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Ethnic Diversity and Class Representation in London in the BBC's *Sherlock* (2010-2017) and Aminatta Forna's *Happiness* (2014)

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MA Literary Studies: Literature in Society. Europe and Beyond.

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Introduction

"In London everyone is different, but that means anyone can fit in." The quote from the 2014 movie *Paddington* summarises what many people have said about London, such as the English writer Samuel Johnson did hundreds of years before the movie *Paddington*: "By seeing London, I have seen as much of life as the world can show" (Boswell 429). Both quotes encapsulate the diversity and richness the British capital has to offer and how globalised the city has become. Paddington goes on to say that "although I don't look like anyone else, I really do feel at home. I'll never be like other people, but that's alright, because I'm a bear" (Paddington, 1:23:10), suggesting that no matter what you look like or where you came from you will feel at home in the British capital.

London today is the most populous capital in Europe, with almost nine million people living in its core and when the wider commuter belt areas are included the number rises to over 14 million people (Manley 311). It is a major tourist destination, a global hub for finance, business and industry and the seat of the government of the United Kingdom (Manley 311). Diversity in London "has been built over many waves of internal migration and international immigration" (Manley 312) and while there are no bears like Paddington living in the city, London is home to many different ethnic groups. Brixton is classified as the "Caribbean Capital of Britain" (Manley 313) and "within the vast diversity of groups, the other two largest are the Pakistani […] and the Indians […]" (Manley 313). Britain's imperial history has contributed to this as "after the British Nationality Act in 1948, the right to enter and work in the UK was granted to over 800 million residents in the former countries included in the British Empire" (Manley 313). However, recent policies in the UK have been aggressively xenophobic and anti-immigration which also affect people who have lived in Britain for decades, such as the Windrush generation. In 2017, "it emerged that hundreds of Commonwealth citizens, many of whom were from the 'Windrush' generation, had been wrongly detained, deported and denied legal rights" ("Windrush Scandal Explained").

As a global city, London has been represented in literature and on screen many times and I am interested in how the city's multiculturalism is represented in contemporary media. For this thesis, I will look at ethnic diversity and class representation in the BBC's TV series *Sherlock,* which ran from 2010-2017, and Aminatta Forna's novel *Happiness,* which was published in 2018 and is set in 2014. By looking at the spatial representation in *Sherlock* and *Happiness,* specifically regarding ethnic diversity and class, and comparing a novel and a TV

series, I add a new perspective to existing research: Not much has been written about space and migration as most literature focuses on social dynamics and never on where this takes place or how the city fits into this. *Sherlock* and *Happiness* have both been very successful in pop culture in their own way and are culturally impactful. They have contributed to the image of the iconic city they are both set in, yet they also illustrate questions of ethnic diversity and class within the city as both narrate a specific version of London. There are major differences in the representation of London and how *Sherlock* and *Happiness* use ethnic diversity and class in their mediums. Therefore, my research has led me to the following question: How are the spatial practices of London represented in Aminatta Forna's novel *Happiness* and the BBC'S TV series *Sherlock* in relation to ethnic diversity and class?

Sherlock is based on the famous novels by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and is set in a present-day narrative, focusing on the detective Sherlock Holmes and his assistant John Watson. Together, they solve crimes around London with Sherlock's arch-nemesis Moriarty as the looming evil behind all his cases, although he is only revealed in the final episode of season one. The series was written by Steven Moffat and Mark Gatiss, the latter starring in the show himself as Sherlock's older brother Mycroft. The series was highly successful, as it "has sold to over 180 territories, including Canada, Australia, Sweden, India, Japan, Germany and the commercially crucial USA via the PBS syndicate network" (Fathallah 47). The series also "received the respected Peabody award in 2011, in addition to a selection of Emmys, Baftas and other markers of cultural capital for writing, acting, direction, sound and cinematography" (Fathallah 47).

Happiness was selected as "Best Book of 2018" by multiple outlets such as *The Washington Post*, *Vanity Fair*, *The Guardian*, and *The Irish Times* ("Happiness") and it was shortlisted for both the Royal Society of Literature Ondaatje Prize (Chandler) and the Jhalak Prize in April 2019 ("Shortlist"). The novel first and foremost tells the story of its two main protagonists, the Ghanaian psychiatrist Attila and the American wildlife biologist Jean, whose paths cross multiple times in London in February 2014. Jean helps Attila find his niece's missing son Tano by asking her network of volunteer fox spotters, most of them immigrants and during the plot of the novel, Attila and Jean get emotionally closer. While the novel discusses the themes of values in society, Alzheimer, and the true nature of happiness, it also features the theme of migration in connection to happiness - though in a more subtle way. The novel is mostly told from the third-person narrative yet sometimes switches to zero focalisation, meaning that "the perspective cannot be attributed to someone

in particular or has no restrictions and thus can vary" (Meyer 82). For the purpose of this thesis, the flashbacks of both characters in the novel will not be discussed as they are not set in London.

It is important to acknowledge that Aminatta Forna is a person of colour with her father originally coming from Sierra Leone. This awareness regarding race is embedded in her writing, for example in her first novel *The Devil that Danced on Water* in which she tells the story of her father. Furthermore, there are multiple instances in *Happiness* in which Attila, the black protagonist from Ghana, is explicitly aware of racial bias in the world which will be discussed later in this thesis. Meanwhile, the BBC's *Sherlock* has been written by two white men, Steven Moffat and Mark Gatiss, which in this case links to a missing sensitivity to ethnic bias. Moffat was also part of the British TV series *Doctor Who* from 2005 to 2017 and Gatiss wrote and starred in multiple other successful TV series and theatre plays.

Current State of Knowledge

Sherlock and *Happiness* have both been analysed and discussed in existing academic research, such as in Janina Wierzoch's chapter "Reading the City: "Mind Mapping" in *Sherlock*" in *Exploring the Spatiality of the City Across Cultural Texts*. The chapter deals with the BBC TV series and how it visualises space – specifically, it "investigates […] the nexus of urban, virtual, and mental spaces in the *Sherlock* series and the impact on the detective as "reader" of the city" (Wierzoch 102) and how the series is connected to technology. While Wierzoch analyses the representation of the city and how information is progressed, she does not talk about diversity in *Sherlock* or how it might be connected to the spaces of the city. She points out Chinatown, yet only concludes that "the series also echoes classical mystery fiction's references to the reality of urban space" (Wierzoch 103) instead of how its representation might come across stereotypical as well. The series is an updated version of the iconic novels by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and it raises the question of why the TV series "updated" and "modernised" so many aspects of the novels yet left out the ethnic diversity aspect almost completely.

Existing literature on *Sherlock* also discusses a variety of specific intersectional topics such as a gendered or queer perspective. A topic of significance in existing academic literature surrounding the BBC's *Sherlock* is the potential queer reading of Sherlock and John by consumers (Anselmo 84). Due to the scope of my dissertation, this aspect will only be mentioned tangentially as it is not a substantial part of my discussion of ethnic diversity and class within the thesis. Meanwhile, in Kustritz's article, she states that Sherlock's "trademark

"deductive method" often relied upon stereotypes and social separation" (Kustritz 143) and that the series "often reproduces imperial assumptions about the inheritance of criminality, and the danger of lower classes, unruly women, and foreigners who threaten to pollute the body politic" (Kustritz 144). This interpretation will contribute to my analysis.

In contrast to Anselmo, Fathallah focuses on the concept of White masculinity in *Sherlock*, which pertains to my thesis because the "model of masculinity the Holmes stories construct is rational, logical, courageous and patriotic—though not to emotional excess" and "this Victorian construction of masculinity is still privileged in the BBC series" (Fathallah 48). Her argument regarding White masculinity will be important when discussing diversity in *Sherlock* later in this thesis, especially the construction of a "specifically visibly White London" (Fathallah 49) with a focus on the "Englishness" of the show. The aim of this thesis is to connect the themes of ethnic diversity and representation of space and class in *Sherlock* and discuss the "Othering" of the Chinese population in *The Blind Banker*. It will show that spatial practices are an important part of how the TV series constructs its narrative.

Contrary to *Sherlock*, research for Aminatta Forna's novel *Happiness* has not been as extensive, specifically regarding ethnic diversity, space, and class representation. Palmer points out in her article *Aminatta Forna and the Concept of Happiness* that some people might argue that there is no clear theme in the novel and wonder how happiness is represented within these themes (Palmer 404). She further argues that the novel goes beyond ecocriticism and deals with human nature in general as the narration is also significantly from Attila's perspective as a Black psychiatrist from Ghana, which gives him a different view of the world than Jean (Palmer 404). Consequently, this ties in with happiness, which, in Forna's novel, is connected to nature, not just ecological but also human nature (404). Additionally, Palmer analyses the role of animals in the novel and society's hostility towards them (407). Other research regarding *Happiness*, such as Cole's article, looks at the human-animal interactions and their potential meanings (Cole 287) in the novel. He states that "*Happiness* focuses on decentering man from a position of superiority to repositioning animals to a state of coexistence with humans" (Cole 288) and "that putting humans in an anthropocentric position threatens ecological justice" (Cole 289). His focus is on the animals mentioned in *Happiness* which will not be relevant to this thesis as it would go beyond the research question.

Mukherjee brings in another aspect to research regarding *Happiness*. She discusses the representation of PTSD, trauma, and narrative memory in the novel, stating that "Forna seems also to be questioning the cultural assumption, tacitly supported by the medical establishment,

that the immobilization of PTSD is tantamount to victimhood" (305) and analyses Attila's role as a Ghanaian psychiatrist. Mukherjee goes on to say that *Happiness* is about "the quest for a serviceable narrative form for postcolonial trauma" (308). While Attila as a narrator will be important to my analysis, an in-depth discussion of the effects of PTSD would go beyond the scope of this thesis.

Theoretical Framework

To answer the research question of this thesis adequately, I will utilise Edward Said's influential work *Orientalism*, Sara Ahmed's article *Multiculturalism and the Promise of Happiness* and Andreas Mahler's chapter "City Scripts/City Scapes: On the Intertextuality of Urban Experience" in the book *Exploring the Spatiality of the City Across Cultural Texts* by Kindermann and Rohleder. Said, who was one of the leading scholars regarding Orientalism, conceptualised a theoretical framework that informs this thesis on the use of Chinese culture in *Sherlock*. His theory is complemented by Ahmed, a British-Australian writer and scholar who focuses on topics such as the intersection of feminist theory, critical race theory and postcolonialism, and her work will contribute to my discussion of ethnic diversity and the role of immigration. Mahler's city scripts are key to discussing the analysis of spatial practices in the novel and the TV series. Lastly, as an understanding of space and place is indispensable for this thesis, I will draw on the social scientist Beck and the human geographers Cresswell and Massey and include definitions for the key terms *ethnic diversity*, *class*, and *systemic racism*.

Orientalism illustrates the divide between the East and the West and serves as a tool to analyse ethnic diversity and class in *Happiness* and *Sherlock*. Said's theory will support the argument that there is a "West versus the Other" happening in *Sherlock*. While Orientalism focuses mainly on the distinction between the cultural 'West' and the 'East', its scope is limited regarding similarities between the two (Said 3). Said states that "the Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes" (Said 1). Superiority lies in the opposition of 'Orient versus Occident', meaning the positions of the West and the East are therefore unequal from the beginning (Said 2f.). Said states that Orientalism is "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (3). The West feels superior and "gained in identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self" (Said 3), with the West arguing that only the West can offer a good representation of reality because the West is better developed. Said even claims that the West feels so elevated that the West thinks it has a better understanding of the Other than the Other itself (31-49). The Other

is thus subject to the dominance of the West. The collective sense of us (Europeans) versus them (all non-Europeans) will be partly responsible for the dominant view on which Westerners formed an image of other cultures and societies (Said 7).

Ahmed's theory complements and builds on Said's and her theory will become important when analysing *Sherlock* and its depiction of immigrants and Chinatown. Ahmed discusses how multicultural communities correlate with the dream of happiness in her article, which adds the aspect of multiculturalism as a "happy object" to my thesis. While happiness is not the central focus of my work, the dream of a multicultural society is a focus point of Ahmed in her article. In said essay, she discusses an interview with Trevor Phillips, Chair of the Commission for Equality and Human Rights in the UK and the dream of a diverse and multicultural society, which is described as harmonious and desirable by Philipps:

> Having a good, close, safe and trusting community is treated as one of the primary happiness indicators alongside marriage, entailing the following simple belief: if you live in such a community you are more likely to be happy (Ahmed MATPOH 122)

Ahmed uses *Bend It Like Beckham* as her case study, describing the movie as "a story of integration as being a dream and a form of survival" (Ahmed 132). She outlines a multicultural society as a "happy object" (131) in the film, as "it conceals or keeps from view" and does not depict "the negative affects surrounding racism" (Ahmed 132).

Mahler's chapter "City Scripts/City Scapes: On the Intertextuality of Urban Experience" introduces the concept of "city scripts" and focuses on the spatial aspect in textual narration. His theory will become an important pillar when analysing *Sherlock* and *Happiness* in this thesis as there will be an analysis of how the TV series and the novel make use of pre-existing space in their narrations and how they create their own versions of the city. Mahler defines city scripts as an urban experience that "seems to presuppose some previous act of textualization" (Mahler 26), meaning that no one is truly a stranger to cities such as Tokyo or Rome, even when travelling for the first time, as one has visited these places before in films, novels, or paintings. Furthermore, he states "that, in that sense, 'reality' always seems to rest on some process of imagination that helps to make it appear 'real'" (Mahler 26). Mahler stresses that city scapes, meaning 'textual city', need a city script: "The more there are pretexts guiding our imagination, the more we will find ourselves endowed with notions, 'imaginations'" (Mahler 27). Mahler states that in recent years there has been a shift in city scripts from imagination to creation, as writers now "become interested in imagining, and constructing, cities of their own accord" –

there is a shift of "city scripts reflecting city scapes to city scripts producing them: from mimesis to performance" (Mahler 31).

Furthermore, an understanding of space for this thesis is indispensable. Space is imprinted with meaning and experience which turns it into a place (Cresswell 10f.) and as Massey states, "what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the face that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus" (Massey 275). As the world is more connected than ever before due to globalisation and social media, it raises the question of what is meant when terms such as 'place' and 'community' are used, and, so Massey, leads to the following: "An (idealized) notion of an era when places were (supposedly) inhabited by coherent and homogeneous communities is set against the current fragmentation and disruption" (269). Mobility in our age leads to insecurity and produces a 'sense of place' that "can provide […] stability and a source of unproblematical identity" (Massey 273). Place, as Cresswell states, "is both simple […] and complicated" (1) and are "spaces which people have made meaningful" (5). Literature, TV series, movies, and the media in general also evoke a sense of place and are faced with questions of diversity, multiculturalism, and globalisation in that place. Cosmopolitanism "extends from the top of the society down to everyday life in families, work situations and individual biographies", be it in cuisine, migration, work and workers or love (Beck 19) and as Cresswell states, a place consists of its history, the setting, the people, and there are "many manifestations of 'place'" (3). All these different aspects will be discussed in this thesis to create an adequate impression of the spatial practices used in *Sherlock* and *Happiness*.

Lastly, a definition of the key terms used in this work is essential. In this thesis, I will differentiate between 'racial' and 'ethnic' diversity. Diversity is defined as the "practice of including or involving people from a range of different social and ethnic backgrounds, and (more recently) of different genders, sexual orientations" ("diversity", def. 1d). While 'race' is defined as "groupings of humankind, usually defined in terms of distinct physical features or shared ethnicity, and sometimes (more controversially) considered to encompass common biological or genetic characteristics" ("race", def. 1d), 'ethnicity' is a broader term that focuses on "having a common national or cultural tradition" ("ethnicity", def. 2). For this thesis, ethnic diversity will be more useful to bring across the representation of diversity in *Sherlock* and *Happiness* regarding space; however, race cannot be dismissed fully. Furthermore, the key terms *class* and *systemic racism* need to be defined. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines

class as "a division or stratum of society consisting of people at the same economic level or having the same social status" ("class", def. 4a). This will be the focal point of this thesis. However, class is closely connected to diversity, as the ethnical and racial background of a person can also determine someone's class. This ties in with *systemic racism* which is a term I will use in relation to *Happiness*. Systemic racism is defined as "discrimination or unequal treatment on the basis of membership of a particular racial or ethnic group (typically one that is a minority or marginalized), arising from systems, structures, or expectations that have become established within society or an institution" ("systemic racism", def. compounds).

Methodology

Sherlock and *Happiness* will be analysed comparatively with the use of narrative techniques. They are informed by Gérard Genette's narrative theory, which discusses which character speaks and from which position in the text, and the handbook *Film Art: An Introduction* by David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, which discusses different techniques used in film and TV. I reviewed existing literature concerning ethnic diversity and class representation in *Sherlock* and *Happiness* to establish a current state of knowledge of academic research. In addition to the existing research, I will connect the themes of ethnic diversity and class representation to their spatial practices in the BBC's *Sherlock* and compare and contrast it to the novel *Happiness*. I will use film techniques such as lighting, camera angles and frames established by Bordwell and Thompson to analyse the two episodes *The Blind Banker* and *The Great Game* in *Sherlock* regarding orientalism and class representation. For *Happiness*, I will pick specific scenes from the novel to discuss ethnic diversity and systemic racism regarding class. Additionally, I will analyse ethnic diversity in *Sherlock* in the categories of public and private space, yet it is only possible to analyse the public space for *Happiness* as the novel does not include private spaces of ethnically diverse characters. For a visualisation of the places in *Happiness*, I have created a map with all locations mentioned in the novel, it is attached in the appendix. As Sherlock is constantly moving past famous landmarks of London and visiting places like the Museum of Antiquities, which does not exist in real life, a map based on real-life places does not enhance the arguments presented in this thesis. The term "Person of Colour" will be shortened to POC.

1 Ethnic Diversity in the BBC's *Sherlock* and Forna's *Happiness*

This chapter will discuss the ethnic diversity in the BBC's *Sherlock* and Forna's *Happiness*. As established in the methodology, I will discuss the public and the private space in *Sherlock*, however, this is not possible for *Happiness*. The theoretical framework informing the close

reading in this chapter features Said's Orientalism, Ahmed's concept of the multicultural community and Mahler's city scripts, specifically in section three which compares *Sherlock* and *Happiness*. The key terms *ethnic diversity* and *systemic racism* will also be indispensable. As Massey states, places "can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings" (275) instead of having "single, essential, identities" (273) and this will be demonstrated in the analysis of Old Kent Road as a multicultural place.

1.1 Chinatown as an Other World in *Sherlock*

This chapter will focus on the *Sherlock* episode *The Blind Banker*, the second episode of the first season, and discuss its representation of the Chinese community with a special focus on spatial practices. I will analyse the Lucky Cat store, a public place in Chinatown before I will discuss Soo Lin Yao's flat, a domestic place. By analysing both a public and a private space, I will highlight that there are no differences in the portrayal and use of Asian stereotypes within the two spaces and that neither of them is made meaningful.

Briefly recapping the episode, it features Sherlock and John investigating a series of mysterious ciphers and the murders of the banker Eddie van Coon and the journalist Brian Lukis. The ciphers turn out to represent numbers in an ancient Chinese numeral system left by a Chinese smuggling ring named the Black Lotus, who killed two of their smugglers (Van Coon and Lukis) to recover an item one of them stole. During the episode, Sherlock and John visit Chinatown in the heart of central London to investigate where Van Coon and Lukis dropped off their stolen goods and by chance, Holmes and Watson also find the flat of Chinese pottery expert Soo Lin Yao, who has gone missing.

Chinatown, which lies in the heart of central London right next to Soho, has a rich history. Chinese employees first settled in the East End in the 18th century, which was known as the "original" Chinatown. Soho, after the Great Fire of London, became a hotspot for immigrants and after World War II, Chinese immigrants followed as the rent was cheaper there – they created their own ethnic enclave ("Find Out About Chinatown"). In the following decades, a thriving community was established, with many Asian supermarkets and restaurants popping up and in the 1980s, Chinese street furniture and pavilions were added ("Find Out About Chinatown").

The filming of the mise-en-scène of the BBC's *Sherlock* took place at the real location of Chinatown in London - no stage set was used for the outside shots. A mise-en-scène, a specific technique in film and TV, "has the power to transcend normal conceptions of reality" (Bordwell and Thompson 177). The exterior of the detective's famous flat at 221B Baker Street

was not filmed at its original location: While in the series they are at Baker Street, the filming for the exterior took place at North Gower Street northeast of the real location. In the mise-en-scène in this part, which includes the first view of Chinatown for the viewer, Sherlock and John entering the Lucky Cat shop and Sherlock entering Soo Lin Yao's flat, I will put a focus on aspects such as lighting, props, music, the characters shown, language, and an overall focus of the camera shots to explore the spatial practices used to represent ethnic diversity in *Sherlock*.

Sherlock and John head to Chinatown at 31:26 minutes into the episode to trace Eddie van Coon's and Lukis' last known whereabouts. The shot cuts from a bus stop at Piccadilly Circus in Central London to Chinatown. The place is introduced with ominous music and the focus of the camera is on the Chinese architecture with red lanterns hanging down next to a sign with Chinese letters. The lanterns move in the howling wind and set a tense, unsettling scene. The next shot starts blurry and eventually focuses on some different red Chinese lanterns which are a reflection in a mirror as seen when looking at the signs that have Chinese symbols on them, yet the English words below are mirrored. The camera then pans to a Chinese man in the crowd who is wearing a black leather jacket and looks dismissive and displeased with the tourists around him before the camera cuts to a man behind the window of a hairdressing salon – the man looks deep in thought. He briefly looks up to glance at the people passing by and looks just as unpleased as the man in the shot before. The hairdresser's shop is framed by more Chinese decorations and the camera also pans to a young Chinese woman standing in the doorway who is looking passively at the crowd. The acting of these three Chinese people in the shots portrays suspicion and evokes an uneasy feeling in the viewer, enhanced by the music in the background which is louder than the noises from the streets. The rapid cut from the ordinary bus stop at Piccadilly Circus to the "foreign" setting creates a clear division between the two parts of London and hints at Chinatown as a dangerous place. As the camera only pans to Chinese people, Sherlock and John vividly stand out as the only white British men when they come into focus later. It evokes the feeling of intrusion and as if they are outsiders in their own country, specifically as there are also no tourists present in these shots. The Asian people shown during these scenes are voiceless, rendered to mere objects than subjects as they function as part of the oriental setting the show is trying to create. It is unclear if these people are played by Chinese actors, however, with the setting presented the viewer must assume they are.

When Sherlock and John enter the shop mentioned in Van Coon's diary, the camera pans on them from inside the shop, placed behind several waving lucky cats which gives the viewer the impression that Sherlock and John are being secretly observed. Elliptical editing leads to

eliminating the time it took the two characters to walk from the bus stop to the store. They enter the shop offscreen – the viewer only hears the ringing of the doorbell as the camera pans at a Chinese lucky cat waving repeatedly before the shot pans to an elderly Chinese woman in the background of the lucky cat, standing behind a counter. The lighting in the store is dark and the woman is illuminated by the door opening with light from the street falling in, creating a mysterious atmosphere. The woman is wearing a red paisley shirt with her hair kept short as she is not supposed to stand out and looks not very welcoming towards Sherlock and John, who are still offscreen. The camera continues to be positioned behind the shelf of waving lucky cats as we then get John in the distance with a long shot with the focus on him. The shop is filled with Chinese-orientated props such as the mentioned waving lucky cats, posters with Asian symbols, fans on the wall and figures of, assuming, ancient warriors. The non-diegetic sound continues with tense music. The camera focuses back on the shopkeeper who lifts a golden lucky cat and asks in broken English "You want lucky cat?" ("The Blind Banker" 32:00). The viewer hears John decline politely offscreen while the camera pans at Sherlock who turns around and gives a forced polite smile in decline. The series cuts back to the shopkeeper who tries to sell them the lucky cat for "ten pound, ten pound!" ("The Blind Banker" 32:05), declaring "I think your wife, she will like" ("The Blind Banker" 32:09). During the scene, John is very awkward and put off by her almost pushy behaviour to sell him something. The viewer gets the feeling that she does not like people looking around her store and wants to get rid of them as soon as possible by selling them a lucky cat.

By including an elderly Chinese woman, the scene fulfils the stereotypes of Asian people not speaking proper English and being foreign to the country even though they live there – it infantilises and portrays them as inferior. The non-diegetic sound in the form of tense, "oriental" music is also a characteristic Asian stereotype and mixes with the noises in the shop while Sherlock and John keep looking at various objects. When Sherlock and John are outside again, the detective mentions the ciphers and virtual Chinese symbols float through the screen, only visible to the viewer, to portray Sherlock's thoughts. This scene is immediately followed by a brief shot of a Chinese woman with big sunglasses who is taking a picture with her phone – the editing suggests that the picture she took was of the two detectives and the music picks up for a moment to convey danger ("The Blind Banker" 32:55). Chinatown overwhelms Sherlock, "as [this] panning shot seems to unify the neighbourhood's people and things into one mass of mute total difference that all looks the same to Sherlock, to the extent that he overlooks the villain standing in front of him in the crowd" (Kustritz 153).

The following section analyses Soo Lin Yao's flat to see how Chinese culture is represented in the private space. She is the only major Chinese character who gets her own voice *and* space in the episode. Shan, as the villain and leader of the Black Lotus, only has her own voice. Sherlock forcefully enters Yao's flat through an open window on the first floor at the back of the building as the front door is locked ("The Blind Banker" 35:00). The lighting inside the apartment is drastically different to the outside as it is much darker and there is a grey-blue filter over everything – the colour scheme is introduced early when Sherlock almost knocks over a blue Chinese porcelain vase on a blue table when he enters the flat ("The Blind Banker" 35:08). In the setting of the flat, the prop of the vase becomes a motif as it is used for Sherlock to deduce that he is not the first one who has been in the flat – he discovers that the carpet is wet which must mean someone else has knocked over the vase when entering, underlined by an extreme-close up shot of the wet carpet ("The Blind Banker" 35:10). The cold, grey-blue light sets a tense, depressing mood. The camera then cuts to a long shot, filming Sherlock from another room, half-covered by a pearly string curtain in the arch – it again creates the impression for the viewer that he is being watched by someone. The interior of the flat is filled with oriental stereotypes, such as Chinese décor including a finely painted drawer with an orchid, a praying statue on top and a sparkly, thin scarf draped over the mirror. The walls are painted in the same cold light blue, enhancing the depressing, tense mood in the flat and feature paintings of cranes, which are an important motif in Chinese mythology. The camera stays at the long shot which allows a brief glimpse at several garments hanging over a plastic chair at the table, which seem to have "oriental" prints on them ("The Blind Banker" 35:32). When Sherlock looks at a white cloth embroidered with blue lotus flowers, the shot switches to an extreme close-up. Shortly after, Sherlock walks around the flat, trying to find the intruder and the camera focuses on a room divider painted with Asian symbols behind which Sherlock suspects someone. However, there is no one and a second later he gets attacked by the mysterious acrobat, who later turns out to be Soo Lin's brother. The viewer also gets a glimpse at the carpets, which are embroidered with Chinese dragons. The bedsheets behind Sherlock are fitting into the colour scheme of white and blue with some light orange and hint also at Chinese "oriental" patterns. The light is still grey-blue and cold with the daylight filtering through the shades throwing some shadows on the bed. All these Chinese symbols on everything are supposed to make it clear to the viewer that Soo Lin Yao is Chinese and not British – she is a foreigner and the interior design of her private space mirrors that. It also makes it clear to the viewer that this is not the home of a British person and creates the impression that she refuses to part with her culture and simultaneously does not engage with the British one.

The grey-blue colour scheme adds a sad and depressed vibe to the flat. When the camera pans back to John in front of the flat, the viewer realises that the shop next to it is Lucky Cat store which Sherlock and John have previously visited to gather clues ("The Blind Banker 37:47).

As a last point in this section, the significance of the linguistic differences between Sherlock, John, and the shopkeeper remains to be discussed. Holmes and Watson speak RP English, Received Pronunciation, which is a stark contrast to the Chinese shopkeeper's broken English. Furthermore, the use of tense music in these scenes engages a distinct sense mode for the viewer and makes them uneasy. By using this non-diegetic sound which comes from outside the story world it underlines how Sherlock and John enter a dangerous, "foreign" place. The use of Asian props and traditional Chinese symbols pushes the interpretation of Asian culture as something dangerous which must be feared and avoided, especially in the context of a physical attack as the next plot element in Soo Lin Yao's flat.

1.2 A Global Sense of Place in *Happiness*

This chapter discusses the representation of ethnic diversity in *Happiness* and the specific use of Old Kent Road, which functions as a symbol of multiculturalism in the novel. I will discuss the people and the variety of diverse food mentioned at Old Kent Road. Furthermore, I will briefly look at religion, at how Forna creates an interconnectivity of the people in the city and analyse a scene involving the multicultural search party. Everything in this chapter, however, revolves around Old Kent Road as it is a central focal point in the novel with characters visiting it multiple times. Jean's apartment is located on Old Kent Road as well (Forna 17). When briefly looking at the street's history, it is one of the oldest roads in England, paved by the Romans who called it Watling Street (Walford 248) – the street originally went all the way up to Kent. In the 19th and 20th century, Old Kent Road was notorious for organised crime and gang violence with illegal boxing clubs along the street and the Richardson gang controlled the area (Moore 317).

However, *Happiness* constructs a more diverse picture of Old Kent Road as it functions as an image of the multiculturalism painted in the novel. As mentioned, Jean's apartment is on Old Kent Road and the characters either visit different restaurants and cafés at the place or use it as a starting or end point for specific plot-related adventures, such as when the search party agrees to meet at "the corner of Trafalgar Avenue and the Old Kent Road" (Forna 127) for their final rendezvous of the night. With the narration switching between Attila and Jean as heterodiegetic narrators, both seem equally aware of the diversity on Old Kent Road and use it in their narration of the place. There is mention of a Lebanese café, where Attila meets for cake

and coffee with Emmanuel, the young caretaker from Ghana who was looking after Rosie, Attila's old friend (Forna 58) and Attila states that "in this part of the city his skin blended with the skin of many those around him and drew no glances (Forna 58). In this context, skin colour functions as a symbol for the ethnic and racial diversity of Old Kent Road, which Attila is aware of. Furthermore, Old Kent Road is described as constantly busy, as seen when Attila drives down the road in a minicab past midnight and thinks "[the place] was busy, shops were still open, bars, people waited at bus stops" (Forna 64).

An example of the diversity of the place is the food: Attila tells Jean he will bring groceries when visiting her and "he stopped in several shops and purchased persimmons, grapes, sugared almonds, stuffed wine leaves, baklava and […] couscous with chicken and vegetables […] In a supermarket he found a Lebanese wine, Chateau Kefraya" (Forna 82). By including a broad variety of food non-native to Britain, the reader can deduct that Old Kent Road features multiple restaurants and grocery stores owned by people from different ethnic backgrounds – cosmopolitanism extends into all areas of life, also cuisine (Beck 19). In another example, Attila heads with Emmanuel to an African restaurant on Old Kent Road - Attila describes the customers as follows:

> Some looked North African, others from the Horn of Africa, a couple of well-dressed Malians in suits and slim loafers, a Nigerian fellow with tribal marks. A young woman in business clothes sat alone and read a newspaper (Forna 194)

The following description of the food after this moment underlines once more the ethnic diversity of Old Kent Road, with Attila spotting food such as "fufu, cassava boiled and pounded, yams, plantain, steamed and fried […] There was a stew of eggs and coriander Attila had once tasted in Eritrea. Different kinds of *plasas*, okra […]" (Forna 194). This practice of including different ethnic restaurants, varieties of food and people, feels natural and shapes a specific, ethnically diverse image of the city. The space of Old Kent Road turns into a place, as it has been made meaningful by the people living there (Cresswell 7). Furthermore, "places must have some relationship to humans and the human capacity to produce and consume meaning" (Cresswell 7) which is applicable to *Happiness*. Forna organically integrates Old Kent Road into the rest of London though it is important to note that most of the novel plays at places south of the Thames – however, I will analyse this aspect more closely when discussing class representation in *Happiness*. Adding to food, Forna also briefly introduces a diversity of various religious practices on Old Kent Road:

> Friday evening. Young men in white cotton tunics and skullcaps clutched holy books. They walked to mosque with the same head-down gait, like the clergymen in Victorian paintings. Africans mainly, Jean knew this now. By the time they came out of prayers the streets would

> have begun to fill with the weekend revellers […] By ten o'clock the housewives would be out and waiting in line at the halal butcher and by Sunday morning the evangelic Christians would be on their way to church (Forna 164)

All these people live together peacefully and while it is mentioned that "police vehicles were lined up at the southern reaches of Old Kent Road" (Forna 164) it is implied that this is more for the people coming to party and consume alcohol rather than for any potential religious clashes.

By focusing more specifically on the people in *Happiness*, the reader can see that Forna does not just use Old Kent Road to convey an image of diversity. From early in the text, the reader is introduced to multiple characters of the search party even though the reader is not aware of this yet when they read the novel for the first time. The narration introduces "a pair of security guards" (Forna 10), "a man painted top to toe in silver" (Forna 10), Jean (Forna 11) and the doorman at Attila's hotel (Forna 15) without names, yet they all join the multicultural search party later – Jean even is the second main character. All these characters are connected throughout the city as well, for example by the green feather: The feather is first seen by Attila from his hotel window, then Emmanuel spots a green bird at the Three Valleys Retirement Home in the following paragraph and the scene concludes in Jean's introduction when she identifies the bird as a parakeet (Forna 14f.). It creates an interconnectivity among the characters in the city.

These people function as a symbol of the ethnic diversity of London as people from multiple different ethnic backgrounds are included. A feeling of community is created among these people by coming together and trying to find Tano. When the group is introduced, the focalisation changes to the third-person view, to see the group as one, harmonious entity, and describe them: "James the doorman […] Abdul was there. Komba the traffic warden, who brought three of his colleagues, two of whom were women" (Forna 126). Most of the fifteen volunteers joining the search group are from West Africa and while Osman, the silver man who joins their search party as well, is not from West Africa he is an immigrant as well, as he was born in Bosnia before his family moved to Rotterdam when he was a child and he later headed to London (Forna 129). The group splits up and searches the different areas in pairs before they regroup again later at a bar, where Attila orders beers for everyone "except Olu and Ayo who could not drink before work and Abdul who was a Muslim" (Forna 133). That is accepted by the group and highlights the harmonious community they have created among themselves. Attila soon orders some *suya*, which one of the parking attendant women describes as something close to kebab and delights the group (Forna 134). The few characters who are not

from West Africa, such as Jean or Osman, assimilate and eat *suya* as well, though Jean claims she does not eat much meat (Forna 134). The scene reads harmonious and evokes a warm feeling in the reader as so many different people came together to find Tano. While the search was unsuccessful, Osman raises his hand at the regrouping, exclaiming "We go again tomorrow night! We keep going. Tomorrow night, next night, night after!" (Forna 135) Searching together as a multicultural group, working together though they are from different countries such as Ghana, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Bosnia, or the US creates a harmonious community in the multicultural city of London and as James, the doorman, claims, "He [Tano] could be my son" (Forna 94).

By bringing these people together and letting them visit other places in London, such as Abdul who goes to East Street Market to buy vegetables (Forna 113), Forna successfully connects the people to the places of London and gives meaning to them. Furthermore, the side characters are not just used for the search of Tano but reoccur later in the narration as well, most strikingly at the end of the novel: When Rosie dies, all the characters of the search party come to her memorial at the Three Valleys even though some of them did not even know her (Forna 307). Yet they all attend the funeral, "everyone who knew Attila and Emmanuel […] they came as much for the living as the dead" (Forna 307). Forna allows her characters to be human and to show empathy and support for each other. The people, their stories, the rich diversity of food, and the brief mention of religion create a global sense of place and link it to the world outside of London and Britain. Old Kent Road "is absolutely not a seamless, coherent identity, a single sense of place which everyone shares" (Massey 274) and "such multiple identities can either be a source of richness or a source of conflict, or both" (Massey 274). This equally applies to the rest of London when Attila speaks to Jean in the bar of the luxury hotel The Savoy, saying "You are an American. I am a West African. The bar man is South American. And here we are in the middle of London. Not one of us was born here, but we each have a reason to be here" (Forna 40). As seen in this section, this rings true for the characters and Old Kent Road functions as a place to represent complex social dynamics around ethnic diversity in the novel.

1.3 London Between a Multicultural Utopia and a City Terrorised by Crime

This section introduces the concept of city scripts coined by Andreas Mahler as both *Sherlock* and *Happiness* create an idealised version of London. I will first turn to *Happiness'* city script which portrays an idealised version of multiculturalism in London, yet I will argue that systemic racism is subtly present in the narrative. After this, I will turn to *Sherlock's* city

script for comparison and show that it also creates an idealised version of London, yet one that presents a city "terrorised" by crime and is filled with stereotypes. Lastly, I will compare Old Kent Road and Chinatown to demonstrate how *Happiness* and *Sherlock* managed to produce an urban reality.

Happiness creates an idealised version of a multicultural London filled with people from different ethnic backgrounds. At first glance, it seems like racism is not a major focus of the novel as especially the multicultural search party reads as very harmonious. However: The novel includes multiple occasions of systemic racism when it is Attila's turn in the narration. When he visits the banquet his colleague, Kathleen Branagan, invited him to, he "was the only person of colour in the room, with the exception of some of the waiting staff" (Forna 31). He only takes a few steps into the room before he gets approached by a man, asking him in a commanding voice where he is from. When Attila tells him he is from Accra, the other man immediately assumes Attila must have moved away from there and asks if he visits often and is surprised when he learns that Attila still lives there (Forna 31). He is unable to understand that a black man can be a successful psychiatrist and still prefer to live in Ghana. Furthermore, Attila learns later that Emmanuel was fired for wheeling the old people outside into the sun and no one interfered "in case Emmanuel was deranged and therefore possibly dangerous" (Forna 58). When Attila visits a lecture during the conference he is attending, he has a discussion with a white woman and it is described as the following: "She was looking at him with a half-smile of condescension, she thought he was an African hick, someone to invite to international conferences and then treat less as a trained scientist and more as a sort of native informant" (Forna 228). However, the most striking example of systemic racism in the novel is the case of the denunciation of Attila's niece, Ama. When Attila visits the lawyer who is supposed to help him figure out what happened to his niece Ama regarding immigration, the lawyer tells Attila it appears to be a case of denunciation, as "these days landlords and employers must ask for all sorts of proof of the right to reside, the government wants to send as many people away as they can, because the whites don't want us" (Forna 57). This sentence refers to "the government's 'Hostile Environment' legislation […] announced in 2012 […] aimed to make the UK unlivable for undocumented migrants and ultimately push them to leave" ("Windrush Scandal Explained"). Later, it turns out that Ama's eviction was a mistake when Attila talks to Ama on the phone: "The landlord wanted to raise the rent but I have a fixed tenancy […] He probably just called whoever and said I had refused or failed to provide [my right to reside]" (Forna 80). As Ama refused the higher rent, the landlord accused her of being here illegally and the lawyer fixes that for Ama and Attila so she can move back into her flat with Tano.

Attila is very aware of all these instances happening and he observes them in his narration. These social problems could be described as social phenomena which are just happening and part of the world – especially because Attila does not get upset at or judges them and a white reader can be overly focused on more action-packed plot points such as the search for Tano. Attila only describes the instances mentioned above and he sees Ama's denunciation simply as a problem he must deal with. However: If Attila had gotten upset at these instances, it would not have fit with his characterisation as he also reacts to other things in a very calm, observing way. He does not get upset when he watches the news and hears that "another gun-waving gang in pick-up had killed nine young women administering polio vaccinations to children" (Forna 152) and only wonders where the next work phone call would take him. That calm and observational attitude can be attributed to Attila's job as a psychiatrist who has travelled to war-torn countries for decades and the incredible amount of trauma and pain he has seen in his life. By letting Attila subtly observe these instances of systemic racism, Forna cleverly creates a city script of London which feels realistic.

When now connecting this part to the city itself, Attila describes London as a stage set:

> […] the city itself began to feel like a stage set, whose denizens enacted their lives against its magnificent backdrop. A theatre of delights, where nothing could surely go wrong, and if it did, all would be put right by the end of the third act (Forna 14)

In a way, this sets the scene for the novel as this is exactly what Forna did with *Happiness*. It could be debated if the ending, with Rosie eventually dying and the future of Attila and Jean's relationship being left open, could be considered "happy" – however, Forna creates "a vision of the city so vivid and multilayered that it becomes the novel's central figure" (Preston 2018) and London is much more than just a backdrop. By using the word *denizens*, Forna made an interesting choice: While it means "an inhabitant, occupant (*of* a place, region etc.)" ("denizen", n. and adj. 1b.), it is also a historical form of British English, meaning "a foreigner admitted to residence and certain rights in a country". When Attila, as a narrator, uses *denizens*, he includes himself, the tourists, and every single person in London as they are all part of the play which is enacted. Furthermore, it is important to note that while the novel is set mostly south of the Thames, it mentions a few places in central London which are often visited by Attila. Waterloo Bridge, another important place mentioned multiple times in the novel, is the connection between Attila and Jean: Jean lives on the south side of the river, at Old Kent Road while Attila moves more frequently around central London, such as Covent Garden, Aldwych, or St Paul's. Waterloo Bridge, on which Attila and Jean meet multiple times during the plot and whose south part functions as the meeting point for the multicultural search party, connect these two worlds.

In contrast, the analyse of *Sherlock's* city script demonstrates that it also presents an idealised version of London; however, it is one in which immigrants do not exist in the general population and only "terrorise" London as seen with the example of the Chinese smuggler gang. The analysis of ethnic diversity in *Sherlock* pointed out how much the series relies on Chinese symbolism to portray this part of London – though through its "Otherness" it is made to not feel like a part of the city. Soo Lin Yao is reminiscent of the example of Kuchuk Hanem who Said mentions in *Orientalism* and describes as the following: "She never spoke of herself, she never represented her emotions, presence, or history. He spoke for and represented her" (Said 6). 'He' in *Sherlock* would be Sherlock Holmes, who, though he has good intentions, represents the wealthy white British man and the power relation between the two is uneven. As Fathallah rightfully states: "The present BBC incarnation of Sherlock Holmes has not departed very far from this construction of White man, or from the ultra-rationalist conservative fantasy of the society he observes and diagnoses" (49). The character of Soo Lin Yao, who is the only positively written immigrant character, is an Asian stereotype: She dies once she has fulfilled her purpose for the plot, effectively sacrificing herself for the White man (Mok 192f.). Sherlock later realises she had started to translate the code in the museum to help the detective, willingly putting herself in danger. Gemma Chan, the British actress who played Soo Lin Yao, also stated in an interview years later that she would make different choices regarding that role today and "speak up more if I felt that a role was leaning into an orientalist trope of some sort" (Sanchez). Homi K. Bhabha, an important figure in post-colonial studies, states that stereotypes are created by framing the Other and these stereotypes are mainly a representation of make-believe reality where metaphors and fantasies have their way (Bhabha 74).

Soo Lin Yao is reduced to a voiceless, submissive, and docile character who does not try to fight her fate ("The Blind Banker" 45:00). She speaks with a soft, gentle voice which is the first thing the viewer hears as the episode starts with her voiceover ("The Blind Banker" 00:40) and her English is almost perfect RP with only a slight Chinese accent – as the only Asian character, to signal the viewer she is not a villain as those all speak bad English. Furthermore, she rejects Andy Galbraith, her colleague in the museum, stating "you wouldn't like me all that much" and that she cannot be with him ("The Blind Banker 01:45) which is foreshadowing her dark past. The entire scene in the archives very early in the episode paints her as a victim character, unable to defend herself ("The Blind Banker" 02:50). The ancient clay teapots, which Andy calls "her obsession" are the reason why she is not fleeing the city once she had noticed the ciphers – the teapots are the only thing holding her back ("The Blind Banker" 44:00) as she wants to continue to take care of them at night. Her past and culture

haunt her and eventually, also get her killed: Once Soo Lin Yao has fulfilled her purpose to the plot by giving Sherlock and John answers and revealing her tragic backstory, she gets murdered by her own brother in a dramatic scene in the Museum of Antiquities, as "corporeal suffering and finally death render the migrant other the ultimate victim of uncontrollable transnational forces" (Celik 132). Moffat & Gatiss "ascribe the declaration of pain as the sole option for these individuals in search of a better life" and "show ethnic and racial others as objects instead of subjects of their tragic fate" (Celik 132f.). The way the series narrates it makes the viewer think she had no chance to escape her fate - she was denied a happy ending in which she can escape her past.

It is important to note that there is no novel called *The Blind Banker* by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. The plot of this episode, which is used to create this city script of London, was a conscious narrative choice. Had there been a pre-existing novel by Conan Doyle with a similar focus on the Asian community, it would have justified the inclusion of Chinese culture in the episode. However, there is no pre-existing novel. Only the concept of coded messages has been taken as inspiration from Doyle's Sherlock Holmes novel *The Adventure of the Dancing Man*, which uses pictorial messages as substitution ciphers. As the BBC's *Sherlock* is supposed to be an updated version of the novels, they continue with the theme of the white English crime detective: "John and Sherlock may be white, Western men of certain privilege, and hence far from ideal models of diversity, but they are world-renowned paradigms of Britain's idealized national identity, cultural artifacts that stand for white patriarchy and imperial power" (Anselmo 95). The TV series continues to push that narrative.

What adds to the city script of a London "terrorised" by foreigners and crime is that Soo Lin Yao states "a small community like ours, they're never really far away" ("The Blind Banker" 47:13). *Sherlock* insinuates that most of them live closely together in Chinatown, yet this does not correctly portray real life: The 2011 Census of England and Wales states that over 124,000 people of the Chinese ethnic group live in Greater London. When consulting the statistics of the 2011 Census further, it becomes evident that most of them live in the London boroughs of Barnet, Tower Hamlets, and Southwark and only about 5,900 live in the City of Westminster where Chinatown is located ("KS201EW – Ethnic group"). Yet, Soo Lin Yao decided to move into a flat right next to the Lucky Cat store, the drop-off point for the Black Lotus.

As a poignant juxtaposition to *Happiness*, in *Sherlock*, "multiculturalism becomes an unhappy object by being associated with segregation" (Ahmed 132) as it confines the Chinese

population to Chinatown. “Integration is read not only as promising happiness, but also as a matter of life and death” (Ahmed 132) – as seen with the example of Soo Lin Yao, who never integrated properly reflected by her flat filled with Chinese symbols. Her fate is death as her past catches up with her. While it is never properly hinted at in the series, as Ahmed states, “the figure of the melancholic migrant is a familiar one in contemporary British race politics. The melancholic migrant holds onto the unhappy objects of differences” (133) which, when applied to *Sherlock*, can be Soo Lin Yao’s tea ceremonies at the Museum of Antiquities. It implies that if she had adapted and integrated properly into British society, had not lived in the heart of Chinatown, had cut ties with her cultural heritage, and left the teapots behind, she might have survived. Soo Lin Yao further claims that “they never really let you leave” (“The Blind Banker” 47:08) which pushes the narrative of the inescapable fate of the migrant.

When the two places of Old Kent Road in *Happiness* and Chinatown in *Sherlock* are compared, it demonstrates that the immigrants create their own places and homes – however, by the techniques used in the TV series, Chinatown is made to feel like it is an external part of London filled with danger while the harmonic society at Old Kent Road feels like an organic, integral part of London. Yet, through the exclusion of the private spaces of migrant communities and by only letting them meet in public spaces such as restaurants, *Happiness* emphasises a superficial representation and an incomplete image of cosmopolitan London. Mahler states that “the more there are pretexts guiding our imagination, the more we will find ourselves endowed with notions, ‘imaginations,’ preconceived ideas, and pictures, of what the corresponding city scape must be like (even though we might never have actually been there)” (Mahler 26). Literature is embedded in society and reflects and may also challenge versions of it. The way something is portrayed in literature or TV has potential influences on the viewers’ and readers’ perception of the city. By using “prototypical elements” (Mahler 35) of London such as Piccadilly Circus, Westminster Abbey, the Gherkin, Big Ben, or St Paul’s Cathedral, Moffat & Gatiss, and Aminatta Forna “establish a city space allegedly reproducing the ‘real’ while, at the same time” (Mahler 35) it includes the imaginary. Rather than “imitating a well-known place, it rather performs it from the point of view of” (Mahler 35) Sherlock Holmes, a White detective from England, Attila, a Black psychiatrist from Ghana and Jean, a white wildlife biologist from the US, all claiming to represent an authentic reality of London. *Sherlock* and *Happiness* are not just reproducing the city anymore with an urban reality: They consciously produce and perform a unique urban experience (Mahler 33).

2 Class Representation in the BBC's *Sherlock* and Forna's *Happiness*

This chapter will discuss the class representation in the BBC's *Sherlock* and Forna's *Happiness*. As established in the theoretical framework, this thesis will focus on economic and social class. Furthermore, I will again use the term systemic racism to point out the social inequality in *Happiness*. Lastly, Mahler's city scripts will once more be indispensable when discussing and comparing *Sherlock* and *Happiness* as it will show that both make use of prototypical elements to produce their own city script of London. Massey's and Cresswell's understanding of place relating to identity will once more be an important aspect.

It is necessary to keep in mind that *Sherlock* has the advantage to give visual images. It is easier for the TV series to play with the images of the city and evoke a sense of class difference by visuals while in the novel, the movements of the people, descriptions of places and discussions such as about food are needed to represent the economic class differences as well. For *Sherlock*, I will look once more at *The Blind Banker* and include the episode *The Great Game*, which is the final episode of season one. The reason why I picked this episode is because Sherlock and John visit multiple different places around the city. Furthermore, there are similarities between the Homeless Network in *Sherlock* and the multicultural search party in *Happiness*, as both main characters employ a network of people to help them find someone. Chinatown will be mentioned but not be the major focal point of this analysis.

2.1 A White British Upper-Class World in *Sherlock's* London

This section will discuss the class representation in *Sherlock*. To achieve that, I will have a look at Sherlock's and John's personal financial situation and their flat, 221B Baker Street – for these two parts, I will use scenes from *The Blind Banker* and *The Great Game*. Furthermore, I will look at Sherlock moving through the city in a cab and how he treats the people he interacts with, shown by the example of the Homeless Network, a group of homeless people in London who work for Sherlock and are introduced in *The Great Game*. This section will show that Sherlock is reproducing the stereotype of the white, British upper-class man. To briefly recap the final episode of season one, *The Great Game*, Sherlock solves multiple, seemingly unrelated, cases by an anonymous bomber which are scattered throughout the city. If he fails to solve the case or exceeds the time limit set by the bomber, the hostage will die. After four cases, the episode concludes with a standoff between Sherlock and the mysterious bomber who turns out to be Jim Moriarty.

The Blind Banker starts with John, who needs money as he is unemployed. The viewer sees bills that need to be paid and are long overdue in a medium shot when John sits down in

his armchair in the flat and looks at them ("The Blind Banker" 06:18) and the camera pans to a close-up shot of John at a grocery store in which he gets more and more irritated as his debit card is declining at the self-checkout station ("The Blind Banker" 04:19). Sherlock, however, does have money as he suggests to John to "take my card" in an amused voice ("The Blind Banker" 05:10) when his friend comes back without groceries. Money is not something Sherlock has to worry about as there are hints throughout the entire series that he comes from a wealthy family – for example, he plays the violin which requires an expensive education ("The Great Game" 10:07). In that scene at the beginning of *The Blind Banker*, John even starts to ask Sherlock if he could lend him some money, however, Sherlock is not listening to his friend and is mentally already at their next case ("The Blind Banker" 06:43). When Sebastian, who hires Sherlock to investigate what happened at the bank, offers the detective money, Sherlock refuses it and walks away which proves once more that he does not have to worry about money. John takes the cheque instead, as he needs it ("The Blind Banker" 10:10).

This raises the question of their living situation and how it reflects their financial situation. Sherlock and John live at 221B Baker Street, the famous flat of Sherlock Holmes created by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, which is located in Marylebone, central London. It is the return point for Sherlock to come back to from the "dangers" in the city and his safe space in most of the episodes. As mentioned before, the exterior of the flat was not filmed at the actual location in London but at North Gower Street as filming conditions were quieter there. To create a cosy yet chaotic look for the interior, the setting features green wallpaper, stacks of books, magazines and papers, a leather sofa, and two cosy armchairs facing each other in which Sherlock and John regularly sit and discuss their cases. While the flat is cluttered, it is expensive clutter such as Sherlock's violin. The furniture is dark wood which gives off a warm feeling and while the kitchen is sparsely furnished, it opens the space in the flat. So does the big mirror on the right wall above the two armchairs. Multiple small lamps give off a warm light with the windows going out to Baker Street. A red carpet is seen on the floor ("The Blind Banker" 56:40) and the lighting adjusts to the times of the day, never conveying an unsettling atmosphere. Most scenes in 221B Baker Street are filmed as medium shots to keep the two detectives and the apartment in the frame and there is a fire lit in a chimney ("The Great Game" 02:47). Sherlock has free reign over his flat as he keeps a severed human head in his fridge ("The Great Game" 03:30), which at first is seen from a long shot with John in the distance opening the fridge. Sherlock is even able to go so far as to randomly shoot at the wall of the flat when he is bored ("The Great Game" 02:50), lounging in one of the armchairs while still wearing his pyjama as he has nowhere else to be and does not have to worry about the damage he causes to the

property. This further proves the claim that he has no money issues - he just smiles when his landlady, Mrs Hudson, tells him "I'm putting this on your rent, young man!" ("The Great Game" 06:14). Mrs Hudson, Sherlock and John's landlady, contributes to the homey feeling of the flat as she takes up a very caring, motherly role. While she keeps stating she is not their housekeeper, she does bring them snacks and drinks ("The Blind Banker" 1:10:48), buys them groceries ("The Great Game" 05:58), and cares in a motherly fashion, as she comments on John leaving the house with a light jacket that "Oh, it's a bit nippy out there, he should have wrapped himself up a bit more" ("The Great Game" 05:47). When an explosion destroys most of the outside and flats below 221B at the beginning of *The Great Game*, Sherlock stays in the flat talking to his brother Mycroft while he ignores the chaos around him, strengthening the point that he is not leaving his safe place ("The Great Game" 08:15). It is supposed to be seen as run-down and not that expensive, yet the reality is that the TV series wants the viewer to believe that Sherlock and John rent a two-bedroom apartment in Baker Street, Marylebone, London – the average rent for a two-bedroom flat in that area was around £3,832 in 2020 (Ivey).

221B Baker Street is the only genuine place in *Sherlock* he cares about and has meaning attached to it which makes it interesting when Sherlock leaves his flat and moves through London. The series includes many shots of central London featuring famous landmarks in both episodes and Sherlock has no problem moving through all the different places shown: Entering the fictional bank Shad Sanderson which is hinted at to be in one of the skyscrapers in the financial district next to 30 St Mary Axe, nicknamed the Gherkin ("The Blind Banker" 10:34); the skatepark under Waterloo Bridge to get some information regarding the ancient ciphers ("The Blind Banker" 39:30) or walking to the Vauxhall Arches to find the assassin Golem among the homeless people ("The Great Game" 1:04:03). Sherlock travels the city by taxi and sometimes walks yet he never takes public transport in the two episodes. From the window of the cabs, he observes the city, turning the space into a landscape – to draw on Cresswell, "we do not live in landscapes - we look at them" (11). "*Sherlock'*s protagonists often take cabs through the city, which references Victorian Hansom cabs, but [it] creates an isolating effect" (Kustritz 148) and keeps the detective separated from the population in the city. As Kustritz states, "these choices suit the BBC's short miniseries format, which requires constant movement to fit complex character and plot development into a few episodes." (148) However, it is telling that the show does not make use of the famous underground, which could have been included in different shots and elliptical editing would have gotten Sherlock and Watson just as quickly to their desired destinations. Taking a taxi is a sign of convenience and a symbol of being wealthy enough to afford to take so many cabs.

When Sherlock leaves the taxi to interact with his environment including the Homeless Network, his behaviour towards them is another demonstration of his economic class. Cresswell states the following about how humans see the world:

> When we look at the world as a world of places we see different things. We see attachments and connections between people and place. We see worlds of meaning and experience. Sometimes this way of seeing can seem to be an act of resistance against a rationalization of the world, a way of seeing that has more space than place. To think of an area of the world as a rich and complicated interplay of people and the environment - as a place - is to free us from thinking of it as facts and figures (Cresswell 11)

Yet, Sherlock does think of the place as facts and figures. He rationalises the world, which is part of his character, however, it is also proof that the Homeless Network is just a tool for him. Sherlock is neither interested in getting to know these people nor does he actively care for them or their well-being – the fact that they live in the streets is benefitting Sherlock and he has no reason wanting to change that. He shows no genuine empathy for the homeless as seen in the scene when he approaches his informant of the Homeless Network at Waterloo Bridge ("The Great Game" 56:53). The moment comes across as a simple, cold business interaction with his informant as he only asks the young woman what the money is for before handing her a £50 note wrapped around a smaller, handwritten note by Sherlock. He does not exchange any more words with her or ask how she has been and gets back in the cab. While in the novels by Arthur Conan Doyle, Sherlock also hires street children for intelligence, "no trace remains of the arguably patronising *noblesse oblige* of the earlier version" (Kustritz 149). Sherlock continues his distanced behaviour towards the less privileged when he heads to the Vauxhall Arches to find the assassin Golem among his Homeless Network ("The Great Game" 1:04:09). In a conversation with Sherlock, John starts the sentence "So you scratch their backs, and-" which Sherlock finishes with "and then disinfect myself" ("The Great Game" 1:04:42). Using the "word choice [disinfect] further dehumanises the homeless by making them a source of contamination, and echoes construction of homeless populations as a moral and social contagion" (Kustritz 149). The entire scene at Vauxhall Arches strongly supports Kustritz's argument. The scene has dark lighting, with non-diegetic ominous music playing in the back and the only visible sources of light come from the two flashlights John and Sherlock use to explore the space. Homeless people appear in short shots, illuminated by the cold grey flashlight, for example when the camera pans on a homeless, middle-aged man who presses himself against the wall and looks almost threateningly at the camera, wearing a grey shabby coat and a cap, bending over ("The Great Game" 1:04:52). His sudden appearance with a cut from a dark scene to this one produces a jump scare effect on the viewer and the following shots of shopping trolleys filled with trash and plastic bags or other homeless people sleeping under

shabby blankets on the cold ground continue to dehumanise the people in the scenes. Sherlock and John visibly stand out among them with their clean clothes, especially Sherlock in his expensive Milford Coat from Belstaff. These "spatial practices separate and isolate various populations both within the city" (Kustritz 144) as the homeless people are hidden away at Vauxhall Arches and are not allowed to be a part of the city. The fact that the Golem, a deadly assassin and criminal, is hiding among the homeless people dehumanises them further and evokes a connotation to criminals. It is the same case as in the episode *The Blind Banker*, in which the Chinese population is confined to Chinatown as Soo Lin Yao's flat is in the heart of it instead of other boroughs where statistically more Chinese people live. When John asks what the Golem is doing hiding among the homeless people, Sherlock replies "Well, he has a very distinctive look. He has to hide somewhere where tongues won't wag. Much." ("The Great Game" 1:05:12). This implies that homeless people look shabby, pushing the stereotype that they are dirty, and that the Golem will fit right in with them as they would not even notice that he looks different, which is also a certain "Othering". Sherlock's actions and personal background represent an upper economic class and *Sherlock* creates a contrast to the detective by its dehumanising representation of the less fortunate: the homeless population.

2.2 An Attempt at Positive Class Representation in London

This section will analyse Attila's and Jean's personal financial situations before looking at the class representation in the different places around London. I will demonstrate that economic and social class in *Happiness* is tightly connected to systemic racism and discuss this more in detail with the example of the multicultural search party and their conversation about food. This will show that *Happiness* positively represents class without demonising and dehumanising immigrants. Attila as a black, heterodiegetic narrator is more aware of the circumstances around him than Jean, which will be important for the discussion. Attila is characterised as someone who does not have to worry about money. During his stay in London, he lives in an expensive hotel, visits the theatre multiple times, and can eat in fine restaurants (Forna 14). He is also able to turn down a lucrative job as a witness expert (Forna 25), which insinuates he does not need the money and only takes the offer once he realises "Rosie's money would not be enough" to afford a flat in London (Forna 114). Furthermore, his actions paint him as a very generous character, such as when he buys Tano clothes at GAP in Covent Garden and "at another shop on the Strand, a small holdall" (Forna 158). Jean, on the other hand, is not part of the upper class. She lives in a flat at Old Kent Road described as "an improbable choice and the landlord, who owned the van rental business with offices on the ground floor, did not disguise his surprise at her interest" (Forna 17). She "had dreamed up Wild Spaces to cover the

shortfall" as "there wasn't enough money to meet her own living costs" (Forna 27). Her flat is described by Attila as "sparsely furnished by any standards" (Forna 60). By switching in the narration between Jean and Attila, Forna does not just create a transnational relationship between the two of them but also one that crosses different economic classes.

Attila, though characterised as wealthy, is aware of the class inequality around him. When he visits a restaurant in Aldwych that has "an array of small and large round tables covered in white tablecloths" and employs a "maître d'" (Forna 12) he notices that "with the exception of a couple seated at one of the water lilies, everyone in the restaurant was white" (Forna 12). Later, when the other black man walks past Attila on his way to the bathroom, he gives him a brief nod which he describes as "something that was exchanged only in certain places" (Forna 13). Attila further states that "in this restaurant [he] drew no stares, but it was still a place the nod might occur" (Forna 13). The Nod is a positive connotation as a symbol of community which "you give to another Black person in an overwhelmingly white place" (Okwonga) and highlights how conscious Attila is of class and race related to space. It also relates to Attila being aware that POC are not welcome or cannot afford certain places which are frequently visited by wealthy, white people.

This connects to another example of class representation in *Happiness*, a scene which is not related to the main plot and happens at the beginning of chapter six, set on Wednesday evening. The narration starts with tracking the flight of a falcon and gives the reader a glimpse into the interior of the Shard, a skyscraper in central London. The narration, at that moment at zero focalisation, focuses on a couple which sits at a table by the window:

> They were white people […] Dubai, the city in which they lived […] London had once been home to them both, but had not been home for fifteen years. Every time they came back for a visit, they found the city had changed and changed again. They did not recognise it, they told their friends. The husband was born within the sound of bow bells and therefore counted as a true Londoner, as he liked to tell people, as he had told the barman when they first came in and he had ordered a Johnny Walker Blue Label […] The barman had been born in Sao Paulo, he worked five shifts a week here and two at a hotel in the Aldwych. He smiled at the Englishman and said: 'Welcome home, sir.' (Forna 85f.)

The significance of this scene is highlighted by multiple aspects. One, the barman is an immigrant from South America and not from Britain which alludes to the fact that immigrants, specifically non-Whites, can only enter such high-class places like the Shard when they work there. The barman has to work in a low-paying job while the white British couple can afford to have afternoon tea at the Shard and live in Dubai – two expensive endeavours. Second, it highlights the behaviour of the white Englishman who feels entitled to tell and remind the South American barman that he was born here; a subtle reminder to the other man that he was not.

The English husband still considers London his home though he lives in Dubai, where he is a foreigner, which he ignores. By "seeing the world through the lens of place leads to reactionary and exclusionary xenophobia, racism and bigotry […] 'Our place' is threatened and others have to be excluded" (Cresswell 11) – which is what the Englishman is feeling. He disagrees with the changes around the city and feels the need to let his friends know. By telling the barman that he was born in London he, in a way, claims back his city from the immigrants. It is a defensive response, a "certain [form] of nationalism, sentimentalized recovering of sanitized 'heritages', and outright antagonism to newcomers and 'outsiders'" (Massey 269). This scene complements Attila's dining experience at the beginning of the novel as the reader now gets the view of the white couple in an upper-class space.

The multicultural search party, featured prominently in the novel and led by Attila, is another example of class inequality in the novel. The group is made up almost entirely of POC working in low wages jobs such as street cleaners, parking attendants and security guards. James, the doorman at Attila's hotel, explains to him that "most of those boys who work in security are Nigerian […] We Ghanaians, we prefer the hospitality industry […] street-sweepers, the traffic wardens are mainly boys from Sierra Leone" (Forna 94). These are all jobs which are not paying much and "a consistent pattern emerges where Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black African and Black Caribbean groups have lower average earnings" (Clark and Shankley 138). Emmanuel, after he was fired from Three Valleys, works with an agency that assigns him to care teams who "went into private homes twice a day" and wash and help people to the toilet (Forna 102). This and his former job at the Three Valleys are low-paying jobs in the care industry that British people do not want to do yet when Emmanuel tries to do something nice for the residents at Three Valleys and wheels them out into the sun he gets fired (Forna 57). Minimum wage jobs in the novel demonstrate the systemic racism which "has created racial differences in education and employment opportunities" (Williams et al. 410). The members of the multicultural search party talk about class in a discussion about food after their first search for Tano as well. James the doorman describes different people who "who will not eat vegetables and those who will not eat meat, and those who only eat uncooked food, but I cannot remember if those ones eat meat […] Others will eat no solid food and want special juices" (Forna 135). The discussion ends with Komba asking "So let us say they are in the middle of the sea or the middle of the desert. What then?" (Forna 136) While this entire conversation is a comedic take on different diets and the question of income is never mentioned, one cannot deny the privilege for wealthy people this conversation highlights. With a higher income comes a broader variety of dietary options and that is something a lower-income family cannot afford

as picky eating or food waste is a luxury (Daniel 6). Furthermore, most members of the search party frequently visit Old Kent Road or other places south of the river to go grocery shopping (Forna 113) and they rarely cross the river to spend time in central London except for work. Attila, who stays in the luxury Savoy hotel, moves between central London and the south and Waterloo Bridge again functions as the connection between these two worlds divided by the river Thames. By including the systemic racism persisting in society, *Happiness* attempts a representation of a realistic version of London.

2.3 London Between Gentrification, Skyscrapers, and Systemic Racism

This section will once again work with Mahler's city scripts and analyse the use of skyscrapers in *Sherlock* and *Happiness*. I will compare the city scripts produced by the series and the novel and contrast the differences in which Attila and Sherlock interact with the world around them. I will demonstrate that *Sherlock* pushes the less fortunate like the homeless people to the side while *Happiness* creates a multicultural version of the city with an attempt at reality and inclusion.

As both the series and the novel play with the imagery of skyscrapers related to class in London, I will compare them in the following argument. In *Happiness*, tall buildings are only viewed from a distance such as when Attila "identified two new skyscrapers to the right of St Paul's Cathedral […] and Attila made a mental note to check […] for the names of the new buildings" (Forna 12). He and Jean mention them more in passing in their narration – Attila also refers to them as "the behemoth towers of the City" (Forna 33). The scene in the Shard I analysed above is one of the two scenes set in a skyscraper as Jean also enters a tall building at City Road. However, it is not clarified if that one is an actual skyscraper (Forna 19). In *Sherlock*, the images of skyscrapers are much more prominent during scenes, such as when Sherlock and John drive past them multiple times in a cab in both episodes. The camera angle is always from below which adds a feeling of powerlessness and emphasises on the tallness of the buildings. Jean and Attila only observe the skyline from a distance which creates a feeling of separation between the expensive part of London and the rest. It also effectively locks them out: The South American bar man, who is described as "a bronze-faced man who spoke English with the muted consonants of the Brazilian" (Forna 29) and works at the American Bar in the Savoy and the bar at the Shard, only has access to the skyscraper due to his job – so does Jean when she enters the tall building at City Road to create a garden for the woman living there. However, Jean also thinks that the woman living in the expensive building is not very happy: She is pale and gets her groceries delivered which implies she does not leave her apartment much and comes across

as very quiet, joyless, and passive in general (Forna 20f.). Sherlock, on the other hand, does actively engage with the skyscrapers as his friend Sebastian works in the bank Shad Sanderson located in one of the tall buildings. Sherlock and John have no issue entering and moving around the place and are not self-conscious about it at all. While it is a job for them, the viewer gets the impression especially Sherlock stands above the people in the building. Günther Gassner, a lecturer at the University of Cardiff, was interviewed for an article in the *Financial Times* and said about skyscrapers in the city centre that they "celebrate urban inequalities and they contribute to a sense of powerlessness" (Withers) - which is what happens in *Happiness*.

This use of the skyscrapers as prototypical elements, as Mahler calls it, leads to new, specific city scripts of London regarding class representation. *Happiness* puts a strong focus on straying away from the skyscrapers and skyline as it rather focuses on the people and their everyday lives. When Attila and Jean take a walk at Old Kent Road, Attila gets a glimpse into the backs of the houses, and he observes everyday activities which are normally not much talked about in literature if they do not benefit the plot:

> A woman with her hair in a turban sat on a black leather sofa cutting her toenails. A line of underwear dried on a radiator. In a kitchen a man lay on his back in a single bed. A radio played filling the silence with the hectoring rant of a preacher (Forna 89).

It gives the reader a personal and intimate look into the lives of the people living there. Furthermore, Old Kent Road is a much cheaper area than Marylebone where Sherlock lives. Old Kent Road was one of the places in London which had not yet been gentrified in 2014 (Withers) and Jean is aware of that too:

> The areas further south and north and east where clusters of mirrored monoliths had sprouted, full of expensive new apartments, and then those neighbourhoods Jean used to think of when she thought about London, of houses crammed together in a row, like a mouthful of broken teeth (Forna 50)

Jean, without being aware of it, mentions a city script of London she once had when she mentions the neighbourhoods she thought about. The city script of London in *Happiness*, specifically Old Kent Road, is one rich with individuality contributed by all the diverse people and a counter version to *Sherlock's* city script: He lives in one of these neighbourhoods Jean mentioned. Furthermore, *Happiness* strongly focuses on recreating the real urban reality of London by including many POCs in different jobs while *Sherlock* completely erases that reality which is displayed in the care sector. A study conducted by Clark and Shankley finds that "ethnic minority groups are well represented in medical roles in the NHS" (127). *Happiness* follows that as Attila notices that the centre director at Three Valleys is "the only white person [he] had ever seen at Three Valleys besides the residents" (Forna 57). The nurses at Ama's

hospital are also POC as she states that "several of them were from home" (Forna 78). *Sherlock* does not even attempt to include POC in the NHS and even erases them: When John starts working at the surgery in *The Blind Banker* everyone else is white and that is also the case when he and Sherlock visit St Bartholomew's Hospital in both episodes.

Another aspect of the city scripts in *Sherlock* and *Happiness* is how they treat minorities. Moffat & Gatiss create a city script in *Sherlock* in which the homeless people and immigrants are confined to specific places in the city. The Chinese population of London is restricted to Chinatown and when Shan, the leader of the Black Lotus, spies on Sherlock and John, she visibly stands out in other parts of London. By hiding away the homeless people at Vauxhall Arches, *Sherlock* leaves the impression that the poor need to be kept out of sight. Meanwhile, *Happiness* does not confine specific groups of the population to different parts of the city and specifically shines a light on ethnic and economic minorities by making Old Kent Road one of the major places in the novel. The novel attempts to create a "productive contact zone between cultures, classes, and lifestyles" (Kustritz 144). It is important to keep in mind though that the two city scripts of London "always dependent on the speaker's point of view, and therefore, ultimately, on the question of authorship in narrating urban space. Different people with different social and spatial positions will narrate their city in different ways and with different results" (Rohleder and Kindermann 12). Attila, as a black psychiatrist from Ghana, narrates the city differently than Sherlock, a white upper-class consulting detective, does.

Attila and Sherlock do not just move around the city though; they also interact with the world and a comparison between these two is vital as it contributes to the city scripts produced. As established, I will focus on comparing the Homeless Network in *Sherlock* with the multicultural search-party in *Happiness* and the only major feature Attila and Sherlock share is that they both do not have to worry about money. Attila, though he clearly is wealthy and has a high-paying occupation, joins the search party on the streets to find Tano and provides food for them after. Sherlock, on the other hand, just exits a cab to hand out a note and lets his Homeless Network work for him. He does not interact with the homeless people at all when he is at Vauxhall Arches and the group of homeless is rendered to mute, voiceless props. The London in *Sherlock* is "commonly depicted from above in surveillance-eye-view and carefully navigated by cab to maintain social distance" (Kustritz 144) which is most obvious when he enters the Vauxhall Arches. Attila is Sherlock's opposite as he approaches a white beggar under Waterloo Bridge with kindness and gives him money without any superior motifs (Forna 33).

Sherlock creates an extremely British place filled "with constant external threats that must be vigilantly controlled via surveillance and uniquely gifted authorities with genetically superior talents" (Kustritz 144) and Sherlock is constantly separating and dissecting the city. Class representation in the TV series is very different to *Happiness'*, as Sherlock treats the world very distantly. *Sherlock* is focused on pushing the homeless people out of the city, portraying them in a dehumanising way or erasing POC completely. As Fathallah rightfully states, constructing a "specifically […] visibly White London at the centre of global politics mutually reinforces that […]" (49). *Happiness*, on the other hand, highlights the persisting systemic racism by giving POC of the multicultural search party jobs with a lower income and the novel breaks down the barriers between different social classes by letting Attila interact and join the search party.

3 Conclusion

To summarise, the BBC's *Sherlock* and Aminatta Forna's novel *Happiness* have major differences when it comes to the representation of spatial practices of London in relation to ethnic diversity and class. Forna and Moffat & Gatiss produce their very own city scripts of London by using prototypical elements of the city such as Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, and the skyscrapers.

For the ethnic diversity representation in *Sherlock*, I looked at the episode *The Blind Banker* with a specific focus on Chinatown. The TV series reproduces many stereotypes of Conan Doyle's imperial city by isolating the Chinese community in Chinatown and reducing Soo Lin Yao to a mere stereotype with a tragic backstory. The representation of Chinatown as a public space and the private space of Soo Lin Yao's flat are filled with Chinese stereotypes. The prominent display of Chinese symbols and red lanterns and as well as a shopkeeper who speaks broken English serve to remind the viewer that she is Chinese and a foreigner. Chinatown is alienated from the rest of London and seen as the "Other" juxtaposed with the West.

Happiness, on the other hand, shows London's ethnic diversity through the place of Old Kent Road. I analysed the role of a black narrator, the variety of diverse food and the multicultural search party, which are all indicators of the ethnic diversity in the novel. Furthermore, *Happiness* portrays systemic racism, which is still present in society and Attila as a narrator is very aware of it: He is a black person working in an affluent job as a respected psychiatrist, yet he still gets belittled and smiled upon in multiple scenes. However, the

exclusion of private spaces for ethnic minorities leads to an incomplete, superficial version of London.

Yet the novel's city script is an idealised, multicultural version of London which is a stark contrast to *Sherlock*, which produces a city script of a city "terrorised" by crime. While *Happiness* allows its characters to retain their cultures without making them stand out or be murdered for it, *Sherlock* takes a different route. The TV series portrays Soo Lin Yao as the image of the melancholic immigrant who cannot part ways with her culture which leads to her inevitable death. Old Kent Road becomes a place integrated into the image of London while *Sherlock* continues to highlight Chinatown's otherness, insinuating that it is not part of the city.

Sherlock's and John's financial situation and their flat at 221B are the primary tools to represent economic class in *Sherlock*. Marylebone is an expensive borough of London and Mrs Hudson is represented more as a mother figure than a strict landlady. Sherlock acts very distant towards the homeless population of London, which is represented in an alienating and dehumanising way. His behaviour towards minorities is often condescending and cold.

Economic class in *Happiness* is represented by Attila's and Jean's financial situations. The persisting systemic racism in society portrayed prominently in the book is illustrated by most POC members working minimum wage jobs as well as their discussions surrounding special diets as an economic privilege unattainable to people with a lower income. As Attila and Sherlock are both wealthy and interact with people in lower income classes, this thesis compared how they treat these people. While Attila approaches everyone with kindness and generosity, Sherlock is cold and indifferent. He shows no genuine empathy and surveys the city from a distance. Skyscrapers were also a key element of the analysis in my thesis as they contribute as an important prototypical element to the respective city script and function as a spatial practice of class. *Sherlock* also chose to erase POC from jobs in the NHS while *Happiness* attempts to portray society more realistically, for example through Emmanuel's work in a care team or other characters working in a hospital setting.

Due to the scope of my thesis, I was not able to investigate every possible avenue of interpretation. Beyond this thesis, the application of Orientalism could be extended to the relationship between Sherlock Holmes and Soo Lin Yao. Furthermore, an in-depth character analysis of all characters in *Happiness* and *Sherlock* might reveal even more fruitful results regarding diversity and class representation, however, it would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis. Similarly, only two episodes were analysed in detail in this thesis as they were the most representative of the criteria I was looking at. The other three seasons of *Sherlock* could

contribute further detail regarding the progression of the series and Sherlock as a character, which would have gone beyond my research question. However, both *Sherlock* and *Happiness* create images of this global city and given their public and critical acclaim I provided an important critique of the place of art and culture in challenging versions of London, especially regarding social, class and ethnic dynamics.

This thesis showed that two contemporary mediums such as *Sherlock* and *Happiness*, which are set in the same city around the same time, can produce two very different city scripts of London. The city in *Sherlock* feels disconnected and more like a collection of different places while in *Happiness* not just the scenes but also multiple places are connected to each other. An illustrative example of the places forming one organic city together is the birds connecting different locations, for example, the falcon flying from the Shard to Old Kent Road and the green parakeet flying from Attila's hotel to Jean's apartment.

While *Sherlock* tried to create an updated version of the famous books by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, it failed in avoiding orientalist stereotypes and even enforced them. The Chinese community and the homeless are pushed to isolated places which are drastically different to the rest of the city. However, *Happiness* attempts a more realistic production of a city script as it includes multiple POCs, a black narrator, and Old Kent Road as an ethnically diverse place. Due to Attila's observant nature, it cleverly and subtly wove in persisting internalised racism by giving the members of the search party working-class jobs and letting Attila observe the systemic racism. While in *Sherlock* the Chinese community is voiceless and the "Other", *Happiness* gives its multiple side characters a voice. In conclusion, *Sherlock* and *Happiness* produce their own city scripts of London reflecting society from very different points of view by utilising the perspective of characters of different ethnicities and social classes.

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Appendix

Map of locations mentioned in Aminatta Forna's *Happiness*.

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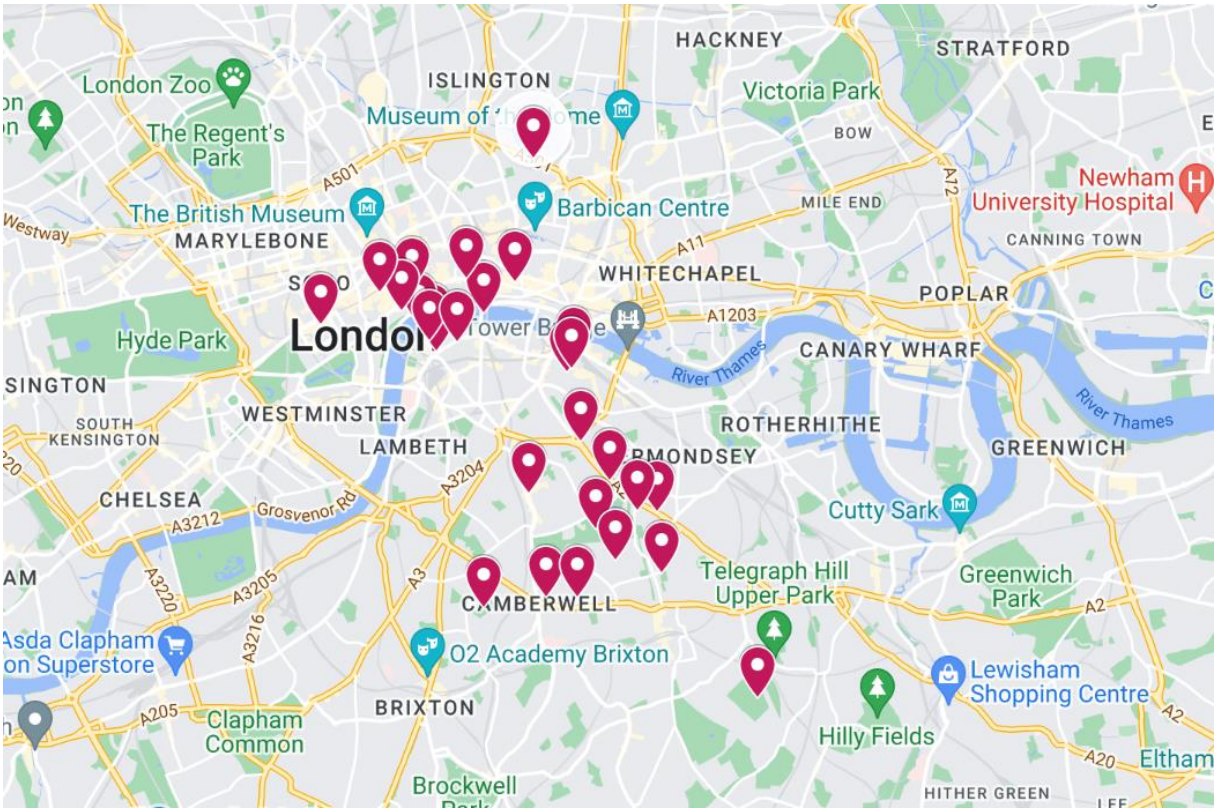

Figure 1 Map of Locations Mentioned in *Happiness*