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Araştırma makalesi/Research article

Female Representations in Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*

Woolf'un Kendine *Ait Bir Oda*'sındaki Kadın Temsilleri

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Abstract

Due to the increasing popularity of digital reading, e-readers have been the focus of a number of research over the last few years. Reading is a multifaceted cognitive activity comprising reader-text interaction, derivation of meaning and relating the inferred meaning to life experiences. Sometimes the reader has to put extra effort to a text and read between the lines to get the implied meaning. As in Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*, women's representations are not directly stated but implied through the portrayal of the British patriarchal society. Woolf explores how material aspects affect women rendering them dependent and turning them into the victims of material circumstances. It is posed that women's oppression is not universal or natural but culture specific. Different societies interpret the 'sex' of

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women differently to fit the discourse of gender that suits men. Drawing on this, this qualitative study was designed to determine the perceptions of fifteen graduate students from different cultural backgrounds of female representations in *A Room of One's Own*. The data were elicited through group chatting on Messenger and thematically analyzed to reveal the themes, namely dependent wives, worthless human beings and vulnerable creatures.

Keywords: *digital readers, gender inequality, feminism, women studies*

Öz

Dijital okumanın artan popüleritesi nedeniyle, e-okuyucular son birkaç yılda bir dizi araştırmanın odak noktası olmuştur. Okuma, okuyucu-metin etkileşimi, anlam türetme ve çıkarılan anlamı yaşam deneyimleriyle ilişkilendirmeyi içeren çok yönlü bir bilişsel aktivitedir. Bazen okuyucu, ima edilen anlamı elde etmek için bir metne büyük çaba sarf etmek ve satır aralarını okumak zorundadır. Woolf'un *Kendine Ait Bir Oda*'sında olduğu gibi, kadın temsilleri doğrudan ifade edilmeyip İngiliz ataerkil toplumunun tasviri yoluyla ima edilmektedir. Woolf, bu kitabında maddiyatın kadınları nasıl bağımlı ve maddi koşulların kurbanı haline getirdiğini irdelemektedir. Woolf, maddi bakımdan güçlü olmayı kadınların kendilerini ataerkil yargılardan kurtarabilecek birincil araç olarak görmektedir. Asıl önemli olan, insanın maddeyle ilişkisi değil, aynı zamanda her iki cinsiyetin de maddeyle nasıl ilişki kurduğu ve her iki cinsiyetin (erkek ve kadın) siyasi bir tarzda birbirleriyle nasıl ilişki kurduğudur. Kadın cinselliğinin tarihine bakıldığında, kadınlar kendi ayakları üzerinde durabilmeyi başarıp, çalışmaya başlasalardı, cinsiyetler arası ilişkilerle ilgili sorunların ve ön yargıların daha çok farkında olacaktı. Woolf kadınların ezilmesinin evrensel ya da doğal değil, kültüre özgü olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Farklı toplumlar, kadınların cinsiyetini erkeklere uygun cinsiyet söylemine uyacak şekilde farklı yorumlar. Bu nitel araştırma, farklı kültürel geçmişlerden gelen on beş lisansüstü öğrencinin *Kendine Ait Bir Oda*'daki kadın temsillerine ilişkin algılarını belirlemek için tasarlanmıştır. Veriler, Messenger'da grup sohbeti yoluyla elde edilip, tematik olarak analiz edilmiştir. Tematik analiz bağımlı eşler, değersiz insanlar ve savunmasız yaratıklar gibi temaları ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: *e-kitap okuyucular, cinsiyet eşitsizliği, feminism, kadın çalışmaları*

Introduction

Reading is a challenging endeavour comprising processing a text, meaning making and relating to life experiences. Through reading, the reader builds a relationship with the author, tries to determine his/her point of view and infers meaning by relating to life experiences. At times, the reader has to read between the lines to infer the hidden meaning. Conversely, authors sometimes depict an image but expect the reader to infer other images. To illustrate, *A Room of One's Own* discusses and explores the ways in which women need to find the convenient circumstances in order to write fiction or in order just to be their own natural selves.

Woolf displays the status of British women in the British patriarchal society and looks at the ways women have been reflected in history as well as the way they were treated by the male world. Although Woolf abstains from directly accusing the male dominated society, through her portrayal of women living in that society, she implies gender inequality. It is assumed that readers growing in such patriarchal societies may not be so annoyed with the second-class role of women in the British society in those days. When they relate to their life experiences they may take it for granted thinking that it has always been like this in history, and women need to be protected by men; hence, men are more powerful than women. On the other hand, technology and social media have been a part of everybody's life and individuals are exposed to cultures other than their own. Social media influences individuals' ideas and beliefs as well as their reading habits (Researcher 2). Exposure to other cultures through social media is effective in consciousness raising against discriminatory attitudes, such as gender inequality. Despite a plethora of studies delving into reading and culture, little is known about to what extent readers' meaning making is influenced by social media. In this respect, this study, though a small scale one, is expected to fill a gap in literature by providing a standpoint for further research through determining the perceptions of the participants with various cultural backgrounds of female representations in Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*.

1. Theoretical framework

Socio-cultural theory focuses on the cultural, social and historical factors affecting human experience. Socio-culturalists view learning as a social phenomenon rather than an individual one (Researcher 2,1, 2018). As argued by Johnson (2009), socio-culturalists situate learning in a social context, and pose that cognitive development occurs in relation to social, cultural, and historical contexts. The role of culture cannot be discarded in the human experience since 'the human experience is mediated by culture' (Au, 1997). Through culture individuals pass on societal values and social norms, which shape their beliefs and attitudes. Au (1997) contends that culture can be stable persisting over a long time and unstable changing and evolving in time.

From the socio-cultural perspective, reading is a higher mental function and it is essentially social in nature (Au, 1997). According to Au (1997), even reading a book is a social activity since readers interact with the author, build on their schemata influenced by the thinking of the author and others in the book and respond to the book. In this respect, reading occurs on a social plane and an individual's 'lived experience' (Vygotsky, 1987) and the socio-cultural context affect readers' beliefs and perceptions as well as the way they respond (Researcher 2,1, 2018).

2. Literature review

Patriarchy, as any other discourse, is a total manifestation of women's subordination to men. This can be seen in literature, history, and the way women lived for thousands of years. It is no longer a debate between truth, reality and God but the very foundations of gender differences between men and women and what has made the basis for their unequal grounding. Woolf, while looking at the causes of women's economic oppression, psychological

repression and lack of literary expression brings up the possibility of what if it happened in a different way. If it had happened differently, many women would have ‘gone into business; become... manufacturers of artificial silk or magnates on the Stock Exchange...and the subject of our talk might have been archeology, botany, anthropology, physics, the nature of the atom, mathematics, astronomy, relativity, geography...’(Woolf, 1992). Woolf argues that if women had been raised and brought up to be educated, this would have had a great impact on the ‘emancipation’ of women from patriarchal structures. Therefore, historical processes are highly significant for Woolf because they indicate the logic involved in the subordination of women by men. In *A Room of One’s Own* Woolf gradually goes on to study history by looking at history books and attempts to render the stereotypes that were given to women culturally. One of the history books she encounters, when reading in her room, has a chapter called Women and Poverty, which at first glance, intrigues Woolf and hence she starts to read the widespread misconceptions about women:

Weaker in moral sense than; Idealism of; Greater conscientiousness of; Attractiveness of; Offered as sacrifice to; Small size of brain of; Profounder sub-conscious of; Less hair on the body of; Mental, moral and physical inferiority of; Love children of; Greater length of life of; Weaker muscles of; Strength of affections of... (Woolf, 1992: 37)

The qualities that are attributed to women are inferior in comparison to those attributed to men. In particular, the title itself entails that women are associated with poverty. This indicates the fact that women and poverty go together for which women themselves are responsible by being women, i.e., women owing to their sex are of secondary importance to men in the society. Woolf’s emphasis on money, room, space and other various factors is significant since they were denied to women but were available only for men in the British patriarchal society.

Woolf also argues that the intellectual potential of women is also manipulated by material circumstances since it is quite possible that Shakespeare’s sister could have become a writer; but, ‘it would have been impossible, completely and entirely, for any woman to have written the plays of Shakespeare in the age of Shakespeare’ (Woolf, 1992, 60) and that is because it would be impossible for a woman to forsake her duties as a daughter, wife and mother and being a creative person on her own. By freeing women from material burdens it becomes possible for women to be free in terms of their imagination as well.

If the discourse of determinism is partly correct in the material context and to some extent it is, then the destiny of women in a male-dominated society can be found in marriage and family. That is why Woolf brings out these paradoxes and the problems that are associated with the identity and image of women. As argued by Woolf,

She dominates the lives of kings and conquerors in fiction; in fact she was the slave of any boy whose parents forced a ring upon her finger. Some of the most inspired words, some of the most profound thoughts in literature fall from her lips; in real life she could hardly read, could scarcely spell, and was the property of her husband. (Woolf, 1992: 56)

Virginia Woolf offers deep insights into ‘the socio-economic processes of occupational segregation, wage discrimination, imposition of separate spheres, social exclusion and trickle-down patriarchy’ (Bechtold, 2000). Woolf dramatically lays bare the ultimate functions and the positions of women in the history of mankind as being slaves, being idealized in books and being the property of their husbands. Women had no real significance or being when it came to practise their womanliness. Women were adored, admired and loved in all of the poems written by men but were excluded from education, history, and equality. Essentially, women internalize patriarchal values because they are not usually aware of them. To become truly aware of the laws that govern womanhood, the primary source is education and that is what Woolf attempts to underline in *A Room of One’s Own* when she says ‘until the best opportunities are open to women, there is nothing like equality’ (Lane, 2000: 111).

Woolf looks at the oppression of women from a political and a philosophical point of view. She argues that if women were left alone to read and learn, undisturbed by their families, this would have changed not only the process of womanhood, but the entire role of women in history. For this, Woolf gives the example of Shakespeare’s fictional sister Judith—indeed, the sister who blurs the boundary between fiction and reality. She argues that Judith too would have devoted herself to learning, reading and writing if the conditions had permitted her to do so.

The fictionality of Shakespeare’s sister is a metaphor for the entire race of women in the past; it represents their inferiority as well as their submission to patriarchy because the means and economic power were in the hands of men. This consequently meant that men controlled women’s bodies, and by extension, their thoughts. Still, power has never been a fixed phenomenon: ‘where there is power, there is a resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, the resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power’ (Sawicki, 1991: 24). This quotation clarifies the contradictory and flexible tenets of power, which is, that it can never be defined. In other words, power always employs resistance and those who hold power can easily be overthrown; power is dynamic, easily transferred and is never a stable phenomenon. Woolf imagined the possibility of ‘resistance’ for women although they were pushed into living at home, giving birth to children and looking after them.

Woolf is not trying to prefer one sex (female) over the other (male); instead, she attempts to destabilize these oppositions. As argued by Hanson (1994) ‘rather than reversing the terms of the opposition man/woman by privileging the feminine, she [Woolf] works towards destabilizing of this opposition’. How were women represented in books written by men? What was the fate, duty or the characteristics of women in the western canon? Virginia Woolf critically looks at the hidden structures of the representations of women in the history of literature and questions why men preferred to reflect upon women in these ways. As Morris (2000) indicates ‘the emergence of modern male literary discourse, exemplified by theoretical and canon-forming works... can be seen as an attempt to construct his story of literary history in which women play no part.’ Moreover, Woolf reveals the ‘unconscious’ processes that occupied men for depicting and reflecting upon women for centuries in a stereotypical way in literature. It is the direct evidence of the way men want women to be perceived, recognized

and hence treated in history and in the history of literature. Indeed, what really could be the cause of such hostility? One answer could be ‘men know that women are an overmatch for them, and therefore they choose the weakest or the most ignorant’ (Woolf, 1992: 38). This would mean that men need to project this sense of insecurity they feel about themselves-that they need a weaker person-and therefore attempt to find inferior ones. In that sense, men preferred to throw away this actuality (that women are not weak) by imagining or creating women as evil, incestuous or even suicidal creatures.

Woolf clearly sees the degradation and the subordination of women from the beginning of history. It is no doubt linked to the politics, power and the place of women in a given society. It is to oppress them; and those women who read and heard these stereotypes about women believed in the ideology that women in any given society must be secondary to men. If women had been daring enough to dispute this ideology, they would have rebelled earlier in history and the progress of history and gender roles and of course, the image of woman would have been different from what it had been. This does not mean that women have always been passive beings. It only means that the oppression of women was so great that it did not allow them the freedom of expressing their feelings.

Woolf grasped the power of money and the way it dramatically changed and shaped one’s life, especially the lives of women. Woolf recognized that money was significant because in history women did have the freedom to work-but they were denied of possessing capital-and as an inevitable consequence, men acquired and earned the money of women. In other words, possessing capital and the material means meant everything because this was what sustained life and distinguished people into categories. Woolf took the idea of ‘economics’ and applied it to female subordination because it is the primary tool through which women can claim their freedom from patriarchal discourses. What really matters is not man’s relation to matter but also how both genders relate to matter and how both genders (male and female) relate to each other, in a political fashion. Looking at the history of female sexuality, if women had had the opportunity to stand up for themselves and started working, they would have been more aware of the problems and the prejudices associated with the relationship between the sexes. Moreover, because women were subject to these inferior positions, they needed money more than men did because it was more beneficial, necessary and important for women to have money and use it for their identity, recognition and equality in their struggle against patriarchal discourses.

Digital reading mode

Owing to the integration of technology into education, the traditional reading behaviors of learners have been subject to change. There is a gradual increase in the number of e-book readers, which causes a higher demand for e-texts (Records et al., 2015; Warschauer, 2015). Liu (2005) argues that a screen based reading behavior is emerging due to an increasing amount of time spent reading electronic documents. Clinton (2019) contends that there is a growing popularity of reading from screen. Differing from traditional reading modes, ‘the screen based reading behavior is characterized by more time spent on browsing and scanning,

keyword spotting, one time reading, non linear reading, and reading more selectively, while less time is spent on in depth reading, and concentrated reading' (Liu, 2005). Research on digital reading indicates conflicting results. Managen, Walgermo and Bronnick (2013), for example, found that print readers did better in completing an open-book comprehension test than e-readers. Taylor, (2011) on the other hand, reported that there was not a significant difference between print readers and e-readers, which corroborated Johnson's (2013) results. With regard to comprehension, some studies found that traditional reading modes and digital reading modes were similar (Green et al., 2010; Margolin et al., 2013; Norman & Furnes, 2016; Porion et al., 2016). Some research findings indicated that e-texts should be user-friendly (Myrberg & Wiberg, 2015).

3. Research method

The aim of this study was to determine the perceptions of graduate students of female representations in *A Room of One's Own* by Virginia Woolf. In order to fulfill the purposes of the current research study, qualitative methods were employed. Being a qualitative research model, case studies evaluate an issue specific to a particular situation holistically (Yin, 2009). In this case study, graduate students' perceptions of the depiction of women were determined qualitatively. The participants consisted of 15 graduate students in a teaching programme in a private university in North Cyprus. Eleven of them were female and four were male. Four were from Iraq, three from Jordan, two from Libya, two from Iran, one from Russia, one from Nigeria, one from Pakistan and one from Egypt. All participants took place in this study with their pseudonyms. An ethical consent for the current study was granted by a higher education institution.

4. Data collection

The data were collected through group chatting on Messenger. *A Room of One's Own* was assigned to be read as an extracurricular activity in a graduate reading course during the fall semester in 2021. Each week the participants had to read around 16-17 pages from the book and the researcher invited the students to a chat on Messenger once a week. The second researcher was the admin and she started the chats with a question like 'What do you think about the ways women are represented throughout the part you read this week?' She extended the question by asking 'Why do you think so?' and 'Does anyone agree?' She particularly abstained from revealing her own opinion and guiding her students during chat. Each week the group chat data were copied to be saved as a word document. Thus, we had textual data collected over a period of six weeks. Only one participant had the print book and thus read on the traditional mode. Fourteen participants read on digital reading mode.

5. Data analysis

The textual data elicited through group chats were coded first and classified later to reveal the themes. Once the codes were determined by the two researchers separately, cross

checking for the codes was conducted for reliability reasons. Next, the codes were grouped under certain categories to reveal the themes. The themes were listed in order from the most frequent to the least frequent and tabulated. Each researcher coded the group chat data separately in order to ensure reliability. In order to ensure the validity of the data analysis, the participants' opinions were directly included.

6. Results and discussion

Three themes were determined through the analysis of the Messenger group chat data. These themes were found to be dependent wives, worthless human beings and vulnerable creatures. It was found that all participants perceived women as dependent wives. Seven participants perceived them as worthless creatures and three participants as vulnerable creatures (see Table 1).

Table 1. Frequency distribution of the emerged themes

Themes	Number of participants	%
Dependent wives	15	100
Worthless creatures	7	40
Vulnerable creatures	3	20
Total	15	100

It was found that the participants perceived female representations in *A Room of One's Own* as dependent, worthless and vulnerable. Although these qualities of women were not directly stated but implied through female representations, the stark contrast between the conditions of men and women was apparent. The fact that men were superior to women in every sense and gender inequality in favour of men were found to be due to the culture of the British society in those days. All participants drew attention to the fact that women were dependent on their husbands. Esra wrote '*It seems that wives have no rights at all. All decisions are made by the husbands*'. Selen told '*Wives believe that their husbands are more important than them*'. Cansı stated '*It is a male dominated society. That's why women are less important than men. Women do not own anything. They do not have money. When they need money, they have to ask their husbands for money*'. Nez added '*Of course wives are dependent because they do not have any money*'. Melisa said '*Women did not have any jobs in those days. Only men were employed. Women stayed at home and do household chores and husbands were perceived superior because only men had money*'. Aylin reported '*It's the fault of the society. Girls were raised to be submissive and obey their husbands*'. Aisha told '*Wives were the property of their husbands for a very long time in history. Husbands were masters and wives were slaves*'. Meryem told '*Family came first for most women. It was a part of their education. Their mothers told them to obey their husbands' orders. They did not ask anything for themselves*'. Ahmad reported,

I read in a book that in the 18th century girls had to have dowry to be able to find a husband and when they got married they gave all this money to their husbands. This means that women were not allowed to keep money. This made wives inferior to their husbands’.

Salem, an Iranian student, indicated,

In my country women have to ask their husbands for permission when they go out and I know that in some regions in Turkey girls have to ask their elder brothers before they go out. Do you see what I mean? Girls are raised to obey men so when they get married they obey their husbands.

Ali stated,

Because women did not have equal access to education, they were not economically empowered. This meant that the husbands were educated as it was believed that education was for men and thus only men had well-paid jobs. Women were either housewives or had lousy jobs. Automatically women became reliant.

Nour believed “*It is difficult to change status quo. I think in those days all wives were under the rule of their husbands. It was a rule so wives obeyed them.*” Gul told, “*There were not many options for women in those days. Marriage was the best thing for any girl. For this reason, not to get a divorce they had to do whatever they were told to do by their husbands*”.

The second theme concerning female representations was worthless creatures. Berk said “*Women were insignificant in the British society. Men were important.*” Mert told “*Women were like a piece of property that could be sold.*” Ali acknowledged “*Women have to have rights because every human being has rights. Even animals do. Women in those days were not treated like human beings. They did not have any rights. This shows that they were not important*”. Melisa said “*It was the world of men. Women were treated as if they were animals. For a very long time in history, women were seen as weak, improper and insignificant. All men were treated as if they were perfect*”. Nez said “*The society shaped by men imposed that women were good for cleaning their houses and looking after their children only. They were not treated like individuals. No one respected them*”. Meryem revealed “*Women were treated like cute pets in the house. No rights, no say, no nothing*”. Salem indicated “*Men had smoking rooms, men had money, men had colleges, women did not have anything. If they did not have anything they were nobody*”.

The other theme emerged from the chat data was vulnerable creatures. Ali said “*Women were presented as if they were weak and could be hurt very easily*”. Cansı told “*Women were imposed that they needed a man to protect them. Only weak people need protection. This means that women were considered weak and men were strong because men held primary power*”.

As the results of the study indicated, all participants regardless of their nationalities supported gender equality by criticizing the unfavorable status of women in the patriarchal British society. It was interesting to note that although most participants (n=12) were from

the Middle East where patriarchal societies were common, none of them found women's oppression acceptable. It is adhered to the fact that they are living in a digital age and thus their culture is blended. Through social media and other online sources they are also familiar with American and western cultures and their ideas and thoughts are shaped in accordance with those of the American and western cultures. Further, all these participants are graduate students, which means that they are highly educated. They pursue higher education to get employed and have a better status in the society. Most of the participants are female and they cannot accept an inferior position in the society.

Digital reading versus traditional reading mode

Most participants (n=14) read the book on the digital reading mode. Only one participant read it on the traditional mode. The participants were free to choose the reading mode for this extracurricular activity. During the last chat they were also asked to report whether they read the book on the digital or the traditional mode and to explain the reasons for their choice. Availability was found to be the main reason for choosing the digital mode. Four participants looked for the print book but could not find it. Ten participants did not look for the print book but directly picked an e-book. The reasons varied for this preference. Five participants said print books were expensive. Three participants told they did not like carrying books. Three participants reported that they liked the ubiquitous quality of e-books. Two said digital reading was more practical and one found digital reading more enjoyable. The finding that most participants preferred e-books verified Liu (2005) that a screen-based reading behaviour is emerging. This finding also corroborated Records et al., (2015) and Warschauer (2015) that the demand for e-books was increasing.

Conclusion

Virginia Woolf is one of the early critical writers who argued for the equality of women with men, independence of women as social beings and the recognition of women as individuals. Her ideas are implied in her *A Room of One's Own* to undermine the invincible patriarchal values, beliefs and notions that have manifested themselves throughout history. These values, beliefs and notions are subject to change in time from culture to culture. This study reveals how e-readers reflect on gender equality by comprehending the implied meanings in the book. Overall, the results of this study suggest that the participants perceived female representations in *A Room of One's Own* as dependent wives, worthless creatures and vulnerable creatures. Governed by patriarchal values, the society shapes women in such a way that they are not free individuals but dependent on men. For this reason, the ultimate goal of a woman is to find a husband because it is the only way that she finds the protection that she seeks. With regard to the preference for the reading mode, this study displays that amongst the two alternatives which are the digital reading and traditional reading modes, the digital reading mode is mostly preferred. The reasons for this preference is found to be availability, ubiquitous quality and practicality. That e-books are free of cost and enjoyable are the other reasons for their preference for e-books.

Contribution levels of authors: We declare that our contribution to this article is 100% with regard to the preparation, data collection and analysis, interpretation of the results, and writing of the article.

Ethics committee approval: Ethics committee approval was required. The ethical approval received from the scientific committee of the Near East University is attached.

Research and Publication Ethics Statement: We declare that the current study is a research article containing original data that have not been previously published or submitted to any other outlet for publication. We verify that we followed ethical principles and rules during the research publication process. Informed consent was obtained from volunteer participants and the privacy of the participants was protected for the study.

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Conflict of interest: We declare no conflict of interest.

Source contacts

All participants' names are pseudonyms.

Participant #1: Esra, age 24, Iraqi, MA student, Messenger Group chat date: 12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #2: Cansı, age 27, Iraqi, MA student, Messenger Group chat date: 12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #3: Nez,age 24, Libyan, MA student, Messenger Group chat date: 12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #4: Aylin, age 32, Iranian, MA student, Messenger Group chat date: 12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #5: Aisha, age 28, Iranian, MA student, Messenger Group chat date:12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #6: Meryem, age 22, Azerbaijanian, MA student, Messenger Group chat date:12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #7: Ahmadi age 32, Iraqi, MA student, Messenger Group chat date:12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #8: Salem, age 27, Iranian, MA student, Messenger Group chat date:12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #9: Ali, age 25, Jordanian, MA student, Messenger Group chat date:12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #10: Nour, age, 25, Libyan, MA student, Messenger Group chat date: 12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #11: Gul, age 26, Libyan, MA student, Messenger Group chat date:12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #12: Berk, age 27, Nigerian, MA student, Messenger Group chat date: 12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #13: Mert, age 24, Iraqi, MA student, Messenger Group chat date :12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #14: Melisa, age 24, Turkish Cypriot, MA student, Messenger Group chat date:12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

Participant #15: Selen, age 27, Libyan, MA student, Messenger Group chat date: 12, 19,26 October 2021, 2,9,16 November 2021.

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Researcher 2

Researcher 2, 1

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