Emma's actions are always influenced by the status of her counterparts, however interlinked the community may be.

Patricia Spacks (2012) investigates Emma in terms of gossip and her ability "to perceive herself from the point of view of admiring spectator(s)" (165). Spacks makes a distinction between talking *to* other characters and talking *of* them, as in the uncomfortable scene with Miss Bates on Box Hill. Spacks, like Gilbert and Gubar, concludes that many of Emma's ills stem from a spoiled girl's simple boredom within the limited Highbury society.

Some twentieth-century critics propose that *Emma* is a novel about rejecting traditional female traits. LeRoy Smith (1983) uses gender stereotypes to explore Austen, refusing to interpret Emma's aggression towards Harriet Smith and Augusta Elton as a feminine characteristic, declaring it instead to be an embrasure of masculine attributes. Smith appraises Emma as the "most egotistical" of Austen's heroines, claiming the basis of her evil as too much "self-love" (Smith 37), leading her to oppress other women. According to Smith, Emma's narrative journey is her return to the feminine and acceptance of her own womanhood. With this, Smith assumes that Austen identified with and accepted conventional, culturally constructed norms of masculinity and femininity. For him, "the drama of women" is their place in a patriarchal society (Ibid. 138). Problematic is Smith's assumption of Austen's inability to see beyond stereotypes, which often contravene biocultural findings.

In *Women's Friendship in Literature*, Janet Todd (1980) focuses on the traditional positivity of female friendships, claiming that

> sentimental friendship is a close, effusive tie, revelling in rapture and rhetoric. Unlike the sentimental romance which so often ruins, it aids and saves, providing close emotional support in a patriarchal world . . . outside of the text, sentimental friendship becomes a means of befriending the female reader; through her relationship with her friend, the heroine can display her exemplary state, and under her mask of sentiment, stand as a model for other young ladies who may unwisely yearn to stray (Todd 3).

For Todd, Emma is unique in literature by not being the expected sentimental friend; instead, she abuses her friendships. It is arguable if any women, then or now, have ever met the type of idealised friend described by Todd.

Claudia Johnson (1988) claims the common denominator of *Emma* criticism is the character's ability to offend reader sensibilities by attempting to play god and her lack of "feminine softness and compliance" (122). Johnson attributes the struggle between Emma and Mrs Elton to new money earned through trade versus old, land-based wealth (Ibid. 123). In the light of the contemporary scientific study of female aggression, it seems unlikely that Emma's so-called "masculinity" discomforts modern readers. Instead, they are challenged and engaged as Austen holds up a mirror to them, showing them their complicity in the character's misbehaviour. The qualitative statements submitted by female survey respondents outlined above indicate that Austen's charm lies in her depiction of the flawed and human. Lloyd Brown (1973) agrees, suggesting that the failure of Austen's characters to remain within narrowly defined gendered roles indicates the author's own questioning of traditional constructivist gender assumptions (324). Based on her true-to-life portrayals, it is credible that Austen was well aware that both males and females demonstrate aggressive behaviour, and that social stratification plays a significant role. Looking beyond the stereotypes of her time, Austen's extremely sensitive faculty of observation captured elements of female experience that continue today.

4.1.2. Biocultural Approaches

In biological terms, the intra-gender aggression displayed in *Emma* supports the building of secure, small networks of female allies, ensuring physical and social aid for mothers when raising offspring. This assistance was vital in an age in which many women died in childbirth. Trusted female helpmates were essential in safeguarding one's genetic materials. Women in the Regency built these alliances within family networks and female social circles.

In animal behaviour terms, Emma Woodhouse is Highbury's alpha girl, described by Austen as "handsome, clever, and rich" (1) living in a neighbourhood which "afforded her no equals" (3). From an early age, she was the mistress of her father's house and the focus of attention. Her closest intimate was her governess, over whom Emma had the upper hand. For the majority of her life, Emma did precisely as she liked.

The novel begins with Emma losing her the governess to a marriage that Emma takes credit for orchestrating. Charmed by the misguided notion of being a matchmaker, Emma attempts to unite her "sheeplike" friend Harriet into wedlock with the town's eligible rector, Mr Elton (Mudrick 189). Elton has other ideas; he would like to marry Emma herself. When she rejects him, he quickly recovers by selecting a mate from out of town, the wealthy and attractive Miss Augusta Hawkins. Competition and cattiness ensue, demonstrating Austen's deep understanding of female intrasexual competition, which manifests itself in highly social, yet indirect ways.

Should it be any wonder that modern female readers can still identify with Emma and Augusta's 200-year old antipathy? Multiple studies show that modern readers are very familiar with depictions of this type of behaviour. In an examination of British media aimed at adolescent girls, John Archer and Sarah Coyne (2004) found that over 90% contained indirect intra-sexual aggression. "Furthermore," they assert, "most indirect aggression was portrayed as rewarded, justified, and normative." Aggressors were likely to be, like Emma Woodhouse, "female and beautiful" (254). Their findings are echoed by Coyne and Emily Whitehead (2008), who identified indirect female aggression in 100% of animated Disney movies (395), a format consumed by children across the globe.

Analysing *Emma* in biocultural terms reveals Austen's ability to capture nuances of female indirect aggression only now being studied by modern researchers. According to Darwin's theory of sexual selection, there are two processes in play for females: mate choice and intrasexual competition. The few existing conciliant explorations of female aggression in Austen have focused on the former. David Barash and Nanelle Barash (2006) concentrate exclusively on female choice in *Emma*, claiming that female-female competition only emerges "with the suddenness of a literary lightning bolt" near the end of the novel (60). This notion appears patently untrue, as Emma demonstrates indirect aggression from the start.

Nancy Easterlin (2012) likewise finds the tendency of Brian Boyd (1998), Joseph Carroll (2004), Michael Duncan and Kathryn Stasio (2007) to overemphasize the principle of female choice in Austen as lacking nuance (238). For Easterlin, their interpretations of women being focused "solely on producing and nurturing the young without taking account of changes in the social group and of the viability of the natural environment," essentially treats women as "passive except with respect to their young" (Ibid.) Such interpretations

render women "unlikely to survive for long" (Ibid.). Easterlin argues that social support is critical for reproductive success, a truth documented in countless studies outlined in the first chapter. Likewise, Melissa Lyman (2016) focusses on intersexual competition in *Emma,* drawing comparisons with behaviour amongst non-human primates. Lyman's failure to include studies related to *human* females seems peculiar, considering the increasing number of psychological studies identifying intra-sexual aggression patterns amongst contemporary young women.[60]

There is much material for insight into Austen's descriptions of Emma's behaviour outside of the literary world. In the author's lifetime, life was precarious for women. Financial security was not guaranteed; women like the new Mrs Elton (and Austen herself) were utterly dependent on their husbands or male relatives (Poovey 364). Marriageable bachelors were scarce, and only a tiny minority of women were independently wealthy enough to enjoy the luxury of making decisions for themselves (Copeland 17). In *Women Alone: Spinsters in England, 1660-1850,* Bridget Hill (2001) explains:

> [m]any single women, more particularly in the late eighteenth century, sought marriage as the only rational answer to a worsening economic condition. There were those - rich heiresses amongst them - who would have liked marriage but saw their own fortunes as a bar to a happy marriage and avoided it . . . there is no doubt that spinsterhood was a more attractive prospect if one had a fortune (8).

Unlike many of Austen's other heroines, Emma Woodhouse possesses a fortune and can, as opposed to Jane Fairfax, Harriet Smith, and Augusta Elton, afford to remain unmarried. Such a position in the real world of the Regency offered a young woman a sense of liberty and status that few other girls could claim.

One example is found on the novel's first page as, according to the narrator, "the real evils, indeed, of Emma's situation were the power of having rather too much her own way, and a disposition to think a little too well of herself" (E 1). These "evils" are substantiated in psychologist Georgia Kalemi et al.'s 2019 study of female aggression both within and outside of the criminal justice system. They compared the effect of "self-esteem, self-perception, narcissism, and socio-demographic factors" (Kalemi et al. 1). Their findings indicate that

[60] See Joyce Benenson (2014), Kaj Bjorkqvist et al. (1992a) and Anne Campbell (1999) for and extensive overview.

higher levels of narcissistic personality traits and sociability are strong predictors of higher aggression levels in women (Ibid. 1). In modern terms, Emma's self-obsession and self-esteem allow her to assume the right to manipulate the lives of other young women in her Highbury neighbourhood, whether deserved or not.

4.2. Analysis of Emma *According to Benenson*

Having roughly outlined literary and biological approaches to female relations in *Emma*, the following section addresses individual aggression strategies used in the text. Evolutionary psychologist Joyce Benenson (2013) proposes a set of five basic strategies utilised in female-female non-kin competition, each which is reflected in Austen's *Emma*. These include:

(i) avoid direct interference

(ii) disguise competition

(iii) compete overtly only if high-ranked in the community

(iv) enforce equality among female peers

(v) use social exclusion

Benenson identified these strategies based on observations of human and animal behaviour, in addition to evolutionary biology, anthropology, developmental psychology, neuroscience, cognition, economics, and sociology. In her work, Benenson repeatedly emphasises that these behaviours, as well as female indirect aggression, are a normal part of human experience. She recognises that throughout their lives, from early childhood to old age, women compete for resources to meet their own and their family's physical, fiscal, or emotional needs. The ubiquity of this behaviour make it a likely trigger of shared experience between women readers and Austen's texts.

a. Avoid Direct Interference

The very first strategy identified by Benenson is the avoidance of direct interference. Unlike men, who are more likely to aggress physically, Benenson finds that females avoid such confrontations with others of their sex. She proposes that physical aggression represents a threat not only to the target but also to the aggressor herself. Evolutionary biology indicates that women's greater instinct for self-preservation then men rests on higher female parental

investment (outlined above).[61] Regardless of the era, infants are almost entirely dependent on their mothers for survival. To this day, close female relatives often support new mothers by providing necessary childcare or sourcing additional nutrition.[62] Accordingly, direct female-female physical violence is not seen in any of Austen's novels. Although it could be argued that sending Jane Bennet out in the rain or withholding the warmth of a fire from Fanny Price are acts of physical abuse, they are not committed in ways that could harm the perpetrators themselves.

b. Disguise Competition

Benenson suggests that in addition to avoiding physical altercations, females disguise competition to prevent physical harm to themselves and their offspring. This is supported by researchers Lyn Mikel Brown and Carol Gilligan, who found that girls learn early in life not to disagree directly or in confrontational ways (Chesler 95). As the new girl in town, Augusta Elton exhibits an immediate, primal need to establish her social status and place in Highbury society. Following Benenson, she must do this without appearing openly competitive. By nature of her birth into a wealthy local family, Emma is already amongst the local social elite. Augusta Elton, with her substantial dowry, suitable marriage, and cosmopolitan upbringing, exhibits her own belief that she belongs to Highbury's social apex. Yet, Emma is convinced after only fifteen minutes of conversation that "Mrs Elton was a vain woman, extremely well satisfied with herself, and thinking much of her own importance, that she meant to shine and be very superior" (E 194). In Benenson's terms, Mrs Elton fails to adequately disguise her competitive nature, leaving herself open to be disliked.

Augusta appears aware of this strategy, as she ineffectually employs affiliative speech acts in an attempt to hide her aversion towards Emma. According to Benenson, women verbally provide information or invitations to manipulate their relationships, causing emotional rather than bodily harm (3). Ari Kaukiainen et al. (1999) explain that this type of aggression requires refined social abilities as the perpetrator has to not only mask her intentions but add a positive spin on them. Augusta Elton undertakes this with Emma,

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[61] These findings have been supported by numerous studies. See Steven Arnocky and Tracey Vaillancourt (2018) for a meta-analysis.

[62] Joseph Chamie (2018) demonstrates that this practice continues on a global scale to the present day. More recently, differences in parental investment has been cited as the basis for the drastic drop-off in submissions from female researchers during the COVID-19 lockdown (Frederickson, Viglione 2020).

peppering her speech with positive-sounding phrases. "'I perfectly understand your situation,'" and "'I assure you,'" she coos (E 197). "'I am delighted to find myself in such a circle,'" she fawns (Ibid. 198). Tongue-in-cheek, Augusta refers to Emma as "'dear Miss Woodhouse'" (Ibid. 203).

Knowing Emma has travelled little beyond the boundaries of Highbury, Mrs Elton gushes about her own knowledge of England, attempting the appearance of benevolence in advising Emma on the benefits of Bath. She boasts, "'you, who have lived so secluded a life . . . I could immediately secure you some of the best society in the place'" (Ibid. 196). Despite being couched in terms of a generous offer, Emma bristles at Mrs Elton's audacious claim, which would position her above Emma in the role of benefactor. Emma interprets Augusta's words as hostile. Readers learn,

> [i]t was as much as Emma could bear, without being impolite. The idea of her being indebted to Mrs Elton for what was called an introduction – of her going into public under the auspices of a friend of Mrs Elton's – probably some vulgar, dashing widow, who, with the help of a boarder, just made a shift to live! – The dignity of Miss Woodhouse, of Hartfield, was sunk indeed! 'Insufferable woman!' was her immediate exclamation. 'Worse than I had supposed. Absolutely insufferable!' (Ibid. 196-7).

In keeping with Benenson (2013), Nikki Crick (1995), and Kaj Björkqvist (1992a, 1992b), Emma does not show open hostility to the newcomer, instead employing subtle means to block Mrs Elton's social ascent. Within the first minutes of meeting Augusta, readers understand, "she did not really like her" (E 193). Ignoring the brevity of the acquaintance, the narrator ironically asserts that Emma's conviction that she "would not be in a hurry to find fault, but she suspected that there was no elegance; – ease, but not elegance. – She was almost sure that for a young woman, a stranger, a bride, there was too much ease" (Ibid.). Even in her internal dialogue, Emma attempts to couch her aggression in affiliative undertones, "her person was rather good; her face not unpretty" (Ibid.) However, in the next sentence, Austen makes it clear that Emma was predestined to dislike Augusta Elton, as "neither feature, nor air, nor voice, nor manner, were elegant. Emma thought at least it would turn out so" (Ibid.). At this passage, Darrel Mansell (1973) suggests that "Emma . . .

seems vaguely aware that Mrs Elton is showing her something about herself she would rather not know" (159).

c. Enforce Equality

According to Benenson, young women enforce equality amongst themselves and that expectations of "niceness and equality remain the female community's norms. Girls' primary justification for being mean is that another girl is acting superior" (6). Benenson concludes, "within the female community, girls reduce competition by demanding equality and punishing those who openly attempt to attain more than others . . . Even in the rare girl gangs that exist, the leader must behave as an equal" (Ibid.). This supposition is endorsed by Finnish psychologists Kaukiainen, Björkqvist, Lagerspetz et al. (1999), whose work demonstrates that females portray their indirect aggression and social manipulation in a favourable light, an exercise requiring highly tuned social skills (Chesler 121).

The need for equality extends to physical characteristics; Rosalind Wiseman describes frequent interviews with adolescent girls in which they consistently express hatred for girls who know that they are attractive (156). According to Phyllis Chesler, "girls view members who are in any way better or worse than other group members as less desirable friends" (82). Anecdotal evidence abounds, as in the 2013 scandal in which four Russian girls forced a classmate to drink from a mudpuddle for merely being "too pretty" (Evans) and 2018 accounts of teenage girls driven to suicide after being mercilessly bullied for their beauty by their female peers (McAndrew).[63] Recent psychological research duplicates Emma's instantaneous reaction to Augusta Elton. In a blind study, Tracy Vaillancourt (2011) finds that college-aged women react immediately and overwhelmingly negatively to an attractive, provocatively-dressed female confederate. After just a few seconds of contact, women report that they would not want to become friends with the woman or allow her to spend time alone with their boyfriends (1-5).

Studies like these are part of a growing contemporary interest in female aggression, particularly in the area of adolescent bullying. Rachel Wiseman (2002) finds that "girls are constantly comparing themselves to each other" (77) and that "to get along with other girls

[63] Conversely, Vaillancourt (2010) identified that a lack of attractiveness may be more prized in a friend. Over 67% of 1,100 young women surveyed reported feeling better when in the company of a woman who was heavier than they were (22)

(they) have a high tightrope to walk across with no net. The definition of femininity is complicated, and it's easy to make mistakes" (Ibid. 87). According to Wiseman, getting to the top of today's complex, multi-layered social pyramid is about style, beauty, and image – the same elements witnessed in the power struggle between Emma and Augusta written over two hundred years ago.

Austen depicts Augusta Elton understanding the unwritten rule of enforced equality. From the start, she attempts to indicate the wealth of her family without crude references to money. Instead, she compares Emma's family estate to her brother-in-law's home;

> [t]he very first subject after being seated was Maple Grove, 'My brother Mr Suckling's seat,' 'Very like Maple Grove indeed! – She was quite struck by the likeness! – That room was the very shape and size of the morning-room at Maple Grove; her sister's favourite room.' – Mr Elton was appealed to. – 'Was not it astonishingly like? – She could really almost fancy herself at Maple Grove' (E 195).

Casually referencing Mr Suckling's status symbols of a private barouche landau and chaise, Augusta carefully avoids direct posturing. She uses the words of others to avoid direct boasts about her own musical abilities, commenting instead that "'my friends say I am not entirely devoid of taste'" (Ibid. 197). Moreover, although eager to take precedence in entering the dining room, Mrs Elton pretends to resist. Readers learn that she was ready even "before she could be spoken to." "Before Mr Woodhouse had reached her, with his request to be allowed to hand her into the dining-parlour," she feigned hesitancy, half questioning, "'must I go first, I really am ashamed of always leading the way'" (Ibid. 213).

Mrs Elton demonstrates a subtle understanding of Benenson's (2013) finding that "female friends prohibit competition by one another and other acquaintances by punishing superiority (and) requiring reciprocity" (7). Instead of asking outright, she fishes for admiration of herself in return for positive attentions to Jane Fairfax. The narrator notes,

> [a]fter a good many compliments to Jane on her dress and look, compliments very quietly and properly taken, Mrs Elton was evidently wanting to be complimented herself, asking 'How do you like my gown? – How do you like my trimming? – How has Wright done my hair?' – with many other relative questions, all answered with patient politeness (E 232).

According to Chesler, Mrs Elton's questions lead her into dangerous territory as, "painfully – and almost constantly, girls scrutinise each other's behaviour for displays that might be interpreted as showing that one girl is trying to differentiate herself from others in the group" (82). Chesler explains that "status-seeking girls tend to be rejected or excluded by other girls" (Ibid.). Sensitive to this, Mrs Elton quickly corrects herself. She adds, "'nobody can think less of dress in general than I do'" (E 232). She attributes her need for praise as a social convention to please others. Augusta explains that her behaviour was "'in compliment to the Westons – who I have no doubt are giving this ball chiefly to do me honour – I would not wish to be inferior to others. And I see very few pearls in the room except mine'" (Ibid.).

The struggle for enforced equality between Emma and Augusta was not one-sided. Emma was distressed at being invited to a picnic at Box Hill together with the Eltons. She "found herself, therefore, obliged to consent to an arrangement which she would have done a great deal to avoid, an arrangement which would probably expose her even to the degradation of being said to be of Mrs Elton's party!" (Ibid. 253). During the picnic, Frank Churchill attempts to enliven the group, exclaiming, "'Ladies and gentlemen, I am ordered by Miss Woodhouse (who, wherever she is, presides) to say, that she desires to know what you are all thinking of?'" (Ibid. 264). Readers learn that "Mrs Elton swelled at the idea of Miss Woodhouse's presiding" (Ibid.). In response, Augusta immediately attempts to re-even the playing field, declaring that as "'the chaperon'" of the party, she would not engage in what she considered juvenile and "'silly games'" (Ibid. 265).

Even the novel's conclusion focuses on the rivalry between the women. Blakey Vermeule notes, "the last paragraph of Emma, so affirming of the metaphysical power of love to heal all vexations, is marred by Augusta Elton's all-encompassing search for signs of weakness in her rival Emma" (192). Mrs Elton "thought it all extremely shabby, and very inferior to her own. – 'Very little white satin, very few lace veils; a most pitiful business!'" (E 350).

d. Compete Openly Only If from a Place of Power

According to Benenson's research, the one circumstance in which young women can feel safe in openly mistreating their female peers is when they themselves possess higher socioeconomic status. Contemporary social psychologists Copeland (1995), Benenson et al. (2011), Björqkvist (1992), and Chesler (2001) distinguish high status as a way to ensure

adequate resources for women as well as for their relations, spouses and trusted female friends. Women like Emma and Mrs Elton use "prosocial dominance" to control other women's behaviour, often including bullying and emotional abuse (Benenson et al. 5).

Such relationships can make sense for the lower status females as, in theory, they "can increase their access to valuable mates."[64] Unfortunately, as Benenson et al. identified, "this rarely produces pay-offs, as a high-status girl profits little from allying with anyone but another high-status girl" (6). In these terms, Emma could have benefitted with an alliance with Mrs Elton as her economic equal, or with Jane Fairfax as her intellectual equal. Her lopsided friendship with Harriet, Emma's inferior in birth, wealth, and intellect, was doomed from the start.

The dangers of disparate friendships were common knowledge in Austen's day. Kaplan's study of Regency conduct books finds frequent warnings against intimacies between women of differing status. Kaplan asserts, "we have almost no evidence of close, long-lasting ties between a gentlewoman and a woman beneath her in rank," like Emma and Harriet (6). Kaplan elaborates,

> the few exceptions that we know of usually occurred between elite women and very loyal, long-serving upper servants . . . the widest difference in status that such friendships could tolerate was generally that between a governess, often recruited from the lesser gentry and the wife or daughters in the prosperous family that employed her (Ibid. 66).

In this way, Kaplan explains the social acceptability of the relationship between Emma and her former governess, Mrs Weston.

In *Queen Bees and Wannabees* (2002), Wiseman demonstrates how the Emma/Harriet relationship could seem familiar to modern young women. Aggregating years of observational research into the behaviour of western adolescent women, Wiseman proves that their types are found frequently in schools and workplaces. Emma fits well within Wiseman's definition of the "Queen Bee," a girl who "through a combination of charisma,

[64] Another example of Austen's understanding of this principle is Mrs Bennet's joy at a possible union between Jane and Mr Bingley, as it would improve the marriage prospects of the other four Bennet daughters.

force, money, looks, will and manipulation. . . reigns supreme over other girls" (25).[65] The payoff for Queen Bees is a feeling of "power and control over her environment. She's the centre of attention, and people pay homage to her" (Ibid. 27). In Wiseman's typology, Harriet is a "Wannabe," who "will do anything to be in the good graces of the Queen Bee" (33). She is "motivated above all else to please the person who's standing above her on the social totem pole" (Ibid.). Wiseman observes that targets of the Queen Bee often feel "anointed" by her attention, echoing Harriet's sentiments at first meeting Emma (Ibid.:

> Miss Woodhouse was so great a personage in Highbury, that the prospect of the introduction had given as much panic as pleasure; but the humble, grateful little girl went off with highly gratified feelings, delighted with the affability with which Miss Woodhouse had treated her all the evening, and actually shaken hands with her at last! (E 16).

As a Wannabe, Harriet's role is precarious yet attractive, offering her "the feeling that she belongs; she's in the middle of the action and has power over other girls," yet with "trouble developing personal boundaries and the ability to communicate them to others" (Wiseman 34).

When the newly married Augusta arrives in Highbury, Emma has already groomed the vapid and biddable Harriet. Austen describes her as a person very open to Emma's charms; "Harriet certainly was not clever, but she had a sweet, docile, grateful disposition, was totally free from conceit, and only desiring to be guided by any one she looked up to" (sic, E 16). Quickly, Emma "was quite convinced of Harriet Smith's being exactly the young friend she wanted," describing her somewhat in the manner of a throw cushion or decorative vase, "exactly the something which her home required" (Ibid.). Emma had no illusions that her relationship with Harriet would be the same as that with her former governess, for "Mrs Weston was the object of a regard which had its basis in gratitude and esteem. Harriet would be loved as one to whom she could be useful" (Ibid.).

[65] Wiseman's definition of "Queen Bee" focuses on relationships between young women and varies slightly from that of occupational psychologists discussed in the last chapter, which is used to describe adult women in workplace settings.

Quite rapidly after meeting, "Harriet Smith's intimacy at Hartfield was soon a settled thing," not because of an intellectual marriage of the minds or a shared set of acquaintances. Instead, Harriet is simply a useful replacement for Mrs Weston:

> [a]s a walking companion, Emma had very early foreseen how useful she might find . . . a Harriet Smith . . . one whom she could summon at any time to a walk would be a valuable addition to her privileges. But in every respect, as she saw more of her, she approved her, and was confirmed in all her kind designs (Ibid.).

Yasmine Gooneratne (1970) explains Harriet's attraction for Emma on her engaging nature,

> because it soon becomes clear, her deference approximates to Emma's idea of the respect she is entitled to. Harriet's shyness is not inconvenient; why? It allows Emma to talk, and to guide the conversation of her guests as she will – Emma prides herself on her talents as a hostess. Harriet does not push – that is, she does not try to take the centre of the stage, which Emma has come to regard as hers by right. She is pleasantly grateful for being invited to Hartfield – her gratitude for what she clearly regards as an honour pleases and flatters Emma (143).

Emma first takes control of Harriet by separating her from connections within her own social strata. According to Wiseman, this is typical Queen Bee behaviour. Wiseman explains that "Queen Bees are careful to regulate the popularity of other girls" (209). Accordingly, Emma declares to herself that "the acquaintance she had already formed were unworthy of her. The friends from whom she had just parted, though very good sort of people, must be doing her harm" (E 14). Readers are alerted to Emma's prejudice early on, as she considers the family with whom Harriet had spent her holiday;

> [t]hey were a family of the name of Martin, whom Emma well knew by character . . . she knew Mr Knightley thought highly of them – but they must be coarse and unpolished, and very unfit to be the intimates of a girl who wanted only a little more knowledge and elegance to be quite perfect (Ibid).

The narrator indicates Emma's self-justification for the separation:

> [s]he would notice her; she would improve her; she would detach her from her bad acquaintance and introduce her into good society; she would form her opinions and her manners. It would be an interesting, and certainly a very kind

> undertaking; highly becoming her own situation in life, her leisure, and powers (Ibid. 15).

Emma quickly realised that her new protege was romantically interested in Mr Martin. Readers learn "she did suspect danger to her poor little friend from all this hospitality and kindness, and that, if she were not taken care of, she might be required to sink herself forever" (Ibid. 17).

Ignoring the sensibility of the match, Emma attempts to identify flaws in the young man, questioning Harriet on his reading habits, age, and appearance. She makes it clear to Harriet that Mr Martin holds no weight in her social circle, stating, "'I may have seen him fifty times, but without having any idea of his name. A young farmer, whether on horseback or on foot, is the very last sort of person to raise my curiosity'" (Ibid. 19). Emma attempts to wipe any thoughts of marriage from Harriet's mind, cautioning: "'I wish you may not get into a scrape, Harriet, whenever he does marry; – I mean, as to being acquainted with his wife – for though his sisters, from a superior education, are not to be altogether objected to, it does not follow that he might marry anybody at all fit for you to notice'" (Ibid.).

Emma claims to act in Harriet's best interests; "'you understand the force of influence pretty well, Harriet . . . I want to see you permanently well connected, and to that end it will be advisable to have as few odd acquaintances as may be'" (Ibid.). Emma gently denigrates the suitor, "'He is very plain, undoubtedly – remarkably plain: – but that is nothing compared with his entire want of gentility. I had no right to expect much, and I did not expect much; but I had no idea that he could be so very clownish, so totally without air'" (Ibid. 21). Carefully phrasing her words, Emma attempts to get Harriet to join in her insults, reminding her,

> 'I think, Harriet, since your acquaintance with us, you have been repeatedly in the company of some such very real gentlemen, that you must yourself be struck with the difference in Mr Martin. At Hartfield, you have had very good specimens of well educated, well-bred men. I should be surprised if, after seeing them, you could be in company with Mr Martin again without perceiving him to be a very inferior creature – and rather wondering at yourself for having ever thought him at all agreeable before. Do not you begin to feel that now? Were not you struck? I am sure you must have been struck by his awkward look and abrupt manner, and the

> uncouthness of a voice which I heard to be wholly unmodulated as I stood here' (Ibid.).

Emma's most harmful act is encouraging Harriet to reject Mr Martin's offer of marriage, which represents safety and security for the bastard girl. When Harriet asks if Emma expects her to refuse him, Emma feigns surprise, concealing her sabotage in tender words,

> '[m]y dear Harriet, what do you mean? Are you in any doubt as to that? I thought – but I beg your pardon, perhaps I have been under a mistake. I certainly have been misunderstanding you, if you feel in doubt as to the purport of your answer. I had imagined you were consulting me only as to the wording of it' (Ibid. 35).

Reluctant to displease the socially superior Emma, Harriet confirms the rejection. Emma immediately exclaims, "'it would have grieved me to lose your acquaintance, which must have been the consequence of your marrying Mr Martin'" (Ibid.). Harshly, Emma expounds that "'it would have been the loss of a friend to me.'" Emma explains that "'I could not have visited Mrs Robert Martin, of Abbey-Mill Farm.'" Triumphantly she exclaims, "'now I am secure of you forever'" (Ibid. 36). As for Harriet, the "idea of it struck her forcibly . . . what an escape! – 'Dear Miss Woodhouse, I would not give up the pleasure and honour of being intimate with you for anything in the world'" (Ibid. 37). With this act, Hazel Jones (2009) concludes,

> Emma uses her position most unfairly and dangerously - she does not consider the benefits of such a match for an illegitimate girl. She has no grasp of the stark reality of Harriet's uncertain position, and despite her protestation of eternal friendship, she will not assume financial or emotional responsibility for her (32).

Wayne Booth also critiques that

> Emma's sin against Harriet has been something far worse than the mere meddling of a busybody. To destroy Harriet's chances for happiness – chances that depend entirely on her marriage – is as close to viciousness as any author could dare to take a heroine designed to be loved (in Lodge 210-1).

Emma hopes to dictate whom Harriet will marry. According to Wiseman's research, this is typical, as "when they set up another girl, one of the ulterior motives is to bind the girl more closely to the Queen Bee" (209). If she had succeeded in pairing Harriet with Mr Elton or Frank Churchill, Harriet would have been ever "beholden to the Queen Bee" (Ibid.). Wiseman

declares that the Queen's power can extend so far as to "influence when the girl stops liking the boy" (Ibid.), exemplified in Harriet's sudden rejection of Mr Martin and tearful but firm adieu to her hopes of Mr Elton. Indeed, Harriet's disappointment with the young curate is a golden opportunity for Emma, for as Wiseman puts it, "a breakup's silver lining is that it creates great girl bonding moments. The intimacy that comes out of these experiences can be intense" (Ibid. 213).

Throughout the novel, Emma leads Harriet astray. As proposed by Gooneratne, the Harriet relationship exposes Emma's "arrogant self-importance," which was usually "politely and wisely concealed when visiting neighbours in Highbury" (153). Yet, it was

> openly indulged before Harriet, who would not dream of criticising her. Harriet, it seems, is even ready to regulate her own life according to Emma's deluded doctrines. Their relationship exposes and indulges Emma's love of power, and her desire to dominate her world. Harriet is an easy victim, and in return for adoration and obedience Emma gives Harriet her affection and her patronage (153).

Providing a parallel to the Emma/Harriet relationship is that of Mrs Elton and Jane Fairfax. From the start, Emma makes no real attempt to welcome the new bride into the local society. Austen writes,

> [i]n one respect Mrs Elton grew even worse than she had appeared at first. Her feelings altered towards Emma. – Offended, probably, by the little encouragement which her proposals of intimacy met with, she drew back in her turn and gradually became much more cold and distant; and though the effect was agreeable, the ill-will which produced it was necessarily increasing Emma's dislike (E 201).

Gooneratne recognises Mrs Elton's "unasked" assumption of the "duty" of protecting and patronising Jane Fairfax as a way to shine in the small community (149). Readers learn that

> Mrs Elton took a great fancy to Jane Fairfax, and from the first. Not merely when *a state of warfare* with one young lady might be supposed to recommend the other, but from the very first; and she was not satisfied with expressing a natural and reasonable admiration – but without solicitation, or plea, or privilege, she must be wanting to assist and befriend her (E 201, emphasis added).

Initially, Mrs Elton attempts to team up with Emma for the project, challenging,

> ‘Miss Woodhouse, we must exert ourselves and endeavour to do something for her. We must bring her forward. Such talent as hers must not be suffered to remain unknown. . . my resolution is taken as to noticing Jane Fairfax. – I shall certainly have her very often at my house, shall introduce her wherever I can, shall have musical parties to draw out her talents, and shall be constantly on the watch for an eligible situation’ (Ibid. 202-3).

Lynda Hall (2017) describes Mrs. Elton as flaunting ″her patronage of the Bates women,″ to use ″her charity as a mark of her financial superiority″ (293). Hall explains that ″connecting herself with the Bates women,″ is a way for the newcomer to build her ″cultural capital,″ as she ″enters the community merely with ‘educational capital’ as well as economic value and power.″ By patronising the Bates household, Mrs Elton intends to elevate herself . . . she calls herself ‘Lady Patroness’″ (Ibid.). Mrs Elton garners local approval for her efforts:

> Miss Bates’s gratitude for Mrs Elton’s attentions to Jane was in the first style of guileless simplicity and warmth. She was quite one of her worthies – the most amiable, affable, delightful woman – just as accomplished and condescending as Mrs Elton meant to be considered (E 203).

Mrs Elton’s attentions to Jane Fairfax were, like Emma’s to Harriet, self-serving. Ignoring Jane’s protestations, she insists on broadcasting the orphan’s need for gainful employment. Insisting on identifying a governess position for Jane, Mrs Elton keeps Jane occupied and successfully ignores Emma in various social settings. At the Coles’ dinner party, Augusta separates herself from the group with Jane, and

> though much that passed between them was in a half-whisper, especially on Mrs Elton’s side, there was no avoiding a knowledge of their principal subjects. . . one, which must be at least equally unpleasant to Jane – inquiries whether she had yet heard of any situation likely to suit her, and professions of Mrs Elton’s meditated activity (Ibid. 214).

Jane ineffectively rejects Mrs Elton’s attentions. In no uncertain terms, she states, ″’I have not even made any inquiry; I do not wish to make any yet’″ (Ibid.). Employing affiliative language, Mrs Elton attempts to persuade her. ″I’ know what a modest creature you are,’″ she flatters. ″’It will not satisfy your friends to have you taking up with anything that may offer, any inferior, commonplace situation, in a family not moving in a certain circle, or able

to command the elegancies of life'" (Ibid. 215). Mrs Elton cajoles, "'with your superior talents, you have a right to move in the first circle'" (Ibid.). Helpless against this onslaught, Jane merely repeats, "'I would not wish you to take the trouble of making any inquiries at present,'" "'thank you, but I would rather you did not,'" and "'I make no inquiry myself, and should be sorry to have any made by my friends'" (Ibid.). She unsuccessfully repeats, "'I am very serious in not wishing anything to be attempted at present for me. I am exceedingly obliged to you, Mrs Elton, I am obliged to anybody who feels for me, but I am quite serious in wishing nothing to be done till the summer'" (Ibid. 216).

Like Emma, Augusta attempts to portray her manipulations in a positive light. Despite Jane's protestations, Mrs Elton secures a situation for her:

> [o]n her side, all was warmth, energy, and triumph – and she positively refused to take her friend's negative, though Miss Fairfax continued to assure her that she would not at present engage in any thing, repeating the same motives which she had been heard to urge before (sic Ibid. 258).

Nevertheless, "Mrs Elton insisted on being authorised to write an acquiescence by the morrow's post" (Ibid.). Emma watches the relationship with an understanding of Augusta's intentions;

> 'I have no faith in Mrs Elton's acknowledging herself the inferior in thought, word, or deed; or in her being under any restraint beyond her own scanty rule of good-breeding. I cannot imagine that she will not be continually insulting her visitor with praise, encouragement, and offers of service; that she will not be continually detailing her magnificent intentions, from the procuring her a permanent situation to the including her in those delightful exploring parties which are to take place in the barouche-landau' (Ibid. 206).

In keeping with Benenson's findings, Mrs Elton is unable to overtly attack Emma, her social equal. Instead, she chooses to victimize the lower-status Harriet Smith. Austen's text indicates a clear understanding of this principle. The narrator reflects that Emma knew that "she was, of course, the object of (the Eltons') joint dislike. – When they had nothing else to say, it must be always easy to begin abusing Miss Woodhouse," but due to her status, "they dared not shew (their enmity) in open disrespect to her." Instead, they found a "broader vent

in contemptuous treatment of Harriet" (Ibid. 201). From the start, Mrs Elton's manners "were unpleasant towards Harriet. They were sneering and negligent" (Ibid.).

e. Use Social Exclusion

According to Benenson, the fifth strategy used by women to harm their female peers is social exclusion. The work of Björqvist (1992a, 1992b), Karin Österman and colleagues (1998), Chesler (2001), Wiseman (2002), Simmons (2002), Stacy Sechrist (2010), Vaillancourt (2010, 2011, 2013, 2018), and Tania Reynolds et al. (2018) support these findings. Benenson asserts that social exclusion "provides a safe strategy for increasing physical resources, allies, and status opportunities by decreasing the number of competitors" (6). She explains that "girls with high status in the community can more easily socially exclude lower status girls because they attract more female and male allies" (Ibid.).

The practice is incredibly widespread. In "Tripping the Prom Queen," Tracy Vaillancourt finds that of 1,100 female university students, only 16.7% reported having never intentionally ignored others (22). Although not considered physical aggression, social exclusion has physical as well as psychological consequences. Vaillancourt (2013) posits that "in addition to being more willing to use . . . social exclusion than men, women were also better at picking up on social exclusion cues, and their heart rates increased more than men's when being socially included" (5). According to Vaillancourt, this may represent an evolutionary response, as "throughout history, females have been mostly responsible for the care and survival of their offspring; a charge which presumably would be made easier if the female was supported by other females" (Ibid.).

The uncertain relationship between Emma and Jane Fairfax is a mystery to many characters within the novel, but not necessarily to female readers. Despite similarities in age and the narrowness of the Highbury community, Emma and Jane are never friends. Emma's Free Indirect Thought offers a clue;

> [w]hy she did not like Jane Fairfax might be a difficult question to answer; Mr Knightley had once told her it was because she saw in her the really accomplished young woman, which she wanted to be thought herself; and though the accusation had been eagerly refuted at the time, there were moments of self-examination in which her conscience could not quite acquit her (E 117).

Speaking with Harriet, she exclaims, "'one is sick of the very name of Jane Fairfax. Every letter from her is read forty times over . . . I wish Jane Fairfax very well, but she tires me to death'" (Ibid. 62). Emma admits that her reluctance to socialise with Jane makes little sense, dishing to Frank Churchill "'I have known her from a child. . . and it is natural to suppose that we should be intimate – that we should have taken to each other whenever she visited her friends. But we never did'" (Ibid. 144). Attempting to explain the situation, Emma continues, "'I hardly know how it has happened; a little, perhaps, from that wickedness on my side which was prone to take disgust towards a girl so idolised'" (Ibid.).

Examining contemporary research on intra-female indirect aggression, it seems no wonder Emma ignored the talented, pretty Jane. According to the narrator, "Jane Fairfax was very elegant, remarkably elegant," which did not go unnoticed at their reunion by Emma, who "could not but feel all this . . . her face – her features – there was more beauty in them altogether than she had remembered . . . it was very pleasing beauty . . . It was a style of beauty, of which elegance was the reigning character," which Emma felt forced to admire (Ibid.). Empirical studies by Maria Agthe et al. (2010), Vaillancourt (2013), Reynolds et al. (2018), establish a link between victimisation and attractiveness; the more attractive a woman is, the more other women view her as a threat.

Emma knows that her animosity and avoidance of Jane are unfair. "It was a dislike so little just – every imputed fault was so magnified by fancy, that she never saw Jane Fairfax the first time after any considerable absence, without feeling that she had injured her" (E 117). Yet, Jane's musical performances, after which "the thanks and praise which necessarily followed appeared to her an affectation of candour, an air of greatness, meaning only to shew off in higher style her own very superior performance" (Ibid. 119), seem to allow Emma her antipathy. Just as Benenson's typology predicts, Emma is angered by Jane's knowledge of her worth and punishes her by shutting her out.

Emma indicates her understanding of this unwritten rule when analysing her behaviour towards Jane Fairfax. Speculating with Frank Churchill on the origin of the gifted pianoforte, Emma reflects that "there were two points on which she was not quite easy. She doubted whether she had not transgressed the duty of woman by woman, in betraying her suspicions of Jane Fairfax's feelings to Frank Churchill" (Ibid. 165). The narrator continues, "it was hardly right," gossiping with Frank Churchill about Jane, but her enjoyment of his male

approval "made it difficult for her to be quite certain that she ought to have held her tongue" (Ibid.). Emma further demonstrates consciousness in her second regret from that evening, which "related also to Jane Fairfax," as she recognises the falseness of Harriet's praise of her playing and singing. Unlike her dialogue with Frank Churchill, Emma provides contra to Harriet's claim that "'you play the best of the two. I think you play quite as well as she does,'" responding, "'don't class us together, Harriet. My playing is no more like hers than a lamp is like sunshine'" (Ibid.).

Gooneratne concludes that Emma knows very well that Jane, who possesses real refinement of mind and manners and is both cultivated and accomplished, would be a more appropriate companion for her than Harriet (151-2). Why then, does Emma reject the opportunity of Jane's friendship and make a fuss of Harriet? Through Free Indirect Thought, Emma tells herself that Harriet is worth a hundred Jane Fairfaxes, underrating even her own intelligence as being inferior "to all the charm and all the felicity" of Harriet's tender heart (E 192). Gooneratne credibly observes that Emma's dislike of Jane Fairfax has roots in jealousy. Far from being close friends, as their neighbours wish them to be,

> each turns for companionship to the other's (and her own) opposite – Emma to Harriet, Jane to Mrs Elton. Emma rules Harriet, Mrs Elton patronises Jane. The indifference and dislike that prevail among the members of this quartet are only thinly covered by the requirements of social politeness (151-2).

Austen clearly illustrates Emma's understanding of the negative impact of social exclusion. Early in the novel, she experiences it herself. Learning of a dinner party to be held by the Coles, Emma assumes that they could not "presume" to invite the best families of the neighbourhood because of their status as an "only moderately genteel" trade family (E 147). Nevertheless, "with their wealth" and "fortune and style of living," they were "second only to the family at Hartfield" (Ibid.). Emma's thoughts reflect her pettiness; "the Coles were very respectable in their way, but they ought to be taught that it was not for them to arrange the terms on which the superior families would visit them" (Ibid.).

Ironically, Emma's intentions backfire when "Donwell and Randalls had received their invitation, and none had come for her father and herself" (Ibid. 148). The once derided invitation becomes a much coveted one, and Emma eagerly accepts when it finally arrives. Emma was similarly surprised to find herself excluded from a gathering after the eventful

excursion to Box Hill. "'You spent the evening with Mrs Elton?'" Emma queried of Miss Bates, having passed the same hours sadly alone with her invalid father (Ibid. 274). That the snub was intentional, and that Augusta was its source became immediately evident. Miss Bates simply replied, "'yes, all of us; Mrs Elton would have us come. It was settled so, upon the hill'" (Ibid.) Miss Bates pours additional salt in the wound by expounding, "'you *must all* spend your evening with us,' said she," indicating everyone except Emma. Miss Bates elaborates that the invitation was repeated several times, with Augusta insisting, "'I positively must have you *all* come'" (Ibid., emphasis original). Miss Bates continues, "'my mother, and Jane, and I, were all there, and a very agreeable evening we had . . . I shall always think it a very pleasant party and feel extremely obliged to the kind friends who included me in it'" (Ibid.).

Throughout the novel, readers witness the effect of social exclusion on Emma's priorities. Emma is only interested in attending the Coles' party or the gathering after Box Hill because she feels excluded. Similarly, she only develops an interest in Jane Fairfax after the talented and pretty girl is forced to leave the community. Suddenly, when Jane was due to go, it became "a more pressing concern to shew attention to Jane Fairfax, whose prospects were closing" (Ibid. 280). Ignored for months, Jane's "engagements now allowed of no delay in any one at Highbury who wished to shew her kindness – and with Emma it was grown into a first wish" (Ibid.). All at once

> she had scarcely a stronger regret than for her past coldness; and the person, whom she had been so many months neglecting, was now the very one on whom she would have lavished every distinction of regard or sympathy. She wanted to be of use to her; wanted to shew a value for her society and testify respect and consideration (Ibid.).

Despite this change of heart, Emma found herself again ostracised when Jane refuses her written invitation to spend a day at Hartfield. The rebuff is repeated the following day, with the claim that Jane was "quite unequal to any exercise" (Ibid.). Unable to accept this disfavour, Emma drives to the Bates' home to induce Jane to spend time with her. Again, she is rejected, as "Miss Bates made it appear that she had promised her niece on no account to let Miss Woodhouse in" (Ibid. 281).

Only Emma is denied entrance. Miss Bates exclaims, "indeed, the truth was, that poor dear Jane could not bear to see anybody – anybody at all," yet "'Mrs Elton, indeed, could not

be denied – and Mrs Cole had made such a point – and Mrs Perry had said so much – but, except them, Jane would really see nobody'" (Ibid.). Emma bristles at the thought of being "classed with the Mrs Eltons, the Mrs Perrys, and the Mrs Coles, who would force themselves anywhere" (Ibid.). Emma's sense of injustice was doubled when she "heard that Jane Fairfax had been seen wandering about the meadows, at some distance from Highbury" (Ibid. 281). And this, "the very day on which she had, under the plea of being unequal to any exercise, so peremptorily refused to go out with her in the carriage" (Ibid.). Now, "she could have no doubt . . . that Jane was resolved to receive no kindness from her" (Ibid.). At last, through her own experience in being socially excluded, "she was sorry, very sorry" (Ibid. 282).

4.3. Becoming the Mean Girl

Austen's most exceptional insight into female relational aggression is her ability to lull readers into complicity with Emma. Instead of cheering for the underdog, readers are encouraged by the omniscient – if selective – narrator to support the mean girl. By all rights, Emma should not have been a heroine; unlike Elinor Dashwood, Elizabeth Bennet, and Fanny Price, Emma does not emerge from straightened circumstances through successful marriage. "Clever, handsome, and rich, with a comfortable home," Emma can afford to remain single (Ibid. 1). In traditional romance novel terms, Jane Fairfax should be the heroine: orphaned, poor, saved from the cruel "slavery" of becoming a governess by marriage to Frank Churchill.[66]

Alternatively, Augusta Elton is a more likely candidate to be a heroine, representing the outsider, an underdog for whom readers should cheer as she finds her path into local society against the odds. Harriet Smith, the bastard daughter of unknown parentage who escapes an impoverished spinsterhood by marrying an eligible farmer, is also a more believable lead character in a traditional marriage plot novel. Instead, Austen teaches readers to cheer for Emma, Highbury's Queen Bee, who effectively shuts out both Jane and Augusta and leads Harriet down dangerous paths for a girl with limited chances.

Austen uses several techniques to encourage identification with Emma. By allowing direct access to Emma's thoughts on other women, readers are gently drawn into

[66] See Janice Radway (1984, 1997) for an in-depth analysis of the romance novel genre.

acquiescence with her behaviour. Readers are forced to accept Emma's machinations for the progress of the plot. Without Emma's often inappropriate actions towards Harriet, Augusta, and Jane, there simply is no story. Booth claims that it is a tribute to Austen's technical artistry that readers are able to sympathise with Emma at all. He outlines the reader's dilemma, arguing, "unless we desire Emma's happiness and her reform, which alone can make that happiness possible, a good third of this book will seem irredeemably dull" (in Lodge 197). For, he continues,

> by showing most of the story through Emma's eyes, the author ensures that we shall travel with Emma rather than stand against her . . . the sustained inside view leads the reader to hope for the good fortune for the character with whom he travels, quite independently of the qualities revealed (Ibid.).

Manipulative, vain, and deluded, Booth points out that if Emma's story had been told from the standpoint of any other female character in the novel, readers would have a completely different perception of her.

Patricia Spacks (1987) proposes that Austen uses gossip to provide a slow drip of information, "requiring us to do something with it" (134-135). Only after the revelation of Frank and Jane's engagement do readers learn their complicity, forced to "assess the quality of our own interpretations," and "realise the degree to which we, as readers, have participated in the making of the fiction" (Ibid. 135). According to Spacks, readers become part of Highbury's continuum of social tittle-tattle. Spacks represents this phenomenon in gendered tones; "women or not, we have been lured into acting like the women of moralistic stereotypes: lured into rewards and betrayals of speculative gossip. We do not talk out loud, of course, but our inner voices ask gossip's questions, make its judgments" (Ibid.).

In "Regulated Hatred," D.W. Harding (1998) proposes that Austen's "books are, as she meant them to be, read and enjoyed by precisely the sort of people she disliked." Harding concludes, "we cannot say that in *Emma* Jane Austen abandons the Cinderella story. She so deliberately inverts it that we ought to regard *Emma* as a bold variant of the theme and a further exploration of its underlying significance for her" (22). For Harding, "The Cinderella theme is now relegated to the sub-heroine, Jane Fairfax," and Emma takes a position as "one of the ugly sisters" (21). Harding explains that to achieve the effect, Austen encourages readers to "slightly . . . misread what she wrote at a number of scattered points, points

where she took good care . . . that the misreading should be the easiest thing in the world" (6). As noted above, Ruth Perry agrees that Austen intended this misreading, considering it a result of Austen's lack of a "radical vision of social change," a hefty expectation for a Regency novel written by a provincial author with little formal education (198).

Austen's description of Emma grappling with her feelings of dislike toward Jane allows readers to remain faithful to the flawed girl. The narrator softens the reader's reaction to Emma's injustices by occasionally disclosing her conscience. Again, readers know that Emma "never saw Jane Fairfax the first time after any considerable absence without feeling that she had injured her" (E 117). Booth, a male critic, analyses this differently, claiming,

> Jane Austen never lets us forget that Emma is not what she might appear to be. For every section devoted to her misdeeds - and even they are seen for the most part through her own eyes - there is a section devoted to her self-reproach. We see her rudeness to poor foolish Miss Bates, and we see it vividly. We see her successive attempts to mislead Harriet, but we see at great length and in high colour her self-castigation. We see her boasting proudly that she does not need marriage, boasting almost as blatantly of her 'resources' as does Mrs Elton. But we know her too intimately to take her conscious thoughts at face value (in Lodge 198).

Through her descriptions of relational aggression, Austen rejects the binary notion of good versus evil. In Emma, we find both, just as we do in ourselves. In Bradbury's words, "Emma's criticism of Jane Fairfax's reserve comes to tell more about Emma than it does against Jane" (Ibid. 221). She supposes that "the most complex strategy of the novel is the device of filtering it through the eyes of a character of whom Jane Austen doesn't wholly approve, yet with whom she is strongly in sympathy" (Ibid. 227). Similarly, it could be argued, female identification with Emma is very telling of the reader.

4.3.1. Becoming the Chosen with Frank Churchill

A close examination of the Emma/Jane relationship through both biological as well as literary viewpoints demonstrates how Austen steers readers into joining Emma in her unreasonable dislike of Jane Fairfax. Linking *Emma* with various contemporary studies, it is no wonder that modern female readers follow the eponymous character in the rejection of the orphaned girl. Attractive and accomplished, Jane represents a threat to Emma, despite

the drastic differences in their social status. According to Reynolds et al. (2018), "appealing same-sex peers threaten women's own romantic prospects by decreasing the likelihood that women can attract and retain committed romantic partners" (1). This thesis is confirmed by numerous studies in the past decades, demonstrating that women view attractive same-sex peers as a threat.[67]

In addition to being threatening through her beauty and fine manners, Austen shows Jane committing a fundamental sin in the eyes of young women: refusing to deal in gossip. According to Wiseman, 99.99 per cent of girls participate in gossip, which functions as an essential currency in brokering relationships for young women (112). Quoting a sixteen-year-old subject, Wiseman states, "'gossip is like money. We exchange it, sell it, and lend it out. It's what we have of value'" (Ibid. 121). Emma - and readers alike – could expect the impoverished Jane to deal in this cost-free tender. Gossip is counted upon in young women. *Emma* is full of female chatter about other females, from Emma and Harriet discussing Mrs Elton, Mrs Weston speculating on a possible union between Jane Fairfax and Mr Knightly, and Mrs Bates prattling on about her neighbours. Austen uses Jane Fairfax's refusal to take part in gossip about both Frank Churchill and her family to steer readers to interpreting her in the same way as Emma does - a closed-lipped goody-two-shoes. By failing to talk openly, Jane earns increased disrespect from Emma, who describes their relationship thus:

> 'I have known her from a child, undoubtedly; we have been children and women together; and it is natural to suppose that we should be intimate, – that we should have taken to each other whenever she visited her friends. But we never did. I hardly know how it has happened; a little, perhaps, from that wickedness on my side which was prone to take disgust towards a girl so idolized and so cried up as she always was, by her aunt and grandmother, and all their set. And then, her reserve – I never could attach myself to any one so completely reserved . . . intimacy between Miss Fairfax and me is quite out of the question. I have no reason to think ill of her – not the least – except that such extreme and perpetual cautiousness of word and manner, such a dread of giving a distinct idea about anybody, is apt to suggest suspicions of there being something to conceal' (E 144 - 5).

[67] See E. Cashdan (1998), Maryanne Fisher (2004), L.S. Leenaars et al. (2008); Vaillaincourt (2013, 2018).

The narrator draws the reader into Emma's complaint that Jane's "reserve prevailed on other topics. She and Mr Frank Churchill had been at Weymouth at the same time. It was known that they were a little acquainted, but not a syllable of real information could Emma procure as to what he truly was" (Ibid. 119). Emma desperately wanted to know more about the young man's looks and character, but her questions were met with vagaries. The best Emma could expect were comments like "she believed he was reckoned a very fine young man," or "he was generally thought so," and, "at a watering-place, or in a common London acquaintance, it was difficult to decide on such points . . . she believed every body found his manners pleasing" (Ibid.). For this, "Emma could not forgive her" (Ibid.), a sentiment reinforced by being repeated word for word in the first line of the following chapter. "Emma could not forgive her" (Ibid. 120). When lauded by Mr Knightly in hosting Jane, Emma repeats her frustration, "'Oh! No, I was pleased with my own perseverance in asking questions; and amused to think how little information I obtained'" (Ibid. 121).

Without further information on Frank Churchill via Jane, Emma (and readers) can't begin imagining a future between them, an event hoped for by the Westons and an expected device in a marriage plot novel. Emma (and readers) must wait to meet Frank Churchill himself, when Emma pulls information from him about his encounters with Jane Fairfax at Weymouth. Initially, Frank resists, commenting, "'it is always the lady's right to decide on the degree of acquaintance. Miss Fairfax must already have given her account. – I shall not commit myself by claiming more than she may choose to allow'" (Ibid. 142). Eventually, Emma wheedles more out of him, learning that he "met her frequently at Weymouth" (Ibid. 143). Readers are further inveigled in Emma and Frank's gossip, as Frank encourages Emma to believe in a secret rivalry between Jane and her friend Miss Campbell.

Slowly, readers become part of the in-group as Emma continues to engage in gossip with Frank at every chance, speculating that the anonymous gift to Jane of a pianoforte was from Mr Dixon, her best friend's husband. Such an extravagant gift would indicate a secret relationship between the two. Initially, Emma is reluctant to believe ill of Jane, only changing her mind through Frank's use of affiliative speech. "'You may say what you choose – but your countenance testifies that your thoughts on this subject are very much like mine,'" he states. Frank entrusts Emma with his thoughts, "'I do not mean to reflect upon the good intentions of either Mr Dixon or Miss Fairfax, but I cannot help suspecting . . . he had the misfortune to

fall in love with her'" (Ibid. 154). Frank insinuates, "'I am sure there must be a particular cause for her choosing to come to Highbury instead of going with the Campbells to Ireland'" (Ibid.). Emma needs little prodding to accept Frank's theory wholeheartedly, eventually confiding, "'I am perfectly convinced myself that Mr Dixon is a principal in the business'" (Ibid. 156).

The two-faced Frank slyly plants incorrect information, suggesting that, "'a man, a very musical man, and in love with another woman – engaged to her – on the point of marriage – would yet never ask that other woman to sit down to the instrument, if (Jane) could sit down instead.'" At this, Emma was "highly amused . . . we shall know more about them all in half an hour from you than Miss Fairfax would have vouchsafed in half a year'" (Ibid.). Fascinated with the imagined rivalry between Jane and her friend, Emma continues to probe, asking

> '[h]ow did Miss Campbell appear to like it? One would rather have a stranger preferred than one's very particular friend – with a stranger, it might not recur again – but the misery of having a very particular friend always at hand, to do everything better than one does oneself! – Poor Mrs Dixon!' (Ibid. 144).

At this, Frank continues his insinuations, stating that Jane "'must have felt the improper and dangerous distinction'" (Ibid.).

Emma's gossip with Frank mirrors the research of Campbell (2004), Archer and Coyne (2005), Stacey Rucas et al. (2006), McAndrew (2014), and Reynolds (2016, 2018), who examine women's use of idle talk in transmitting social information on same-sex romantic rivals as a strategic mechanism. Their findings indicate that women flirt with other women's romantic partners, strategically spreading or withholding information to damage their reputations. Reynolds concludes that the transmission of selective information is a key mechanism of female intersexual competition, as "women capitalise on . . . opportunities to selectively tarnish the reputations of their same-sex romantic rivals" (12). Suggestions of sexual infidelity are one of the primary types of information used by females to harm their same-sex peers' romantic and social opportunities. By promoting the notion of Jane's relationship with Mr Dixon while flirting with Frank, Emma perpetrates this behaviour.

The narrator encourages the reader's feeling of being party to the duo's secrets by flaunting Emma and Frank's understanding of one another. "Smiles of intelligence passed between her and the gentleman on first glancing towards Miss Fairfax" (E 157). Frank

encourages Emma's sense of superiority over Jane, relating "when . . . her attention could be restored as before; she saw Frank Churchill looking intently across the room at Miss Fairfax." Inquiring at its meaning, he replied, "'I believe I have been very rude, but really Miss Fairfax has done her hair in so odd a way – so very odd a way – that I cannot keep my eyes from her. I never saw anything so outré!'" (Ibid. 158). Emma appreciates Frank's attention, for

> [w]hen they all sat down, it was better; to her taste a great deal better, for Frank Churchill grew talkative and gay, making her his first object. Every distinguishing attention that could be paid was paid to her. To amuse her, and be agreeable in her eyes, seemed all that he cared for – and Emma, glad to be enlivened, not sorry to be flattered, was gay and easy too, and gave him all the friendly encouragement, the admission to be gallant, which she had ever given in the first and most animating period of their acquaintance . . . in the judgment of most people looking on it must have had such an appearance as no English word but flirtation could very well describe (Ibid. 264).

Austen indicates that Emma knew precisely what she was doing, contemplating what others would say of their behaviour; "'Mr Frank Churchill and Miss Woodhouse flirted together excessively.' They were laying themselves open to that very phrase – and to having it sent off in a letter to Maple Grove by one lady, to Ireland by another" (Ibid.).

4.3.2. Box Hill - A Step Too Far

Readers are shocked out of their sympathies with Emma by her appalling behaviour at Box Hill, where Emma's mean-spiritedness is unmasked. The incident begins with Emma's continued open flirting with Frank, who encourages the group to talk by demanding, "'ladies and gentlemen, I am ordered by Miss Woodhouse (who, wherever she is, presides) to say, that she desires to know what you are all thinking of?'" (Ibid. 265). Sensing reluctance, he backtracks, stating, that Emma "'waives her right of knowing exactly what you may all be thinking of, and only requires something very entertaining from each of you'" (Ibid. 266). He expounds, "'she only demands from each of you either one thing very clever . . . two things moderately clever . . . or three things very dull indeed.'" At this, he promises, "'she engages to laugh heartily at them all'" (Ibid. 266). The often overly chatty Miss Bates obediently replies,

> '[t]hree things very dull indeed. That will just do for me, you know. I shall be sure to

> say three dull things as soon as ever I open my mouth, shan't I? (looking round with the most good-humoured dependence on every body's assent) – Do not you all think I shall?' (Ibid.).

At this, Emma exposes her true nature. The narrator relates, "Emma could not resist," snidely commenting in front of the group, "'Ah! Ma'am, but there may be a difficulty. Pardon me – but you will be limited as to number – only three at once'" (Ibid.). Miss Bates is depicted slowly realising the insult, uttering "'yes, I see what she means . . . I will try to hold my tongue. I must make myself very disagreeable, or she would not have said such a thing to an old friend'" (Ibid.). After this intercourse, Emma's sovereignty over the small party quickly dissolves. Mrs Elton promptly flees the scene with her husband, followed by Miss Bates, Miss Fairfax, and Mr Knightley, leaving Emma alone with Frank Churchill and her Wannabe, Harriet. Emma herself becomes the target of social exclusion and has only herself to blame.

Emma quite clearly breaks the "girl code" outlined by both Benenson and Wiseman. Instead of withholding her catty remarks for women of her age or social status or hiding her aggression in any way, Emma openly mocks Miss Bates, an impoverished spinster. Without concealing her meaning in couched terms, Emma's misbehaviour could be interpreted as an attempt to strengthen her affiliation with Frank. Witness to similar behaviour in modern young women, Wiseman argues that "girls understand that their social status and identity are tied to relationships with boys," and that "in trying to please a boy, she may betray and sacrifice her friendships with girls" (235). The motto of sacrifice is repeated by Terry Castle (2002), who aptly describes the impact of the scene:

> What is disturbing about the Box Hill episode that it intimates, momentarily, a world in disorder, and a 'principle of separation' at work in human affairs. For an instant, civility itself seems to break down, and the novel verges on nightmare. (Emma's baiting of Miss Bates, witnessed by a group of unwilling yet fascinated onlookers, bears more than a passing resemblance to the scapegoating rituals of primitive societies, in which the weakest member of the group is selected for sacrifice.) Nor does Emma's own embarrassment and remorse do much – at least at first – to alter the mood. As Emma is taken off in the carriage, more miserable than 'at any circumstance in her life,' we sense Austen tapping into certain primal

> human fears – of abandonment, of violent expulsion from the group, of being sent away to die (48).

On Box Hill, readers are startled into accepting Emma as a seriously flawed character and their complicity in cheering her on. As Castle proposes,

> when Austen's smarty-pants heroine loses patience with dotty old Miss Bates and makes a joke at her expense, thus earning a reprimand from Mr Knightley – it would seem to be that, yes, some old ladies are appallingly out of it, but you damn well better not be cruel to them if you want to live with yourself afterwards (xvi).

In Mr Knightley's rebuke of Emma, Austen clearly shows an understanding of Benenson's principle of ensured equality. Knightley rightly admonishes Emma that,

> '[w]ere she your equal in situation – but, Emma, consider how far this is from being The case. She is poor; she has sunk from the comforts she was born to; and, if she live to old age, must probably sink more. Her situation should secure your compassion. It was badly done, indeed!' (E 270).

Emma immediately realises her crime. "She was most forcibly struck. The truth of this representation there was no denying. She felt it at her heart. How could she have been so brutal, so cruel to Miss Bates!" (Ibid.). From this scene on, Emma's learning curve rapidly accelerates, and she learns to feel guilt towards not only Miss Bates, but towards Jane and Harriet as well.

Emma finally realises the senselessness of her jealousy towards Jane once her hidden engagement to Frank Churchill comes to light. Before, Emma displayed a disturbing lack of empathy for every woman in the novel with the exception of her own sister and former governess. At discovering herself systematically deceived by both Frank and Jane, readers learn that

> Emma could now imagine why her own attentions had been slighted. This discovery laid many smaller matters open. No doubt it had been from jealousy. – In Jane's eyes she had been a rival, and well might anything she could offer of assistance or regard be repulsed. An airing in the Hartfield carriage would have been the rack, and arrowroot from the Hartfield storeroom must have been poison. She understood it all, and as far as her mind could disengage itself from the injustice and selfishness of

angry feelings, she acknowledged that Jane Fairfax would have neither elevation nor happiness beyond her desert (Ibid. 290).

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the applicability of biocultural research to analyse parallels between the experience of contemporary women and the female characters in Jane Austen's *Emma*. For the most part, past approaches to the novel have come from within the humanities, only seldom referencing empirical studies of human behaviour. Building on psychologist Joyce Benenson's and sociologist Rosalind Wiseman's recent findings on indirect female aggression, clear parallels were identified between Austen's text and modern female experience. Each of Benenson's five strategies, extant throughout women's lives, are witnessed in Austen's work. Reluctant to aggress physically, women tend to disguise competition amongst themselves, enforcing equality if at all possible. Like Benenson and Wiseman predict, only Austen's highly-ranked females can socially afford to misbehave, and one of the most hurtful strategies requires almost no action at all – the exclusion of other women is enough to cause psychological pain. These commonalities could explain how, despite a gap of 200 years, female readers are likely to have experienced the very same indirect aggression patterns as Austen's characters, both as victims and perpetrators.

Austen's accurate descriptions of intra-gender relational aggression leave readers in no doubt that the quibbling between Highbury's ladies continues beyond the happy ending. At the close, "Austen reinforces the cultural accounting system in the novel by excluding Mrs Elton . . . from the Woodhouse-Knightly wedding" (Copeland 108). This leaves nothing for the uninvited Augusta to do but declare the wedding "'extremely shabby, and very inferior to her own'" (E 350). The social necessity of female alliances and the darker side to these affiliations is explored in further depth in the following chapter, again using Wiseman as a model.

5. Familiar Frenemies in *Northanger Abbey* and *Sense and Sensibility*

"Friendships with other girls are a double-edged sword."

- Rosalind Wiseman

In *The Art of War*, early Han period military strategist Sun Tzu advises warriors to keep their friends close, and their enemies even closer. The sentiment remains valid in today's battles between young adult women, materializing in the twenty-first century term *frenemy*, describing a "person who combines the characteristics of a friend and an enemy" (OED 2008). Although the term was first added to the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 2008, Tzu's words demonstrate the sentiment's antiquity. Austen's novels are riddled with tales of intra-gender manipulation disguised as friendship.

Modern social and behavioural scientists are just beginning to document and quantify what Austen knew instinctively. Hardly a woman alive has not experienced a frenemy, whose opinions and affection bring both positive and destructive consequences. In both our own time and Austen's, intense female camaraderie provides essential social interaction. Nevertheless, its cultural necessity has drastically changed for a variety of reasons, from the transformation of gendered social norms to the increased survival rate of women in childbirth. Today, women are free to enter platonic friendships with men and can pay others to mind their offspring, no longer relying solely on female kin or friends to ensure the safety of their genetic goods. Nevertheless, ties between women remain important.

This chapter examines research on the usefulness of these alliances – both good and bad – in Austen's time and our own, followed by a discussion of past literary scholarship on frenemy relations in *Northanger Abbey* and *Sense and Sensibility*. Close reading shows parallels between the fictional female relationships in Austen's novels and the experience of modern young women, as evidenced in Rosalind Wiseman (2002) and Rachel Simmons' (2002) bestselling sociopsychological studies. Based on their work with hundreds of high school girls, the social hierarchy and behavioural types they identify have since been applied to females of every age group both in personal and professional contexts.

5.1. Regency Female Friendships

Literary scholars are not united in their understanding of female friendships at the time Austen produced her novels. Assessing Georgian conduct books for women, Deborah Kaplan (1992) determines that close female friendships served as psychological support. Kaplan explains that "female friendships at their best did not compete with a woman's familial ties and duties but served to support them, just as they served to support the domestic, feminine identity" (64). According to Kaplan, this was undoubtedly true for Austen, as "evidence about the period of time during which Austen wrote . . . shows that she was coming to rely increasingly on female friendship as a crucial intellectual and emotional support for her social life and literary endeavours" (157). Janet Todd (1980) explores female friendships in literature as "the only social relationship," which "the heroine actively constructs" (2). As mothers in Regency literature, "are usually bad and living or good and dead," Todd finds that fictional young women rely on female friends to prepare them for love and life (Ibid.).

In contrast, Herbert Grabes (2008) claims that eighteenth-century female relationships were "marked by acrimony" (4). Grabes alleges that women "fought with one another, slandered and censured the behaviour of female associates, and evaluated and criticised the bodies and moral characters of the women who surrounded them" (Ibid.). Undeniably, women have challenged each other since the beginning of time. Grabes' singling out a particular era as especially hostile ignores the timeless importance of female networks for the physical survival of women and their offspring.

5.2. Understanding Isabella Thorpe

5.2.1. Literature Review

Female relations in *Northanger Abbey* have received only a small fraction of attention compared to the marriage plot or the theme of Regency novel consumption.[68] Literary scholars who have demonstrated interest in the dynamics between Catherine Morland and Isabella Thorpe conclude that the older girl is superficial and manipulative. As early as 1913, Francis Warre Cornish finds that Isabella's interest in Catherine,

[68] See Barbara M. Benedict and Deirdre Le Faye's introduction to the Cambridge Edition of *Northanger Abbey* (2006).

> was no doubt quickened by the fact that she admired James Morland, Catherine's brother. For the present the friendship was all-satisfying. Isabella Thorpe is one of those females not unfrequently (sic) met within Jane Austen's novels, who combine an empty head and agreeable manners with a clear view of personal advantage. Some of them succeed; some fail in their object, which is to get a husband and a position. They are in the middle distance, between the heroes and the villains, between the Darcys and the Wickhams, the Elinors and the Lucy Steeles. Poor Catherine was so delighted with finding a friend to sympathise with her about the *Mysteries of Udolpho* that she did not observe how vapid, vulgar, and self-seeking her new friend was (180).

The friendship between the young and naive Catherine and the vacuous hussy Isabella is not a real meeting of the minds. Instead, it is a useful tool for personal advancement. Marilyn Butler (1975) echoes Cornish, seeing Isabella as an opportunist, and a dangerous, egotistical threat to the moral fabric of society (177).

Referring to Isabella as ″speculative and predatory″ (3), Lynda Hall (2017) demonstrates that, ″in her elaborate plan to secure her financial future, Isabella creates fiction after fiction, even exposing her new friend to potential scandal and physical danger″ (123). Fiction is also the subject of Christopher Wilkes' (2009) interpretation of the relationship. Focusing on Catherine and Isabella's consumption of the Gothic novel, he interprets the ″entire novel″ as a ″debate with the stereotypes and caricatures″ of the Gothic tradition (21). Bernhard Paris (1978) examines Austen's mimetic characterisations, calling them her ″most brilliant but least recognised achievements (17). Paris attempts to diagnose Isabella based on Karen Horney's Neo-Freudian terms, labelling her an ″aggressive type″ (Ibid. 177). Disconcertingly, Paris goes on to diagnose the author herself, based on her plots and characters (Ibid. 175). Paris' conclusions seem extraordinarily presumptive, as Cassandra Austen's systematic destruction of Austen's letters resulted in incomplete insight into Austen as a person.

Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar (2000 [1979]) refer to *Northanger Abbey* as a subversive protest against the Regency class and gender system. They describe Catherine's tale as ″exactly how a girl in search of her life story finds herself entrapped in a series of monstrous fictions which deprive her of primacy″ (135). These monstrosities include social

dependency on Isabella Thorpe, "a heroine with a vengeance . . . who runs after men with a single-minded determination not even barely disguised by her protestations of sisterly affection for Catherine" (Ibid.). In the end, Isabella makes "Catherine's life miserable by preying on her gullibility and vulnerability" (Ibid. 3012). Gilbert and Gubar initially refer to Isabella as a liar who uses Catherine as a pawn. Later, Gilbert and Gubar interpret her as a double, who "must be completely punished and revealed in all her monstrous aspiration" (Ibid. 3249). This assertion is problematic, as the character of Isabella, although egregious, is undoubtedly much more dynamic than passive Catherine. Their relationship represents the beginning of Catherine's education, which eventually teaches her to question everything that she initially believes, including Isabella's false declarations of affection.

Moral education is also the theme of Alistair Duckworth's (1971) analysis of the friendship and the novel as an exploration of Catherine's moral growth. For Duckworth, Isabella represents false learning (83). Barbara Benedict and Dierdre Le Faye (2006) see parallels in Isabella to Fanny Burney's character, Indiana Lynmere.[69] As with Radcliffe's heroines, Benedict and Le Faye argue, Catherine endures "embarrassment and doubt as she makes moral choices," feeling "confusion, physical fear, and superstitious terror as she gropes her way through circumstances both menacing and incomprehensible" (xxxv).

Literary Darwinists Joseph Carroll et al. (2012) attempt to quantify reader interpretations of 435 characters from 19th-century novels, including Isabella Thorpe. Evaluating 1,470 responses, Carroll et al. declare that Isabella is interpreted as antagonistic, her bad behaviour stemming from her refusal to see value in anything beyond rank and fortune (102). Remarkably, this statement is made based on, at most, six ratings.[70] Their readiness to make declarations based on minimal reader feedback is problematic and undermines Literary Darwinism's attempt at empirical relevance.

5.2.2. Biocultural Exegesis

Although numerous literary scholars have pilloried Austen's Isabella Thorpe as a false friend, few outside of the popular press have connected her behaviour to the contemporary female

[69] Like Isabella Thorpe, Indiana is depicted as attractive, yet selfish, jealous, and shallow.
[70] The specific number of responses to the Isabella Thorpe character is not provided, yet the character fails to make the list of Austen characters having received seven or more evaluations (Carroll et al. 204)

experience.[71] A biocultural approach enhances the interpretations of their relations. According to sociologist Wiseman, female relationships pose both a positive and negative influence on young women. Although their social spheres are quite unlike those of Regency misses, young women today continue to remain reliant on female friendships, often to their detriment. Presaging Wiseman's research, Austen depicts young women's alliances as riddled with conflicting messages and emotions.

Based on her work with female high schoolers, Wiseman created a behavioural glossary based on years observations and interviews in a variety of economic settings across the United States. Wiseman's typology includes "The Queen Bee," an attractive, charismatic girl "whose popularity is based on fear and control" (25). The Queen appears to other girls as omnipotent, holding power over males and females of her age group. Typically, such girls are not intimidated by others and tend to be obsequious to elders. The Queen enjoys being the centre of attention and deploys affection to achieve her aims while refusing to take responsibility for her actions (Wiseman 25-26). As the eldest of three sisters, Isabella Thorpe emerges as a Queen Bee figure, accustomed to steering other girls. Channelling Isabella's social success, the narrator explains that "the younger ones, by pretending to be as handsome as their sister, imitating her air, and dressing in the same style, did very well" (NA 26). For Wiseman, this aspirational behaviour is indicative of "Wannabes," the Queen's less socially skilled, mature, or worldly sidekicks (62).

Initially, both Isabella and Catherine profit socially from each other's intimacy, despite a four-year age gap. Each provides valued relief to the other, allowing exchange with a peer rather than trailing behind an older chaperone. Regency propriety required the constant attendance of a duenna when young, unmarried women of their social class went out into public spaces. Seventeen-year-old Catherine meets Isabella at a low point in her social life. Brought to Bath by her neighbours, the Allens, to seek adventure, she spends her first days in the city frustrated. While Isabella has sisters with whom she may explore Bath, Catherine is limited to her much older chaperone; for Catherine, Isabella represents an entree into youthful society. Not having local acquaintances, social mores prevent her from becoming an

[71] See, among others, Jay McInerney (2010) "Beautiful Minds: Jane Austen's Heroines," Susan Chira (2016) "In Trying Times, the Balm of Jane Austen," and Megan Garber (2017) "Colin Firth's Shirt: Jane Austen and the Rise of the Female Gaze."

active participant in public events. The problem resolves itself with the chance meeting with Isabella's mother, Mrs Thorpe, an old school friend whom Mrs Allen had not seen in decades. Austen's description of the encounter frames the tenuousness of the older women's alliance, only rejuvenated based on mutual social need. Mrs Allen was

> never satisfied with the day unless she spent the chief of it by the side of Mrs Thorpe, in what they called conversation, but in which there was scarcely ever any exchange of opinion, and not often any resemblance of subject, for Mrs Thorpe talked chiefly of her children, and Mrs Allen of her gowns (NA 30).

The narrator relates that, to Mrs Allen's satisfaction, Mrs Thorpe was a "good-humoured, well-meaning woman" (Ibid. 26), with several daughters to engage her young charge's time successfully, and that she "was now quite happy – quite satisfied with Bath. She had found some acquaintance, had been so lucky too as to find in them the family of a most worthy old friend" (Ibid. 29). Even better, Mrs Allen could rejoice in having the upper hand on the social scale, as Mrs Thorpe proved to be "not very rich," and "as the completion of good fortune," her friend was "by no means so expensively dressed as herself" (Ibid.).

Significantly, the Thorpes have a particular claim on Caroline's acquaintance. Her brother James spent time with the family over the school holidays as a guest of their brother, John. With such shared interests, the young ladies' friendship proceeded rapidly. "The whole being explained, many obliging things were said by the Miss Thorpes of their wish of being better acquainted with her," and "of being considered as already friends, through the friendship of their brothers, etc., which Catherine heard with pleasure" (Ibid. 25). As a result, Catherine was, "as the first proof of amity . . . soon invited to accept an arm of the eldest Miss Thorpe and take a turn with her about the room" (Ibid.). The narrator relates that "the progress of the friendship between Catherine and Isabella was quick as its beginning had been warm," and the two rapidly becoming inseparable (Ibid. 30). "They called each other by their Christian name, were always arm in arm when they walked, pinned up each other's train for the dance, and were not to be divided in the set" (Ibid.). The friendship extended beyond the public sphere; "if a rainy morning deprived them of other enjoyments, they were still resolute in meeting in defiance of wet and dirt, and shut themselves up, to read novels together" (Ibid.).

According to Wiseman, Isabella's demonstrative affection for Catherine is typical Queen Bee behaviour. By making the subject feel special and unique, Isabella instils in Catherine a sense of dependency for social acceptance and enjoyment of Bath life (Wiseman 25). Catherine's reliance on Isabella is not without danger. Wiseman explains that

> girls can be each other's worst enemies. Girls' friendships . . . are often intense, confusing, frustrating, and humiliating, the joy and security of 'best friends' shattered by devastating breakups and betrayals. Girls' reactions to the ups and downs of these friendships are as intense as they later feel in intimate relationships (Ibid. 3).

The first cracks in Isabella's mask of friendship begin to show when James arrives in town, and the narrator offers glimpses into the girl's real objectives. Strolling through Bath stalking young gentlemen, Isabella and Catherine happen upon their brothers, who have just arrived. As a foursome, they set out to Edgar's buildings; "James and Isabella led the way" (NA 41). Readers are told that Isabella was

> so well satisfied . . . with her lot, so contentedly was she endeavouring to ensure a pleasant walk to him who brought the double recommendation of being her brother's friend, and her friend's brother, so pure and uncoquettish were her feelings, that, though they overtook and passed the two . . . young men in Milsom Street whom they had been following. . . Isabella was so far from seeking to attract their notice that she looked back at them only three times (Ibid.).

From this point in the text, Isabella's words and actions begin to diverge. Fittingly for a Queen Bee, Isabella controls Catherine. Knowing that the younger girl is dependent on her for entrance into society, Isabella begins to dictate the day's activities and make Catherine wait for her attention. Upon James' arrival, Isabella immediately transfers her attention to him, leaving Catherine to question her affection. This behaviour should be familiar to today's young women, as Wiseman notes, "in trying to please a boy," it is not unusual for a girl to "betray and sacrifice her friendships with girls" (235).

Just as Isabella is wrapped up in her thoughts about James, Catherine is desperate to talk about her crush on Henry Tilney. According to Wiseman, this is to be expected. At around age twelve, girls begin bonding over feelings for boys, which range the gamut from infatuations to obsessions (Wiseman 202, 205). Rhetorically, Wiseman asks

> [w]hat's the first thing a girl does after getting off the phone with her new boyfriend? She immediately calls a girlfriend to analyse every word of the conversation and discuss every nuance. In these early romances, she may spend more time talking to her girlfriend about the boyfriend than to the boy himself (207-8).

Isabella's friendship becomes perfunctory. Rendezvousing at a ball, Isabella goes through what Austen describes as "the usual ceremonial of meeting her friend," including "smiling and affectionate haste, of admiring the set of her gown and envying the curl of her hair" (NA 47). Isabella and Catherine follow "their chaperones, arm in arm, into the ballroom, whispering to each other whenever a thought occurred, and supplying the place of many ideas by a squeeze of the hand or a smile of affection" (Ibid.). Initially, Isabella professes that she would refuse to dance if Catherine could not join her. This firm stance lasts a whole three minutes; when Isabella declares, "'my dear creature, I am afraid I must leave you'" (Ibid.). Instead of taking responsibility for her actions, Isabella blames James. "'Your brother is so amazingly impatient to begin; I know you will not mind my going away'" (Ibid.). Catherine very certainly *did* mind being left alone. Catherine was "disappointed," but "had too much good nature to make any opposition and was left to the mercy of Mrs Thorpe and Mrs Allen" (Ibid. 47-8). Deflecting responsibility, Isabella claims to have spent the evening "'scolding'" James to seek his sister "'to such a degree, my dear Catherine, you would be quite amazed'" (Ibid. 52).

Readers witness Catherine feeling "disgraced in the eye of the world" (Ibid. 48). Being left alone without a friend or a dance partner, she regretted that no-one else could know that "the misconduct of another" was "the true source of her debasement" (Ibid.). This sentiment is common today. Wiseman posits that "as girls mature, the prospect of being seen alone by others becomes . . . daunting . . . friendship becomes as important as air, and they describe the punishment of loneliness in dramatic terms" (32). Wiseman's explanation that "girls may try to avoid being alone at all costs, including remaining in an abusive friendship" (Ibid.) seems as true in the Regency as it is today. Likewise, Phyllis Chesler's (2001) meta-analysis shows that "girls care more about being included than they do about whether they are ranked as dominant or subordinate" (81). Chesler explains that the biggest terror for girls is "being excluded or rejected. When this happens, a girl experiences social aloneness in the universe" (Ibid.). Often, a girl will suffer in silence, not having

> the heart to begin anew, to open oneself up to pitiless exclusion again . . . the fear of being cut off, abandoned, losing the female intimates upon whom one depends, explains why many girls try as hard as they do not to upset or disagree with their friends and thus often end up never saying what they really think or feel (Ibid.).

For Wiseman, Isabella's behaviour is exemplary of her age group. She explains that "boyfriends are crucial validation for three interrelated reasons: they increase (a girl's) sense of self-worth; her friends will hold her in higher esteem, and a boyfriend is proof that she fits into teen culture" (234). Wiseman concludes that "girls understand that their social status and identity are tied to relationships with boys," continuing that, "even when she knows better, she may sacrifice her personal boundaries to please a boy . . . at some point, most girls will lie, connive, or backstab to get the boy they want" (Ibid. 235). This behaviour is not limited to the United States; Joyce Benenson's work indicates that girls in Europe and Africa are also known to "betray one another to form bonds with boys" (6). Furthermore, girls take this abuse seriously, reporting "greater anger, hurt and jealousy than boys towards close same-sex friends, especially if they were abandoned for a romantic partner" (Ibid.).

As the narrative unfolds, the girls' friendship becomes perfunctory as Isabella prioritises James at every opportunity. "James and Isabella were so much engaged in conversing together that the latter had no leisure to bestow more on her friend than one smile, one squeeze, and one 'dearest Catherine'" (NA 55), and "Isabella smiled . . . and talked the rest of the evening to James" (Ibid. 68). After ignoring Catherine throughout an entire day spent with their two brothers, Isabella theatrically declares that "her wretchedness was most acute on finding herself obliged to go directly home," instead of finally being able to chat with Catherine (Ibid.). Austen ensures that readers are aware of Isabella's hypocrisy by contrasting her protestations with incongruous body language. "Though she had such thousands of things to say to her, it appeared as if they were never to be together again; so, with smiles of most exquisite misery, and the laughing eye of utter despondency, she bade her friend adieu and went on" (Ibid. 64). Only after repeated episodes of similar behaviour did Catherine begin "to doubt the happiness of a situation which, confining her entirely to her friend and brother, gave her very little share in the notice of either" (Ibid. 69).

Isabella has no time for Catherine's need to discuss the Tilney siblings, so much so that Catherine "could not avoid a little suspicion" (Ibid. 53) that her friend does not have her

best interests at heart. When the Thorpe siblings demand that Catherine chaperone an impromptu carriage excursion, Catherine demurs, citing a previous engagement with the Tilneys. Eventually, Isabella uses lies to manipulate Catherine into coming along, involuntarily forsaking the Tilneys. As the narrator relates, "Catherine could almost have accused Isabella of being wanting in tenderness towards herself and her sorrows, so very little did they appear to dwell on her mind, and so very inadequate was the comfort she offered" (Ibid. 88). Isabella commands her to forget her own emotions, and not to "'be so dull, my dearest creature'" (Ibid.).

Catherine's reluctance to confront Isabella is reminiscent of Wiseman's work with female bullying survivors. Based on hundreds of interviews, Wiseman finds that girls are often unable to deal with conflict. Like Catherine, many find it difficult to trust their instincts, leading them to doubt if what they saw or experienced was in fact, wrong (Wiseman 101). According to Wiseman, girls learn at an early age to "channel feelings of hurt and anger to avoid their human instigator, internalising feelings." They "store away unresolved conflicts with the precision of a bookkeeper, building a stockpile that increasingly crowds her emotional landscape and social choices" (Ibid. 69).

In typical Queen Bee fashion, Isabella repeatedly ignores Catherine's interests to promote her own. For Wiseman, this "purposeful control over the terms of a relationship is a signal aspect of relational aggression" (53). Catherine increasingly shows anxiety when conversing with Isabella, "looking down as she spoke," and being "fearful of Isabella's smile" (NA 83). This behaviour anticipates what Wiseman refers to as "Sidekick" demeanour. In Wiseman's terms, Sidekicks look to the Queen for advice and let the Queen manipulate their actions. The role has both negative and positive connotations for young women. Although Sidekicks often lose their own identities to the Queens, being close to the Queen offers a sense of power and popularity, which they would unlikely experience on their own. Reassuringly for parents of young women, Wiseman predicts that if separated from the Queen, a Sidekick "can alter her behaviour for the better, while the Queen Bee would be more likely to find another Sidekick and begin again" (28).

Catherine does attempt to separate herself from the Thorpe siblings. When Isabella attempts monopolise Catherine a second time, the heroine stands her ground. The narrator depicts Isabella using honeyed, prosocial language to manipulate Catherine;

> Isabella became only more and more urgent, calling on her in the most affectionate manner, addressing her by the most endearing names. She was sure her dearest, sweetest Catherine would not seriously refuse such a trifling request to a friend who loved her so dearly. She knew her beloved Catherine to have so feeling a heart, so sweet a temper, to be so easily persuaded by those she loved (NA 98).

This failing to work, Isabella "tried another method." Attempting to guilt Catherine into acquiescence, she reproaches her "with having more affection for Miss Tilney, though she had known her so little a while, than for her best and oldest friends, with being grown cold and indifferent, in short, towards herself" (Ibid.). This passage is especially hypocritical, as Isabella herself has only known Catherine for a few short weeks. Nevertheless, Isabella repeatedly claims to love her "excessively" (Ibid.).

Seeing the Tilneys as impediments to her wishes, Isabella encourages Catherine to gossip and malign them. Learning of Catherine's disappointing visit in Milsom Street, Isabella immediately declares that "it was all pride, pride, insufferable haughtiness and pride!" on Miss Tilney's part. Isabella "had long suspected the family to be very high, and this made it certain. Such insolence of behaviour as Miss Tilney's she had never heard of in her life!" (NA 131). When Catherine attempts to downplay the scene, Isabella declares, "'Oh! Don't defend her!'" (NA 132). Blakey Vermeule (2010) suggests that such gossip is the primary reason readers are attracted to fiction. Vermeule proposes that humans "need to know what other people are like, not in the aggregate, but in the particular" (xii). For Vermeule, gossip is not juvenile. Instead, "the word gossip must here be shorn of any connotations of frivolousness, although not of its undercurrents of aggression" (Ibid. xii). In this vein, Wiseman asserts that 99.99 per cent of girls gossip, using it as a tool to bolster their sense of self, social competency, and friendships (112). In Wiseman's terms, Isabella's disparagement of Miss Tilney is an attempt to solidify her relationship with Catherine.

A sense of reluctance towards Isabella becomes a repeated theme as the narrative progresses. Catherine is shown "resolutely turning away her eyes, that she might not be obliged to see her beloved Isabella and her dear family" (NA 90). Isabella's self-centredness echoes again and again, as "Catherine could not tell a falsehood even to please Isabella; but the latter was spared the misery of her friend's dissenting voice, by not waiting for her answer. Her own feelings entirely engrossed her" (Ibid. 64). At this point, Austen again

equates the relationship between the two young women in terms of warfare. The author describes the atmosphere as becoming "most uncomfortable," remarking that "sometimes not a word was said" (Ibid. 99). Utterances were supplications or reproaches on the part of Isabella. Although Catherine's "arm was still linked within Isabella's, *their hearts were at war*" (Ibid. emphasis added). Catherine was in emotional chaos, as "one moment she was softened, at another irritated; always distressed, but always steady" (Ibid. 100).

Isabella attempts to manipulate Catherine when she refuses John Thorpe's attention. Although Isabella forces Catherine to spend time with her brother throughout the novel, Catherine expresses no romantic interest in the buffoon. Wiseman's modern observations can also be applied here, indicating that "when they set up another girl, one of the ulterior motives is to bind the girl more closely to the Queen Bee" (208-9). After Catherine rejects the idea of marriage to John, Isabella claims that her "'sweetest Catherine,'" is "'being quite absurd!'" unfairly demanding "'a little common honesty'" from her friend (NA 146). Isabella attempts to make Catherine question her behaviour to the lout, claiming that "'his attentions were such as a child must have noticed'" (Ibid.). Moreover, she accuses Catherine of giving "'him the most positive encouragement. He says so in this letter'" (Ibid.).

The confrontation continues, illustrating the superficiality of Isabella's understanding of her friend. Isabella comments, "'I do not pretend to determine what your thoughts and designs in time past may have been,'" insinuating that Catherine engaged in a "'little harmless flirtation or so,'" and giving "'more encouragement than one wishes to stand by. . . all those things should be allowed for in youth and high spirits. What one means one day, you know, one may not mean the next'" (Ibid. 148). Catherine vehemently contradicts, telling her friend that "'you are describing what never happened'" (Ibid.). Her protestations are in vain, as Isabella continues to prattle, "without at all listening to her," yet claiming to "carry (her) notions of friendship pretty high" (Ibid. 149).

Isabella's behaviour becomes even more erratic after James Morland leaves Bath. Despite her engagement to James, Isabella flirts openly with Captain Tilney. Still, like a Sidekick, Catherine is reluctant to condemn her. "Though not allowing herself to suspect her friend," Catherine "could not help watching her closely. The result of her observations was not agreeable. Isabella seemed an altered creature" (Ibid. 152). When surrounded by their

social group in private, "her change of manners was so trifling that, had it gone no farther, it might have passed unnoticed" (Ibid.),

> but when Catherine saw her in public, admitting Captain Tilney's attentions as readily as they were offered, and allowing him almost an equal share with James in her notice and smiles, the alteration became too positive to be passed over. What could be meant by such unsteady conduct, what her friend could be at, was beyond her comprehension. Isabella could not be aware of the pain she was inflicting, but it was a degree of wilful thoughtlessness which Catherine could not but resent (Ibid.).

Invited by the Tilney siblings to spend time with them at their home, Northanger Abbey, Catherine is separated from Isabella. After so many proclamations of love and affection, social mores would indicate that the two should frequently correspond. Readers learn that, despite her misgivings about Isabella, Catherine is concerned when she does not hear from her;

> [h]er desire of hearing from Isabella grew every day greater. She was quite impatient to know how the Bath world went on, and how the rooms were attended; and especially was she anxious to be assured of Isabella's having matched some fine netting-cotton, on which she had left her intent; and of her continuing on the best terms with James. Her only dependence for information of any kind was on Isabella . . . Isabella had promised and promised again; and when she promised a thing, she was so scrupulous in performing it! This made it so particularly strange! (Ibid. 206).

According to educator Rachel Simmons (2011), Isabella's refusal to communicate is well known to modern women. Simmons explains that "the worst kind of silent meanness is the only one with a name: the silent treatment" (45). Referring to it as "the most pointed kind of relational aggression," Simmons proposes that the target is "often unaware of why her friend is angry," and "is consumed by panic and the fear of permanently losing the friendship" (Ibid.). As a result of such treatment, young women often describe a loss of personal agency. For these girls, Simmons concludes, "friendship is a weapon, and the sting of a shout pales in comparison to a day of someone's silence" (3).

Similarly, Sharon Mavin (2008) finds that being "dropped" by a friend is a collective experience for women in all age groups (75). In the Regency, as now, women are expected to get along and be sweet to one another. In their qualitative findings on the dynamics of

women's relationships with one another, Mavin et al. (2014) "were struck by the perversity of how women hold other women accountable to normative gendered expectations and in doing so engage in micro-aggression violating the recipient(s)" (447). They continue, stating that participants in their study "commented upon the severity of their emotional experience," referencing it as particularly "violating because the relations they discussed were with another woman" (Ibid.). Mavin et al. posit that as women, we maintain "the inherent gendered assumptions that women hold of sisterhood and solidarity relationships between women" (451).

Throughout the novel, Isabella playacts at intimate friendship with Catherine, yet her protestations of loyalty do not extend to her romantic attachments. As soon as there may be a superior offer on the table in the form of Captain Tilney, Isabella breaks off her engagement with James and drops all communication with Catherine. Only when the hope of this second match fizzles out does Isabella attempt to reinstate intimacy with the Morlands. She disingenuously writes, "'Since you went away, I have had no pleasure in (Bath). . . everybody one cares for is gone'" (NA 222). Despite having given Catherine the silent treatment for weeks, Isabella insists, "'I believe if I could see you, I should not mind the rest, for you are dearer to me than anybody can conceive'" (Ibid.).

After this, the real reason for Isabella's message becomes clear. She relates, "'I am quite uneasy about your dear brother, not having heard from him since he went to Oxford'" (Ibid.). Conveniently forgetting the fact that she had broken off their engagement, Isabella claims to be "'fearful of some misunderstanding,'" hoping that Catherine's "'kind offices will set all right'" (Ibid.). She unconvincingly pleas that "'he is the only man I ever did or could love, and I trust you will convince him of it'" (Ibid. 223). Again, in typical Queen Bee fashion, Isabella demonstrates no concept of responsibility for wounding both Catherine and James.

At this, readers learn that "such a strain of shallow artifice could not impose even upon Catherine. Its inconsistencies, contradictions, and falsehood struck her from the very first" (Ibid. 224). Finally, "she was ashamed of Isabella and ashamed of having ever loved her. Her professions of attachment were now as disgusting as her excuses were empty, and her demands impudent" (Ibid.). She was determined not to become a pawn in Isabella's matchmaking game. "'Write to James on her behalf! No, James should never hear Isabella's name mentioned by her again'" (Ibid.). Catherine is hurt:

> ‘So much for Isabella,’ she cried, ‘and for all our intimacy! She must think me an idiot, or she could not have written so . . . I see what she has been about. She is a vain coquette, and her tricks have not answered. I do not believe she had ever any regard either for James or for me, and I wish I had never known her’ (Ibid. 224-5).

For Beth Lau (2018a), Catherine’s eventual understanding of Isabella’s true nature reflects the character’s development of Theory of Mind. Citing psychologists Simon Baron-Cohen, John Tooby and Leda Cosmides, Lau claims that Austen highlights the need for a ″fully functioning Theory of Mind mechanism″ for a young woman to navigate her entrance into the social world successfully (38). According to Lau, Catherine’s initial inability to identify Isabella’s manipulative motives leave her open to exploitation by the older girl. Lau attempts to underpin Catherine’s learning curve in evolutionary terms, proposing that ″Catherine’s impulse to turn to literature as a guide has support from contemporary neuroscience and evolutionary psychology, which have begun to explore the cognitive and adaptive functions of literature″ (48). Lau explains, ″it takes longer for Catherine to see through Isabella’s claims of love for herself and her brother, for Isabella is more skilful and less obvious in her lies and deceptions than her brother″ (Ibid.). However, readers do witness Catherine’s awareness and puzzlement at the ″contradictions in her friend’s statements and actions″ (Ibid.). Lau contends that Catherine develops mind-reading skills through the progress of the novel and that Isabella fulfils a specific need in the narrative. In Susan Ostrov Weisser’s (1994) words, mean girl characters such as Isabella are ″both fluid in identity and outrageous in her behaviour″ (270). Such figures are willing to pretend, ″to be anything she needs to be, or act in any way at all to get the man in question,″ encompassing ″all things women are capable of – except for the Good″ (Ibid.) According to Weisser, this ″small nugget of gold standard behaviour″ is ″reserved for the heroine alone″ (271).

5.3. Understanding Lucy Steele

Jane Austen’s first published novel, *Sense and Sensibility,* also includes a female frenemy relationship. In it, the narrator depicts a complex web of falsehood as two women vie for the hand of one eligible bachelor. Both Lucy Steele and Elinor Dashwood are attracted to Edward Ferrars for very different reasons. For Lucy, Edward represents independent wealth in an age when available men were scarce. For Elinor, marriage to Edward would be a love match. Using

glances and words, Lucy attempts to curb Elinor's attachment to Edward. In the course of the novel, Lucy's various deceptions injure not only Elinor and her family, but also Edward, his mother, sister, and younger brother.

In her examination of narrative authority in Austen's work, Tara Ghoshal Wallace (1995), declares *Sense and Sensibility* to be "replete with demonic, wilful women," trying "to bend others to their will" and often succeeding (38). Similarly, Lynda Hall (2017) identifies the ghastly Lucy Steele as a "focal point" used by Austen to "disturb the life of the heroine" (128). Female readers require little information to understand Elinor and Lucy's deep motivations and internal conflict, as this type of situation is well known to modern women. According to sociologists Anne Campbell and Paula Stockley (2013), a disappointingly high percentage of fights between women are "centred – directly or indirectly – on men" (173). In their work, Stockley and Campbell identify indirect aggression like Lucy's as a useful tool, "a successful strategy in delaying or removing rivals from the mating arena" (Ibid.). Stockley and Campbell relate that their findings are very unpopular within the feminist community as they do not conform to ideological preferences (Ibid.). Although the message is difficult to hear, their work echoes Wiseman's findings that "at some point, most girls will lie, connive, or backstab to get the boy they want" (235). As outlined in the previous chapter, Benenson reports that women learn from early childhood to develop competitive strategies in order to reduce the strength of other girls and prevent retaliation from women outside of their circle. These tactics are illustrated in Austen's depiction of Lucy's struggle to drive off her competition.

5.3.1. Biocultural Exegesis

Sense and Sensibility begins with the Dashwoods being compelled to leave their family home after the death of their father. Although initially begrudgingly welcome in what is now their stepbrother's house, things become uncomfortable. Elinor develops feelings for her sister-in-law's brother, Edward. Both Edward's mother and sister are determined to make an advantageous match for him and regard a union with Elinor as objectionable. Fortunately for the Dashwood ladies, they can escape the ire of Edward's relations by retreating to a cottage owned by their own relative, Sir John Middleton.

Readers get an inkling that something is amiss when Sir John invites the Dashwood sisters to meet Lucy and Anne Steele. Inexplicably, he tells Elinor and Marianne that these unknown ladies "'both long to see you of all things, for they have heard at Exeter that you are

the most beautiful creatures in the world'" (SS 164). This statement is odd, as the Dashwoods have never heard of the Steeles themselves. After their initial meeting, interest in a relationship remains one-sided. In Lucy, Elinor and Marianne found a woman "not more than two or three and twenty . . . her features were pretty, and she had a sharp, quick eye, and a smartness of air, which though it did not give actual elegance or grace, gave distinction to her person" (Ibid. 166). Throughout the novel, Lucy's "quick, sharp eye" is used as an indicator of the character's deceptive nature. In her study of young women in American schools, Simmons explains that this behaviour is well understood amongst them:

> Girls, ever respectful, tend to aggress quietly. They flash looks, pass notes, and spread rumours. Their actions, though sometimes physical, are typically more psychological and thus invisible to even an observant . . . eye . . . the eyes . . . catch, narrow, and withdraw (10).

Simmons continues, stating that "nonverbal gesturing . . . is a hallmark of relational aggression. . . it is at once infuriatingly empty of detail and bluntly clear" (44)

This first introduction and a glimpse of Lucy's scheming eyes is sufficient for Elinor to leave the house "without any wish of knowing them better" (SS 170). The narrator informs readers that the same is not true of the Miss Steeles, who declare the Misses Dashwood to "be the most beautiful, elegant, accomplished, and agreeable girls they had ever beheld, and with whom they were particularly anxious to be better acquainted" (Ibid.). The companionship was inevitable; "Sir John was entirely on the side of the Miss Steeles, their party would be too strong for opposition, and that kind of intimacy must be submitted to, which consists of sitting an hour or two together in the same room almost every day (Ibid.)."

5.3.2. Friendship as a Weapon

In the course of these daily encounters, Elinor quickly identifies Lucy as a schemer, evidenced by her extravagant complimentary gestures towards Sir John's family. Typical of Wiseman's Queen Bee typology, Lucy is charming to adults (26). Readers learn that both Lucy and Elinor understand this strategy, as

> Elinor soon allowed them credit for some kind of sense, when she saw with what constant and judicious attention, they were making themselves agreeable to Lady Middleton. With her children they were in continual raptures, extolling their beauty, courting their notice, and humouring their whims; and such of their time as could be

> spared from the importunate demands which this politeness made on it, was spent in admiration of whatever her ladyship was doing if she happened to be doing anything, or in taking patterns of some elegant new dress, in which her appearance the day before had thrown them into unceasing delight (SS 166).

Austen's narrator points out the usefulness of this obsequiousness, declaring that "a fond mother" is "the most rapacious of human beings," ready to gobble up any compliments on their children "regardless of their sincerity" (Ibid.). Hall also highlights the behaviour, explaining, "Lucy represents a woman who is driven by her inadequate expressed value to manipulate the social codes – using flattery to get her way" (132). In contrast, Elinor and Marianne maintain their integrity, behaving with honesty and sincerity (Ibid.). In a much weaker economic position, Lucy flatters and emulates her betters to "establish herself, at least temporarily, in their world" (Ibid.).

Even if distasteful, this behaviour can be advantageous. From a social scientific view, Lucy is priming the Middletons to think positively of her. As Wiseman explains, an essential part of "covert aggression . . . is looking like you would never mistreat someone in the first place. The sugar-and-spice image is powerful, and girls know it" (23). Lucy also attempts to draw Elinor in, missing "no opportunity of engaging her in conversation, or of striving to improve their acquaintance by an easy and frank communication of her sentiments" (SS 173). Simmons describes this behaviour as "alliance-building," a peer affirmation tool intended to create an "unspoken contract" between two young women (81). Under the adage, "keep your friends close and your enemies closer," Simmons explains that for young women, "friendship is a weapon" (2).

At first, Elinor attributes Lucy's attention to sheer boredom. Marianne's refusal to tolerate "anything like impertinence, vulgarity, inferiority of parts, or even difference of taste from herself" makes her an unlikely conversation partner for the Steeles who are spending time in the home of ageing relatives (SS 173). Being the only polite Dashwood girl, it seemed inevitable that Elinor would have to speak. Like many young women, Elinor is socialised to take on the role of "good girl" or caretaker. As Simmons explains, Western culture teaches young women that "they will be valued for their relationships with others" (11) and "sensible" Elinor appears willing to accommodate. In contrast, "sensitive" Marianne does not feel compelled to conform. Instead, she is "at this time particularly ill-disposed, from the state of

her spirits, to be pleased with the Miss Steeles, or to encourage their advances" (SS 173). This leads Marianne to behave with "invariable coldness" towards them (Ibid.).

Through Elinor's thoughts, readers learn that "Lucy was naturally clever," and "her remarks were often just and amusing," rendering her as an agreeable "companion for half an hour" – no more (Ibid.). A closer understanding between the two was impossible, as Lucy's

> powers had received no aid from education: she was ignorant and illiterate, and her deficiency of all mental improvement, her want of information in the most common particulars, could not be concealed from Miss Dashwood, in spite of her constant endeavour to appear to advantage (Ibid.).

Throughout the novel, Lucy is depicted as grammatically ignorant, often choosing the wrong words to convey her meaning. Moreover, Lucy lacked "delicacy . . . rectitude, and integrity of mind, which her attentions, her assiduities, her flatteries at the Park betrayed" (Ibid.). It did not take long for Elinor to determine an inability to bear intimacy with "a person who joined insincerity with ignorance; whose want of instruction prevented their meeting in conversation on terms of equality, and whose conduct toward others made every shew (sic) of attention and deference towards herself perfectly valueless (Ibid. 173-4).

5.3.3. Our Little Secret: Alliance Building

The real reason for Lucy's eagerness to meet Elinor finally emerges when the two young ladies are walking alone. As Simmons posits, "the lifeblood of relational aggression is relationship" (42); Lucy must build a relationship with Elinor in order to hurt her. Beginning with a question, Lucy gently introduces her subject, "'You will think my question an odd one, I dare say . . . but pray, are you personally acquainted with your sister-in-law's mother, Mrs Ferrars?'" Readers learn that "Elinor *did* think the question a very odd one, and her countenance expressed it, as she answered that she had never seen Mrs Ferrars" (SS 174, emphasis original).

Readers require little information to understand that Lucy has ulterior motives, as she is portrayed carefully "eyeing Elinor attentively as she spoke" (Ibid.). At the same time, Lucy assures Elinor with protestations of innocence, hinting that "'perhaps there may be reasons – I wish I might venture, but however I hope you will do me the justice of believing that I do not mean to be impertinent'" (Ibid.). After a few minutes of silence, Lucy breaks it, "saying, with

some hesitation, 'I cannot bear to have you think me impertinently curious. I am sure I would rather do anything in the world than be thought so by a person whose good opinion is so well worth having as yours'" (Ibid.).

Sugar-coating the very bitter pill she is about to administer, Lucy asserts that "'I should not have the smallest fear of trusting you'" (Ibid., emphasis original). She pretends to flatter Elinor with the suggestion that her advice "'in such an uncomfortable situation as I am'" would be extremely valuable (Ibid.). With this set-up, there is little for prosocial Elinor to do but reassure Lucy and offer her help "'if it could be of any use to you to know my opinion of her'" (Ibid.). However, says Elinor, "'I never understood that you were at all connected with that family, and therefore I am a little surprised, I confess, at so serious an inquiry into her character'" (Ibid.).

Again, the narrator draws attention to Lucy's eyes, cueing readers to the verbal bombshell she is about to drop. Looking down, she attempts to appear "amiably bashful, with only one side glance at her companion to observe its effect" (Ibid. 175). Lucy admits that "'Mrs Ferrars is certainly nothing to me at present – but the time may come – how soon it will come must depend upon herself – when we may be very intimately connected'" (Ibid.). Again, Lucy looks down as her covert relationship with Edward Ferrars comes to light. "'You may well be surprised,'" continued Lucy; "'for . . . it was always meant to be a great secret'" (Ibid.). Lucy justifies telling Elinor, claiming "'I never should have mentioned it to you, if I had not felt the greatest dependence in the world upon your secrecy'" (Ibid.) She then adds the flimsy excuse of wanting to explain her odd questions regarding Edward's mother.

Readers soon deduce that Lucy is fully aware of Edward's attraction to Elinor and wishes to nip it quickly in the bud. Clearly, Edward has spoken admiringly of Elinor to Lucy. Couching her spite with flattery, Lucy tells Elinor that "'I do not think Mr Ferrars can be displeased when he knows I have trusted you because I know he has the highest opinion in the world of all your family and looks upon yourself and the other Miss Dashwoods quite as his own sisters'" (Ibid.). At this, Elinor remains silent, attempting to conceal her hurt as Lucy continues to pour it on thick. She claims initial unwillingness to enter into the engagement, but "'though you do not know him so well as me, Miss Dashwood, you must have seen enough of him to be sensible he is very capable of making a woman sincerely attached to him'" (Ibid. 176).

In Lisa Zunshine's (2019) terms, Austen's description of the young women and the reader's ability to follow it demonstrates a capacity for "complex embedment," or the ability "to reflect upon their own and other people's mental states" (257). In numerous publications (2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010a, b, c, d, 2020) Zunshine explores authorial representations of Theory of Mind (ToM) and the effort required of readers to follow it. In this scene, readers *know* that Elinor's feelings for Edward are anything but sisterly. They also *know* that Elinor *knows* that Lucy is aware of her attachment to Edward, and Edward's interest in Elinor. Readers, as well as Elinor and Lucy, *know* that Lucy intends her statements to wound, despite being couched in prosocial vocabulary. As Zunshine (2019) explains, "as soon as we are faced with behaviour, we start attributing intentions to the behaving agents," arguing that this phenomenon increases in individuals in weaker social positions like both Elinor and Lucy (258).

When Elinor challenges Lucy to the truthfulness of her claim, Lucy smilingly asserts its validity. She continues, stating

> '[o]ur first care has been to keep the matter secret. – You knew nothing of me, or my family, and, therefore, there could be no occasion for ever mentioning my name to you; and, as he was always particularly afraid of his sister's suspecting anything, that was reason enough for his not mentioning it' (SS 177).

Pouring salt in the wound, Lucy takes "a small miniature from her pocket," adding that "'to prevent the possibility of mistake, be so good as to look at this face. It does not do him justice, to be sure, but yet I think you cannot be deceived as to the person it was drew (sic) for – I have had it above these three years'" (Ibid.). Lucy proceeds to supply various other pieces of evidence to convince Elinor of her prior claim to Edward, including a letter in his hand. More intimate still is Lucy's admission that she had given Edward a ring with a lock of her hair in it. "'Perhaps you might notice the ring when you saw him?'" Lucy queries (Ibid.). Indeed, Elinor had. At a loss, Elinor subtly challenges Lucy, stating, "'I certainly did not seek your confidence,'" concluding that the "'secret is safe with me.'" Continuing, she rightfully declares, "'pardon me if I express some surprise at so unnecessary a communication. You must at least have felt that my being acquainted with it could not add to its safety'" (Ibid.). At this, "Lucy's countenance suffered no change" (Ibid. 178).

After expounding on the trials of a secret engagement, Lucy dramatically takes out her handkerchief as if to wipe away tears. At this, the narrator provides the ironic understatement, "Elinor did not feel very compassionate" (Ibid.). Again, Lucy pointedly eyes Elinor, asking, "'what would you advise me to do in such a case, Miss Dashwood? What would you do yourself?'" (Ibid.). Readers know that Lucy is posing the same question to Elinor that Elinor has asked herself; how to remain close to Edward in an environment hostile to their union? At this point, Elinor recuses herself from providing any "advice under such circumstances," telling Lucy that her judgement must be her guide (Ibid.).

Austen describes Elinor as having "little difficulty in understanding . . . her rival's intentions," believing Lucy to "be disposed to be jealous of her" (Ibid. 185). "It was plain that Edward had always spoken highly in her praise, not merely from Lucy's assertion, but from her venturing to trust her on so short a personal acquaintance, with a secret so confessedly and evidently important" (Ibid. 186). Although Elinor continued to believe that Edward loved her, "what other reason for the disclosure of the affair could there be, but that Elinor might be informed by it of Lucy's superior claims on Edward, and be taught to avoid him in future?" (Ibid.). Wiseman contends that approaches like Lucy's often tend to distort conflicts between young women. By initially attempting to build an alliance with Elinor, Wiseman explains, Lucy makes the situation last much longer than it would have if "played out directly" (83).

Edward quickly becomes the subject of all further conversations between Lucy and Elinor. Lucy repeatedly leads the discussion, attempting to gain a rise from Elinor, fishing for affirmations by questioning the sincerity of her secrecy. Again, the narrator indicates this through Lucy's gaze, as she assures Elinor "her little sharp eyes full of meaning, 'there seemed to me to be a coldness and displeasure in your manner that made me quite uncomfortable. I felt sure that you was (sic) angry with me'" (SS 190). Lucy subtly reiterates her warning to Elinor to withdraw her affections from Edward. Gushing, she tells Elinor that "'If you knew what a consolation it was to me to relieve my heart speaking to you of what I am always thinking of every moment of my life, your compassion would make you overlook everything else I am sure'" (Ibid.).

Lucy obliquely demands that the disappointed Elinor soothe her, although Elinor is silently grieving for the same man. Wiseman asserts that Austen's depiction of Elinor is typical of female self-protection, as "when fights cannot be enacted and concluded directly, girls

learn it may be easier to stay silent" (83). Wiseman adds, "most fascinating about the ritual of alliance building is how it validates the experience of aggression for girls. Girls understand that face-to-face, one-on-one aggression with another girl is unacceptable" (Ibid.). Simmons calls alliance building "a rare intersection of peer approval with aggression" (2), and that as a whole, "silence is deeply woven into the fabric of the female experience" (Ibid.).

Framing her message in terms of confidences, yet sending a clear message to back off, Lucy confides to Elinor that,

> 'I am rather of a jealous temper too by nature . . . I was enough inclined for suspicion, to have found out the truth in an instant, if there had been the slightest alteration in his behaviour to me when we met, or any lowness of spirits that I could not account for, or if he had talked more of one lady than another' (SS 191).

From this remark, readers can extrapolate that Edward's behaviour *had* changed, that his spirits *were* low, and that he *had* spoken of Elinor. Repeatedly, Lucy asks the very partial Elinor for impartial counsel, lamenting, '"you will not give me your advice, Miss Dashwood?'" Lucy continues,

> 'tis because you are an indifferent person,'. . . laying a particular stress on those words, 'that your judgment might justly have such weight with me. If you could be supposed to be biased in any respect by your own feelings, your opinion would not be worth having' (Ibid. 194).

The Dashwood girls initially escape the Steeles through an invitation to join Mrs Jennings in London. To Elinor's dismay, Lucy and her sister trail them there as their ingratiation manoeuvres bear fruit. The narrator relates,

> [s]o well had they recommended themselves to Lady Middleton, so agreeable had their assiduities made them to her, that even though Lucy was not elegant, and her sister not even genteel, she was as ready as Sir John to ask them to spend a week or two in Conduit Street (Ibid. 273).

Readers are not surprised to learn that "Elinor . . . was sorry to see them. Their presence always gave her pain, and she hardly knew how to make a very gracious return to the overpowering delight of Lucy in finding her *still* in town" (emphasis original, Ibid. 260).

At every turn, Lucy reminds Elinor of her secret and Elinor's promise. Having planned to stay in London for only a month, Lucy declares that she always thought that she "'would

most likely change your mind when it came to the point . . . now to be sure you will be in no hurry to be gone. I am amazingly glad you did not keep to *your word*'" (Ibid.). At this jibe, "Elinor perfectly understood her, and was forced to use all her self-command to make it appear that she did *not*" (emphasis original, Ibid.). Psychologist Francis McAndrew (2013) provides a meta-analysis of verbiage such as Lucy's, describing it as "a means of . . . passing on negative information" as well as "detecting betrayal by others" of the same sex and age group (196). In McAndrew's terms, Lucy's conversations with Elinor serve her with additional information on a social rival, whose behaviour can affect her future. Indeed, as McAndrew posits, "positive information about such people tends to be uninteresting;" it is the negative that attracts (197).

Typical of relational aggression amongst young women, the hostilities between Lucy and Elinor go unnoticed by those around them. The narrator states that

> all these jealousies and discontents, however, were so totally unsuspected by Mrs Jennings, that she thought it a delightful thing for the girls to be together; and generally congratulated her young friends every night, on having escaped the company of a stupid old woman so long (SS 288).

Throughout the novel, Austen injects the narrative with shots of irony. After indicating that "the confidential discourse of the two ladies was therefore at an end," the narrator slyly adds that neither regretted it, "for nothing had been said on either side to make them dislike each other less than they had done before" (Ibid. 194-5). Elinor fails to provide the negative, which McAndrews suggests is Lucy's objective. All in all, the rivalry would be easier for Lucy if she had a public reason to hate Elinor. Instead, Lucy must aggress covertly, seldom missing an opportunity "to inform her confidante of her happiness whenever she received a letter from Edward" (Ibid. 195). In turn, Elinor refused to satisfy Lucy with a reaction, maintaining outer calmness instead and dismissing the news "as soon as civility would allow; for she felt such conversations to be an indulgence which Lucy did not deserve, and which were dangerous to herself" (Ibid.).

5.3.4. Encountering Mrs Ferrars: The Mature Frenemy

When Lucy is finally to meet Edward's mother at a dinner party held by Fanny Dashwood in Harley Street, she demands that Elinor, whose matrimonial hopes she has destroyed, console her. "'Pity me, dear Miss Dashwood!'" she demands. "'There is nobody here but you that can

feel for me. . . In a moment, I shall see the person that all my happiness depends on - that is to be my mother'" (Ibid. 274). Ironically, readers find out that

> Elinor could have given her immediate relief by suggesting the possibility of its being Miss Morton's mother, rather than her own, whom they were about to behold; but instead of doing that, she assured her, and with great sincerity, that she did pity her - to the utter amazement of Lucy (Ibid.).

The narrator relates that Lucy was, in fact, "really uncomfortable" but "hoped at least to be an object of irrepressible envy to Elinor" (Ibid. 275). In turn, Elinor was relieved

> by the good will of Lucy, who believed herself to be inflicting a severe disappointment when she told her that Edward certainly would not be in Harley-Street on Tuesday, and even hoped to be carrying the pain still farther by persuading her, that he was kept away by that extreme affection for herself, which he could not conceal when they were together (Ibid. 274).

Like Lucy, Mrs Ferrars strategically invests her energies. Knowing of the attachment between Elinor and Edward and not privy to his secret engagement with Lucy, she lavishes attention to the Steeles, ostracizing Elinor. Of course, "Lucy was all exultation on being so honourably distinguished," ignoring the strategy behind it (Ibid. 275). Lucy takes Mrs Ferrars' recognition as an opportunity to harm Elinor and rehashes it at every opportunity. Again, the narrator uses Lucy's gaze to emphasise the point. "That it was so, had not only been declared by Lucy's eyes at the time but was declared over again the next morning" when she took the opportunity "of seeing Elinor alone, to tell her how happy she was" (Ibid. 280).

Throughout the text, Lucy exhibits a complete lack of empathy and an abundance of self-serving deception. Wiseman explains that girls like Lucy believe that their behaviour is justified, because of "something done to them first" (26). Although Elinor was not aware of hurting Lucy, she had. "'My dear friend,' cried Lucy, as soon as they were by themselves, 'I come to talk to you of my happiness. Could anything be so flattering as Mrs Ferrars's way of treating me yesterday?'" (SS 281). Elinor has to suffer Lucy's uncultivated recount of the evening, hearing that "'there was such an affability in her behaviour as really should seem to say, she had quite took a fancy to me'" (Ibid.). "'You saw it all, and was (sic) not you quite struck with it?'" demands Lucy. Elinor is forced to admit that "'she was certainly very civil to you'" (Ibid.). At this, Lucy indignantly replies, "'civil! – Did you see nothing but only civility? –

I saw a vast deal more. Such kindness as fell to the share of nobody but me! – No pride, no hauteur, and your sister just the same – all sweetness and affability!'" (Ibid.).

Lucy's prattling becomes so unendurable that Elinor felt obliged to dig, "'undoubtedly, if they had known your engagement,'" said she, "'nothing could be more flattering than their treatment of you; – but . . . that was not the case'" (Ibid.). Elinor "wondered that Lucy's spirits could be so very much elevated by the civility of Mrs Ferrars" (Ibid. 280). She concludes that Lucy's vanity blinded her "as to make the attention which seemed only paid her because she was not Elinor, appear a compliment to herself" and to be encouraged by "a preference only given her, because her real situation was unknown" (Ibid.). Lucy rejects this hypothesis, claiming,

> 'I am sure I should have seen it in a moment, if Mrs Ferrars had took (sic) a dislike to me. If she had only made me a formal courtesy, for instance, without saying a word, and never after had took any notice of me, and never looked at me in a pleasant way – you know what I mean – if I had been treated in that forbidding sort of way, I should have gave it all up in despair (sic). I could not have stood it. For where she *does* dislike, I know it is most violent' (Ibid. 281, emphasis original).

The two young women exchange fabrications; Lucy pretends that Elinor is her ally, and Elinor plays at being unaffected. Knowing that the situation saddens Elinor, Lucy probes, "'Are you ill, Miss Dashwood? – you seem low – you don't speak; – sure you an't (sic) well'" (Ibid.). Austen describes Elinor struggling to remain calm in the face of Lucy's exuberance. "Elinor tried to make a civil answer, though doubting her own success. But it seemed to satisfy Lucy" who then declares their friendship to be vital to her, adding "'Indeed I am perfectly convinced of your regard for me, and next to Edward's love, it is the greatest comfort I have'" (Ibid. 282), adding "'Heaven knows what I should have done without your friendship'" (Ibid.). When Edward unexpectedly joins the pair, Elinor again hides her true feelings and

> forced herself, after a moment's recollection, to welcome him, with a look and manner that were almost easy, and almost open, and another struggle, another effort still improved them. She would not allow the presence of Lucy, nor the consciousness of some injustice towards herself, to deter her from saying that she was happy to see him, and that she had very much regretted being from home, when he called before in Berkeley Street. She would not be frightened from paying

> him those attentions which, as a friend and almost a relation, were his due, by the observant eyes of Lucy, though she soon perceived them to be narrowly watching her (Ibid. 283)

Elinor plays her part well, and Marianne fails to notice the friction amongst the trio. When Edward moves to leave, she demands him to stay; "'going so soon! . . . my dear Edward, this must not be'" (Ibid. 285). Furthermore, "drawing him a little aside, she whispered her persuasion that Lucy could not stay much longer. But even this encouragement failed, for he would go," and readers learn that the ever-vigilant Lucy "would have outstayed him, had his visit lasted two hours" (Ibid.).

5.3.5. Mistaken Invitation: Lucy in the Lion's Den

To quell any societal expectations that Elinor and Marianne should become guests in her home, Fanny Dashwood resorts to inviting the Steeles instead. The narrator reveals Lucy's inner triumph at the invitation:

> This was enough to make Lucy really and reasonably happy. Mrs Dashwood seemed actually working for her, herself; cherishing all her hopes, and promoting all her views! Such an opportunity of being with Edward and his family was, above all things, the most material to her interest, and such an invitation the most gratifying to her feelings! (Ibid. 294)

Lucy immediately showed the written invitation to Elinor, who reluctantly perceived it as a sign of her success. The narrator provides insight into Elinor's thoughts,

> for such a mark of uncommon kindness, vouchsafed on so short an acquaintance, seemed to declare that the good-will towards (Lucy) arose from something more than merely (sic) malice against herself; and might be brought, by time and address, to do everything that Lucy wished. Her flattery had already subdued the pride of Lady Middleton and made an entry into the close heart of Mrs John Dashwood, and these were effects that laid open the probability of greater (Ibid. 295)

It is this invitation that leads to Lucy's inevitable downfall. Initially, the new Mrs Dashwood "had never been so much pleased with any young women in her life, as she was with them" (Ibid.). She backpedals immediately after learning of the secret engagement. At this, the Steele sisters are immediately thrown out of the Dashwood home.

Hall explains that although "some movement within the social ranks" was allowed, "obvious social climbers were maligned" (130). "Even though a marriage between a woman like the nearly penniless Lucy and a man like the potentially wealthy Edward Ferrars was possible," the pair would receive little to no social support for such a drastic leap on the economic scale (Ibid.). Hall posits that "Lucy, therefore, must be sly in her attempt to create the perception of expressed value" from her natural place "on the margin of genteel society" (Ibid.). Indeed, Lucy manoeuvres her way back into favour reasonably quickly, ultimately marrying Edward's brother, Robert. With "perseverance in humility of conduct and messages, in self-condemnation for Robert's offence, and gratitude for the unkindness she was treated with," Lucy eventually "procured . . . in time the haughty notice which overcame her by its graciousness, and led soon afterwards, by rapid degrees, to the highest state of affection and influence. Lucy became as necessary to Mrs Ferrars, as either Robert or Fanny" (SS 416). According to Austen's narrator "the whole of Lucy's behaviour in the affair, and the prosperity which crowned it . . . may be held forth as a most encouraging instance of what an earnest, an unceasing attention to self-interest," can provide for a young woman (Ibid. 415). For, "however its progress may be apparently obstructed" a girl can secure "every advantage of fortune, with no other sacrifice than that of time and conscience (Ibid.).

Although Elinor achieves her happy end, any sense of victory is dampened by the fact that the scheming Lucy realizes the same conclusion. As Hall explains, "Lucy eventually accomplishes her goal through her pragmatic but mercenary behaviour," which "establishes the idea that society rewards the unscrupulous" (134). For all of her suffering and goodness, Elinor's reward (at least financially) is second-rate to that of Lucy, revealing "a dark secret of the consumer-driven society," that "virtue is not enough to secure a prize on the marriage market" (Ibid. 153).

Once again, Austen's depiction of Elinor's mute anguish is likely to connect with modern women through shared experiences. Readers (and Elinor) realize that Lucy Steele is manipulating her. Nevertheless, Elinor keeps her silence. Despite her close relationship with Marianne, she does not disclose her pain. Only after Lucy is exposed does Elinor report the stress she suffered. Unburdening herself to Marianne, Elinor relates her torment in keeping a secret "'forced on me by the very person herself, whose prior engagement ruined all my prospects, and told me, as I thought, with triumph'" (SS 305). According to Rachel Simmons,

behaviour such as Elinor's is typical of female relational aggression. Simmons' research indicates that amongst young women, "anger is rarely articulated" (3). She explains that "behind a facade of female intimacy lies a terrain travelled in secret, marked with anguish, and nourished by silence" (Ibid.). Simmons argues that Western culture expects girls to be good, hiding their feelings of anger as "aggression undermines who girls have been raised to become" (16). Austen's narrator perfectly captures the frenemy experience, concluding that Elinor "was pleased to be free . . . from the persecution of Lucy's friendship" (SS 343).

From a literary viewpoint, Wallace proposes that "Elinor . . . hiding her contempt for Lucy Steele" is a necessary device, adding credibility to the novel. For Wallace, the Elinor character lends "at least the appearance of feminine propriety and sentiment, a property that to some extent, consists of suppressing hostile as well as sexual feelings" (8). Elinor admits to hiding her genuine emotions, and that

> 'by endeavouring to appear indifferent where I have been most deeply interested; – and it has not been only once; – I have had her hopes and exultation to listen to again and again. – I have known myself to be divided from Edward for ever (sic), without hearing one circumstance that could make me less desire the connection' (SS 305).

In their work on human behaviour in the digital age, Erin Spottswood and Jeffrey Hancock (2016) refer to this type of conduct as "positive face concern" (252). Their meta-analysis confirms the human tendency to project positive emotions and refrain from sharing personal struggles. This behaviour is demonstrated repeatedly throughout the novel in Elinor's concealment of her real feelings "to save face and avoid damaging the sensibility of others" (Ibid.).

Conclusion

In the end, both Elinor Dashwood and Catherine Morland shed their frenemies from the safe harbour of marriage. Despite their economic vulnerability, both young women secure safe financial futures for themselves, and in Elinor's case, for her widowed mother. According to Hall, their altercations with Lucy and Isabella are indispensable to their stories, acting as mirrors to themselves. Through both novels, Austen's astute insights into female relational aggression serve as cautionary tales for young women to be careful in their intimacies with other girls. Isabella Thorpe's downfall reminds women of the old platitude that a bird in the hand is worth more than two in the bush. In contrast, Lucy Steele's fierce determination to

advance economically suggests to young women that the ends justify the means, no matter how ethically dubious. The following chapter will demonstrate that this attitude is in no way limited to youth.

6. Miserly Matrons: Austen's Queen Bees and Tokens

"There is a special place in hell for women who don't help other women."

- Madeleine Albright

If Madeleine Albright is correct, history and modern culture suggest that Hades is overflowing with women who have refused to support other women. Sadly, female relational aggression does not stop at adulthood; while its causes may be different, the repercussions are the same. According to Phyllis Chesler, mature women have been expected to compete directly against each other throughout history. However, until recently, rivalries were limited to "women-only areas, that is, in contests involving their dogs, cats, horses, flowers, cooking, swimsuit appearances, or in terms of fertility" (Chesler 405). This has changed for modern women, who "expect to compete against each other directly as professionals" (Ibid.). For some, this is not a problem, but others "are still uncomfortable in doing so" (Ibid. 406). Chesler holds that this is because "at least on an unconscious level – they still feel that they are supposed to compete with other women only through and on behalf of others: family, religion, or social class" (Ibid. 405-6).

Author Meghan Daum (2019) identifies the tipping point; "until the birth control pill came along in 1960, we were all essentially prisoners of nature, with women's conditions being markedly worse, sometimes obscenely so" (26). Only after women could control their reproductive lives was it conceivable that "women could compete with men in the job market" (Ibid). It followed "that men should do housework, that women had any purpose in life higher than having babies and men had any purpose higher than financially supporting those babies or going to war to protect them" (Ibid.). Despite these drastic changes, many things – including female indirect aggression – remain the same. Daum concludes, "that we have come so far in so little time is a marvel. That we should expect all the kinks to have been worked out by now is insane" (Ibid.).

As outlined in the first chapter, unkindness between adult women has been a popular narrative trope for centuries and this thesis argues that it plays a significant role in Austen's work. The following chapter examines how Austen's nuanced descriptions of the experience

correspond to current occupational and clinical psychological thought. It supplements previous chapters by focussing on parallels between Austen's mature characters and today's businesswomen.

First, Austen's portrayals of Lady Catherine de Bourgh, Fanny Dashwood, and Mrs Ferrars are explored in the context of workplace Queen Bee Syndrome. According to *Oxford Reference Online*, in occupational terms, this particular manifestation of Queen Bee syndrome refers to "a tendency for some individually successful women in male-dominated environments to block the advancement of junior female colleagues and to be intolerant of competition from members of their own sex." As in previous chapters, the root of intra-female indirect aggression is a sense of scarcity; here, it is a paucity of power.[72] Lady Catherine de Bourgh, Fanny Dashwood and Mrs Ferrars' behaviour towards young women parallels that of an older generation of female managers who struggled to gain positions of authority. These women expect later generations to put in equal amounts of graft – or social credit – to rightfully "earn" their place at the table.

The chapter then turns to similarities between the actions of so-called "token" women and Mrs Norris.[73] Both represent women with special status within their organisations – whether the Bertram family or the boardroom – who attempt to retain what limited power they have by preventing others from gaining it. Often included in management boards to fulfil diversity initiatives, some tokens actively work to hinder other women out of fear for losing their role. Likewise, Mrs Norris holds a niche position at Mansfield Park. At the addition of a second poor relation to the Bertram family home, she attempts to reaffirm her special status at every turn. Susan Weisser and Jennifer Fleischner (1994) explain that women like Mrs Norris "learn the ways of the oppressors in dealing with the world, ways of operating within that world which the more privileged do not have to engage in" (7). Not always "intentional nor conscious," they claim it should not be surprising that women, "whose place

[72] Coined by social psychologist Graham L. Staines et al. (1974, cited in Oxford Reference Online), the term "Queen Bee Syndrome" originally described the tendency of successful women to oppose the women's liberation movement, the subject of the 2020 FX/Hulu miniseries *Mrs America* starring Cate Blanchett. Later, the term expanded to reflect women hindering career advances for other women. However, the original connotation deserves further research in an era of "Trumpettes," and "Women for Kavanaugh," the political phenomena in which females endorse accused male sexual predators (see Burns et al.).

[73] Harvard Business School professor Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) defines tokens as a numerical minority within organisations. Kanter suggests that the disadvantages of token status are only minimised after reaching a critical mass of over 15% of the total organisational unit.

in society varies so greatly over time and across cultures, and whose access to power and resources depends so much on their relations to men, should press on each other in such a confounding variety of ways" (Ibid.). What makes Lady Catherine, Fanny Dashwood, and Mrs Norris different from the aggressing women in earlier chapters is their place in life. All are established in marriage and society. Not mean girls fresh from the schoolroom, these characters represent experience and maturity. Theoretically, they and their real-world counterparts should know the weight of their actions towards younger women.

6.1. Continued Scarcity for Women in the Workplace

Despite numerous advances in equal rights, to this day, few women achieve executive positions in business.[74] Not only are women in competition with men for choice roles, they are pitted against each other. Tracy Vaillancourt (2010), an expert in twenty-first-century female relational aggression, asserts, "women are still willing to cut each other's throats over what they value most – jobs, men, and social approval (18). In the 2017 report from the Workplace Bullying Institute, of over a thousand American adults surveyed, one fifth-of them had personally experienced abuse in the workplace. Whether the perpetrator was male or female, those bullied were significantly more likely to be women (Namie 5).[75]

Abusive behaviour amongst female employees increases as they climb the career ladder. Sociologist Marianne Cooper (2016) argues that various attitudes shape Queen Bee Syndrome. First, some women belittle other women for demonstrating habits typically considered "feminine," such as being "too emotional" (Cooper unpaged). Other women attempt to appear more masculine, claiming to identify more with the patriarchy through statements such as "'I think like a guy,'" or by claiming to have "'only male friends'" (Ibid.). Alternatively, some Queen Bees deny the very existence of gender discrimination, claiming that women are "just less committed to their careers" than men, calling the legitimacy of gender diversity initiatives into question. No matter which behaviour she exhibits, for Cooper,

[74] According to *Fortune* (2019), only 33 companies in the Fortune 500 are led by women.
[75] While further investigation is outside of the scope of this dissertation, it is important to mention that women of colour experience higher rates of abusive conduct in the workplace than Caucasians (Namie 6).

"the ultimate Queen Bee is the successful woman who instead of using her power to help other women advance, undermines her women colleagues" (unpaged).[76]

Similarly, Belle Derks et al. (2011) propose that "Queen Bees are senior women in masculine organisational cultures" who achieved their positions "by dissociating themselves from their gender," and at the same time "contributing to the gender stereotyping of other women" (519). Through a study of nearly one hundred Dutch women in senior management positions, Derks et al. conclude the syndrome is "an individual mobility response of low gender identified women to the gender discrimination they encounter in their work" (Ibid.). Together with Michelle Ryan et al. (2007), Cooper predicts that Queen Bee Syndrome contributes to the patriarchal glass ceiling, an invisible limitation preventing women from achieving top leadership roles.[77] In other words, discrimination begets further discrimination.

There may be light at the end of the tunnel. Naomi Ellemers conducted a study of academic estimation of Ph.D. student commitment, finding that Queen Bee tendencies may be generational. Initially, Ellemers concludes that "despite having equal publication records and levels of work commitment, the female professors (but not the male professors) tended to believe that their female Ph.D. students were less committed to their careers than their male students." However, "this wasn't uniformly the case. It turns out that it was the older generation of women professors, not the younger generation . . . (who) displayed this Queen Bee-like response" (cited in Cooper 2016, unpaged). These findings align with Rosabeth Moss Kanter's (1977) work, suggesting that minority disadvantages lessen after the outnumbered group reaches the threshold of 15% of a given population. In other words, equity begets further equity.

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[76] Cooper critiques the term "Queen Bee", which is highly gendered. "Of course, men can be 'jerks' or 'assholes,' but there is no equivalent term for men who undertake the specific behaviour of plotting against their male colleagues to keep them down" (unpaged). Likewise, Sheppard and Aquino (2013) refer to the term "Queen Bee Syndrome" as "troubling because it dehumanises women and suggests that competition and conflict between women is akin to a disease when, in reality, moderate amounts of same-sex hostility are natural and expected across male and female members of many species" (53).

[77] Not all researchers agree on the actual existence of Queen Bee Syndrome. According to Sheppard and Aquino (2014), the "narrative surrounding the nature of relationships and interactions between and among women at work is decidedly negative" (691). Pointing to the copious mass media attention which female competition in the workforce receives, they explain that the Queen Bee phenomenon has its basis in gender stereotypes rather than reality. Sheppard and Aquino maintain that because women's assertiveness in a business setting has traditionally been unexpected, reports are exaggerated.

Naturally, Austen's narratives do not depict boardroom settings. Nevertheless, parallels exist both in the presence of scarcity and women's reaction to it, linking Austen's contemporary female readers to her 19th-century texts. There is no disputing that Regency England was patriarchal, with women holding little agency of their own. Similarly, women's present-day positions in boardrooms continue to be determined primarily by men. In Austen's work, hostile behaviour amongst mature females is often maternal, a phenomenon that continues today.[78] Chesler explains that "as mothers, women can be quite aggressive on behalf of their children," also witnessed in the actions of Lady Catherine de Bourgh and Mrs Ferrars (405-6). Both women attempt to dictate the marriages of their offspring, harming others of their sex as a consequence. Similarly, Fanny Dashwood hopes to relegate the Misses Dashwood to a life of genteel poverty to protect her husband's finances for her child.

Austen's miserly matrons labour to ensure resources for their children corresponds to Robert Trivers´ (1972) theory of parental investment, indicating that the cost of reproduction is higher for females than males. Anne Campbell (1999) explains that reproductive success for women "is constrained by the long period of gestation and lactation," as well as the resources needed to ensure these" (Campbell 204). In contrast, "males' success is constrained by the number of partners they can inseminate (Ibid.)." When it comes to intra-gender aggression, Campbell posits that "among females, disputes do not carry implications for status with them as they do among males," as they "are chiefly connected with the acquisition and defence of scarce resources" (203). These resources are then shared with "offspring and so enhance their reproductive success" (Ibid. 206).

6.2. Fanny Dashwood as Queen Bee

As demonstrated in the last chapter, Austen's first published novel, *Sense and Sensibility*, is riddled with female indirect aggression. According to Tara Ghoshal Wallace, "no other novel by Austen is so replete with demonic, wilful women," best evidenced by scheming Lucy Steele and ghastly Fanny Dashwood (38). Lynda Hall (2018) rightfully refers to Fanny as "a successful speculator and a greedy mother" who ambushes the Dashwood family's finances (130). Fanny uses kinship terms to persuade her husband, John, to reserve his father's entire estate for

[78]See Jenna Abetz and Julia Moore (2018) for an overview of contemporary competitive parenting, also known as the "Mommy Wars."

their child, through provocative questions like ″how could he answer it to himself to rob his child . . . his only child″ (43). Over and over, Fanny reinforces the kinship argument, demanding ″'what possible claim could the Miss Dashwoods, who were related to him only by half blood . . . have on his generosity,'″ and ″'what brother on earth would do half so much for his sisters, even if *really* his sisters!'″ (Ibid., emphasis original). In Darwinist terms, Fanny's behaviour makes sense. As her husband shares only limited DNA with his stepsisters, there is no evolutionary incentive to support them and their mother. In this way, Robert Rodi argues, Fanny becomes ″the principal agent of the Dashwoods' ruin″ (5).[79]

Mary Poovey (1984) calls special attention to Austen's description of Fanny's manipulation, outlining that

> the hyperbole expressed in the words 'impoverishing,' 'dreadful,' and 'rob' conveys both the strategy of Mrs Dashwood's rhetoric and its absurdity, and the repeated use of the word 'child' suggests how effective she is in manipulating John Dashwood's generosity. Because these sentences belong to the narrative and not to direct dialogue, they mimetically convey the tone of the conversation and simultaneously judge it by reference to an implicit system of more humane values – the undeniably Christian values that one should love one's neighbour as one's self and that the man who hoards his treasures in this world (or the woman who encourages him to do so) will never get into the kingdom of heaven (184).

Weisser and Fleischner emphasise that this sort of Queen Bee behaviour is especially shocking because it goes against centuries of conditioning, instructing women to ″expect more in the way of care-taking and kindness from (other) women″ (7). As a result, ″the disappointment and anger generated by their failure to live up to the prescribed gender billing are all the more acute because we are less armoured against it, as we are against male hostility or aggression″ (Ibid.).

Austen makes it clear that there is no love lost between Fanny and her in-laws. The narrator relates that ″Mrs John Dashwood had never been a favourite with any of her

[79] In his witty retelling of aggression in Austen, Rodi continues, "she's proud, insensitive, and has a sense of entitlement that threatens to devour the entire space-time continuum. For that reason, she's a startlingly timely figure, as we're just now reaping the rewards of years of 'self-esteem' programs in junior and middle schools, which have produced a generation of Gap-clad Mrs John Dashwoods who carry cell phones and drive SUVs and who will feel thoroughly justified in running you down with the latter" (5).

husband's family" (SS 40). "She had had no opportunity, till the present, of shewing them with how little attention to the comfort of other people she could act when occasion required it" (Ibid.). In typical Queen Bee fashion, Fanny immediately works to ensure she is the only Mrs Dashwood in the neighbourhood. As soon as the funeral was over, "Mrs John Dashwood, without sending any notice of her intention to her mother-in-law, arrived with her child and their attendants" (Ibid. 40). Although she had every right to go to Norland Park, her negligence in civil niceties and lack of compassion towards her freshly widowed mother-in-law make it clear that she intended to rule the household.

6.2.1. Establishing Herself as the Woman of the House

Readers learn that "Mrs John Dashwood now installed herself mistress of Norland, and her mother and sisters-in-law were degraded to the condition of visitors" (Ibid. 43). To render the situation even more untenable, Fanny begins to suspect a romance between her sister-in-law, Elinor, and her somewhat awkward brother, Edward Ferrars. Not only does Fanny extend Elinor no sympathy, she actively works against the match. Fanny and her mother intend to select Edward's wife themselves. The budding attachment soon began "to make her uneasy, and at the same time, (which was still more common), to make her uncivil" (Ibid. 60). Fanny asserts her role by obliquely warning her mother-in-law that Edward had "'great expectations'" and that "'any young woman who attempted to *draw him in'*" would not be treated kindly (Ibid., emphasis original). Attributing predatory urges to Elinor hit its mark. After months lingering in her former home, Mrs Dashwood finally resolves to depart immediately, so that "her beloved Elinor should not be exposed another week to such insinuations" (Ibid.). There was clearly only room for one Queen at Norland Park.

Even the women's removal to the safety of a modest cottage in Devonshire sparked Fanny's ire. Instead of being satisfied by her newly expanded wealth, Fanny was resentful of the women taking the "household linen, plate, china, and books" with them (Ibid. 65). Ignoring the Dashwood ladies' financial and emotional losses, "she could not help feeling it hard that as Mrs Dashwood's income would be so trifling in comparison with their own, she should have any handsome articles of furniture." The narrator informs readers that she ungenerously watched "the packages depart with a sigh" (Ibid.).

6.2.2. Ignoring Social Conventions

Once Fanny is firmly established as the mistress of Norland Park, connections between the two families remain at a standstill. Only when Elinor and Marianne accompany their relatives, Mrs Jennings and Lady Middleton to London, do their paths cross again. Meeting their half-brother by chance, Elinor and Marianne learn that John and Fanny had been in London for two days. Regency etiquette would suggest that the pair call on their sisters upon arrival. Instead, John Dashwood only confirms a visit from his wife after being assured that the girls' hosts were wealthy. Fanny's tactic of not acknowledging Elinor and excluding her from social conventions like courtesy meetings is a well-documented contemporary workplace bullying tactic (Mavin et al. 443).

Satisfied that she will encounter other women at her social level, Fanny finally makes the belated call. In true Queen Bee form, snobbish Fanny ignores Mrs Jennings, finding camaraderie in her titled daughter, Lady Middleton, instead. The narrator shares that "there was a kind of cold-hearted selfishness on both sides, which mutually attracted them; and they sympathised with each other in an insipid propriety of demeanour, and a general want of understanding" (SS 272). Through Mrs Jennings, readers learn that Fanny "appeared nothing more than a little proud-looking woman of uncordial (sic) address, who met her husband's sisters without any affection, and almost without having anything to say to them" (Ibid.). Despite this discomfort, Fanny and John were "so prodigiously delighted with the Middletons, that, though not much in the habit of giving anything, they determined to give them – a dinner" (Ibid. 273). The invitation brought together not only the Middletons, Jennings, and Dashwoods, but the Steels Sisters and Edward and Fanny's mother as well.

6.2.3. Like Mother, Like Daughter

Readers first meet Mrs Ferrars at the meal, when she is described as "a little, thin woman, upright, even to formality, in her figure, and serious, even to sourness, in her aspect" (Ibid. 275). Aware of the affection between Elinor and Edward, "of the few syllables that did escape her, not one fell to the share of Miss Dashwood, whom she eyed with the spirited determination of disliking her at all events" (Ibid.). According to Mavin et al. (2014), some Queen Bees engage in "exclusionary tactics," ostracising other women (442). Fanny was very pointed in not speaking about her brother to Elinor in front of her mother. Assuming Elinor and Edward were "still so very much attached to each other," Fanny felt that they "could not

be too sedulously divided in word and deed on every occasion" (SS 273). Indeed, "nothing would have induced Fanny voluntarily to mention his name before her, till able to tell her that his marriage" with the appropriate heiress bride "was resolved on" (Ibid.). Again, Fanny's behaviour is reminiscent of intra-gender micro-aggressions experienced by women in modern management. Mavin et al. explain that workplace bullying includes withholding vital information from others, an invisible micro-aggression demeaning for the recipient (443).

Following the meal, the assembly gathers for conversation. Learning that Elinor had painted fire screens for her sister-in-law, Colonel Brandon warmly admired them, "as he would have done anything painted by Miss Dashwood" (SS 277). His remark led to the curiosity of the rest of the group, and they were passed around for viewing. As soon as Mrs Ferrars became aware that they were Elinor's handiwork, she handed them on without examination. The narrator shows Fanny reddening in reaction to her mother's pointed rudeness, trying to reduce its effect by querying, "'they are very pretty, ma'am – an't they?'" (sic Ibid. 278). Immediately, Fanny does a second about-face, likely due to "the dread of having been too civil, too encouraging herself" in misalignment with her mother's intentions (Ibid.). Stacy Sechrist and Jacquelyn White (2010) explain this type of behaviour in their research on female aggression, explaining that

> it is likely that the female will evaluate the consequences of the aggression against its social, physical, and psychological consequences. She will seek the most effective technique to meet a desired end, while at the same time minimising negative consequences (96).

As outlined in the previous chapter, Mrs Ferrars lavishes affection on the Miss Steeles, much to Lucy's delight. Readers learn that Elinor

> could not but smile to see the graciousness of both mother and daughter towards the very person – for Lucy was particularly distinguished – whom of all others, had they known as much as she did, they would have been most anxious to mortify; while she herself, who had comparatively no power to wound them, sat pointedly slighted by both (SS 275).[80]

Lucy gobbles up the flattery, leading Elinor to question how "Lucy's spirits could be so very

[80] These stratagems could just as easily been studied through Benenson's stratagems of social exclusion and the use of overt competition only if in a position of power.

much elevated by the civility of Mrs Ferrars" and "her interest and . . . vanity should so very much blind her as to make the attention which seemed only paid her because she was *not Elinor*, appear a compliment to herself" (Ibid. 280, emphasis original). Elinor has come to terms with the situation, and "could not *now* be made unhappy by this behaviour" (Ibid. 275, emphasis original). Had the scene taken place "a few months ago, it would have hurt her exceedingly; but it was not in Mrs Ferrars' power to distress her by it now" (Ibid.). Instead of being injured by the treatment, it "only amused her" (Ibid.). "She smiled at a graciousness so misapplied; she could not reflect on the mean-spirited folly from which it sprung, nor observe the studied attentions with which the Miss Steeles courted its continuance, without thoroughly despising them all four" (Ibid.). Instead of harm, Mrs Ferrars' egregious behaviour has a positive effect, convincing Elinor that "a farther connection between the families" would be "undesirable" (Ibid.). In the space of one evening, Elinor witnessed "enough of her pride, her meanness, and her determined prejudice against herself, to comprehend all the difficulties that must have perplexed the engagement, and retarded the marriage, of Edward and herself" had he been free (Ibid.).

Using the first-person pronoun suggesting secret sharing, the narrator melodramatically announces, "I come now to the relation of a misfortune, which about this time befell Mrs John Dashwood" (Ibid. 289). Instead of the implied accident, death, or scandal, the "misfortune" turns out to be an acquaintance calling at the same time as Elinor and Marianne, "a circumstance in itself not apparently likely to produce evil to her" (Ibid.). However, as the narrator ominously warns, "while the imaginations of other people will carry them away to form wrong judgments of our conduct, and to decide on it by slight appearances, one's happiness must in some measure be always at the mercy of chance" (Ibid.). The acquaintance, the narrator sardonically relates, allows "her fancy to so far outrun truth and probability," as to believe the Misses Dashwood Fanny's guests (Ibid.). Finally, the narrator elaborates, revealing that

> this misconstruction produced within a day or two afterwards, cards of invitation for them as well as for their brother and sister, to a small musical party at her house . . . the consequence of which was, that Mrs John Dashwood was obliged to submit not only to the exceedingly great inconvenience of sending her carriage for the Miss Dashwoods, but, what was still worse, must be subject to all the

> unpleasantness of appearing to treat them with attention: and who could tell that they might not expect to go out with her a second time? The power of disappointing them, it was true, must always be hers (Ibid.).

This misassumption inspires John Dashwood to suggest to his wife that his sisters should become their houseguests in reality rather than only in the imagination of their acquaintances. Fanny immediately disagrees, citing the girls' obligations to their current hostess. Fanny assures him that, "'otherwise I should be exceedingly glad to do it'" (Ibid. 294). When John fails to "see the force of her objection," Fanny invents a previous invitation to Lucy Steele and her sister, who are in actuality staying with Lady Middleton. The narrator captures the energy Fanny invests in the negation, writing that after a brief pause, she tells her husband with honey-coated, "fresh vigour" that,

> '[m]y love I would ask them with all my heart, if it was in my power. But I had just settled within myself to ask the Miss Steeles to spend a few days with us. They are very well behaved, good kind of girls; and I think the attention is due to them . . . we can ask your sisters some other year, you know; but the Miss Steeles may not be in town anymore. I am sure you will like them; indeed, you do like them, you know, very much already!' (Ibid.).

If Fanny knew the truth, her delight at using the Steeles as an excuse to evade Elinor and Marianne would vanish. Instead, readers learn that Fanny rejoices "in her escape" and is "proud of the ready wit that had procured it" (Ibid.).

Only after the engagement is revealed does Fanny Dashwood intimate to her husband that a union between Edward and Elinor would be preferable to that with Lucy (Ibid. 338). Elinor receives this backhanded compliment through her half-brother. John tells her that "'whatever objections there might be against a certain – a certain connection,'" he stammers, "'it would have been far preferable to her, it would not have given her half the vexation that *this* does'" (Ibid. emphasis original). He unhelpfully goes on to emphasise that such a match would be, in his mother-in-law's words, "'the least evil of the two'" (Ibid.). As Hall explains, as "a successful speculator and a greedy mother," Fanny's "reaction to the news is not only comic, but it is also reflective of her shallow focus" (130). Fanny "does not have any qualms about having Lucy in her household to flatter her and her child, but she cannot fathom her brother married to such a penniless woman" (Ibid.).

At last, Fanny becomes silently civil to her sister-in-law; "though *she* never spoke of it out of her own family, Elinor could see its influence on her mind" (SS 341). In no way apologising for past behaviour, Fanny demonstrates "something like confusion of countenance" and "an attempt at cordiality" (Ibid.). "She even proceeded so far as to be concerned to find that Elinor and her sister were so soon to leave town, as she had hoped to see more of them" (Ibid.) Wallace concludes, "in *Sense and Sensibility*, women try to bend others to their will – and often succeed" (38). However, "those who succeed in the narrative are punished by the narrator" (Ibid.). Both Fanny and her mother are forced to come to terms with Robert's marriage to the loathsome, uncouth Lucy Steele, and accept Elinor as a sister-in-law. Wallace considers this a warning to ambitious women, as

> the destructive egotism of Fanny Dashwood. . . (and) Mrs Ferrars . . . make it abundantly clear what sort of woman seeks authority and tries to make the world conform to her image of it. No woman in her right mind would take for a model the imperious or designing women who achieve success in *Sense and Sensibility*; if feminine power is linked to these characteristics, women and men do right to keep women unempowered, marginal, silent (Ibid.).

In contrast, fate rewards docile Mrs Dashwood with a comfortable widowhood and the guarantee of a warm welcome in the homes of her two happily settled daughters.

6.3. Lady Catherine as Queen Bee

Domineering matriarch Lady Catherine de Bourgh is another example of Austen's insight into Queen Bee behaviour. Readers first learn of Lady Catherine's looming presence through her devoted vicar, the obsequious Mr Collins. The aunt of Mr Darcy, the hero of *Pride and Prejudice*, Lady Catherine's name indicates that, while she is the titled daughter of an Earl, her husband did not belong to the peerage. Lady Catherine married beneath her.[81] A minor, yet a critical character in the novel, readers experience Lady Catherine as a micromanager, reliant on her status and fortune to achieve what she wants. Unused to being refused, Lady Catherine lashes out when she is unable to dictate Elizabeth's future.

[81] See https://www.historic-uk.com/CultureUK/The-British-Peerage/ for an overview of historical naming conventions amongst the British peerage.

Austen's descriptions of Lady Catherine encourage vilification by literary scholars. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar refer to her as "arrogant, officious, egotistical, and rude" (172). For them, Lady Catherine's opposition "to the very basis of patriarchy, the exclusive right of male inheritance," demonstrates Jane Austen's disdain for matriarchal power (Ibid.). Gilbert and Gubar find similarities between Lady Catherine and Elizabeth Bennet, as each "speaks authoritatively of matters on which neither is an authority," and "both are sarcastic and certain in their assessment of people" (Ibid. 173).

Mary Poovey (1984) explains that Lady Catherine's title and position allow her to misbehave (25). As a noblewoman in possession of a large estate which she may pass directly to her daughter, Regency readers could assume that Lady Catherine was accustomed to making demands of others. She could expect her heiress daughter to be considered a great catch by any reasonable suitor. Lawrence Stone (1977) outlines that parents like Lady Catherine had "the right of veto over socially or economically unsuitable candidates" (272). It was realistic for her to expect a say in her daughter's and her orphaned nephew's marriages. Indeed, Lady Catherine and her sister arranged a match between their offspring in their infancies; in this way, two fortunes would merge. By keeping her daughter malleable and under her control, Lady Catherine could hope to retain authority after the marriage. In that way, she could become the *de facto* mistress of both Rosings Park and Pemberley. What Lady Catherine did not take into account was the radical shift taking place on the British marriage market, with "children now normally making their own choices," and a new emphasis on "personal affection" rather than "family interest" (Ibid.)

6.3.1. Low Gender Identification

Like many workplace Queen Bees, Lady Catherine holds an unusually autonomous position in society. With a large estate at her disposal and as the widowed daughter of an Earl, she is a woman in a role usually held by men. Like most landed fathers of the age, she is privileged to know that her decisions carry weight. Social and behavioural scientists have shown that the rarity of her position, both in the Regency and today, lies at the root of Queen Bee Syndrome. Derks et al. (2016) explain that "the Queen Bee phenomenon is not an inevitable or standard response of women in high places" (5). Instead, "it is triggered specifically in work settings in which women experience social identity threat due to gender discrimination and negative stereotypes" (Ibid.) They conclude that "such settings make less strongly identified women

promote their individual opportunities through Queen Bee behaviour" rather than helping other women (Ibid.).[82] In a patriarchal culture like Regency Britain, it is no stretch to interpret Lady Catherine as unlikely to be sympathetic to other women in her circle of acquaintance. Indeed, Austen describes Lady Catherine's character in less than feminine terms. She is introduced as

> a tall, large woman, with strongly marked features, which might once have been handsome. Her air was not conciliating, nor was her manner of receiving them such as to make her visitors forget their inferior rank. She was not rendered formidable by silence, but whatever she said was spoken in so authoritative a tone, as marked her self-importance (PP 183).

When she invites the Meryton party to her home for dinner, Lady Catherine conveys an almost royal presence, as she "with great condescension, arose to receive them" (Ibid.). Lady Catherine is depicted as "gratified by their excessive admiration" of her home. She speaks with "self-importance," "without any intermission," "delivering her opinion on every subject in so decisive a manner, as proved that she was not used to have her judgement controverted" (Ibid. 184). Despite playing host, Lady Catherine shows no evidence of the pro-social behaviour and affiliative speech expected of women, as outlined in chapter four.

After dinner, Lady Catherine freely admits to lacking traditional feminine accomplishments. According to Poovey (1984) skills such as "piano playing, singing, dancing, fine needlework, and painting" were, for the average Regency gentleman's daughter, the only "legitimate vehicle for the indirect indulgence of vanity," representing "only thinly disguised opportunities for the display of personal charms" (Ibid.). Lady Catherine underscores her right – and expectation – not to compete by declaring herself a musical expert, despite never having learned to play. Her social and economic status allows her to make broad statements like, "if I had ever learnt, I should have been a great proficient" (PP 194). Despite her lack of knowledge, Lady Catherine does not hesitate to instruct others, continuing "remarks on Elizabeth's performance, mixing with them many instructions on execution and taste" (Ibid. 198). She puts Elizabeth in her place, equating her with a servant by suggesting she "come to

[82] Derks et al. (2016) also find that the Queen Bee Syndrome is not, in fact, specifically female phenomenon. Instead, it is exhibited by various marginalised groups with little representation in senior positions, such as people of colour, LGBTQ individuals, or members of recent immigrant communities.

Rosings every day and play on the pianoforte in Mrs Jenkinson's room" where "she would be in nobody's way" (Ibid. 195).

6.3.2. Lady Catherine the Micromanager

In occupational terms, Lady Catherine is a classic micromanager, fixated on supervising those around her to the smallest detail. Like Queen Bee Syndrome, some refer to micromanagement as a disease, stemming from feelings of insecurity in designated leaders. Richard D. White (2010) compares micromanagers to addicts and alcoholics, who "are the last people to recognise that they are hooked on controlling others" (71). As the narrator relates, "nothing was beneath this great lady's attention, which could furnish her with an occasion of dictating to others" (PP 185). Despite having no expertise, Lady Catherine "inquired into Charlotte's domestic concerns familiarly and minutely," giving her "a great deal of advice as to the management of them all" (Ibid.) She freely tells Mrs Collins how "everything ought to be regulated," going so far as to instruct her "as to the care of her cows and her poultry" (Ibid.). Throughout Elizabeth Bennet's visit to her friend, Lady Catherine descends on Charlotte's household to continue her unrequested remarks. The narrator relates that

> nothing escaped her observation that was passing in the room during these visits. She examined into their employments, looked at their work, and advised them to do it differently; found fault with the arrangement of the furniture; or detected the housemaid in negligence; and if she accepted any refreshment, seemed to do it only for the sake of finding out that Mrs Collins's joints of meat were too large for her family (Ibid. 190).

Although Lady Catherine "was not in commission of the peace of the county," she took it upon herself to address even "the minutest concerns of which were carried to her by Mr Collins" (Ibid.). Ludicrously, readers learn that "whenever any of the cottagers were disposed to be quarrelsome, discontented, or too poor, she sallied forth into the village to settle their differences, silence their complaints, and scold them into harmony and plenty" (Ibid.).

According to White, micromanagers tend to hire drones like Mr Collins, who enable their behaviour. They resist hiring talented employees who may challenge them; the long-term result, White explains, is a workforce so afraid of constant criticism that it "no longer take(s) risks, creativity dries up, and customer service goes down the drain" (72). Austen

captures such an environment and its consequences, portraying Miss de Bourgh as ″pale and sickly,″ speaking ″very little, except in a low voice, to Mrs Jenkinson, in whose appearance there was nothing remarkable″ (PP 184).

In contrast, Elizabeth is not intimidated by Lady Catherine. When asked her age, Elizabeth is evasive. At this, ″Lady Catherine seemed quite astonished at not receiving a direct answer,″ and ″Elizabeth suspected herself to be the first creature who had ever dared to trifle with so much dignified impertinence″ (Ibid. 187). In his psychological analysis of Austen's work, Bernard Paris (1978) aptly proposes that

> one senses that Elizabeth has steeled herself to this situation so as to maintain her sense of equality with Lady Catherine . . . Her composure is a form of triumph. When she discovers that Lady Catherine is a fool, she becomes completely at her ease and even toys with her adversary by refusing immediately to disclose her age. Lady Catherine is not only a great lady, of course, but also a very manipulative one, and Elizabeth's satisfaction in trifling with her is evident (121).

Giselle Castillo's (2018) study of employee reactions to micromanagement may explain the reader's feelings of satisfaction at Elizabeth's behaviour, likely having themselves encountered the phenomenon. Of Castillo's subject group, 90% reported having worked under a micromanager, resulting in fear, stress, low morale, and little job satisfaction. A significant number of them subsequently left the department or the company altogether to escape the perpetrators.

6.3.3. Elizabeth Steps out of Bounds

Elizabeth repeats her unwillingness to bend to Lady Catherine's demands during the matriarch's surprise visit to Longbourn when Lady Catherine exhibits domineering and decidedly unfeminine manners. In Benenson's terms outlined above, Lady Catherine's high social status allows her to aggress openly towards both Elizabeth and her mother. Hoping to hear Elizabeth deny an engagement to Mr Darcy, Lady Catherine arrives ″too early in the morning for visitors″ (PP 389), indicating that she felt above niceties to the Bennet family. The narrator describes her entering the room ″with an air more than usually ungracious,″ making ″no other reply to Elizabeth's salutation than a slight inclination of the head,″ sitting down ″without saying a word.″ Despite Lizzie's attempts, ″no request of introduction″ was made to

any of the Bennets. Recognising her status, the flustered Mrs Bennet "received her with utmost politeness" (Ibid.).

Austen describes Lady Catherine's behaviour in unflattering, controlling terms. Only after a moment of silence does Lady Catherine deign to ask for information on the persons before her. Unasked, she proceeds to criticise the room, calling it "'most inconvenient'" (Ibid. 390). She then declines an offer of refreshment, responding "not very politely," and "more than usually insolent and disagreeable" (Ibid.). She then allows herself to open doors throughout the home and make unbidden pronouncements on their suitability. Once in the garden, she demands information "in an angry tone," warning Elizabeth she is "not to be trifled with" (Ibid.). Insinuating mistrust in Elizabeth, she boasts that her character has "been celebrated for its sincerity and frankness" and intent to make her sentiments on the supposed engagement known (Ibid. 391).

Lady Catherine denies any in-group affiliation with Elizabeth, whether based on their shared gender or social status. This is reminiscent of Simone de Beauvoir's claim that womanhood is "so ubiquitous that it melts easily into other categories under pressure to keep up relations with men and other figures of authority" (cited in Weisser and Fleischner 8). According to Benenson, women like Lady Catherine "have little incentive to invest in other women, so most women benefit from punishing striving peers" (2). Punishing Elizabeth is precisely what Lady Catherine plans to do. In the terms of Derks et al.'s (2016) findings, Lady Catherine's refusal to consider Elizabeth part of her in-group by calling her a "young woman without family, connections, or fortune," only increases the likelihood of aggression (PP 395). At this put-down, Elizabeth reminds Lady Catherine that she is a gentleman's daughter. Immediately, Lady Catherine attempts to reinstate the social distance, questioning, "'who was your mother? Who are your uncles and aunts? Do not imagine me ignorant of their condition'" (Ibid.).

While Lady Catherine denigrates Elizabeth for coming from a family touched by trade, modern occupational Queen Bees disparage younger women for their lack of commitment. According to Mindy Baumgartner and Peter Schneider (2010), "women managers often feel as though they have worked hard to get where they are, and other women should have to work just as hard" (561). Derks et al. explain that "Queen bees have disidentified from junior women at work and only identify with the limited group of women who have achieved similar

career success" (9). This tactic backfires, as they "have less opportunities to share their experiences and benefit from the support of other women compared to women who identify with other women at work more broadly" (Ibid.).[83]

At this point, Lady Catherine brings up the damage Lydia's bungled elopement has brought to the entire Bennet family. Challenging Elizabeth, she appeals, "'I am no stranger to the particulars of your youngest sister's infamous elopement . . . is such a girl to be my nephew's sister?'" (PP 396). Poovey points out that reputation is of significant cultural importance during the Regency. Lady Catherine's referral to "'such a girl'" is a coded reference to Lydia's loss of innocence. Poovey explains that at the time, "external signs" were "organic expressions" of a person's "hidden essence. Just as how you look must designate what you are, so where you are must invariably tell who you are" (24). It is not surprising when Lady Catherine demands, "are the shades of Pemberley to be thus polluted?" referring to Lydia and her slapdash marriage to the steward's son (PP 396).

To this day, women's sexual reputations continue to impact how other women treat them. In a *New York Times* article, John Tierney (2013) proposes that slut-shaming is part of a "Cold War fought between women" (unpaged). Citing socio-biologist Sarah Blaffer Hrdy's ground-breaking work, he explains that "sex is coveted by men . . . accordingly, women limit access as a way of maintaining an advantage in the negotiation of this resource" (Ibid.). Any woman who makes sexual intercourse too readily available compromises "the power-holding position of the group, which is why many women are particularly intolerant of women who are, or seem to be, promiscuous" (Ibid.). Wiseman reinforces this statement, pointing out that "today, girl power is a cultural juggernaut. And yet, the message that modesty and restraint are the essence of femininity persists" (148). Referring to contemporary feminist research, Wiseman asserts that "our culture continues to pressure girls to be chaste, quiet, thin, and giving, denying the desire for sexual pleasure, voice, food, and self-interest!" (Ibid.). Future research into shared experiences between reality and fiction could evaluate links between Lydia's giving way to carnal desires and modern adolescent sexuality.

[83] Ironically (and sadly), female misogyny works in both directions. In the 1990s, psychologists found that women were more critical of female leaders than their male colleagues, regardless of the leadership style used (Chesler 134).

Lady Catherine relies on her status to get what she wants. As Benenson predicts, for high-status women, there is no reason to collaborate with lower rank or non-kin women. She repeatedly reminds Elizabeth of her position, asking, "'Miss Bennet, do you know who I am?'" and stating that she has "'not been accustomed to such language,'" and feeling "'entitled to know'" all of Darcy's "'dearest concerns'" (PP 396). Again, and again, Lady Catherine emphasises Elizabeth's "'presumption,'" "'inferior birth,'" and being of "'no importance in the world'" (Ibid.). Citing studies of female Italian university faculty, Dutch board members, and police officers, Derks et al. suggest that this type of boasting is typical. Unlike male managers, senior female managers often exhibit the need to describe themselves in terms of status, competitiveness, and assertiveness. In this way, they distance themselves from less successful women and assimilate in male-dominated organisations (Derks et al. 2).

In the end, Lady Catherine's aggression towards Elizabeth secures the very marriage which she hopes to prevent. Gilbert and Gubar point out that in her "highly incensed" refusal to respond to Lady Catherine's baiting, "Elizabeth resembles her interlocutor," finding it fitting "that she takes the place meant for Lady Catherine's daughter when she marries Darcy" (173). Michael Stasio and Kathryn Duncan (2007) assess Lady Catherine as a "substitute competitor for her daughter" (139). At this point, Joseph Carroll (2005) accuses Austen herself of "a certain streak of brutality" in her treatment of "sickly and peevish" Miss de Bourgh, to whom "no one but her own mother and her governess pays . . . any regard" (99).

Referring to Darwin, Carroll claims that Austen "sacrifices Miss de Bourgh on the altar of the ruthless principle of fitness, and the only sensation Elizabeth or Austen herself express toward this poor sick girl is that of vindictive contempt; there is no hint pity" (Ibid.). Regardless of the result, Lady Catherine will create a narrative for herself about the union. Like a Queen Bee manager requiring younger female colleagues to perform the same amount of suffering that they experienced before ascending to top positions, Lady Catherine will never believe Elizabeth's right to become Mrs Darcy. Wallace contends that although she may visit Pemberley after the marriage, she will always maintain that Elizabeth's "'arts and allurements'" drew him in (58).

6.4. Mrs Norris and Token Women

In today's business world, it often seems that there is only one place in the boardroom, selection committee, television panel, or company brochure for a person who is not a able-bodied white man. This so-called "token" is used to present a false narrative of gender diversity. The term comes from a study of male-dominated law firms conducted by Harvard Business School professor Robin Ely, who posits that "women in the male-dominated firms believed that only so many of them would make it into the senior ranks" (cited in Khazan 2017, unpaged). Instead of competing based on merit, women believe "that they were vying with one another" for limited opportunities. Ely coined the term "tokenism" to describe environments in which "women begin to view their gender as an impediment," resulting in then not only *not* "joining forces," but sometimes turning on one another (Ibid.).[84] According to Cooper (2016), established tokens often feel that other women should not be able to rise in the corporate world without investing years of hard work and tolerating systematic sexism as they had. Some tokens view additional tokens as threats, leading them to refuse to help others to preserve their own seat at the table.[85]

International labour statistics indicate that women at the top have a right to worry. Although the World Bank and International Labour Organisation (2019) estimate that 73% of women between fifteen and sixty-four in the United Kingdom and 67% in the United States participate in the workforce, they remain shut out of the board room. The 2018 McKinsey *Report on Women in the Workplace* shows that advances for working women have stagnated in recent decades; women continue to remain underrepresented in corporate management. Orhun Guldiken et al. (2019) assert that "once these institutional demands" for a female board member have been appeased, additional appointments provide "diminishing

[84] Recent figures show that women hold one-third of FTSE 100 boardroom roles in 2020, yet there are still 44 all-male boards (Churchill 7). This lack continues despite a plethora of studies revealing no evidence of male superiority in leadership skills. See Forsyth et al. (1997) for an in-depth exploration of bias in the appraisal of women leaders.

[85] Cooper reports that "this kind of response is not even unique to women. It's actually an approach used by many marginalised groups to overcome damaging views held about their group. For example, research has found that some gay men try to distance themselves from stereotypes about gays being effeminate by emphasising hyper-masculine traits and holding negative beliefs about effeminate gays. Social distancing then is a strategy many individuals use who are trying to avoid, escape, or navigate the social disadvantage of the group to which they belong" (unpaged).

legitimacy gains" (21). They find that following the appointment of a female director to a vacant board seat, the likelihood of appointing a second one drops sharply.

Overall, research on tokenism suggests that the phenomenon is highly gendered. Repeating the motif of female indirect aggression based on scarcity, Sheppard and Aquino (2014), explain that in token situations, women compete with other women for organisational resources that "appear less accessible to them than to men" (697). Vibeke Nielsen and Mikkel Madsen (2019) predict that across all occupational contexts, "token status has a significantly negative effect on women's management aspirations," yet "it has no effect on men's aspirations to management" (226). As a result, "token women typically experience isolation, stereotyping, and other difficulties that restrain their integration in the workplace and even more their ascension up the hierarchies" (Ibid.). The same is not true of men in similar positions.

Even women at lower rungs are known to denigrate their sex. Chesler relates the results of a study on gender-biased rejection rates of proposals for National Science Foundation funding in economics which found that women were much more likely to turn down suggestions by other women than men. The basis of their decisions was fear; only a small fraction of economics scholars are female. Chesler explains that, "many women perceive a fixed number of 'female slots,' leading to a feeling of competition among women; or women may believe that, unless they judge other women harshly, their own credibility will be questioned" (336). Likewise, "in male-dominated law firms, women tended to compare themselves directly (and only) with other women as a way of gauging their own success and relative opportunities for advancement" (Ibid. 338-9).

On the surface, it would seem that this phenomenon has no relation to Austen and her descriptions of female experience. Yet, Wallace concludes that Austen's *Mansfield Park* is "essentially, permanently hostile," and "a site of competition and exploitation, of struggles for power and vengeance that match the intensity of social and economic class struggles" (59). Claudia Johnson (1998) likens the novelist herself with tokens. Assessing Austen's ascent into the Western canon, she finds

> the fact that Austen is a female novelist has made assessments of her artistic enterprise qualitatively different from those of her male counterparts. Because

> of it, she has been admitted into the canon on terms which cast doubt on her qualifications for entry which ensure her continued presence there to be regarded as an act of gallantry (xiv).

Having defined tokenism, the following section will discuss Mrs Norris as an example, struggling to maintain her unique position in the Bertram household. As an opportunistic poor relation, Mrs Norris works to keep her role, being sycophantic to those of means and hostile to those with none.[86]

6.4.1. The Making of a Monster

Aunt Norris is the oldest of three middle-class sisters. One, the indolent but pretty Maria, marries exceptionally well and becomes the wife of a baronet and the mistress of Mansfield Park. Six years after her younger sister's astonishingly fortunate match, the equally attractive Mrs Norris was "obliged" to marry a clergyman provided with a living near Mansfield by her wealthy brother-in-law (MP 43). The third sister, Frances, marries a handsome, alcoholic naval officer living in relative squalor in a coastal city and produces numerous babies which the pair cannot afford. Interpreting this as a personal affront, Mrs Norris wrote "a long and angry letter to Fanny, to point out the folly of her conduct, and threaten her with its possible ill consequences" (Ibid. 44). With this, relations between the three were broken off for eleven years, or until Mrs Price "could no longer afford to cherish pride or resentment, or to lose one connection that might possibly assist her" and her brood, asking for help through the fostering of one of her many children (Ibid.).

Mrs Norris has no problem supporting the children of her wealthy sister, and devotes her services to them, taking as much advantage as possible while expending the least amount of effort. Over the years, Mrs Norris attains a position of power in Mansfield Park, echoing the economic survival basis of female aggression identified by Anne Campbell (1993, 1996, 1999,

[86] Throughout the novel, Austen depicts Aunt Norris as lacking empathy not only for Fanny but servants as well. When determining how Fanny is to be brought to Mansfield, Mrs Norris offers the help of numerous others, never herself. She proposes, "'I will send Nanny to London on purpose, and she may have a bed at her cousin the saddler's, and the child be appointed to meet her there. They may easily get her from Portsmouth to town by the coach, under the care of any creditable person that may chance to be going. I dare say there is always some reputable tradesman's wife or other going up'" (MP 47). With this, Mrs Norris is not inconvenienced, yet the unsuspecting Nanny, her cousin, and any suitable stranger are. When determining what is to happen to the little girl upon arrival at Mansfield Park, she declares "it will be just the same to Miss Lee whether she has three girls to teach, or only two – there can be no difference" (Ibid.). Later, she swells with pride at taking two bits of spare board away from the ten-year-old son of a servant who wishes to use off-cuts from their disastrous theatre project while she herself feels entitled to snatch the excess curtain material (Ibid. 180).

2011). Her strength is manifested in access to material goods, status, and self-determination unusual for the wife of a country parson. Julia Kavanagh (1862) explains that her "love of the executive takes every form" (266). By rushing to monopolise tasks, Aunt Norris acquires undeserved acclaim. The narrator makes Mrs Norris' superficiality clear;

> [a]s far as walking, talking, and contriving reached, she was thoroughly benevolent, and nobody knew better how to dictate liberality to others, but her love of money was equal to her love of directing, and she knew quite as well how to save her own as to spend that of her friends . . . under this infatuating principle, counteracted by no real affection for her sister, it was impossible for her to aim at more than the credit of projecting and arranging so expensive a charity; though perhaps she might so little know herself as to walk home to the Parsonage, after this conversation, in the happy belief of being the most liberal-minded sister and aunt in the world (MP 47).

Wallace recognises the source of Mrs Norris's aggression as jealous resentment, "believing herself to be unjustly deprived, she takes all she can get from those who have more," including her lethargic but wealthy sister (62). "She wheedles plants, cheese, and eggs out of the servants at Sotherton," and manages things so that "the curtain from the aborted theatricals and the 'supernumerary jellies' from the ball find their way" to her home (Ibid.). Wallace proposes that "the very insignificance of these objects indicates a larger motivation for such aimless acquisitiveness," suggesting that Mrs Norris is compensating her lack of offspring with material goods. While it is plausible that Mrs Norris' "miserliness comes from a double sense of deprivation, and acquisitiveness from a conviction that the rich should be fleeced," attributing this tendency to infertility, proposing that maternity is the single objective for all women, is excessive (Ibid.).

6.4.2. False Nurturing

One of Mrs Norris' first activities in the novel is to suggest that the family at Mansfield accept the guardianship of one of Mrs Price's numerous offspring. At first, bringing Fanny Price to Mansfield seems a benevolent way to ease the Prices' financial burden. Readers soon learn that, after reaping kudos for the suggestion, "Mrs Norris had not the least intention of being at any expense whatever in her maintenance" (MP 67). The narrator reiterates, "it had never occurred to her, on the present occasion, but as a thing to be carefully avoided" (Ibid.).

Instead of being fetched by Aunt Norris, little Fanny was met by her at the end of her journey. This allowed Mrs Norris to regale ″in the credit of being foremost to welcome her″ (Ibid). Finding satisfaction ″in the importance of leading her in to the others, and recommending her to their kindness,″ Mrs Norris needs not show any kindness of her own (Ibid. 52).

Biologically speaking, with no children of her own, Mrs Norris has no direct genetic inheritance to protect: Fanny and the Bertram children share the same amount of DNA with their aunt. Marilyn Francus (2014) explains,

> Lady Bertram's failure to mother leaves a vacuum that her sister, Mrs Norris, attempts to fill. At first glance, these sisters could not be more different: Lady Bertram is fertile, passive, and deferential, while Mrs Norris is childless, active, and aggressive. Both are selfish – Lady Bertram in her indolence, and Mrs Norris in her incessant activity – and both are monstrous mothers, demonstrating their deviance from expectation. Mrs Norris abuses Fanny, and spoils Maria and Julia, damaging all three (5).

Throughout the novel, Mrs Norris favours her wealthy nieces, likely for the financial resources they open to her. Kay Souter (2014) claims that through them, the ″childless and chronically angry″ Mrs Norris ″tries to protect her sense of worth by idealising Maria and Julia as ideal selves and oldest sisters″ over their poorer cousin (106). Mrs Norris continuously makes her allegiances clear, declaring to her benefactor Sir Thomas,

> '[w]hatever I can do, as you well know, I am always ready enough to do for the good of those I love; and, though I could never feel for this little girl the hundredth part of the regard I bear your own dear children, nor consider her, in any respect, so much my own, I should hate myself if I were capable of neglecting her' (MP 47).

Nevertheless, neglect Fanny is precisely what Mrs Norris does. Claudia Johnson argues that this behaviour is accepted as it serves Sir Thomas' agenda, which ″requires distinctions″ between the cousins (96). Mrs Norris reinforces the differences constantly, and ″at Fanny's expense″ through ″sustained psychological abuse″ (Ibid.).

Weisser and Fleischner explain that ″familial relations are not always comforting or empowering″ (3). Instead, they are ″quite frequently just the opposite,″ representing ″the most private sites of warfare, of expressions of dominance and fields of hierarchical values, and never more so than when they masquerade as benevolent social extensions of natural relations″ (Ibid.). Likewise, Wallace assesses that

> in demonstrating the competitive hostilities within families, Austen does not fantasise about a return to an older social system; rather, she shows that the dynamics of families, or of the '3 or 4 Families in a Country Village' are essentially, permanently hostile, and that the new ideology of bourgeois competition merely provides a useful vocabulary for this hostility. Moreover, *Mansfield Park* shows that persuasive rhetoric from authoritative sources cannot change the climate of rivalry and resentment or ameliorate family strife (59).

Like the women who expect younger women to invest years of overtime and acceptance of sexism in proving their right to plum career roles, Mrs Norris evinces the "least regard for her niece" (MP 75). It is Mrs Norris who suggests the Bertrams place Fanny in an unheated attic room, where she would be of "'little bother'" (Ibid. 49). Like the Queen Bees described above, Mrs Norris does nothing to develop or promote Fanny as a fellow female and relative. Throughout the novel, she slyly prevents her niece from having advantages, from basic physical needs to inclusion at events. Kay Souter (2014) critiques that

> Aunt Norris is the foundational sibling hater whose spitefulness has grown over the years. A typical bully, she turns her hatred away from those with power over her and wages psychological warfare against a child: constant criticism, denial of dignity, denial of pleasure, denial of comforts . . . in getting Fanny under her control, Mrs Norris can symbolically continue the punishment and domination of her socially successful older sister and the younger sister who, though poor, married a dashing hero and had heaps of children as fast as possible in a provoking display of erotic self-indulgence (113).

Fanny entitles Mrs Norris to a sense of superiority, which she otherwise lacks. Wallace proposes that Fanny's mere inclusion in the household manages to

> sustain for her a fiction of being equal to the Bertrams. Through Fanny, Mrs Norris can imagine herself a figure as powerful as Sir Thomas, conferring benefits on a less fortunate relation . . . Fanny, as an object of charity and exploitation, serves as a device that Mrs Norris uses to assert equality with the Bertrams (61).

Nevertheless, "no amount of aggressive manipulation can actually disguise her lower status" (Ibid. 63). As Wallace points out, Mrs Norris' agency is so limited that she cannot "hurry tea on her own responsibility," but "she can deny Fanny a fire" (Ibid.). This dichotomy of power

and weakness means "her activity must be a ceaseless, a constant, even hysterical endeavour to prove herself her sister's equal or superior" (Ibid.). This sentiment and behaviour are reminiscent of the Queen Bees outlined above, who go out of their way not to identify with other women, preferring instead to cosy up with the patriarchy affording them a narrow niche in leadership.

Fanny offers the additional attraction of providing services to Mrs Norris. For "if, as a poor relation, Fanny can be employed in 'carrying messages and fetching,' 'getting through the few difficulties' of carpet-work, and making tea for Lady Bertram, she can be equally useful to her other patron aunt" (MP 61). Fanny is treated as a servant, exploited into action regardless of the state of her health. Unlike her Bertram cousins, Fanny is allowed no rest without Mrs Norris declaring, "'That is a very foolish trick, Fanny, to be idling away all the evening upon a sofa. Why cannot you come and sit here, and employ yourself as we do?'" (Ibid. 110). Her aunt hypocritically continues, "'you should learn to think of other people,'" declaring it "'a shocking trick for a young person to be always lolling upon a sofa'" (Ibid.). Knowing Mrs Norris' persistence, "before half this was said, Fanny was returned to her seat at the table and had taken up her work again" (Ibid.). On another occasion, Mrs Norris sends the delicate Fanny out to conduct errands in the heat, deflecting, "'I think nobody can justly accuse me of sparing myself upon any occasion, but really I cannot do everything at once'" (Ibid. 113). She "'cannot think'" it was "'unreasonable'" to ask the girl to walk "'above a quarter of a mile'" after doing garden work, "'stooping among the roses'" (Ibid.). Ever anxious to maintain appearances, Mrs Norris then fraudulently claims, "'I thought it would rather do her good . . . for there is nothing so refreshing as a walk after a fatigue of that kind'" (Ibid.).

When Fanny refuses to take part in the questionable play, Mrs Norris chides "her in a whisper at once angry and audible," declaring "'I am quite ashamed of you, Fanny, to make such a difficulty of obliging your cousins in a trifle of this sort'" (Ibid. 184). Remarkably, Fanny stays strong despite Aunt Norris' harsh, hypocritical admonition. "'I am not going to urge her,' replied Mrs Norris sharply, 'but I shall think her a very obstinate, ungrateful girl if she does not do what her aunt and cousins wish her'" (Ibid. 185). This ominous threat is reiterated with the reminder of her supplicant status: "'very ungrateful indeed, considering who and *what* she is'" (Ibid., emphasis added).

The much-debated play feeds Aunt Norris' desire to exploit the Bertrams. She welcomes it because of "the immediate advantage of fancying herself obliged to leave her own house, where she had been living a month at her own cost, and take up her abode in theirs" (Ibid. 168). Mrs Norris seems eternally able to convince herself that her bad behaviour is for the general good. The narrator makes this fallacy explicit; although Mrs Norris reasons that she is appropriating the abandoned theatre curtain to save Sir Thomas distress, she coincidentally also "happened to be particularly in want of green baize" (Ibid. 231).

Slowly, Aunt Norris' hold over the Bertrams wanes. When Mr Bertram returns from his plantation abroad, "she was vexed by the manner of his return. It left her nothing to do. Instead of being sent for out of the room, and seeing him first, and having to spread the happy news through the house," Sir Thomas walked in on his own. This leaves Mrs Norris to feel "herself defrauded of an office on which she had always depended, whether his arrival or his death were to be the thing unfolded" (Ibid. 217). The ineffectual widow "was now trying to be in a bustle without having anything to bustle about" (Ibid.). Later, she is shocked to learn that Sir Bertram means to distinguish Fanny by throwing a ball in her honour. At this, Mrs Norris is incensed; "'A ball at such a time! His daughters absent and herself not consulted!'" (Ibid. 288).

Mrs Norris' first impulse was to find benefit for herself. "There was comfort, however, soon at hand. She must be the doer of everything . . . she should have to do the honours of the evening" (Ibid.). Despite having disadvantaged Fanny from the beginning, Mrs Norris takes credit for her development;

> '[l]ook well! Oh yes,' cried Mrs Norris, 'she has good reason to look well with all her advantages brought up in this family as she has been, with all the benefit of her cousins' manners before her. Only think, my dear Sir Thomas, what extraordinary advantages you and I have been the means of giving her . . . What would she have been if we had not taken her by the hand?' (Ibid. 304)

Mrs Norris works hard to make herself irreplaceable to the Bertram family, yet her position as an ersatz housewife is shaky. When Sir Thomas requires a maternal figure for his small children, compensating for his own spouse's lethargy, Mrs Norris is elevated to the role.

According to Michelle Ryan et al. (2007), women are often afforded their first leadership position when success is viewed as unlikely. Applying archival, experimental, and

qualitative research, Ryan et al. find that women's "leadership positions are more precarious than those of their male counterparts," and that they "are associated with greater risk of failure and criticism because they are more likely to involve management of organisational units that are in crisis," as Sir Thomas' family clearly is (267). As his children mature and Mansfield Park becomes less reliant on a female leader, "Sir Thomas realises," in Francus' words, "that he has nearly destroyed his household by sanctioning the monstrous motherhood of Mrs Norris" (5). Mrs Norris then meets the same fate of many female leaders brought in during crises and is hurled off of the "glass cliff" (Ryan et al. 267). As reported by Ryan et al., these types of female leaders are considered disposable, regardless of how the crisis unfolds.

Eventually, Mrs Norris finds a new role with Maria's desertion of the marriage which she had contrived. As low-status duenna, Mrs Norris was rendered "an altered creature, quieted, stupefied, indifferent to everything that passed," reduced so low as to be "benumbed," "unable to direct or dictate, or even fancy herself useful" (MP 483). Mrs Norris and her charge are banished, "an establishment being formed for them in another country, remote and private" (Ibid. 498). There, "shut up together with little society, on one side no affection, on the other no judgement, it may reasonably be supposed that their tempers became their mutual punishment (Ibid.). In the end, "she was regretted by no one at Mansfield. . . not even Fanny had tears for Aunt Norris, not even when she was gone forever" (Ibid. 499).[87]

Conclusion

This chapter outlines how Austen's representations of female relational aggression at the hands of well-established women intersect with the experiences of modern working women. Although much has changed since Regency England, these convergences may trigger shared experience between modern female readers and Austen's texts. In the twenty-first century, both Queen Bees and Token women exist in an "unstable and subordinated position in the

[87] Mrs Norris' catty malevolence earned the character an afterlife outside of *Mansfield Park*. Resurrected as a feline in J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter series of novels, the name "Mrs Norris" has become shorthand for bad-tempered sneakiness. Described as "a scrawny, dust-coloured creature with bulging, lamblike eyes . . . she patrolled the corridors alone. Break a rule in front of her, put just one toe out of line, and she'd whisk off for (the caretaker), who'd appear, wheezing, two seconds later," leaving it "the dearest ambition of many to give Mrs Norris a good kick" (132-3).

symbolic order," facing misogyny from "both women and men" (Mavis et al. 442). According to Chesler,

> [d]espite some truly dazzling advances by a token number of women who have been blessed with a capacity for hard work, as well as by membership in the 'right' class, race, religion, family, and geographical region, for most women, conditions of gender apartheid still prevail. Women of this world continue to be deprived of the hope and consolation that educational, religious, medical, legal, and economic opportunities often confer (20).

Fanny Dashwood, Lady Catherine, and Mrs Norris are fortunate enough to have nominal power within their families; the same is true for Queen Bees and Tokens in the workplace. Weisser and Fleischner explain, women "press on each other in such a confounding variety of ways," having learned "the ways of the oppressors in dealing with the world." "Confusingly," they continue, "these may be neither manifest nor distinct from other practices, neither 'intentional' nor conscious" (Ibid.).

Female intra-gender aggression is a complex and sensitive topic, damaging the feminist trope of sisterhood. It follows women beyond the schoolroom, and grown women continue the practice in situations of scarcity. As Cooper (2016) explains, these "behaviours are not reflective of some Mean Girl gene lurking in women's DNA. Rather, to the degree they exist, Queen Bee dynamics are triggered by gender discrimination" (unpaged). Cooper and Derks et al. suggest that women "who think their gender should be irrelevant at work," and "for whom connecting with other women is not important" have not yet faced gender bias. Only then are they forced to realise "that others see them first and foremost as women" (Cooper unpaged).

In the same way, Fanny Dashwood, Lady Catherine, and Mrs Norris demonstrate no interest in solidarity with Austen's heroines. Yet, the presence of an Elinor, Elizabeth, or Fanny reminds them of their own lack of agency in Regency society. Their resulting relational aggression serves to "legitimise rather than question the disadvantaged position of women within their organisation and perpetuate the . . . culture in which they became successful" (Derks et al. 10). In both Austen and the working world, discrimination often begets further discrimination, while equity inspires additional equity.

Conclusion

"Academia has sacrificed entire forests to the altar of Jane Austen."

- Douglas Glover

This dissertation began with the question if, after two hundred years of adoration and examination, anything new can be said of Jane Austen and her oeuvre. Instead of focussing on the author herself, it proposed that a biocultural approach to the interaction between Austen's texts and readers may illuminate the author's continued relevancy to millions of readers. Despite significant cultural changes between Austen's world and our own, contemporary readers report knowing – or even being – her characters in their everyday lives. Reader-response theorists and cognitive narratologists suggest that this phenomenon stems from Austen's remarkable ability to trigger shared experiences in her readers. The identification of specific, possible commonalities became the focus of this work.

Understanding Austen's appeal began by establishing the readers most likely to connect with her novels. Although both men and women are known to value Austen, anecdotal evidence suggests that her primary twenty-first century audience identifies as female. Using an international online survey, Austen's readership was quantifiably established to be women. Based on these findings, a particularly female experience was selected for close, systematic investigation both in Austen's work and in modern life: indirect (or relational) aggression. Although this specific type of behaviour has been a popular literary trope for centuries, hostility between women goes against cultural norms and has only recently become the focus of scholarly attention in the behavioural and social sciences. From early childhood, women learn that their role is to be "sugar and spice and everything nice," a message perpetuated in feminist calls for sisterhood.[88] Nevertheless, when faced with scarcity, women are known to physically and emotionally protect themselves and their kin through female misogyny. With that focus, Austen's novels were mined for parallels between fictional representations and modern female experience, reaching beyond the humanities to incorporate qualitative and quantitative findings from anthropology, psychology, and

[88] See Weisser and Fleischner (1994), Chesler (2001), or Sharon Mavin et al. (2014) for in-depth examinations of feminist expectations of female sisterhood.

sociology, offering a new type of consilience between science and the arts.

i. Consistencies Between Disciplines

Aggression amongst women may not be the pressing social issue of our own, or Austen's time. Yet, in these small connections, our world and Austen's coexist. Over four chapters, individual contemporary social and behavioural frameworks were applied to Austen's first five novels. Each approach offered clear parallels with the comportment of Austen's characters. Whether through the lens of Brown's Human Universals, Benenson's evolutionary psychological stratagems, or Wiseman's model of American teenage girls' behaviour, overlap was established between Austen's fiction and our everyday lives.

ii. Limitations

As the Barashes explain, science "isn't *the* key to understanding and appreciating literature. It is *a* key. A skeleton key of sorts, which opens more doors, permits more access and sheds more light than any of its more narrowly designed alternatives" (246 emphases added). Likewise, each of the frameworks applied in this dissertation, whether from an anthropological, sociological, or psychological angle, represent individual options for investigation. Each can be used to unlock parallels between modern life and Austen's work, of which female relational aggression is but a single example.[89] This dissertation demonstrates that the same phenomenon perceived in Austen's texts is very likely to have been personally experienced in some capacity by most Western female readers today.

The phenomenon of female relational aggression itself is troublesome; its mechanisms throw up many questions in need of further investigation. Analysing a complicated topic can be enormously frustrating, diverting the researcher with a search for solutions rather than mere descriptions. Its ubiquity as a narrative trope in fiction and real shared experience is both fascinating and alarming. Countless books, television shows, and movies spread the notion that women cannot trust other women, and this is played out in Austen's work. Phyllis Chesler (2001) outlines how reluctant some women are to recognise the behaviour;

[89] Beyond Austen, understanding female relational aggression can help readers locate its source: some sense of need or scarcity, whether money, power, agency, time, or affection.

> [o]nce, feminists needed to believe in 'us,' in women, since no one else did. For a while, such faith was heroic, the stuff of which sanity is fashioned. However, to now insist that all women are sisters or that most women, including feminists, are kind, or even polite to each other, or that such niceties rise to the level of morality or justice is foolish and self-destructive (16).

The present study has been one of the first attempts to thoroughly examine hostile female relations in Austen's work through a biocultural lens. Although it represents a small sample of Austen's work and current research on indirect female aggression, this study offers some insight into meaningful experiential connections between Austen's texts and her contemporary female readers. A focus on the patriarchal genesis of female misogyny and the identification of solutions were beyond the scope of this investigation. Notwithstanding these limitations, the study suggests that the very *ordinariness* of Austen's characters' experience of the phenomenon makes the author unique. None of the individual comparisons delivers a definitive explanation of the intense female reader bond with Austen and her oeuvre. Instead, the juxtapositions they provide add layers to the discourse, encouraging women's personal reflection in the role of both victim and victimizer.

In the interests of brevity, the many positive female relationships depicted in Austen's novels remain unexplored. It is these types of bonds between women that are known to prevent female indirect aggression. Marianne Cooper (2016) explains that women who "who highly identified as women responded to gender discrimination with an increased desire to create more opportunities for other women" (unpaged). Additional research suggests that upcoming generations may move away from aggressive female competition, at least within the workplace. Happily, Cooper reports that "there is plenty of evidence to show that women do indeed support one another. When women work with a higher percentage of women, they experience lower levels of gender discrimination and harassment" (Ibid.). Also, "when women have female supervisors, they report receiving more family and organisational support than when they have male supervisors." Furthermore, "a preponderance of studies shows that when more women are in management positions, the gender pay gap is smaller" (Ibid.).

iii. Future Applications

Applying social scientific findings to Austen's novels reveals a plethora of parallels between female experience in the Regency and today – but for what use? The approach is unconventional; past reader-response approaches to the author's work have rarely included readers outside of academia. Often, they are limited to the reactions of undergraduate psychology students rather than devoted Janeites from the general public. By reaching to anthropology, psychology, and sociology, a biocultural approach enables the inclusion of hundreds – if not thousands – of test subjects at all age levels both within the ivory tower and beyond. Applying these diverse approaches to Austen's portrayals of women's lives highlights the author's skill at capturing changing aspects of indirect female aggression from adolescence to widowhood. Case in point: Lady Catherine de Bourgh's verbal assault is much different from Isabella Thorpe's hypocritical protestations of affection.

Several participants in the survey described in the second chapter relate the feeling of having lifelong relationships with Austen's characters, with many reporting that their attitudes toward the figures change over time. Susannah Carson (2010) echoes this sentiment, stating "it is . . . common that readers find their preferences shift from one novel . . . this is natural, for the Austen we discover in adolescence is not the same Austen we return to later in life" (xii). As they age, their sympathy with antagonistic female characters has increased, and their affection towards Austen's protagonists has waned. A natural progression of this work would be a long-term investigation of these developments in the resonance between readers and texts. Further research on the sense of pleasure Janeites experience in the act of reading is required to determine the effectiveness of Austen as self-administered or formal bibliotherapy.

While scholars debate on the origin and evolution of literature, most agree on its usefulness either as pleasure or as comfort. As Miall suggested in the introduction, all literature is in the end, autobiographical – not of the author, but of the reader. Through individual readers and their "active, self-referential identification with active personal experiences," authors like Austen are constantly renewed (Miall 35). Although the differences between her world and our own may be distracting, examining likenesses between the fictional realities of Austen's female characters and modern women can offer new avenues for personal and societal understanding.

In addition, the approach may offer a small window of opportunity in the post-COVID-19 higher education landscape. Even before the 2020 global pandemic, universities in the US and UK faced "academic prioritisation" initiatives favouring career-focused disciplines, often reducing or eliminating humanities programs.[90] At the same time, the changing world of work has brought with it increased psychosocial risks to workers' health and well-being, leading to increased rates of sickness absence and burnout.[91] Finding a useful way of leveraging the positive benefits of personal resonances with narrative text could spotlight the value of literature as a balm in troubling times. If Austen could bring comfort to men in the trenches, camps, and hospitals of the first World War, it is not unthinkable that her work would console women in increasingly precarious employment situations.[92]

iv. Applied Bibliotherapy

As indicated in the introduction, the work of Applied Literature scholar Anderson clearly demonstrates that "engagement with literature has the potential to heal, transform, and empower individuals suffering from hardship . . . to find meaning in all experience and take control of their lives" (89). For Anderson, identification with fictional characters is so valuable that it is "one of the central ideas in bibliotherapy" (94). However, a meta-analysis by Natalia Tukhareli, Dana Popa, and Daniela Porumbu (2017) of applied bibliotherapy in the UK and North America suggests that literary scholars have played no role in the discipline. Instead, library scientists and psychologists control the text selection process. Further research might explore how literary experts could contribute to therapeutic efficiency through their expert knowledge of reading material.

Nancy Easterlin, champion of the biocultural approach, proposes that "literature often plays a part in reawakening us to the sense of meaning-making" (24). Optimistically, Easterlin indicates that "this may well be one of the functions of imaginative literature" (Ibid.). "With its peculiar phenomenology," Easterlin relates, literature could "bring back into consciousness some of what, for purposes of expediency, has been pushed out of conscious

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[90] See Stover „There is no case for the Humanities" in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (2018).

[91] The European Agency for Safety and Health at Work provides an overview of developments in stress-related sickness absences since 2009 (https://osha.europa.eu/en/facts-and-figures).

[92] Theodore Wesley Koch (1917) provides an overview of books used as therapy in the WWI, including those of Austen. Not addressing the mechanics of bibliotherapy, Koch wrote, "all we know is that those brave souls find their comfort and consolation in reading, for they tell us so and ask for more. . . only books can make them forget for a few minutes, an hour perhaps" (9).

thought" (Ibid.). This awareness may be just what is needed as an antidote in today's VUCA world and the looming post-Corona economic and higher education crises disproportionately affecting women.

v. Happy Endings?

Austen describes female experiences so deeply embedded in human social interactions that it is inconceivable that any woman comes to Austen without some sense of recognition. Linking Austen with evolutionary, psychological, anthropological, and sociological findings encourages self-reflection on the reality of women as individuals, each bound by hopes and fears. Unfortunately, there is no simple antidote to female relational aggression. As long as there is competition for scarce resources, there is likely to be conflict. Understanding it and identifying the source of the scarcity may help soothe its victims.

In fairy tales, Cinderella's stepsisters are punished, Rapunzel's hostage-taking witch perishes, and Snow White prevails against her evil stepmother. Few of Austen's female antagonists get their comeuppance; just as in real life, her stories do not end neatly. At most, Austen's mean girls are disappointed, left to make snide remarks about the lack of lace at a wedding, or reduced to the status of an infrequent guest at Pemberley. Readers know that after the close of the novel, Elinor will be forced to see Lucy every year at Christmas dinner. Emma will be judged disparagingly by Augusta in the village church every Sunday. Until the end of her days, Elizabeth Bennet will have to listen to Lady Catherine's advice on cupboard arrangement and proper dress packing. Both in Austen and in reality, it would seem that there is no such thing as clear winners and no single solution to female relational aggression. Nevertheless, there is strength in recognition and solace in Jane Austen.

Appendix A: Austen Questionnaire Text

Introduction: Reader Response to Austen's Characters

Please help me understand reader responses to certain characters in selected Jane Austen novels for my doctoral dissertation. I'll ask a few general demographic questions, then ask for information on what kind of Austen fan you are, and how you view some of her characters. I've added comment sections after many of the questions in case you'd like to describe your habits or reactions in more depth. The survey should take approximately 10 minutes to complete. The dataset created for this study will not include data that 3rd parties could use to identify you or your responses. Any information that you give will be used for research purposes only and will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by European data protection regulations. Please contact me at sarah.makowski (at) uni-bielefeld.de if you have any questions about this study, or would like a report of the results once completed. By filling out the questionnaire, you are indicating that you agree to be a participant in this study. If you do not wish to be a participant, you may close your browser now.

Sarah Makowski

(Single Choice): What category below includes your age?

1. 0 – 9
2. 10 – 19
3. 20 – 29
4. 30 – 39
5. 40 – 49
6. 50 – 59
7. 60 – 69
8. 70+

(Single Choice): What is your gender?

Male
Female
Prefer Not to Say
Other

(Single Choice): What is your geographic location?

1. Africa
2. Antarctica
3. Asia
4. Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.)
5. Europe
6. North America
7. South and Central America

8. Middle East
9. West Indies

(Multiple Choice Grid): Which of Austen's works have you read, and how many times have you read them?

Columns:	Rows:
Never	*Sense and Sensibility*
Once	*Pride and Prejudice*
2-3 times	*Mansfield Park*
4-6 times	*Emma*
7+ times	*Persuasion*
	Northanger Abbey
	Juvenilia
	Letters
	Sanditon (fragment)

(Single Choice): I prefer watching films based on Austen's novels to reading them.
Strongly disagree
Disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Agree
Strongly agree
Additional comments

(Single Choice): I regularly engage with other Jane Austen fans, through social media, book clubs, conferences, or podcasts.
Never
Occasionally
Sometimes
Often
Daily
Additional comments

(Single Choice): When I read Austen's novels, I feel like I have experienced the emotional reactions of some of her characters.
Strongly disagree
Disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Agree
Strongly agree
Additional comments

(Multiple Choice Grid): Please rate the likeability of the following characters:

Columns	Rows
Extremely dislikeable	Elinor Dashwood

Dislikeable	Lucy Steele
Neutral	Elizabeth Bennet
Likeable	Caroline Bingley
Extremely Likeable	Emma Woodhouse
Don't know	Mrs. Augusta Elton
	Catherine Morland
	Isabella Thorpe
	Fanny Price
	Mrs. Norris

Additional comments

(Multiple Choice Grid): How realistic (lifelike) would you rate the following characters:

Columns	Rows
Extremely unrealistic	Elinor Dashwood
Unrealistic	Lucy Steele
Neutral	Elizabeth Bennet
Realistic	Caroline Bingley
Extremely realistic	Emma Woodhouse
Don't know	Mrs. Augusta Elton
	Catherine Morland
	Isabella Thorpe
	Fanny Price
	Mrs. Norris

Additional comments

(Multiple Choice Grid): At key moments in the story, I felt I knew why the character behaved the way she did.

Columns	Rows
Strongly disagree	Elinor Dashwood
Disagree	Lucy Steele
Neutral	Elizabeth Bennet
Agree	Caroline Bingley
Strongly agree	Emma Woodhouse
Don't know	Mrs. Augusta Elton
	Catherine Morland
	Isabella Thorpe
	Fanny Price
	Mrs. Norris

Additional comments

Thank you so much for your participation!

Please contact me at sarah.makowski(at)uni-bielefeld.de if you would like information on the results of the study once completed.

Appendix B: Austen Survey Raw Data

Timestamp[93]	What category below includes your age?	What is your gender?	What is your geographic location?
2019/02/19 4:55:34 PM GMT+2	40-49	Female	Europe
2019/02/19 5:23:47 PM GMT+2	50-59	Female	Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.)
2019/02/19 5:32:32 PM GMT+2	70+	Female	North America
2019/02/19 6:08:41 PM GMT+2	50-59	Female	North America
2019/02/19 6:08:52 PM GMT+2	40-49	Female	Europe
2019/02/19 9:05:13 PM GMT+2	30-39	Female	Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.)
2019/02/19 11:41:38 PM GMT+2	50-59	Female	North America
2019/02/19 11:43:18 PM GMT+2	40-49	Female	Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.)
2019/02/20 2:02:54 AM GMT+2	40-49	Female	North America
2019/02/20 8:14:05 AM GMT+2	50-59	Female	Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.)
2019/02/20 11:20:43 AM GMT+2	50-59	Female	Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.)
2019/02/20 12:45:53 PM GMT+2	40-49	Female	Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.)
2019/02/20 12:46:01 PM GMT+2	40-49	Female	Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.)
2019/02/20 4:10:01 PM GMT+2	40-49	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 3:03:15 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	North America
2019/02/21 3:12:39 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	North America
2019/02/21 3:14:43 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	North America
2019/02/21 3:33:34 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	North America
2019/02/21 3:53:56 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	South and Central America
2019/02/21 3:54:21 AM GMT+2	60-69	Female	North America

[93] The timestamps serve as identifiers; empty cells reflect questions left unanswered.

2019/02/21 3:55:14 AM GMT+2	40-49	Female	North America
2019/02/21 4:20:30 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	North America
2019/02/21 4:20:54 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	North America
2019/02/21 4:33:04 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	North America
2019/02/21 4:34:33 AM GMT+2	50-59	Female	North America
2019/02/21 4:40:52 AM GMT+2	40-49	Female	North America
2019/02/21 4:54:38 AM GMT+2	50-59	Female	North America
2019/02/21 4:56:09 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	North America
2019/02/21 5:01:56 AM GMT+2	20-29	Female	North America
2019/02/21 5:31:34 AM GMT+2	60-69	Female	Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.)
2019/02/21 5:49:34 AM GMT+2	20-29	Female	North America
2019/02/21 5:57:49 AM GMT+2	50-59	Female	North America
2019/02/21 6:21:06 AM GMT+2	20-29	Female	North America
2019/02/21 6:37:29 AM GMT+2	60-69	Male	North America
2019/02/21 7:14:59 AM GMT+2	60-69	Female	North America
2019/02/21 7:39:46 AM GMT+2	50-59	Male	North America
2019/02/21 8:17:20 AM GMT+2	50-59	Male	Asia
2019/02/21 8:22:08 AM GMT+2	50-59	Female	North America
2019/02/21 9:17:10 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 9:36:44 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 11:13:59 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 1:01:53 PM GMT+2	40-49	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 1:06:56 PM GMT+2	60-69	Female	North America
2019/02/21 1:07:47 PM GMT+2	30-39	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 1:13:31 PM GMT+2	20-29	Female	Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.)
2019/02/21 1:14:58 PM GMT+2	30-39	Female	Europe

2019/02/21 1:18:46 PM GMT+2	40-49	Female	South and Central America
2019/02/21 1:20:31 PM GMT+2	20-29	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 1:21:56 PM GMT+2	30-39	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 1:31:05 PM GMT+2	40-49	Female	North America
2019/02/21 1:31:07 PM GMT+2	30-39	Female	South and Central America
2019/02/21 1:39:47 PM GMT+2	20-29	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 1:58:21 PM GMT+2	50-59	Female	North America
2019/02/21 2:01:35 PM GMT+2	40-49	Female	North America
2019/02/21 2:10:42 PM GMT+2	30-39	Female	North America
2019/02/21 2:21:20 PM GMT+2	50-59	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 2:28:52 PM GMT+2	50-59	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 2:34:38 PM GMT+2	Oct 19	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 2:45:51 PM GMT+2	30-39	Male	Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.)
2019/02/21 2:50:18 PM GMT+2	60-69	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 3:07:49 PM GMT+2	40-49	Female	Europe
2019/02/21 3:47:51 PM GMT+2	60-69	Female	North America
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2019/02/27 11:02:56 PM GMT+2	30-39	Female	Europe
2019/02/28 5:30:40 AM GMT+2	40-49	Female	North America
2019/02/28 5:46:09 AM GMT+2	50-59	Female	North America
2019/02/28 8:22:32 AM GMT+2	30-39	Female	North America
2019/03/01 2:07:18 AM GMT+2	40-49	Female	North America
2019/03/01 2:34:05 AM GMT+2	20-29	Female	South and Central America
2019/03/01 4:35:59 AM GMT+2	40-49	Female	North America
2019/03/02 3:19:51 AM GMT+2	60-69	Female	North America

Timestamp	Which of Austen's works have you read?									I prefer watching films based on Austen's novels to reading them.	Additional comments
	SS	PP	MP	E	P	NA	Juvenilia	Letters	Sanditon (fragment)		
2019/02/19 4:55:34 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Neutral	
2019/02/19 5:23:47 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	The books are so much richer than the movies but some movie adaptations are still very enjoyable and true to the story.
2019/02/19 5:32:32 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Disagree	Due to time restraints, It's nearly impossible to capture the nuances of a book in a movie.
2019/02/19 6:08:41 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/19 6:08:52 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/19 9:05:13 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Never	Once	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/19 11:41:38 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/19 11:43:18 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Never	Agree	

2019/02/20 2:02:54 AM GMT+2	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	Although I would normally say that the books are always better than any film version, I do think, with Austen's work, that the differences between the language of her times and modern conversational English often leaves some of Austen's wit and commentary lost in translation. In this case, I think it's fine to begin with a film and then read the written work.
2019/02/20 8:14:05 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Once	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/20 11:20:43 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/20 12:45:53 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/20 12:46:01 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/20 4:10:01 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/21 3:03:15 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I love both and couldn't choose if it meant having to give one up!
2019/02/21 3:12:39 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	Once	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I enjoy both reading the novels and watching the films for different reasons.
2019/02/21 3:14:43 AM GMT+2	Once	Never	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	

2019/02/21 3:33:34 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/21 3:53:56 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Neutral	I love watching screen adaptations but it is not "instead", more or less -- it is in addition to.
2019/02/21 3:54:21 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Disagree	They are almost two separate pleasures, but the movies are no substitute for the books. That said, Emma Thompson's movie is a masterpiece.
2019/02/21 3:55:14 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	I love the '95 P&P and Emma Thompson's Sense & Sensibility, but they're still not a replacement for the books.
2019/02/21 4:20:30 AM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Once	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	They are both pleasurable in different contexts
2019/02/21 4:20:54 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/21 4:33:04 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Disagree	It's certainly easier to watch a film, in terms of popping it into the dvd player while I'm doing something else, such as sewing or cooking. Thus, I've seen most of the films many more times than I've actually read the novels, and I do enjoy them. However, the overall enjoyment and intellectual stimulation I derive from reading the novels exceeds that which I derive from the films. Though the numbers given above reflect the number of times I have sat down to purposefully read each of Austen's novels from cover to cover, the number of times I've revisited and studied various passages from each of them is much higher.
2019/02/21 4:34:33 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	7+ times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	

2019/02/21 4:40:52 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/21 4:54:38 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/21 4:56:09 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/21 5:01:56 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/21 5:31:34 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/21 5:49:34 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/21 5:57:49 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/21 6:21:06 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Agree	It gives me the same feeling as reading does but doesn't take as much time
2019/02/21 6:37:29 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/21 7:14:59 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Disagree	I love both, but read many more books because there ARE more books
2019/02/21 7:39:46 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Disagree	

2019/02/21 8:17:20 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/21 8:22:08 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	Once	4-6 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I like the films but prefer to have read the book first
2019/02/21 9:17:10 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Neutral	Depends strongly in the film. I don't like most modern adaptations since they leave out the social commentary and rules that drive the plot.
2019/02/21 9:36:44 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/21 11:13:59 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Disagree	I wouldn't say I prefer it but sometimes putting on a film is easier than reading the book if you want to experience the story quickly.
2019/02/21 1:01:53 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	2-3 times	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/21 1:06:56 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/21 1:07:47 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/21 1:13:31 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	Depends on the film adaptation!
2019/02/21 1:14:58 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/21 1:18:46 PM GMT+2	Once	7+ times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	

2019/02/21 1:20:31 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Disagree	I like both! Adaptations bring stories to life in different ways because they're using different mediums. Because I like the stories, I enjoy watching different adaptations and seeing how they've decided to portray the story.
2019/02/21 1:21:56 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:31:05 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	Some films are great adaptations, but will never fully capture Austen's wit. The films focus more on the marriage plot, which is but not not, in my opinion, the entirety of Austen's genius.
2019/02/21 1:31:07 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:39:47 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Disagree	I do enjoy watching the films and TV series because it brings it to life a little bit more, and it's interesting to see how other people interpret her stories/characters. However, I will always enjoy reading them more as you can see the characters and places as per your own imagination. Reading is a much more personal experience. No two people will read a book the same way.
2019/02/21 1:58:21 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/21 2:01:35 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Neutral	I go back and forth but generally do all of them once a year.
2019/02/21 2:10:42 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	

2019/02/21 2:21:20 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Neutral	
2019/02/21 2:28:52 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Never	Disagree	I can enjoy screen adaptations if they follow the novels closely, but otherwise I prefer reading the novels.
2019/02/21 2:34:38 PM GMT+2	Never	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Never	Once	Once	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/21 2:45:51 PM GMT+2	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/21 2:50:18 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/21 3:07:49 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Once	Once	4-6 times	Neutral	
2019/02/21 3:47:51 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/21 4:00:20 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/21 4:05:28 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/21 4:30:36 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Disagree	I like both equally
2019/02/21 4:40:01 PM GMT+2	Never	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Once	Never	Agree	

2019/02/21 4:41:39 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/21 4:47:08 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	I love film adaptations but the books are better.
2019/02/21 4:57:53 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Once	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/21 5:03:40 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/21 5:28:42 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/21 5:51:52 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	2-3 times	Neutral	
2019/02/21 6:08:00 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/21 6:11:54 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/21 6:17:02 PM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I think that a lot of adaptions have a lot of different things to offer, and serve to reintroduce audiences to the source material in a way that might otherwise intimidate them.
2019/02/21 6:35:08 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	I will watch any movie based on the novels, but they’re never better than reading
2019/02/21 7:15:38 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Disagree	

2019/02/21 7:38:12 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/21 7:47:53 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	I enjoy both and get something different from each format.
2019/02/21 7:58:58 PM GMT+2	Once	7+ times	Never	4-6 times	Never	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	However, I've enjoyed most of the movie/ series versions I've seen (and I've seen a lot of them!).
2019/02/21 8:10:14 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Disagree	I enjoy the films as well, but wouldn't say that I prefer them.
2019/02/21 8:25:35 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Agree	
2019/02/21 8:26:05 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	2-3 times	7+ times	4-6 times	Once	Once	4-6 times	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 8:43:01 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Disagree	I still love most of the movies though.
2019/02/21 9:11:20 PM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	I love the films *if* they don't change the stories.
2019/02/21 9:26:21 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Neutral	Whilst I enjoy adaptation of JAs novels, I enjoy the on TV, cinema, theatre, I can't say that I prefer them. I am content with either. I adore reading her novels. And to make it clearer, I'd be devastated if my books were taken from me, but I would not mind if I had no TV...
2019/02/21 9:50:52 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Never	Disagree	

2019/02/21 9:50:55 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/21 10:01:07 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	7+ times	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/21 10:17:40 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	Never	2-3 times	2-3 times	Disagree	I do love the costumes and settings in film adaptations however.
2019/02/21 10:19:36 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	Wenn's mal schnell gehen soll, ist ein Film die gute Wahl - wenn ich mehr Zeit habe, ein Buch.
2019/02/21 10:20:23 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/21 10:45:34 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/21 10:50:34 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/21 10:56:48 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Disagree	I do enjoy some of the films and adaptations if they are faithful to the book.
2019/02/21 11:06:00 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/21 11:31:22 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Never	Once	Agree	It depends on the adaptation, but some of the latest. Are really enjoyable.
2019/02/22 12:11:42 AM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	

2019/02/22 12:13:55 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	4-6 times	Disagree	
2019/02/22 12:40:14 AM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/22 1:16:34 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Neutral	
2019/02/22 1:44:27 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/22 1:44:30 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Strongly disagree	I dislike most adaptations of Austen novels. They either take indefensible liberties with the text or do not adhere to the spirit of her novels (characterization tends to be rather cartoonish). My favorite adaptation would be the 1995 Persuasion although there are things about that movie that irk me.
2019/02/22 2:37:15 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/22 3:54:23 AM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Agree	
2019/02/22 4:13:15 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/22 4:28:28 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	

2019/02/22 4:49:38 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/22 5:10:22 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/22 5:18:58 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/22 5:53:15 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Neutral	
2019/02/22 6:33:38 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/22 6:59:36 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	4-6 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I tend to prefer television mini-series adaptions to feature films because they have time to be more faithful to the books.
2019/02/22 7:05:56 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/22 7:18:15 AM GMT+2	Never	4-6 times	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/22 10:14:09 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/22 12:30:48 PM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/22 5:24:56 PM GMT+2	Once	7+ times	Never	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Disagree	

2019/02/22 5:54:39 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Neutral	The books are paramount, but if a very good adaptation is done (i.e. Pride and Prejudice 1995), where the integrity of the book is preserved, it is very enjoyable to watch.
2019/02/22 7:46:06 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/22 10:24:09 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 2:15:10 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	Depends on my mood and the time I have available.
2019/02/23 4:52:18 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 5:21:16 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Disagree	Books and film complement and enhance Austen. Can't do one over the other.
2019/02/23 9:36:34 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:10:38 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:10:41 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	It depends on how much I fancy the leading man lol
2019/02/23 10:11:21 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	Never	2-3 times	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 10:16:22 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	

2019/02/23 10:20:56 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 10:21:57 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 10:22:20 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	Never	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 10:26:04 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I love reading her novels but usally have a TV adaption of her works playing in the background as I do love them just as much so it's even for that reason
2019/02/23 10:27:14 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	Never	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 10:28:55 AM GMT+2	Once	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	7+ times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Never	Disagree	I like both but prefer to have read the book first.
2019/02/23 10:30:26 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	4-6 times	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 10:30:47 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Once	Once	Disagree	I very much enjoy some film adaptations
2019/02/23 10:33:19 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Neutral	I love both- sometimes I don't have the time or eyes are too tired to enjoy a book so the movies and shows are a fantastic substitute
2019/02/23 10:35:09 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 10:38:31 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I enjoy the books and films / miniseries equally

2019/02/23 10:39:42 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	They are different experiences for me. I've always read the books first and just sit back and enjoy the directors interpretation rather than look for the novel in the film. They cannot be the same as the story has to make sense on screen. Hence I also enjoyed Clueless and bride and prejudice both very very cleverly done!
2019/02/23 10:43:37 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Never	2-3 times	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 10:46:00 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:46:22 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 10:50:23 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 10:52:05 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 10:53:35 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 11:04:55 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Never	7+ times	7+ times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 11:06:07 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Disagree	

2019/02/23 11:08:28 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	4-6 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 11:12:45 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Once	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 11:13:32 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:15:32 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Neutral	Depends on the quality of the film.
2019/02/23 11:22:30 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:23:43 AM GMT+2	Once	7+ times	Never	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	It depends on my mood.
2019/02/23 11:23:52 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	The books are always preferable to the tv adaptions, however, the BBC series of Pride and Prejudice 1995 is as good as the book, so I often prefer to watch it.
2019/02/23 11:25:33 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 11:29:28 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:29:35 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Strongly disagree	

2019/02/23 11:31:30 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 11:32:17 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:36:19 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 11:38:27 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	I enjoy both
2019/02/23 11:39:41 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 11:40:07 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	4-6 times	Once	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:42:47 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	Depends on adaptation though..
2019/02/23 11:42:51 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	I like to watch adaptations, as many as I find, but only after reading the book and it's never comparable anyway.
2019/02/23 11:44:05 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Strongly disagree	Much as I love the productions, there is so much more in the books. Characters in the films are not always the way I imagine them when reading. I think we all take away something different from the novels dependant on our own life experiences

2019/02/23 11:46:58 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	2-3 times	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:48:20 AM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:52:21 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 11:55:06 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:58:18 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:01:54 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Never	Neutral	I love to read them and see how other people envisage the themes if the book in their adaptations.
2019/02/23 12:03:57 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 12:04:05 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 12:04:27 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	Adaptations can’t replace the books.
2019/02/23 12:04:47 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Agree	

2019/02/23 12:08:12 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:13:26 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	2-3 times	7+ times	Never	Never	Once	Never	Disagree	I like doing both but the reason I watch the films is because the books are so good. And I like to see the changes they make to the characters and how they portray them.
2019/02/23 12:16:48 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	4-6 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	Like both equally
2019/02/23 12:17:37 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:17:49 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I enjoy them equally
2019/02/23 12:24:13 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	7+ times	Once	Once	Once	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 12:26:44 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 12:31:14 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 12:38:33 PM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Once	Disagree	I very much prefer to read a book, but will not say no to watching one of the films either
2019/02/23 12:42:31 PM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	

2019/02/23 12:48:20 PM GMT+2	Once	7+ times	Never	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 12:50:43 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	Never	Once	Once	Neutral	Depends on the mood I'm in. Usually book wins, but won't turn off TV when it's on.
2019/02/23 12:52:16 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	I love to read Austen. I love to watch films of Austen. I don't think one should cancel out the other. I'm not a purist.
2019/02/23 12:56:16 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 1:04:15 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	7+ times	Never	Never	Never	Never	Agree	
2019/02/23 1:05:46 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 1:10:24 PM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	Depends on what I am after.
2019/02/23 1:18:24 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 1:18:56 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 1:26:22 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	

2019/02/23 1:33:58 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 1:44:52 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 1:47:46 PM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	I do, however, love the movies.
2019/02/23 1:49:23 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 1:49:29 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 1:50:08 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 1:57:19 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Once	Neutral	Depends on the adaptation, I vers slightly prefer reading as in listening to the (unabridged) audio books.
2019/02/23 2:01:56 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 2:14:10 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:21:24 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	

2019/02/23 2:22:07 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	Once	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	Nothing can replace the pleasure of reading the novels. However, I do enjoy watching the film/TV adaptations.
2019/02/23 2:22:30 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	I listen to the audible books more often than actually reading the book.
2019/02/23 2:30:12 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Neutral	Sometimes film gives you a visual, like THE COBB in Persuasion, that helps clarify the plot (IE how could Louisa have hurt herself so badly?)
2019/02/23 2:30:15 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	I enjoy watching the films but it doesn't replace the wonderful novels to me.
2019/02/23 2:33:34 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 2:35:16 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:39:30 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	You lose so much of the essence of the characters in a film.
2019/02/23 2:42:30 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 2:46:18 PM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 2:46:23 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Never	Once	Never	Once	Never	Once	Never	Agree	

2019/02/23 2:47:20 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Once	Once	Never	Once	Neutral	I like reading, watching and listening to the audio books.
2019/02/23 2:50:03 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:50:55 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 2:53:04 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 2:54:02 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	Once	4-6 times	Never	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 2:56:40 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 2:57:07 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:01:51 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	Not really comparable. I watch because of time commitments. I read and enjoy when I have larger windows of time. Enjoy both in very different ways
2019/02/23 3:10:16 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:10:31 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	Usually I prefer the adaptations of the novels that are my favourites

2019/02/23 3:12:24 PM GMT+2	Never	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Agree	
2019/02/23 3:12:35 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 3:13:31 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 3:14:08 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Once	Once	7+ times	Disagree	I love both, but I read the books way more often than I watch the films
2019/02/23 3:18:38 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 3:21:32 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:22:31 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	I wont watch any of the movies until I have read the book. I dont like movies ruining my own visions and interpretations.
2019/02/23 3:22:58 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Disagree	I view film and television adaptions of Austen as fun bonuses, but they often cannot compete with the novels themselves.
2019/02/23 3:24:14 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 3:30:25 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Disagree	

2019/02/23 3:34:31 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Never	Never	4-6 times	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:36:18 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 3:41:03 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Never	2-3 times	2-3 times	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:41:08 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	I enjoy watching the films because they all interpret the novels a bit differently.
2019/02/23 3:46:08 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	films are fun but are always missing something
2019/02/23 3:51:10 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	4-6 times	Once	Never	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 3:51:23 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:54:33 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Agree	Sad when they miss out parts of books in films, but prefer the pace of films as books do tend to draw the plot out.
2019/02/23 4:03:31 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 4:08:38 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	

2019/02/23 4:11:19 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Agree	
2019/02/23 4:12:25 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	Never	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 4:12:42 PM GMT+2	Never	4-6 times	Once	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Once	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 4:14:45 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 4:16:40 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 4:18:50 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Agree	
2019/02/23 4:28:39 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 4:34:06 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I enjoy watching the films on its own, or after reading the novel. I appreciate them more after reading though.
2019/02/23 4:35:00 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 4:45:03 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	

2019/02/23 4:48:05 PM GMT+2	Once	Never	Once	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 4:54:41 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	4-6 times	Agree	
2019/02/23 5:03:08 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Agree	
2019/02/23 5:04:32 PM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 5:06:09 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 5:13:34 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Once	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 5:13:37 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	I love to read her works, but I do watch all movies Austen themed
2019/02/23 5:14:42 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 5:29:50 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	Depends on the film. They might add to the experience in many different ways, such as the visual presentation of a period environment. But while the novels are always great, some of the films might be disappointing.

2019/02/23 5:30:22 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 5:38:47 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 5:41:26 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Never	2-3 times	Disagree	I do love the films but they can't adequately convey Austen's nuance and satire.
2019/02/23 5:46:11 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	It is just easier sometimes to sit down to a film than to read. I read many other works as well.
2019/02/23 5:49:40 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Neutral	The few adaptations that follow the novel closely, I am happy to watch when I take my head out of a book to watch a movie.
2019/02/23 5:50:32 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	2-3 times	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 5:57:07 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Agree	
2019/02/23 5:57:20 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 5:57:39 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Once	Disagree	I feel the movies are a tandem to the books. If I watch the movie, I will immediately begin rereading the book. When I finish a book, I will watch the movie right away.
2019/02/23 6:04:13 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Never	Never	Once	Once	Never	Once	Never	Agree	

2019/02/23 6:10:44 PM GMT+2	Once	7+ times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 6:20:25 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Neutral	Depends very much on the adaptation. Some I love, but in a different way to the novels.
2019/02/23 6:25:59 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 6:26:54 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 6:32:32 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 6:41:14 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	7+ times	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 6:47:48 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	I like them both equally, but in different ways.
2019/02/23 6:49:43 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	2-3 times	Neutral	
2019/02/23 6:50:18 PM GMT+2	Never	Once	Never	Once	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	I like the novels but find I do not have a lot of time to read, so I watch the films more often than I read. I do prefer the novels though.
2019/02/23 6:50:23 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	depends on my mood, I like both!

2019/02/23 6:52:21 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 6:54:00 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 7:01:54 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 7:03:12 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 7:03:29 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 7:04:18 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/23 7:07:38 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	I still like watching the films though.
2019/02/23 7:11:17 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I really like both of these things.
2019/02/23 7:13:45 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 7:23:59 PM GMT+2	Once	7+ times	Once	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	7+ times	2-3 times	Disagree	

2019/02/23 7:42:09 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	Love both
2019/02/23 7:52:41 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/23 8:05:26 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Agree	
2019/02/23 8:13:40 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	4-6 times	Once	Never	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 8:17:38 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Disagree	Of course I prefer reading them, but there isn't always time. I'm a grad student so I don't often get to read for pleasure. However, every summer I read or listen to my favorite Austen novels.
2019/02/23 8:19:47 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Agree	I enjoy the movies, if done well. It's how I began my obsession.
2019/02/23 8:24:46 PM GMT+2	Never	7+ times	Once	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	I however like watching the movies later to compare my vision with the movies and to visualise what I haven't visualised while reading
2019/02/23 8:25:25 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 8:26:50 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 8:38:40 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Disagree	

2019/02/23 8:45:21 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	films complement the written words, not replace them
2019/02/23 8:52:31 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	But then you don't get the details which I believe Jane Austen would have us understand.
2019/02/23 8:56:00 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Neutral	
2019/02/23 9:07:42 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	Enjoy the films, but love the books.
2019/02/23 9:15:03 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/23 9:24:49 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	I liked some movies, such as Emma Thompson's "Sense and Sensibility" and the "Pride and Prejudice" series with Colin Firth and Jennifer Ehle, and think they add to the books. Others I like less than the books.
2019/02/23 11:25:34 PM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:32:08 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:32:43 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/24 12:05:57 AM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Never	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	

2019/02/24 12:08:31 AM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/24 12:23:19 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/24 12:45:56 AM GMT+2	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Agree	
2019/02/24 2:31:25 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	7+ times	Once	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/24 2:48:10 AM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/24 2:58:42 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Once	Neutral	I love both formats.
2019/02/24 3:00:08 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/24 3:01:38 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Once	2-3 times	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/24 3:03:03 AM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Agree	
2019/02/24 3:16:04 AM GMT+2	Never	Once	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Never	Agree	

2019/02/24 3:16:34 AM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Never	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Agree	
2019/02/24 3:25:30 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/24 3:39:57 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/24 3:51:44 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/24 4:01:21 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/24 4:13:11 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	4-6 times	Disagree	
2019/02/24 4:26:07 AM GMT+2	Never	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	4-6 times	Once	Never	Once	Agree	It depends on the film... I absolutely love the BBC P&P (Ehle and Firth) and the Root and Hinds version of Persuasion and much prefer them to the book. The Emma Thompson version of Sense and Sensibility is the reason I've never made it past the first chapter of the book! But I've never seen film/TV versions of Mansfield or Emma that I really liked. Felicity Jones in Northanger is about on par with the book I'd say :)
2019/02/24 6:10:54 AM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	Never	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/24 8:53:55 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	7+ times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Neutral	

2019/02/24 9:46:56 AM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	I normally find I cannot read a book once I've watched the films but with the classics I find them easier to read if I've watched the adaptation first... I'm not saying I prefer the adaptation though
2019/02/24 9:51:50 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Neutral	The two mediums engage with the subjects differently and are consumed differently, so if I could only choose one, it would be the novels (because they're the original source material and contain all the different aspects the films play on), but I *enjoy* both equally and for different reasons, at different times.
2019/02/24 10:07:48 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	2-3 times	Once	Strongly disagree	I love the films, but reading the books is so satisfying. I read P & P twice each year.
2019/02/24 10:46:17 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/24 11:12:26 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/24 12:55:48 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 2:17:59 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	The books are the best but I enjoy most adaptations.
2019/02/24 3:37:19 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/24 3:46:20 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I love all Jane Austen however it's portrayed

2019/02/24 5:19:05 PM GMT+2	Never	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Agree	I like to read the books when I've seen the film/TV series. I did read Pride and Prejudice first though. I have just started to read Sense and Sensibility on Kindle so I'm not sure if it has been abbreviated.
2019/02/24 6:48:58 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/24 7:16:14 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Disagree	The BBC s 90th addaptions where you can read the books alongside the films are very good but the books are awesome
2019/02/24 7:24:17 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	7+ times	7+ times	Never	2-3 times	2-3 times	Strongly disagree	While most adaptations have strong performances, inevitably scenes that readers love from the book are cut. Sometimes whole characters are cut or blended with others. It's just not the same. The books are richer.
2019/02/24 7:35:55 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Agree	Only because I have less time and energy to read these days- I have two young children
2019/02/24 7:39:34 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/24 7:40:50 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/24 7:49:58 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Disagree	I enjoy the adaptations but they are no substitute for the books
2019/02/24 7:52:15 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	

2019/02/24 8:28:38 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	4-6 times	Never	Never	Once	Neutral	Soley depends upon the film, some are too far from the world she creates.
2019/02/24 8:31:35 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Never	Never	2-3 times	Neutral	
2019/02/24 8:58:41 PM GMT+2	Once	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/24 10:44:26 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I choose my medium based on if I feel like reading or not. I like both equally.
2019/02/25 1:29:44 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/25 2:43:33 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I love both, to read and to watch
2019/02/25 2:55:56 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/25 3:31:04 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	Never	Never	Strongly agree	While I enjoy film adaptations, they rarely capture the subtlety and wit of Austen's writing. Her ability to throw shade is unparalleled.
2019/02/25 6:32:39 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I'm a slow reader, so like to get my Austen in any way I can!
2019/02/25 7:24:16 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Agree	

2019/02/25 8:16:05 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	7+ times	Once	4-6 times	7+ times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Strongly disagree	Love both the books and the films.
2019/02/25 4:33:00 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/25 4:51:46 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	2-3 times	Never	Never	2-3 times	Neutral	I enjoy both
2019/02/25 5:15:02 PM GMT+2	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/25 5:48:18 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	Once	7+ times	4-6 times	Once	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	I
2019/02/25 10:38:58 PM GMT+2	Never	2-3 times	Never	Never	Never	Once	Never	Once	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/26 1:34:26 AM GMT+2	Once	Once	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Neutral	
2019/02/26 4:00:18 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/26 5:25:34 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Never	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	
2019/02/26 6:09:42 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	Once	Once	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	

2019/02/26 10:41:46 PM GMT+2	7+ times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/27 12:51:44 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/02/27 4:26:45 PM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Strongly disagree	Novels have the Austen's spirit
2019/02/27 6:20:41 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	Never	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/27 7:50:17 PM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	4-6 times	7+ times	4-6 times	Once	Never	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/27 8:20:15 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/27 11:02:56 PM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Once	Neutral	
2019/02/28 5:30:40 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	Never	Once	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/28 5:46:09 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	2-3 times	Disagree	
2019/02/28 8:22:32 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Once	Never	Disagree	

2019/03/01 2:07:18 AM GMT+2	2-3 times	2-3 times	2-3 times	Once	2-3 times	Once	Never	Never	Once	Disagree	Me gustan mucho algunas pelV≠culas y series basadas en su obra, pero sigo prefiriendo leer sus libros por muchV≠simo.
2019/03/01 2:34:05 AM GMT+2	Once	Never	Once	Once	Never	Never	Once	Never	Once	Neutral	
2019/03/01 4:35:59 AM GMT+2	Once	2-3 times	Once	Once	Once	Never	Never	Never	Never	Disagree	
2019/03/02 3:19:51 AM GMT+2	4-6 times	7+ times	2-3 times	Once	4-6 times	2-3 times	Never	Once	Once	Disagree	I always prefer to read a book first ,then see how it translates on screen. Sometimes its excellent sometimes disappointing. My favourite is the 1995 Pride and Prejudice.

Timestamp	I regularly engage with other Jane Austen fans, through social media, book clubs, conferences, or podcasts.	Additional comments	When I read Austen's novels, I feel like I have experienced the emotional reactions of some of her characters.	Additional comments
2019/02/19 4:55:34 PM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/19 5:23:47 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/19 5:32:32 PM GMT+2	Never		Strongly agree	Jane Austen is a master at observing human nature.
2019/02/19 6:08:41 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/19 6:08:52 PM GMT+2	Never		Strongly agree	
2019/02/19 9:05:13 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/19 11:41:38 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/19 11:43:18 PM GMT+2	Never		Neutral	

2019/02/20 2:02:54 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/20 8:14:05 AM GMT+2	Never		Strongly agree	
2019/02/20 11:20:43 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Neutral	
2019/02/20 12:45:53 PM GMT+2	Never	I previously attended sessions of a Jane Austen Society	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/20 12:46:01 PM GMT+2	Never	I previously attended sessions of a Jane Austen Society	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/20 4:10:01 PM GMT+2	Never		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 3:03:15 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 3:12:39 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/21 3:14:43 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/21 3:33:34 AM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	

2019/02/21 3:53:56 AM GMT+2	Daily	I run a Jane Austen curated content acount.	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 3:54:21 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	We don't share the moral code of Austen's characters, for exampl engagement, so we can't always enter into their feelings.
2019/02/21 3:55:14 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 4:20:30 AM GMT+2	Occasionally	First Impressions, Drunk Austen	Agree	I get angry on Fanny's behalf
2019/02/21 4:20:54 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 4:33:04 AM GMT+2	Daily	I manage much of the social media for my local region of the Jane Austen Society of North America as well as a blog written in the guise of Caroline Bingley.	Strongly agree	Over the course of my life I have identified strongly with a numbe but the vast majority of her characters are so well drawn that it is if I don't want to!
2019/02/21 4:34:33 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 4:40:52 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/21 4:54:38 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 4:56:09 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	

2019/02/21 5:01:56 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 5:31:34 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/21 5:49:34 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/21 5:57:49 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/21 6:21:06 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/21 6:37:29 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/21 7:14:59 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 7:39:46 AM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/21 8:17:20 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 8:22:08 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/21 9:17:10 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	

2019/02/21 9:36:44 AM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/21 11:13:59 AM GMT+2	Daily	I have a tumblr where I post a lot about Austen, as well as being a member of Facebook groups.	Agree	
2019/02/21 1:01:53 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/21 1:06:56 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/21 1:07:47 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/21 1:13:31 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 1:14:58 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 1:18:46 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/21 1:20:31 PM GMT+2	Often	At Glasgow University I was a member (and later a committee member) for the student Jane Austen society which met about once a month. I follow the Jane Austen Society UK page on Facebook and I am a member of a Facebook group for fans of The Lizzie Bennet Diaries, an online video modern-day adaptation of Pride and Prejudice.	Agree	

2019/02/21 1:21:56 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:31:05 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	Austen is a brilliant observer of human nature. Centuries later, he technology.
2019/02/21 1:31:07 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/21 1:39:47 PM GMT+2	Daily	I am part of a Facebook fan group which I see posts of daily and respond maybe a couple of times a week. I also work at Jane Austen's House Museum in Chawton, so I interact physically with fans on an almost daily basis.	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 1:58:21 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/21 2:01:35 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/21 2:10:42 PM GMT+2	Occasionally	My sister is the biggest Austen fan and I engage with her frequently	Agree	
2019/02/21 2:21:20 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 2:28:52 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	

2019/02/21 2:34:38 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Neutral	
2019/02/21 2:45:51 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/21 2:50:18 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/21 3:07:49 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	Eg. Everytime I read MP I feel equally surprised as Fanny when He
2019/02/21 3:47:51 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/21 4:00:20 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/21 4:05:28 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/21 4:30:36 PM GMT+2	Often	Facebook groups and university society	Agree	
2019/02/21 4:40:01 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Neutral	
2019/02/21 4:41:39 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	

2019/02/21 4:47:08 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/21 4:57:53 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/21 5:03:40 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/21 5:28:42 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 5:51:52 PM GMT+2	Never		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 6:08:00 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 6:11:54 PM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/21 6:17:02 PM GMT+2	Sometimes	I mean...I have several friends who are big Austen fans who I speak with regularly about literature and history (including Austen), but they aren't through any specifically Austen-oriented situations.	Agree	Who they are depends on the book and even my mood, but yes.
2019/02/21 6:35:08 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	

2019/02/21 7:15:38 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/21 7:38:12 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 7:47:53 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Neutral	
2019/02/21 7:58:58 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/21 8:10:14 PM GMT+2	Often	Social media only	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 8:25:35 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/21 8:26:05 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	I agree, but it may take more than one reading to achieve this.
2019/02/21 8:43:01 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 9:11:20 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	

2019/02/21 9:26:21 PM GMT+2	Daily	I belong to JAS-UK and the JAS-UK-Northern Branch. Those societies are hugely important to me to meet and communicate with other JA fans. I also created a FB group for the occasion of JAs 200 anniversary of her death. I created that group initially to fund raise during 2017 but when that year was over kept the page and changed the title to Jane Austen 2017 and Onwards. I know amuse myself in trying to find a date in history relevant to JA or that topic. It fascinates me.	Strongly disagree	My favourite being Persuasion when reading it I feel Anne's and C
2019/02/21 9:50:52 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 9:50:55 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/21 10:01:07 PM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/21 10:17:40 PM GMT+2	Sometimes	I attend the Jane Austen Festival in Bath with friends.	Agree	
2019/02/21 10:19:36 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 10:20:23 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	

2019/02/21 10:45:34 PM GMT+2	Sometimes	I listen to two Austen podcasts.	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 10:50:34 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/21 10:56:48 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 11:06:00 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 11:31:22 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/22 12:11:42 AM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/22 12:13:55 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Neutral	
2019/02/22 12:40:14 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly disagree	
2019/02/22 1:16:34 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/22 1:44:27 AM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	

2019/02/22 1:44:30 AM GMT+2	Sometimes	I don't tend to engage much with others in any of my hobbies. I tend to read books about Austen (if not by Austen) and discuss them with close friends.	Neutral	I'm not a big subscriber to vicarious reading. I do believe reading A
2019/02/22 2:37:15 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/22 3:54:23 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/22 4:13:15 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/22 4:28:28 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/22 4:49:38 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/22 5:10:22 AM GMT+2	Often	JASNA and Facebook	Strongly agree	
2019/02/22 5:18:58 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/22 5:53:15 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	I'm interpreting this as saying that I experience those reactions alc
2019/02/22 6:33:38 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	

2019/02/22 6:59:36 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/22 7:05:56 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/22 7:18:15 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/22 10:14:09 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/22 12:30:48 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/22 5:24:56 PM GMT+2	Often	I'm also part of a two Facebook groups for fans.	Agree	
2019/02/22 5:54:39 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/22 7:46:06 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/22 10:24:09 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 2:15:10 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	

2019/02/23 4:52:18 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 5:21:16 AM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/23 9:36:34 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 10:10:38 AM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/23 10:10:41 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 10:11:21 AM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/23 10:16:22 AM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:20:56 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:21:57 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:22:20 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Neutral	

2019/02/23 10:26:04 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 10:27:14 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 10:28:55 AM GMT+2	Daily	I am part of the Jane Austen Society of Australia (Brisbane)	Agree	
2019/02/23 10:30:26 AM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:30:47 AM GMT+2				
2019/02/23 10:33:19 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 10:35:09 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 10:38:31 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 10:39:42 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	Her heroines are written to be self identified with. They each have
2019/02/23 10:43:37 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	

2019/02/23 10:46:00 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:46:22 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:47:59 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:49:43 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 10:50:23 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 10:52:05 AM GMT+2	Never		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:53:35 AM GMT+2	Never		Agree	When I was young and first read Pride and Prejudice i completely i character and the relationship between her and Darcy!
2019/02/23 11:04:55 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:06:07 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:08:28 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	

2019/02/23 11:12:45 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:13:32 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:15:32 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:22:30 AM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:23:43 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:23:52 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:25:33 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:29:28 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:29:35 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:31:30 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	

2019/02/23 11:32:17 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:36:19 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:38:27 AM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:39:41 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:40:07 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:42:47 AM GMT+2	Never		Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:42:51 AM GMT+2	Often	I discovered this on-line fan-universe only in the last year.	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:44:05 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:46:58 AM GMT+2	Sometimes	See comments etc on social media but never actually join in.	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:48:20 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	

2019/02/23 11:52:21 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:55:06 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:58:18 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 12:01:54 PM GMT+2	Never		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 12:03:57 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 12:04:05 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 12:04:27 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 12:04:47 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/23 12:08:12 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/23 12:13:26 PM GMT+2	Often	On the Jane Austen fan club where I saw this survey.	Agree	

2019/02/23 12:16:48 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 12:17:37 PM GMT+2	Sometimes	Adapted Emma, P&P & S&S for stageso engaged in forums then	Agree	
2019/02/23 12:17:49 PM GMT+2	Sometimes	Not something I have considered doing, but I might do	Agree	
2019/02/23 12:24:13 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 12:26:44 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 12:31:14 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 12:38:33 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 12:42:31 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 12:48:20 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 12:50:43 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Neutral	

2019/02/23 12:52:16 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	I think empathizing with Austen characters' emotions increases w change and deepen as one gets older and has more life experienc
2019/02/23 12:56:16 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 1:04:15 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 1:05:46 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 1:10:24 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 1:18:24 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 1:18:56 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 1:26:22 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 1:33:58 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 1:44:52 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	

2019/02/23 1:47:46 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Neutral	
2019/02/23 1:49:23 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 1:49:29 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 1:50:08 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 1:57:19 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	mostly when reading Persuasion
2019/02/23 2:01:56 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 2:14:10 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 2:21:24 PM GMT+2	Often		Disagree	
2019/02/23 2:22:07 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 2:22:30 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Disagree	

2019/02/23 2:30:12 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	From the actual novel, Darcy will always be a bit of a mystery, he c more than others.
2019/02/23 2:30:15 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 2:33:34 PM GMT+2	Never		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 2:35:16 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 2:39:30 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 2:42:30 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 2:46:18 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 2:46:23 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 2:47:20 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 2:50:03 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	

2019/02/23 2:50:55 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 2:53:04 PM GMT+2	Occasionally	Recently became a member of social media fan group.	Agree	
2019/02/23 2:54:02 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 2:56:40 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 2:57:07 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 3:01:51 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Disagree	
2019/02/23 3:10:16 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 3:10:31 PM GMT+2				
2019/02/23 3:12:24 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Disagree	
2019/02/23 3:12:35 PM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	

2019/02/23 3:13:31 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 3:14:08 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 3:18:38 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:21:32 PM GMT+2	Never		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 3:22:31 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 3:22:58 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 3:24:14 PM GMT+2	Often		Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:30:25 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 3:34:31 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 3:36:18 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	I WAS Lizzie, when I was in my teens and Darcy looked exactly like

2019/02/23 3:41:03 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 3:41:08 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 3:46:08 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 3:51:10 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:51:23 PM GMT+2	Often	Jane Austen Fan Club is the only reason why and I joined recently.	Agree	
2019/02/23 3:54:33 PM GMT+2	Never		Neutral	
2019/02/23 4:03:31 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 4:08:38 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 4:11:19 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 4:12:25 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 4:12:42 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	

2019/02/23 4:14:45 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 4:16:40 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 4:18:50 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 4:28:39 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 4:34:06 PM GMT+2	Often	I just started a local Jane Austen book club where we will read a book, discuss, have some tea/scones and do a craft!	Agree	
2019/02/23 4:35:00 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 4:45:03 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 4:48:05 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 4:54:41 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 5:03:08 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 5:04:32 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	

2019/02/23 5:06:09 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 5:13:34 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/23 5:13:37 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 5:14:42 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/23 5:29:50 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Neutral	I have met many people with similar disposition as Austen's chara idealized.
2019/02/23 5:30:22 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 5:38:47 PM GMT+2	Sometimes	Our book club meets once a month to discuss Austen's work and spin offs.	Strongly agree	When I was younger, Marianne,Äôs heartbreak affected me deepl
	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral
2019/02/23 5:41:26 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 5:46:11 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	

2019/02/23 5:49:40 PM GMT+2	Often	I'm new to JA social media, but have enjoyed checking in to a few FB pages regularly. I don't have any blogs or websites that I follow.	Strongly agree	This won't fill to "agree," which would be my desired answer.
2019/02/23 5:50:32 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 5:57:07 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 5:57:20 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 5:57:39 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 6:04:13 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 6:10:44 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/23 6:20:25 PM GMT+2	Often		Neutral	
2019/02/23 6:25:59 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 6:26:54 PM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	

2019/02/23 6:32:32 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 6:41:14 PM GMT+2	Often		Neutral	
2019/02/23 6:47:48 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 6:49:43 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 6:50:18 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 6:50:23 PM GMT+2	Occasionally	hard to know where to start to do so	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 6:52:21 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 6:54:00 PM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/23 7:01:54 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/23 7:03:12 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	

2019/02/23 7:03:29 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 7:04:18 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 7:07:38 PM GMT+2	Occasionally	Just on this site.	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 7:11:17 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 7:13:45 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 7:23:59 PM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 7:42:09 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 7:52:41 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 8:05:26 PM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/23 8:13:40 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	

2019/02/23 8:17:38 PM GMT+2	Occasionally	I have a weekly girls night and have just introduced them to Austen so we have been watching all of the movies and series.	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 8:19:47 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 8:24:46 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 8:25:25 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 8:26:50 PM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/23 8:38:40 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 8:45:21 PM GMT+2	Never		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 8:52:31 PM GMT+2				
2019/02/23 8:56:00 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 9:07:42 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	

2019/02/23 9:15:03 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 9:24:49 PM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:25:34 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:32:08 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/23 11:32:43 PM GMT+2	Never		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 12:05:57 AM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/24 12:08:31 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/24 12:23:19 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 12:45:56 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Neutral	
2019/02/24 2:31:25 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Disagree	

2019/02/24 2:48:10 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Neutral	
2019/02/24 2:58:42 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 3:00:08 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/24 3:01:38 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly disagree	
2019/02/24 3:03:03 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	Not sure if i understand the question correctly, but I interpret it as responded emotionally in the same way. If then - yes.
2019/02/24 3:16:04 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/24 3:16:34 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 3:25:30 AM GMT+2	Often		Neutral	
2019/02/24 3:39:57 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 3:51:44 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	

2019/02/24 4:01:21 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 4:13:11 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/24 4:26:07 AM GMT+2	Often	Lots of FB pages!	Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 6:10:54 AM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/24 8:53:55 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 9:46:56 AM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 9:51:50 AM GMT+2	Occasionally	I rarely engage with other Auaten fans for the purpose of fandom, but many of my friends are also fans, because Austen is good.	Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 10:07:48 AM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	After countless readings, I still cry with Elinor, Elizabeth, and Anne
2019/02/24 10:46:17 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 11:12:26 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	

2019/02/24 12:55:48 PM GMT+2	Occasionally	Facebook group.	Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 2:17:59 PM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/24 3:37:19 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/24 3:46:20 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/24 5:19:05 PM GMT+2	Sometimes	My sister as an Eng Lit graduate has read them all so I discuss them with her as well as the above.	Agree	
2019/02/24 6:48:58 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/24 7:16:14 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/24 7:24:17 PM GMT+2	Often	Honestly, without social media, I would be without an outlet to express my love and share my interest in these novels. I might not have ever read Northanger Abbey and maybe Mansfield Park only once.	Strongly agree	Most situations are true to life as are the characters.
2019/02/24 7:35:55 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	

2019/02/24 7:39:34 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 7:40:50 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Neutral	
2019/02/24 7:49:58 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/24 7:52:15 PM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/02/24 8:28:38 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 8:31:35 PM GMT+2	Daily		Strongly agree	
2019/02/24 8:58:41 PM GMT+2	Often	Drunk Austen - Drunk Janeites group on Facebook	Agree	
2019/02/24 10:44:26 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/25 1:29:44 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/25 2:43:33 AM GMT+2	Daily	Mainly Facebook	Strongly agree	

2019/02/25 2:55:56 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/25 3:31:04 AM GMT+2	Sometimes	I mostly engage through a local annual Jane Austen festival.	Strongly agree	
2019/02/25 6:32:39 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/25 7:24:16 AM GMT+2	Sometimes	Facebook groups	Disagree	I experience the emotions of an outside reader, not the character
2019/02/25 8:16:05 AM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/25 4:33:00 PM GMT+2	Daily		Agree	
2019/02/25 4:51:46 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/25 5:15:02 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/25 5:48:18 PM GMT+2		I prefer audiobooks	Strongly agree	
2019/02/25 10:38:58 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	

2019/02/26 1:34:26 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/26 4:00:18 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	Her characters seem like real people to me.
2019/02/26 5:25:34 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/26 6:09:42 PM GMT+2			Agree	
2019/02/26 10:41:46 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	
2019/02/27 12:51:44 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/02/27 4:26:45 PM GMT+2	Often		Agree	
2019/02/27 6:20:41 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/27 7:50:17 PM GMT+2	Occasionally		Agree	
2019/02/27 8:20:15 PM GMT+2	Sometimes		Strongly agree	

2019/02/27 11:02:56 PM GMT+2	Never		Neutral	
2019/02/28 5:30:40 AM GMT+2	Often		Strongly agree	
2019/02/28 5:46:09 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Strongly agree	
2019/02/28 8:22:32 AM GMT+2	Occasionally		Disagree	
2019/03/01 2:07:18 AM GMT+2	Sometimes	Particip√© en un congreso sobre Jane Austen que organiz√≥ la escuela de Letras Modernas de la UNAM. Me gusta comentar mis lecturas y ser√≠a feliz de tener m√°s interlocutores austenianos (austenitas o como se diga).	Strongly agree	
2019/03/01 2:34:05 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	
2019/03/01 4:35:59 AM GMT+2	Never		Agree	
2019/03/02 3:19:51 AM GMT+2	Sometimes		Agree	

Timestamp	Please rate the likeability of the following characters:										Additional comments
	ED	LS	EB	CB	EW	AE	CM	IT	FP	Mrs. N	
2019/02/19 4:55:34 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/19 5:23:47 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/19 5:32:32 PM GMT+2	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/19 6:08:41 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	It's been long enough since I read any Jane Austen that I don't recall much about any of it!
2019/02/19 6:08:52 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/19 9:05:13 PM GMT+2	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/19 11:41:38 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/19 11:43:18 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/20 2:02:54 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	

2019/02/20 8:14:05 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/20 11:20:43 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/20 12:45:53 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Memory of characters not clear enough to comment
2019/02/20 12:46:01 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Memory of characters not clear enough to comment
2019/02/20 4:10:01 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/21 3:03:15 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 3:12:39 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 3:14:43 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 3:33:34 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 3:53:56 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Marianne is likable buy still very annoying. Anne Elliot is extremely likable though not charismatic. Likable

											is not enough to describe Austen characters.
2019/02/21 3:54:21 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	If I could squeeze in one more category, "mildly likeable," I'd put Catherine Morland and Fanny Price there.
2019/02/21 3:55:14 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Lucy Steele makes my skin crawl.
2019/02/21 4:20:30 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/21 4:20:54 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/21 4:33:04 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	One of the things I love best about Austen is that, if you take the time to analyze a character's life and circumstances, it's often possible to see how their motivations and actions seem completely reasonable from their perspective. It's because of this that I've actually

											come to rather like Caroline Bingley and feel pity for Isabella Thorpe rather than seeing them as merely antagonists.
2019/02/21 4:34:33 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 4:40:52 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 4:54:38 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 4:56:09 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 5:01:56 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/21 5:31:34 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 5:49:34 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 5:57:49 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 6:21:06 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	

2019/02/21 6:37:29 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/21 7:14:59 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/21 7:39:46 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Extremely dislikeable	Mrs Norris is the worst of the worst
2019/02/21 8:17:20 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 8:22:08 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 9:17:10 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 9:36:44 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 11:13:59 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 1:01:53 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:06:56 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 1:07:47 PM GMT+2	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	

2019/02/21 1:13:31 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:14:58 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:18:46 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 1:20:31 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Emma is both dislikable and likeable but likeable wins out in the end.
2019/02/21 1:21:56 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 1:31:05 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 1:31:07 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:39:47 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Don't know	Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Likeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	I don't think the attraction of Austen's characters lie in their likeability.
2019/02/21 1:58:21 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 2:01:35 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	

2019/02/21 2:10:42 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Apart from Lucy Steele, I don't know/remember the other neutral characters
2019/02/21 2:21:20 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 2:28:52 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 2:34:38 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 2:45:51 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/21 2:50:18 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 3:07:49 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 3:47:51 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 4:00:20 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 4:05:28 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 4:30:36 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	

2019/02/21 4:40:01 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Don't know	Dislikeable	Don't know	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 4:41:39 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Of course, while I find some of these characters extremely dislikeable, I love them!
2019/02/21 4:47:08 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Don't know	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 4:57:53 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 5:03:40 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	
2019/02/21 5:28:42 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/21 5:51:52 PM GMT+2	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 6:08:00 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 6:11:54 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 6:17:02 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Neutral	Don't know	I don't remember who a few of these people are, to be honest.

2019/02/21 6:35:08 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 7:15:38 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 7:38:12 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 7:47:53 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 7:58:58 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/21 8:10:14 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	It's been too long since I read Northanger Abbey to recall specifics about Miss. Thorpe. My opinion on Fanny has changed (improved) most over time. Lucy Steele is on the border between Dislikeable and Extremely Dislikeable for me. Everyone's pretty condescending about circumstances she couldn't control

											(opportunities for education, sucking up to Lady Middleton while they're living with her, etc), but she's so dreadful in other ways that it's permission to unqualifiedly loath her. Mrs. Norris on the other hand can just go straight to Hell.
2019/02/21 8:25:35 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 8:26:05 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 8:43:01 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 9:11:20 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 9:26:21 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 9:50:52 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 9:50:55 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	

2019/02/21 10:01:07 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 10:17:40 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Why all female characters?
2019/02/21 10:19:36 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 10:20:23 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/21 10:45:34 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 10:50:34 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don’t know	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/21 10:56:48 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 11:06:00 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/21 11:31:22 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 12:11:42 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 12:13:55 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	

2019/02/22 12:40:14 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 1:16:34 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/22 1:44:27 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 1:44:30 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	These characters are likable and unlikable in different ways, and the intensity with which I like or dislike them varies over the course of the novels. People tend to dislike Fanny Price, but her kindness and goodness are so winning, and her situation is so sympathetic that I must love her. Emma, however, is deeply flawed but such fun. The only reason Miss Bingley and Miss Thorpe don't fall under ,Extremely dislikeable is because they solicit

											contempt and eye-rolls instead of loathing.
2019/02/22 2:37:15 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 3:54:23 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 4:13:15 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 4:28:28 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Don't know	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/22 4:49:38 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 5:10:22 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/22 5:18:58 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/22 5:53:15 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Don't know	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	This is hard -- I have such mixed feelings about several of the characters. I love the novel Emma, but I can't tell whether I like the character or not. Sometimes I love her, sometimes I'm

											horrified by her. I mostly pity Fanny Price and Caroline Bingley.
2019/02/22 6:33:38 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/22 6:59:36 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 7:05:56 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/22 7:18:15 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/22 10:14:09 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 12:30:48 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Don't know	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 5:24:56 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	
2019/02/22 5:54:39 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/22 7:46:06 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	I like characters such as Lucy Steele - self centred, looking after number one, but

											so well drawn & amusing.
2019/02/22 10:24:09 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 2:15:10 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 4:52:18 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 5:21:16 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 9:36:34 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:10:38 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:10:41 AM GMT+2	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:11:21 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Likeable	Neutral	Don’t know	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:16:22 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:20:56 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	

2019/02/23 10:21:57 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:22:20 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:26:04 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:27:14 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:28:55 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:30:26 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:30:47 AM GMT+2											
2019/02/23 10:33:19 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:35:09 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:38:31 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:39:42 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Some of these are meant to be disliked but have such good humour and good intent

											you can forgive them like truth telling grannies! Some commit such awful social crimes they are unforgivable. The beauty of Austen is that they are all 3 dimensional , she's taken care to carve faces into all the extras.
2019/02/23 10:43:37 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/23 10:46:00 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:46:22 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:47:59 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:49:43 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:50:23 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 10:52:05 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	

2019/02/23 10:53:35 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:04:55 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:06:07 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:08:28 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:12:45 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:13:32 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:15:32 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:22:30 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:23:43 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:23:52 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Don’t know	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	
2019/02/23 11:25:33 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	

2019/02/23 11:29:28 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:29:35 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Anne Elliot is also extremely likeable, my favorite.
2019/02/23 11:31:30 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:32:17 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/23 11:36:19 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:38:27 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:39:41 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:40:07 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:42:47 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/23 11:42:51 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:44:05 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	

2019/02/23 11:46:58 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:48:20 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:52:21 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Don't know	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/23 11:55:06 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:58:18 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	
2019/02/23 12:01:54 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/23 12:03:57 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 12:04:05 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:04:27 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 12:04:47 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:08:12 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	

2019/02/23 12:13:26 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Wonder what happened to Persuasion.
2019/02/23 12:16:48 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 12:17:37 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 12:17:49 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	I strongly dislike Caroline Bingley, but its that love-to-hate-her kind of thing.
2019/02/23 12:24:13 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:26:44 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 12:31:14 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:38:33 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 12:42:31 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:48:20 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	

2019/02/23 12:50:43 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 12:52:16 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:56:16 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 1:04:15 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 1:05:46 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Don’t know	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 1:10:24 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 1:18:24 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don’t know	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 1:18:56 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 1:26:22 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Don’t know	Neutral	Don’t know	Neutral	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 1:33:58 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	

2019/02/23 1:44:52 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 1:47:46 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 1:49:23 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 1:49:29 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 1:50:08 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 1:57:19 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 2:01:56 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:14:10 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:21:24 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Don’t know	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 2:22:07 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	

2019/02/23 2:22:30 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Don't know	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 2:30:12 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	I equally likeable with sympathetic, IE. One understands their motivations are from a pure ness or sweetness which will lead them to the right place..
2019/02/23 2:30:15 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:33:34 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	
2019/02/23 2:35:16 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 2:39:30 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 2:42:30 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 2:46:18 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:46:23 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	

2019/02/23 2:47:20 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 2:50:03 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:50:55 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 2:53:04 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 2:54:02 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:56:40 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:57:07 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:01:51 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:10:16 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 3:10:31 PM GMT+2											

2019/02/23 3:12:24 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Dislikeable	Don't know	
2019/02/23 3:12:35 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 3:13:31 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 3:14:08 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 3:18:38 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 3:21:32 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:22:31 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	
2019/02/23 3:22:58 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	It's interesting that you include bother Emma and Fanny Price because I feel like they are the two most divisive heroines between Austenites. You either love them or you hate them!

2019/02/23 3:24:14 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:30:25 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/23 3:34:31 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 3:36:18 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 3:41:03 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 3:41:08 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	
2019/02/23 3:46:08 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 3:51:10 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	
2019/02/23 3:51:23 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 3:54:33 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 4:03:31 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	

2019/02/23 4:08:38 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 4:11:19 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 4:12:25 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 4:12:42 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 4:14:45 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 4:16:40 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 4:18:50 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	
2019/02/23 4:28:39 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 4:34:06 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 4:35:00 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 4:45:03 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	

2019/02/23 4:48:05 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 4:54:41 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 5:03:08 PM GMT+2	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	
2019/02/23 5:04:32 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 5:06:09 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	Likeable	
2019/02/23 5:13:34 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Likeable	Don't know	Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/23 5:13:37 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 5:14:42 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 5:29:50 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 5:30:22 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 5:38:47 PM GMT+2											

2019/02/23 5:41:26 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 5:46:11 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 5:49:40 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 5:50:32 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Some of my answers surprised me. To break them down, I think I'm more sympathetic to Isabella because she's just trying to "catch a husband," which was her only option in life. Sure, she was silly and a bit boy-crazy, but so was I at that age. So was Lucy Steele, I guess, but in more devious ways and with deliberate detriment to others. While I always thought Lizzy Bennet one of my favorites, I think she might be a bit smug as a friend. For the

											record, Anne Elliot has long been my favorite Austen heroine.
2019/02/23 5:57:07 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 5:57:20 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 5:57:39 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 6:04:13 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 6:10:44 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 6:20:25 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 6:25:59 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 6:26:54 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 6:32:32 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 6:41:14 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	

2019/02/23 6:47:48 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 6:49:43 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 6:50:18 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 6:50:23 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 6:52:21 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 6:54:00 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 7:01:54 PM GMT+2	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Don’t know	Likeable	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 7:03:12 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Don’t know	Likeable	Dislikeable	Don’t know	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 7:03:29 PM GMT+2	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 7:04:18 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 7:07:38 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	

2019/02/23 7:11:17 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 7:13:45 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Don’t know	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 7:23:59 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 7:42:09 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 7:52:41 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 8:05:26 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Likeable	
2019/02/23 8:13:40 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don’t know	Neutral	Don’t know	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 8:17:38 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 8:19:47 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 8:24:46 PM GMT+2	Don’t know	Don’t know	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Don’t know	Don’t know	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 8:25:25 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Don’t know	Likeable	Dislikeable	Don’t know	Don’t know	

2019/02/23 8:26:50 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 8:38:40 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 8:45:21 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Likeable	
2019/02/23 8:52:31 PM GMT+2											
2019/02/23 8:56:00 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 9:07:42 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	
2019/02/23 9:15:03 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 9:24:49 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:25:34 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/23 11:32:08 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/23 11:32:43 PM GMT+2	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	

2019/02/24 12:05:57 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/24 12:08:31 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	
2019/02/24 12:23:19 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/24 12:45:56 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/24 2:31:25 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/24 2:48:10 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/24 2:58:42 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	
2019/02/24 3:00:08 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don’t know	
2019/02/24 3:01:38 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/24 3:03:03 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Don’t know	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Don’t know	Extremely Likeable	Don’t know	Extremely Likeable	Don’t know	
2019/02/24 3:16:04 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	

2019/02/24 3:16:34 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/24 3:25:30 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/24 3:39:57 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/24 3:51:44 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/24 4:01:21 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/24 4:13:11 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/24 4:26:07 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	I used to love Fanny Price more than any other Austen character in my teens... Now she really gets on my nerves! So I'm not sure how to rate her!
2019/02/24 6:10:54 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/24 8:53:55 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	

2019/02/24 9:46:56 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/24 9:51:50 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/24 10:07:48 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/24 10:46:17 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	
2019/02/24 11:12:26 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/24 12:55:48 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	
2019/02/24 2:17:59 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/24 3:37:19 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Don't know	Dislikeable	Don't know	
2019/02/24 3:46:20 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/24 5:19:05 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Likeable	Likeable	Don't know	

2019/02/24 6:48:58 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/24 7:16:14 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Don't know	Dislikeable	
2019/02/24 7:24:17 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/24 7:35:55 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/24 7:39:34 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/24 7:40:50 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/24 7:49:58 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Neutral	Likeable	
2019/02/24 7:52:15 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/24 8:28:38 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/24 8:31:35 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/02/24 8:58:41 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	

2019/02/24 10:44:26 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	I found it difficult to like Emma Woodhouse until the end of the book when she realizes that she has been acting badly and corrects her behavior.
2019/02/25 1:29:44 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/25 2:43:33 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/25 2:55:56 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Likeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Likeable	
2019/02/25 3:31:04 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Don’t know	Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/25 6:32:39 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/25 7:24:16 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Don’t know	Don’t know	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/25 8:16:05 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/25 4:33:00 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	

2019/02/25 4:51:46 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Don't know	Dislikeable	
2019/02/25 5:15:02 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/25 5:48:18 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/25 10:38:58 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/26 1:34:26 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/26 4:00:18 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/26 5:25:34 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Likeable	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/26 6:09:42 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Likeable	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/26 10:41:46 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/27 12:51:44 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Don't know	Extremely Likeable	Don't know	Likeable	Don't know	
2019/02/27 4:26:45 PM GMT+2	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	Dislikeable	

2019/02/27 6:20:41 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/27 7:50:17 PM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/27 8:20:15 PM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Neutral	
2019/02/27 11:02:56 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Dislikeable	Extremely dislikeable	
2019/02/28 5:30:40 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	
2019/02/28 5:46:09 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Emma Woodhouse is difficult - exasperating but likeable.
2019/02/28 8:22:32 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Neutral	Dislikeable	
2019/03/01 2:07:18 AM GMT+2	Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Neutral	Don’t know	Likeable	Don’t know	Neutral	Extremely dislikeable	Hay algunos personajes que no tengo muy presentes. ¬Por qu presentan solo mujeres?
2019/03/01 2:34:05 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely Likeable	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Likeable	Don’t know	
2019/03/01 4:35:59 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Likeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	

2019/03/02 3:19:51 AM GMT+2	Extremely Likeable	Dislikeable	Extremely Likeable	Extremely dislikeable	Likeable	Neutral	Neutral	Dislikeable	Likeable	Dislikeable	Some of the choices made answering hard as there is a fine line between dislike and enjoying the character for their awfulness!!!

Timestamp	How realistic (lifelike) would you rate the following characters:										
	ED	LS	EB	CB	EW	AE	CM	IT	FP	Mrs. N	Additional comments
2019/02/19 4:55:34 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/19 5:23:47 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/19 5:32:32 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/19 6:08:41 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/19 6:08:52 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/19 9:05:13 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	

2019/02/19 11:41:38 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/19 11:43:18 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/20 2:02:54 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/20 8:14:05 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/20 11:20:43 AM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/20 12:45:53 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Memory of characters not clear enough to comment
2019/02/20 12:46:01 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Memory of characters not clear enough to comment
2019/02/20 4:10:01 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/21 3:03:15 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 3:12:39 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	

2019/02/21 3:14:43 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 3:33:34 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/21 3:53:56 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/21 3:54:21 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	I knew a Mrs. Elton, once.
2019/02/21 3:55:14 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Even though their language is often heightened, I think Austen's character types are actually quite realistic.
2019/02/21 4:20:30 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 4:20:54 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Don't know	Realistic	Don't know	Unrealistic	Don't know	
2019/02/21 4:33:04 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 4:34:33 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	

2019/02/21 4:40:52 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 4:54:38 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 4:56:09 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 5:01:56 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Realistic	Don’t know	
2019/02/21 5:31:34 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 5:49:34 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 5:57:49 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 6:21:06 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	
2019/02/21 6:37:29 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	
2019/02/21 7:14:59 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	

2019/02/21 7:39:46 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 8:17:20 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 8:22:08 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	
2019/02/21 9:17:10 AM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 9:36:44 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/21 11:13:59 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 1:01:53 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Unrealistic	Don't know	
2019/02/21 1:06:56 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/21 1:07:47 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 1:13:31 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	

2019/02/21 1:14:58 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:18:46 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 1:20:31 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	I find all these characters to be realistic
2019/02/21 1:21:56 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 1:31:05 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	The characters I love most are probably least realistic, only because their wit and virtue are rarely to be found in a single person. Austen's unlikeable characters, however? The world is full of them! :)
2019/02/21 1:31:07 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:39:47 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/21 1:58:21 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	

2019/02/21 2:01:35 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 2:10:42 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/21 2:21:20 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/21 2:28:52 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/21 2:34:38 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/21 2:45:51 PM GMT+2	Don’t know	Don’t know	Realistic	Realistic	Don’t know	Don’t know	Neutral	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	
2019/02/21 2:50:18 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely unrealistic	
2019/02/21 3:07:49 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/21 3:47:51 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/21 4:00:20 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	

2019/02/21 4:05:28 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/21 4:30:36 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 4:40:01 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Don't know	Unrealistic	Don't know	Realistic	Don't know	Unrealistic	Don't know	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely realistic	I think Fanny Price would have been realistic in the 19th century, but no longer is today.
2019/02/21 4:41:39 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 4:47:08 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/21 4:57:53 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Neutral	
2019/02/21 5:03:40 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/21 5:28:42 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 5:51:52 PM GMT+2	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	
2019/02/21 6:08:00 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	

2019/02/21 6:11:54 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 6:17:02 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Don't know	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Don't know	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	I'm torn on Emma, because I feel that such people DO exist, they just aren't so easily forgiven.
2019/02/21 6:35:08 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/21 7:15:38 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 7:38:12 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 7:47:53 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 7:58:58 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/21 8:10:14 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Put neutral for Catherine because as I remember her, her character is satirical enough that she seems less realistic than other characters, but intentionally. The most unrealistic thing

											about Mrs. Norris is that she's allowed to spend so much time at Mansfield Park. Elinor is just... a little Too good to be true sometimes. Though I love her.
2019/02/21 8:25:35 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 8:26:05 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/21 8:43:01 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/21 9:11:20 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/21 9:26:21 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/21 9:50:52 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/21 9:50:55 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/21 10:01:07 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	

2019/02/21 10:17:40 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/21 10:19:36 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/21 10:20:23 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/21 10:45:34 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	I like Elinor Dashwood very much, but I doubt that a person with her strong feelings could control them as well as she did. Fanny Price is just too perfect for reality.
2019/02/21 10:50:34 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/21 10:56:48 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Characters always have recognisable elements even when they are disagreeable
2019/02/21 11:06:00 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 11:31:22 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Don’t know	

2019/02/22 12:11:42 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/22 12:13:55 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/22 12:40:14 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/22 1:16:34 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/22 1:44:27 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/22 1:44:30 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	I've seen the behaviors of her female villains in everyday life. I've seen less of the strength of her good characters.
2019/02/22 2:37:15 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/22 3:54:23 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/22 4:13:15 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	

2019/02/22 4:28:28 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/22 4:49:38 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/22 5:10:22 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/22 5:18:58 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/22 5:53:15 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	I feel like I've known all of these people in real life (except maybe for Fanny, but then how would we know?) and I've BEEN more than one of them.
2019/02/22 6:33:38 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/22 6:59:36 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Don't know	Realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/22 7:05:56 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/22 7:18:15 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	

2019/02/22 10:14:09 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Don't know	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/22 12:30:48 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/22 5:24:56 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/22 5:54:39 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/22 7:46:06 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/22 10:24:09 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	
2019/02/23 2:15:10 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 4:52:18 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 5:21:16 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 9:36:34 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	

2019/02/23 10:10:38 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 10:10:41 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 10:11:21 AM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Don't know	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 10:16:22 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:20:56 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 10:21:57 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/23 10:22:20 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 10:26:04 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 10:27:14 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 10:28:55 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	

2019/02/23 10:30:26 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 10:30:47 AM GMT+2											
2019/02/23 10:33:19 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 10:35:09 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 10:38:31 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 10:39:42 AM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 10:43:37 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 10:46:00 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:46:22 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 10:47:59 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	

2019/02/23 10:49:43 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:50:23 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 10:52:05 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 10:53:35 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:04:55 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Don’t know	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don’t know	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 11:06:07 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:08:28 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:12:45 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:13:32 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:15:32 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	

2019/02/23 11:22:30 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:23:43 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:23:52 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:25:33 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:29:28 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:29:35 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:31:30 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:32:17 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Don’t know	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Realistic	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 11:36:19 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/23 11:38:27 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	

2019/02/23 11:39:41 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:40:07 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 11:42:47 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/23 11:42:51 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	There must be a bug: I wanted to put "Extremely realistic" for Emma, but it doesn't work!
2019/02/23 11:44:05 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:46:58 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:48:20 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:52:21 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/23 11:55:06 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:58:18 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	I can name at least one real life person that has the character of one of

											Jane Austen her characters
2019/02/23 12:01:54 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Don't know	
2019/02/23 12:03:57 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/23 12:04:05 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:04:27 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/23 12:04:47 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:08:12 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 12:13:26 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 12:16:48 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 12:17:37 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Extremely unrealistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	

2019/02/23 12:17:49 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	I have gone for realistic, as it is hard to judge. We read/watch/listen with a modern view and have no real idea what life was like. I like and enjoy her characters, and I think there is a good blend of characters
2019/02/23 12:24:13 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 12:26:44 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 12:31:14 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:38:33 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Sometimes character traits are slightly exaggerated, but are plausible within context of the story. We all have aspects of our personalities that take over for good or bad depending on what sort of day we are having.

2019/02/23 12:42:31 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:48:20 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/23 12:50:43 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 12:52:16 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:56:16 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	
2019/02/23 1:04:15 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 1:05:46 PM GMT+2	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 1:10:24 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Don't know	Some of them seem too perfect (like Lizzie) while others seems too much like caricatures (too mean or too naive etc). I don't mind though.
2019/02/23 1:18:24 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	

2019/02/23 1:18:56 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 1:26:22 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/23 1:33:58 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/23 1:44:52 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 1:47:46 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	I put neutral for all because I really can't determine that.
2019/02/23 1:49:23 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 1:49:29 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 1:50:08 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 1:57:19 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 2:01:56 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	

2019/02/23 2:14:10 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 2:21:24 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 2:22:07 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 2:22:30 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 2:30:12 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Don't know	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Sometimes you have to parse what is said about a character by others, rather than just observe their place in the narrative. Austen's genius is crafting characters we know, even today. Characters whose traits and conduct are familiar, motivations that make sense...
2019/02/23 2:30:15 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Neutral	For Fanny her character is unrealistic to us in modern times. I am sure her situation would be more realistic in Austens time.

2019/02/23 2:33:34 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 2:35:16 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 2:39:30 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 2:42:30 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 2:46:18 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:46:23 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 2:47:20 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 2:50:03 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Don’t know	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 2:50:55 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 2:53:04 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Hard to answer this since our frame of reference is so different from readers 200 years ago. I think I find the more flawed/devious characters realistic

											because the heroines are all so good.
2019/02/23 2:54:02 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:56:40 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 2:57:07 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 3:01:51 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 3:10:16 PM GMT+2	Don’t know	Don’t know	Realistic	Realistic	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 3:10:31 PM GMT+2											
2019/02/23 3:12:24 PM GMT+2	Don’t know	Don’t know	Neutral	Realistic	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 3:12:35 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/23 3:13:31 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 3:14:08 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	

2019/02/23 3:18:38 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 3:21:32 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 3:22:31 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 3:22:58 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely unrealistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 3:24:14 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:30:25 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Don’t know	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 3:34:31 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Don’t know	Realistic	Unrealistic	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 3:36:18 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/23 3:41:03 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:41:08 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 3:46:08 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	

2019/02/23 3:51:10 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 3:51:23 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 3:54:33 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 4:03:31 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/23 4:08:38 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/23 4:11:19 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 4:12:25 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 4:12:42 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/23 4:14:45 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 4:16:40 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	

2019/02/23 4:18:50 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	
2019/02/23 4:28:39 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 4:34:06 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	I think most of Austen's characters are realistic.
2019/02/23 4:35:00 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 4:45:03 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/23 4:48:05 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 4:54:41 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 5:03:08 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/23 5:04:32 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 5:06:09 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	

2019/02/23 5:13:34 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 5:13:37 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 5:14:42 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 5:29:50 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Neutral	Realistic	When selecting "neutral" I mean that the cahracter has one or more features that I think unrealistic, while otherwise she is believable.
2019/02/23 5:30:22 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 5:38:47 PM GMT+2											
2019/02/23 5:41:26 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/23 5:46:11 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 5:49:40 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	

2019/02/23 5:50:32 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Where I put "don't know" I feel the character wasn't sufficiently fleshed out to tell.
2019/02/23 5:57:07 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 5:57:20 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 5:57:39 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Extremely unrealistic	Neutral	
2019/02/23 6:04:13 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 6:10:44 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 6:20:25 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 6:25:59 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 6:26:54 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 6:32:32 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	

2019/02/23 6:41:14 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	
2019/02/23 6:47:48 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 6:49:43 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 6:50:18 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/23 6:50:23 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Neutral	
2019/02/23 6:52:21 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 6:54:00 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 7:01:54 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 7:03:12 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Don’t know	Realistic	Realistic	Don’t know	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 7:03:29 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	

2019/02/23 7:04:18 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 7:07:38 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 7:11:17 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	
2019/02/23 7:13:45 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/23 7:23:59 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Extremely unrealistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/23 7:42:09 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 7:52:41 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 8:05:26 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 8:13:40 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Don’t know	Realistic	Don’t know	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/23 8:17:38 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	We all know these people.

2019/02/23 8:19:47 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 8:24:46 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/23 8:25:25 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 8:26:50 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 8:38:40 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 8:45:21 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/23 8:52:31 PM GMT+2											
2019/02/23 8:56:00 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 9:07:42 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/23 9:15:03 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	

2019/02/23 9:24:49 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	The characters I marked as unrealistic I think were meant as caricatures.
2019/02/23 11:25:34 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/23 11:32:08 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Don't know	Unrealistic	Don't know	
2019/02/23 11:32:43 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/24 12:05:57 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/24 12:08:31 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/24 12:23:19 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/24 12:45:56 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/24 2:31:25 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/24 2:48:10 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	

2019/02/24 2:58:42 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	
2019/02/24 3:00:08 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Don’t know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Don’t know	
2019/02/24 3:01:38 AM GMT+2	Extremely unrealistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/24 3:03:03 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Don’t know	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Don’t know	Realistic	Don’t know	Extremely realistic	Don’t know	
2019/02/24 3:16:04 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/24 3:16:34 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don’t know	Don’t know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/24 3:25:30 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Don’t know	Don’t know	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/24 3:39:57 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/24 3:51:44 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/24 4:01:21 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	

2019/02/24 4:13:11 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/24 4:26:07 AM GMT+2	Don't know	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/24 6:10:54 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/24 8:53:55 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/24 9:46:56 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/24 9:51:50 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/24 10:07:48 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/24 10:46:17 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/24 11:12:26 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/24 12:55:48 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	

2019/02/24 2:17:59 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/24 3:37:19 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/24 3:46:20 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	
2019/02/24 5:19:05 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/24 6:48:58 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/24 7:16:14 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/24 7:24:17 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/24 7:35:55 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/24 7:39:34 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	
2019/02/24 7:40:50 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	

2019/02/24 7:49:58 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/24 7:52:15 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/24 8:28:38 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/24 8:31:35 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/24 8:58:41 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	
2019/02/24 10:44:26 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	All of Jane's characters have always been realistic to me even if some show extremes of human character.
2019/02/25 1:29:44 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/25 2:43:33 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/25 2:55:56 AM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Neutral	
2019/02/25 3:31:04 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Realistic	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	

2019/02/25 6:32:39 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/25 7:24:16 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Don't know	Don't know	Neutral	Unrealistic	
2019/02/25 8:16:05 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	
2019/02/25 4:33:00 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/25 4:51:46 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	
2019/02/25 5:15:02 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Don't know	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/25 5:48:18 PM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Realistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	
2019/02/25 10:38:58 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/26 1:34:26 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/26 4:00:18 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	It helps that I've reread the stories a lot and have been in Jane Austen book clubs
2019/02/26 5:25:34 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Realistic	Don't know	

2019/02/26 6:09:42 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/26 10:41:46 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/27 12:51:44 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Don't know	Realistic	Don't know	
2019/02/27 4:26:45 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	
2019/02/27 6:20:41 PM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Unrealistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/27 7:50:17 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/27 8:20:15 PM GMT+2	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	
2019/02/27 11:02:56 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Extremely unrealistic	Realistic	Unrealistic	Don't know	Neutral	Neutral	Unrealistic	Unrealistic	Don't know	
2019/02/28 5:30:40 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/28 5:46:09 AM GMT+2	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	
2019/02/28 8:22:32 AM GMT+2	Unrealistic	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Realistic	

2019/03/01 2:07:18 AM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Don't know	Unrealistic	Don't know	Unrealistic	Extremely realistic	Los personajes horrorosos (negativos) son, desafortunadamente, extremadamente realistas.
2019/03/01 2:34:05 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/03/01 4:35:59 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/03/02 3:19:51 AM GMT+2	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	Neutral	Extremely realistic	Realistic	Extremely realistic	

Timestamp	At key moments in the story, I felt I knew why the character behaved the way she did.										
	ED	LS	EB	CB	EW	AE	CM	IT	FP	Mrs. N	Comments
2019/02/19 4:55:34 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/19 5:23:47 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/19 5:32:32 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Don't know	Don't know	Strongly agree	Don't know	
2019/02/19 6:08:41 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	From what I do remember, the character's behavior and actions made perfect sense to me at the time.
2019/02/19 6:08:52 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/19 9:05:13 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/19 11:41:38 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/19 11:43:18 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/20 2:02:54 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/20 8:14:05 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	

2019/02/20 11:20:43 AM GMT+2	Agree	Don't know	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	
2019/02/20 12:45:53 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Memory of characters not clear enough to comment
2019/02/20 12:46:01 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Memory of characters not clear enough to comment
2019/02/20 4:10:01 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Don't know	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/21 3:03:15 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Austen is particularly skilled at making her characters feel like real people with real reactions, though some of the situations these characters find themselves in are a bit more dramatic than her readers' daily lives. But that's why we read books and watch movies, isn't it? Nobody wants to read 300 pages about me teleworking, squeezing in a daily workout, and playing Pokemon.
2019/02/21 3:12:39 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 3:14:43 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	
2019/02/21 3:33:34 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	

2019/02/21 3:53:56 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 3:54:21 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 3:55:14 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 4:20:30 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 4:20:54 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Don't know	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Don't know	
2019/02/21 4:33:04 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Truthfully, I expect I would understand the "why"s of Lucy Steele and Mrs. Elton if I tried, but I have yet to put forth the effort to do so in their case. I don't think their motivations are all that complex--rather, it's that they fail to evoke much sympathy!
2019/02/21 4:34:33 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 4:40:52 AM GMT+2	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 4:54:38 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	

2019/02/21 4:56:09 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/21 5:01:56 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Don't know	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Strongly agree	Don't know	
2019/02/21 5:31:34 AM GMT+2	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	
2019/02/21 5:49:34 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	
2019/02/21 5:57:49 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	
2019/02/21 6:21:06 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 6:37:29 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 7:14:59 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/21 7:39:46 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Neutral	Disagree	
2019/02/21 8:17:20 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 8:22:08 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Don't know	Don't know	Disagree	Don't know	

2019/02/21 9:17:10 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 9:36:44 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	
2019/02/21 11:13:59 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 1:01:53 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/21 1:06:56 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 1:07:47 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 1:13:31 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/21 1:14:58 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:18:46 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	
2019/02/21 1:20:31 PM GMT+2											

2019/02/21 1:21:56 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	
2019/02/21 1:31:05 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:31:07 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 1:39:47 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	
2019/02/21 1:58:21 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 2:01:35 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	
2019/02/21 2:10:42 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/21 2:21:20 PM GMT+2	Disagree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	
2019/02/21 2:28:52 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 2:34:38 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	

2019/02/21 2:45:51 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Don't know	Don't know	Agree	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/21 2:50:18 PM GMT+2	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/21 3:07:49 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 3:47:51 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Knowing or understanding why a character does something does not denote approval of the action.
2019/02/21 4:00:20 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 4:05:28 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 4:30:36 PM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/21 4:40:01 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	Disagree	Don't know	Disagree	Agree	
2019/02/21 4:41:39 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Neutral	
2019/02/21 4:47:08 PM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly agree	

2019/02/21 4:57:53 PM GMT+2	Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Disagree	Neutral	Disagree	Neutral	
2019/02/21 5:03:40 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 5:28:42 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 5:51:52 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 6:08:00 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 6:11:54 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 6:17:02 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Don’t know	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Don’t know	
2019/02/21 6:35:08 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 7:15:38 PM GMT+2	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	
2019/02/21 7:38:12 PM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	

2019/02/21 7:47:53 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	
2019/02/21 7:58:58 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Don’t know	Don’t know	
2019/02/21 8:10:14 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Don’t know	Don’t know	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 8:25:35 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 8:26:05 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	
2019/02/21 8:43:01 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 9:11:20 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 9:26:21 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 9:50:52 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Strongly agree	Don’t know	
2019/02/21 9:50:55 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	

2019/02/21 10:01:07 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/21 10:17:40 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	
2019/02/21 10:19:36 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	
2019/02/21 10:20:23 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/21 10:45:34 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Jane Austen is so good at delineating her characters that their motivations are self-evident.
2019/02/21 10:50:34 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/21 10:56:48 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Might not always like their behaviours but they are consistent with the characters.
2019/02/21 11:06:00 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	
2019/02/21 11:31:22 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/22 12:11:42 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	

2019/02/22 12:13:55 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/22 12:40:14 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	
2019/02/22 1:16:34 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/22 1:44:27 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/22 1:44:30 AM GMT+2	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/22 2:37:15 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/22 3:54:23 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly disagree	Agree	Disagree	
2019/02/22 4:13:15 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/22 4:28:28 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Don’t know	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/22 4:49:38 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	

2019/02/22 5:10:22 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	
2019/02/22 5:18:58 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/22 5:53:15 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Sometimes it took multiple readings, but yes.
2019/02/22 6:33:38 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/22 6:59:36 AM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Don't know	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Neutral	
2019/02/22 7:05:56 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	I sometimes picture characters in modern settings and expectations.
2019/02/22 7:18:15 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/22 10:14:09 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/22 12:30:48 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/22 5:24:56 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Don't know	Don't know	

2019/02/22 5:54:39 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	This is one of the glories of Jane Austen's writing. You know these characters because you've interacted with them in real life.
2019/02/22 7:46:06 PM GMT+2	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	
2019/02/22 10:24:09 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Disagree	
2019/02/23 2:15:10 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree	
2019/02/23 4:52:18 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 5:21:16 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 9:36:34 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:10:38 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:10:41 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 10:11:21 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Don't know	Neutral	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	

2019/02/23 10:16:22 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:20:56 AM GMT+2	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 10:21:57 AM GMT+2	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	
2019/02/23 10:22:20 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 10:26:04 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:27:14 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 10:28:55 AM GMT+2	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	
2019/02/23 10:30:26 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 10:30:47 AM GMT+2											
2019/02/23 10:33:19 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	

2019/02/23 10:35:09 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:38:31 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 10:39:42 AM GMT+2	Disagree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:43:37 AM GMT+2	Agree	Don't know	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Don't know	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Don't know	
2019/02/23 10:46:00 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:46:22 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:47:59 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:49:43 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/23 10:50:23 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 10:52:05 AM GMT+2	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	

2019/02/23 10:53:35 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	I find it strange how my feelings have changed over time from loving P&P most to preferring Persuasion: and preferring Wentworth to Darcy. Anne and Elizabeth are equally good.
2019/02/23 11:04:55 AM GMT+2	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:06:07 AM GMT+2	Don't know	Agree	Agree	Agree	Don't know	Agree	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Agree	Why are there no characters from Persuasion?
2019/02/23 11:08:28 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:12:45 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:13:32 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:15:32 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	
2019/02/23 11:22:30 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:23:43 AM GMT+2	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:23:52 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	

2019/02/23 11:25:33 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:29:28 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:29:35 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:31:30 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:32:17 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:36:19 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly disagree	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:38:27 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:39:41 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:40:07 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:42:47 AM GMT+2	Agree	Don’t know	Agree	Agree	Agree	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	Don’t know	

2019/02/23 11:42:51 AM GMT+2	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:44:05 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 11:46:58 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:48:20 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 11:52:21 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Don't know	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Agree	Don't know	
2019/02/23 11:55:06 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 11:58:18 AM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:01:54 PM GMT+2	Agree	Don't know	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Don't know	Neutral	Neutral	Don't know	
2019/02/23 12:03:57 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	
2019/02/23 12:04:05 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	

2019/02/23 12:04:27 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 12:04:47 PM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:08:12 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 12:13:26 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 12:16:48 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 12:17:37 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	
2019/02/23 12:17:49 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly disagree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Bingley and Price: felt they were behaving as they were brought up to. Feeling superior
2019/02/23 12:24:13 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Difficult to quantify between agree and strongly agree. Also, answer may be affected by whether I like the character! Also true of previous question. However, main Austen characters are always realistic - that's the beauty of it.
2019/02/23 12:26:44 PM GMT+2	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Disagree	

2019/02/23 12:31:14 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 12:38:33 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Usually it is easy to see each character's motivation.
2019/02/23 12:42:31 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 12:48:20 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Don't know	Agree	Don't know	
2019/02/23 12:50:43 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 12:52:16 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/02/23 12:56:16 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 1:04:15 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Don't know	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	
2019/02/23 1:05:46 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 1:10:24 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	I really can't with Fanny Price. When reading the books (not so much when watching adaptations) I found it hard to understand a love that is there for a long time, but not recognised (by Lizzie

											and Emma) - I need to reread these novels now.
2019/02/23 1:18:24 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	
2019/02/23 1:18:56 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/23 1:26:22 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Don't know	Strongly agree	Don't know	Strongly agree	Don't know	
2019/02/23 1:33:58 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 1:44:52 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	Agree	Disagree	
2019/02/23 1:47:46 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 1:49:23 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 1:49:29 PM GMT+2	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Agree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/23 1:50:08 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	

2019/02/23 1:57:19 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	I knew/understood with all why they behaved that way, they simply never acted out of character, and it was all very “nachvollziehbar”. That doesn’t mean I find their portrayal realistic.
2019/02/23 2:01:56 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Don’t know	Don’t know	
2019/02/23 2:14:10 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 2:21:24 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 2:22:07 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 2:22:30 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Disagree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Disagree	Neutral	
2019/02/23 2:30:12 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Don’t know	Strongly agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/23 2:30:15 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/23 2:33:34 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
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2019/02/24 5:19:05 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Agree	Agree	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Don't know	In real life, however well I understand someone, I can't always know why they do everything they do. I know Elizabeth Bennett better than I know the others but I still don't always understand everything she does. We don't always understand ourselves, let alone anyone else.
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2019/02/24 7:40:50 PM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Where's Ann Elliot? One of my favourite heroines.
2019/02/24 7:49:58 PM GMT+2	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Disagree	Neutral	

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2019/02/25 5:48:18 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/25 10:38:58 PM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Strongly agree	Disagree	Don't know	Don't know	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/02/26 1:34:26 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/26 4:00:18 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Disagree	I've always had trouble understanding why people do the wrong thing
2019/02/26 5:25:34 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Agree	Don't know	

2019/02/26 6:09:42 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/26 10:41:46 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/27 12:51:44 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Neutral	Don't know	Agree	Don't know	Agree	Don't know	
2019/02/27 4:26:45 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Disagree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Disagree	
2019/02/27 6:20:41 PM GMT+2	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly agree	
2019/02/27 7:50:17 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
2019/02/27 8:20:15 PM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Neutral	
2019/02/27 11:02:56 PM GMT+2	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	
2019/02/28 5:30:40 AM GMT+2	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	
2019/02/28 5:46:09 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	

2019/02/28 8:22:32 AM GMT+2	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Agree	
2019/03/01 2:07:18 AM GMT+2	Don't know	Don't know	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	
2019/03/01 2:34:05 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/03/01 4:35:59 AM GMT+2	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	
2019/03/02 3:19:51 AM GMT+2	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Neutral	Neutral	Agree	Agree	

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