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Resilience in the Face of an Epidemic: W. S. Maugham's the Painted Veil and Its Film Adaptations

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Abstract

William Somerset Maugham's classical novel *The Painted Veil* (1924) and its three Hollywood adaptations (1934, 1957, 2006) explore a marital crisis set against a cholera epidemic in China in the 1920s. The source text and the film adaptations approach the epidemic from different perspectives, exploring its dramatic potential, metaphorical aspects and an overall impact on the population. They also offer a possibility for a (post)colonial (re)evaluation of the role of Western imperialist powers in disease management. Based on the material provided by the analysed literary and cinematic works, resilience in the face of an epidemic is considered from three perspectives. Firstly, the particularities of individual and group resilience are contrasted, and it is demonstrated that the disease and resistance to it are handled differently at a personal level and at the level of specific social and ethnic groups. Secondly, resilience is seen as built up and maintained in diverging ways when regarded from a scientific perspective as opposed to religious or spiritual approaches. Finally, resilience reveals itself differently in the context of the local versus Occidental response to the epidemic, bringing forward the East-West dichotomy. These tensions and contradictions are proved to be dependent to a significant degree on the evolving beliefs and attitudes, predominant ideological trends, and particular historical and political contexts of the novel or film production.

Keywords: William Somerset Maugham, Film Adaptation, Resilience

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Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has led to a surge of interest in the literary and cinematic works centered on contention of and resistance to epidemics. In this context a fresh regard can be cast on William Somerset Maugham's classical novel *The Painted Veil*, describing a cholera epidemic in China in the 1920s, and its film adaptations.

Adaptation is often seen as a form of intertextuality; it can be considered as a rewriting of a pre-existing text, a "palimpsestuous" work, a text in the "second" degree (Genette, 1982, p. 5). Regarding an adaptation as a palimpsest is supported by Linda Hutcheon, who connects the formal and hermeneutic identity of adaptations with their relation to recognizable other works (2006, p. 21). In Dennis Cutchins' opinion, intertextuality can be argued to play a great role in adaptations as some of the meaning made and pleasure derived from an adaptation is due to the recognition of the interplay between texts (2014, p. 44). Adaptation in general can be regarded as an act of resilience. Robert Stam suggests regarding film adaptations as mutations helping their source to survive (2005, p. 3). Within the framework of the present discussion, it is important to recognize that some stories "have great fitness through survival (persistence in a culture) or reproduction (number of adaptations)" and that adaptation(s) can keep a particular story in the collective memory, as the story "adapts to its new environment and [...] lives on, through its 'offspring' - the same and yet not" (Hutcheon, 2006, pp. 32, 167).

Being "a barometer of the ideological trends circulating during the moment of production" (Stam, 2005, p. 45), adaptations depend to a considerable degree on the social, political, cultural, economic, aesthetic contexts in which they are created and received. Hutcheon argues that adaptations demonstrate "how stories evolve and mutate to fit new times and different places" (2006, p. 176). It can be claimed that remakes in particular demonstrate resilience of the source text. As L. Braudy (as cited in Hutcheon, 2006, p. 116) notes, film remakes prove a continuing historical, economic, cultural and psychological relevance of a particular narrative. This can be considered in the context of the present research; the film adaptations of *The Painted Veil* show the pertinence and longevity of the story as well as its resilience to the passage of time and the changing contexts.

Somerset Maugham (1874 – 1965), a classic of British literature, for half of the 20th century was one of the most well-known authors in the world, enjoying an immense popularity in numerous countries, from the United States to Japan. Having established a high reputation in the stage play, short story, novel and screenwriting, at a certain moment he was the highest paid author in the world (Brophy, 1969, p. 106). The five years he spent as a medical student at St Thomas' Hospital in London and his brief medical practice gave him a sufficient background to write convincingly about disease-related topics. Although he chose a writing career, medical themes are recurrent in his works, with *The Painted Veil* being an important example thereof (Cross, 2007).

The Painted Veil, published in 1925, was inspired by an episode in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which was transformed by Maugham into a contemporaneous story of a British doctor Walter Fane bringing his adulterous wife Kitty to a cholera-stricken Chinese town Mei-tan-fu as a punishment, exercise of power and a possible attempt of murder. The book has served as the basis for three Hollywood adaptations (*The Painted Veil* [1934], dir. by Richard Boleslawski, *The Seventh Sin* [1957], dir. by Ronald Neame and Vincente Minnelli [uncredited], and *The Painted Veil* [2006], dir. by John Curran) that took a variable amount of liberties with the

source text and approached the topic of fighting a cholera epidemic from different perspectives dependent on the current attitudes in society to such subjects as East-West relationship, colonialism and the role of imperialist powers in managing epidemics. Close reading of both the novel and the film adaptations reveals that the resilience to the epidemic is depicted in them from different angles: firstly, through the contrast between individual and group resilience; secondly, through the prism of the scientific versus the religious perspective; thirdly, through the difference between the Oriental and the Occidental response to the epidemic.

At this point, it would be useful to specify what will be considered under the term of resilience in the present paper. Defined as "the ability of people or things to recover quickly after something unpleasant, such as shock, injury, etc." (Oxford Dictionary, n.d.) or as "an ability to recover from or adjust easily to misfortune or change" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, n.d.), resilience in the present discussion is regarded as an ability both to recover from the consequences and to resist the impact of the epidemic.

Individual and Group Resilience

The starting point of the discussion will be the particularities of individual and group resilience as depicted in *The Painted Veil* and its screen adaptations. Personal resilience in face of an epidemic transpires through the examples of the protagonists and several secondary characters. Continuation of familiar practices appears to be a valid way to demonstrate resilience: the protagonists' Chinese cook perseveres in serving a variety of dishes for dinner even though it is not needed, and the ingredients are difficult to obtain (Maugham, 2001, p. 155), whereas the French nuns in the convent in Mei-tan-fu exhibit "coolness in the face of danger and a practical sense" in carrying on their work methodically (Maugham, 2001, p. 105). They believe in the beneficial effect of continuing the routines in order to maintain calm; thus, the orphans under their charge still work on embroidery "notwithstanding the epidemic, because it takes [the girls'] minds off the danger" (Maugham, 2001, p. 100). In *The Painted Veil* (2006), this idea is reflected through the comment on keeping the older girls busy and occupied (Curran, 2006, 00:59:44-50). The upkeep of the routine and rituals in the convent also manifests itself through the ongoing Eucharist, which is referred to as "a great comfort [...] during this time of so terrible trouble" (Maugham, 2001, p. 103). All these examples demonstrate the importance attached to continuity that is maintained despite the dramatic disruption of everyday life by the disease.

Personal resistance is mentioned in the novel with reference to one of the protagonists: as Walter Fane has been overworking, he is believed to have no power to resist the illness (Maugham, 2001, p. 160). It can also be argued that both physical and moral resilience on a personal level are central to the other protagonist of *The Painted Veil* Kitty Fane and, interestingly, Pia de Tolomei, a character from Dante's *Divine Comedy*. In the introduction to his novel, Maugham explains that he drew inspiration from his Italian teacher's comment on an episode in *Purgatorio*, in which Pia's husband, suspecting her of adultery and afraid on account of her family to put her to death, took her down to his castle […] the noxious vapours of which he was confident would do the trick; but she took so long to die that he grew impatient and had her thrown out of the window. (Maugham, 2001, p. ix)

The resilience demonstrated by Pia is reflected in Kitty Fane who defies cholera – and her husband – by ostentatiously eating uncooked vegetables, thus "maliciously avenging herself on Walter" and "flouting her own desperate fears" (Maugham, 2001, p. 88). The scene is

reproduced in all the three film adaptations of *The Painted Veil*. Resilience here is intertwined with a personal confrontation and defiance of common-sense rules; it ultimately leads to Kitty's survival in adverse circumstances and to her freedom "from the death which had threatened" (Maugham, 2001, p. 182).

Interestingly, resilience and resistance can be viewed on a more general level, as when Mother Superior of the French convent voices an opinion of different ethnic groups having a different degree of immunity: "These Chinese have no resistance" (Maugham, 2001, p. 115). In fact, in the context of cholera, an often-raised question concerns the correlation between the general standard of health of the population and individuals' resistance to this disease (Bourdelais, 1991, p. 126). Bourdelais notes that, although it is difficult to obtain definitive proof, malnutrition might aggravate the effects of cholera, especially in the situation of hunger and deprivation. Consequently, it can be inferred that the lower resistance of the Chinese, mentioned in the novel, might be true; however, instead of being presented as an innate feature, its reasons could be sought in a poorer quality of food available and lower standards of life as compared to the foreigners.

Scientific and Religious Perspectives

Resilience can be seen both from a scientific and a religious/spiritual perspective. The resilience of the local population to the cholera epidemic in *The Painted Veil* is based on following traditions and invoking divine intervention, while the response of the Westerners is tied to their belief in science, rationalism and medical advances. The widely-acknowledged triumph of Western biomedicine and sanitation over such tropical diseases as cholera and considerable advances made in the West by the beginning of the 20th century in water treatment, sanitation, vaccines and personal hygiene led to the fact that the majority of Westerners "regarded their impact on world disease complacently or even proudly", while Western medicine, which systematically discarded local traditional routines of healing, was used "to justify the expansion of Western imperial power and to illustrate the superiority of Western culture" (Hays, 2009, pp. 182, 187).

In the novel, local response to the disease includes reliance on religion: placing statues of gods in the streets, making offerings and sacrifices (Maugham, 2001, p. 82). In *The Painted Veil* (1934), there is a scene involving burning incense in front of the statues of gods; in the 2006 version, the locals perform rituals "to frighten off the spirit of death" (Curran, 2006, 00:39:35-38). These practices are either exoticized, like in the 1934 version, or largely dismissed by the Westerners as superstitions, as shown in the 2006 film. The emphasis in both the novel and the film adaptations is placed on the benefits brought by science and medical advances to the treatment of cholera, and Walter's contribution, as a trained M.D. and a bacteriologist, to the fight against the disease is generally depicted as a positive thing. The approach adopted by the Westerners is slightly vague in the novel and the earlier film adaptations: in the book, Walter's efforts are described evasively as "doctoring the sick", cleaning up the city and purifying the drinking water (Maugham, 2001, p. 92). In *The Painted Veil* (1934), the focus appears to be on military intervention and burning down the area of the town considered to be the epicenter of the epidemic. By the end of the film the epidemic situation improves (although it remains unclear due to which measures) as death rate is reported to go down by almost a quarter. *The Seventh Sin* (1957) places an emphasis on inoculation, following a heightened interest towards vaccines and their efficiency triggered in the American society by the massive testing of poliomyelitis vaccine in 1953, excessive media coverage following the successful outcome of trials in 1954 and the success of the

vaccination programme in 1955 (Hays, 2009, p. 271). *The Painted Veil* (2006) distinguishes itself from the previous adaptations and from the source text through providing a clearer idea of cholera, its symptoms and treatments based on Western advances in medical knowledge: the cholera victims receive intravenous saline solution, water samples are tested, and the microscope is recurrently shown in use. A methodical, rational and firm approach to cholera is clearly presented as superior to the local way of dealing with the epidemic. Thus, resilience in the face of the disease appears to be consistently shown as reliant rather on rational, scientific thinking than on local "superstitious" (*The Painted Veil* [2006]) and "chaotic" (*The Seventh Sin* [1957]) approaches.

Oriental and Occidental Responses

Finally, resilience can be regarded from the point of view of Oriental vs. Occidental response to the epidemic. China's being "a mark of absolute cultural alterity", "irredeemably Other" to Western mentality (Holden, 1994, p. 64) expresses itself through the drastically different approaches to dealing with the disease and to resisting its menace. Modernity and rationality, according to Quijano (2000, p. 542), were considered as "exclusively European products and experiences", and a "binary, dualist perspective on knowledge, particular to Eurocentrism, was imposed as globally hegemonic", whereas such categories as magic/mythic-scientific, irrational-rational, traditional-modern defined the relations between Western Europe and the rest of the world. Although it needs to be acknowledged that numerous Westerners "held humanitarian convictions" and "faith in the efficacy of Western science and medicine to improve lives", the resilience in face of the epidemic and a vigorous response of Western colonial powers to the diseases in the overseas territories were primarily motivated by a desire to protect their troops and administrators and to maintain the productivity of local workforce (Hays, 2009, p. 183).

In the novel, the response of the Orient to the epidemic appears to be rather passive; Mei-tan-fu acquires a metaphorical quality of "a city of the dead" (Maugham, 2001, p. 113) and transmits a Dantesque image of desolation and erring spirits. The "cowed and listless" citizens appear "intent on their own affairs", void of feelings (Maugham, 2001, p. 96), wandering aimlessly in the littered streets of the town, with "an abstracted air so that you might almost have thought them ghosts" (Maugham, 2001, p. 113). This apathy demonstrates lower resilience to the effects of the mortal disease as compared to the Occidental energetic approach. In *The Painted Veil* there is an implicit trust in the determination and scientific advances of the West symbolized by Walter, in accordance with the statement that the relationship between the Occident and the Orient "on political, cultural, and even religious grounds, was seen [in the West] to be one between a strong and a weak partner" (Said, 1995, p. 40). The 1934 film exemplifies the significant role that cinema played in the "popularization of imperialist fantasies and ethnic stereotypes" (Berry, 2000, p. 119) by fitting a shy and awkward Walter into an image of a firm, knowledgeable and self-assured Westerner. As the situation in Mei-tan-fu is described as "chaos" since the death of the missionary doctor (Boleslawski, 1934, 00:50:10-13), this leads to the presumption that, without foreign help, the local government is unable to control the epidemic, which indirectly supports the idea of material and immaterial benefits spread by colonialism. In the 1957 film, Walter's help (as a synecdoche for Western assistance) is initially politely declined by the elder of Mei-tan-fu, who claims that "they can manage as they always have" (Neame, 1957, 00:32:33-59). This resilience is connected to the belief in the tradition, but can also be attributed to a mistrust towards Western interference. The 2006 film represents Walter as a creative power, in contrast with the 1934 version; he is proactive, ingeniously looking for

solutions that his Western education and way of thinking suggest: he has an aqueduct elaborated and fresh drinking water supplied to the town, graves moved away from the river and prompt burials assured. Western resilience is thus based here upon a number of concrete measures, sometimes involving creativity and out-of-the-box thinking, that are taken in order to counter the disease.

Conclusion

The close reading of Maugham's novel and its film adaptations in terms of their treatment of resilience in the face of an epidemic has shown the diverse angles from which this concept can be regarded. Through the analysis of the approaches towards the representation of resilience in *The Painted Veil*, it has transpired that these depend to a certain degree on the contemporary attitudes and beliefs in society and the contexts of production of the novel and the films. It has also become clear that the fight against cholera in *The Painted Veil* and its adaptations cannot be perceived separated from a wider historical, social, political and economic context, while numerous factors related to the discussion of resilience depend strongly on the colonial attitudes and imperialist ideology.

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Re-considering History and Narrative Through the Short Factual Film The Archive (UK 2018)

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Abstract

In this paper I will consider tensions and dialogues between historical enquiry and narrative story-telling, using the case study of my own short historical documentary film *The Archive (2018)*, which I propose to screen during my presentation. Entirely compiled from archive materials including audio testimony, home movie footage of Hong Kong and China in 1952, as well as a de-classified Federal Bureau of Investigation file, the film tells the story of New York lawyer David Drucker who was tracked by the FBI over several decades. These two types of archive may traditionally have been categorised according to their status, respectively, as 'found' and 'official'. (Baron, 2014) As well as outlining theories of the archive I will also consider how this sits within the broader new historicist debate around narrative as a methodology of the historian. I will explore this shared discourse between history and story-telling in the context of *The Archive (2018)*, which narrativizes David Drucker's story as a historical thriller film. The paper asks the question: can a factual film that mediates the past through a model for genre narrative story-telling also offer new understanding of this period in US history? The outcome of research suggests that the particular editing strategy necessitated by the genre model challenges the traditional orthodoxy of the official government source by giving voice to a previously un-heard FBI suspect. Furthermore it asks us to question the respective 'value' of historic documents that have often been categorized according to a hierarchy of 'official' and 'found'.

Keywords: Archive, Narrative, Film-making

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Figure 1: Film poster for *The Archive (2018)*

"The freedom to continually use and re-use archival documents means that we will never determine a stable, objective truth about the past, but it is that freedom that makes the archive a site not only of repression and limitation but also of possibility." (Baron 2014, 13)[1]

Introduction

In this paper I will discuss my short factual film *The Archive (2018)*[2] in the context of theories of the archive and historical story-telling, as well as considering some of the tensions inherent in a film that mediates the past through a model for genre narrative story telling.

Running to just under 12 minutes and telling the story of New York lawyer David Drucker *The Archive* is entirely compiled from archive materials including unique 16mm home movie footage of newly communist China in 1952 and a de-classified Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) file.[3] As well as creating the visual form of the film - the distinctive rich colour palette of the Kodachrome film stock and the inky, blotchy memos of the FBI file - the two archives also act as its primary historical sources.

The two conflicting histories as signified by the 'official' FBI dossier and the 'found' family archive of 16mm footage and audio testimonies come together in an editing strategy that juxtaposes the two accounts and problematises the traditional orthodoxy of the official government source.

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[1] Jamie Baron, The Archive Effect: Found Footage and the Audio-visual Experience of History (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 13

[2] Archive, The, Peter Spence, 2018

[3] The file comprises approximately 2000 pages of surveillance documents relating to New York lawyer and communist party member David Drucker, who obtained it using a Freedom of Information Act request in 1977.

The paper will also be a discussion of my role and motivations as film-maker in the interpretation of the archival materials for presentation as a cause and effect film narrative complete with inciting incident, plot points, climax and resolution. Moreover, the editing strategy for the film was based on a model for genre narrative film story-telling, commonly used in the development of Hollywood fiction films.

Thus, the paper will consider: can a factual film edited for dramatic effect according to guidelines put forward for commercial film story-telling also have value as a project of historical enquiry? Furthermore, can the presentation of government and family archives according to this editing strategy present an opportunity for a different perspective on events from the official one, and in doing so offer us a fuller understanding of this period in US history?

I will briefly look at some theoretical background in the use of archive materials in film-making and how this sits within the broader new historicist debate around narrative as a methodology of the historian. However, I would like to further explore the shared discourse between history and story-telling in the context of *The Archive*, which narrativizes David Drucker's story as a historical thriller film.

In order to do this I will outline the Syd Field[4] model for genre film story-telling and argue that, despite being a factual film, *The Archive* successfully fulfils many of the requirements of this quite strict template for narrative structure originally developed for the production of fiction films. Finally, I will discuss my own approach to the archive as film-maker of *The Archive*, and some of tensions as well as opportunities presented by applying the genre narrative model to factual materials.

Theorising the Archive

The re-purposing of pre-existing footage to create a new film can be traced back to the very early days of cinema when Soviet film-maker Esther Schub used home movies of Tsar Nicholas II to make *The Fall Of The Romanovs (1927),* a 10 year anniversary project of the Bolshevik revolution.[5] In doing so, the entirely partisan pro-Bolshevik completed film was produced using footage recorded pre-revolution by the Tsarist enemy. As Stella Bruzzi (2006, 27) says "it thereby exhibits the dependency upon dialectical collision between the inherent perspective of the original archive and its radical re-use that remains a characteristic of the compilation documentary".[6]

Key studies of the archive, or compilation, film have been produced by Jay Leyda in 1964[7] and William Wees in 1993[8] but in the most significant recent work in this area Jamie Baron (2014)[9] argues that notions of 'the archive' are less stable and more fluid at start of the 21st century than ever before. What were previously deemed un-official collections of amateur audio-visual materials increasingly vie for authority in their validity as accurate representations of the past. Furthermore the distinction between the official archive of state or

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[4] Syd Field, Screenplay (New York: Dell Publishing, 1979)
[5] Stella Bruzzi, New Documentary (2nd ed.) (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 27
[6] Bruzzi, New Documentary, 27
[7] Jay Leyda, Films Beget Films. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964)
[8] William Wees, Recycled Images (New York: Anthology Film Archives, 1993)
[9] Jamie Baron, The Archive Effect: Found Footage and the Audio-visual Experience of History (Oxon: Routledge, 2014)

government organisations and the un-official found materials of family collections or flea markets is increasingly harder to justify.[10]

"Conceptualizing the archival document in this way undoes the previous hierarchy, in which 'archival' footage is given more value than 'found' footage, and suggests that amateur and other documents often excluded from official archives may have as much potential historical value as documents stored in an official archive." (Baron 2014, 17)[11]

Baron also considers the use of archive and found footage within the wider new historicist debate which suggests researchers should look to individual stories and events of history that serve to challenge the grand narratives of traditional historical enquiry. The expansion of what we understand by 'the archive' to now include audio-visual documents of the individual in addition to those of the state has enabled this development.[12]

Moreover, the historian inevitably narrativizes and plots the facts of historical archives often according to tropes of literature and genre as argued by Hayden White in *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe*.[13]

"The historian arranges events in the chronicle into a hierarchy of significance by assigning events different functions as elements in such a way as to disclose the formal coherence of a whole set of events considered as a comprehensible process with a discernible beginning, middle and end." (White 1973, 4)[14]

Further to this Philip Rosen has suggested in his book *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory* (2001)[15] that the distinction between document and documentary is a difference of temporality and sequenciation; in other words the re-contextualisation of archive material into new formal and narrative representations through film.

"[Rosen] argues that this transition – the conversion of primary materials to a secondary, historicized understanding – is characteristic of the modern historiographic project, and that it is the act of sequenciation of documents that generates the interpretive meaning that is fundamental to both documentary as it is edited and history as it is written." (Baron 2014, 10)[16]

These perspectives on historical story-telling will be useful to this study of *The Archive,* particularly the process by which the project has re-framed its primary sources for the purpose of creating a narrative.

Theorising Film Narrative

In his highly influential 1979 book *Screenplay* the Hollywood script guru and educator Syd Field suggested a 'paradigm' for successful screen storytelling that could be applied at script

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[10] Baron, The Archive Effect, 16 - 17
[11] Baron, The Archive Effect, 17
[12] Baron, The Archive Effect, 3
[13] Hayden White, Meta-history: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe (John Hopkins University Press, 1973)
[14] White, Meta-history: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe, 4
[15] Philip Rosen, Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory (University of Minnesota Press, 2001)
[16] Baron, The Archive Effect, 10

stage. Drawing on theories of drama narrative that date back to Aristotle he based this paradigm around a three-act structure with a clear beginning, middle and end.[17]

During the first act, otherwise known as the 'set up', characters including main protagonist and contexts are established using various narrative techniques of exposition. Crucially within this act there exists the 'inciting incident' at which point the main protagonist is confronted with the central problem, often in the form of an antagonist character, that will propel them through the film narrative to its conclusion.

The transition to the second act or 'confrontation', around one quarter of the way through the film, is introduced by what is known as plot point 1, where the protagonist will irretrievably be sent on a journey to solve their problem or achieve their goal. This will entail a confrontation with the antagonist, usually in the form of a human adversary but this could also be a psychological state or environmental obstacle to be overcome.

This second act is the most open and least formulaic in terms of its developments but crucially the protagonist will undergo the transformation, or character arc, which will enable them to resolve the central problem. Lasting approximately half of the screen time, in this central act we will experience the most drama and all-important conflict that drives the narrative forward in the guise of a variety of mini obstacles before the main confrontation near the film's conclusion.

The second plot point marks the beginning of the third act or 'resolution' where there will be a climax of action which will bring all the film's tensions and conflicts to a head and confirm the main protagonist as victorious, before the action falls off quickly toward the film's finale or denouement. All sub-plots and loose ends will be tied up satisfactorily leaving the viewer without any doubt as to the film's conclusion, both narratively and morally.

Through its emphasis on conflict to drive forward a cause and effect narrative, this unashamedly commercial model for screen story telling has proven phenomenally effective in producing both financially and critically successful films in a variety of genre, and will be further discussed later in this paper.

Collation and Discovery

Stella Bruzzi (2006) has suggested two distinct phases of "collation and discovery" and "assimilation and analysis"[18] in the production of the compilation film which will be useful as I consider my own role as film-maker of *The Archive*.

The period documented by Drucker's footage covers around 10 years during the 1940s and early 1950s, while his audio testimonies look back over his 80 year or so life span and were recorded in the mid to late 1980s. The third major archival element is the extensive 2000 page FBI surveillance file on Drucker, acquired by him after his return from exile which covers 43 years from 1929 until 1972. In addition, the film includes audio of an interview recorded with Drucker's daughter Susan in 2011.

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[17] Syd Field, Screenplay (New York: Dell Publishing, 1979)
[18] Bruzzi, New Documentary, 27

The footage comprises three cans of single reel Kodak 16mm film running to approximately half an hour as well as several rolls of 8mm film of just under one hour in duration. This includes film of David Drucker's trip to newly communist China and Hong Kong in 1952 as well as images of the family on a European tour that takes in Pisa, the Cote d'Azur and a visit to friends in Durham, UK. Additionally there are scenes shot in Sunnyside, Queens New York where the family lived and their upstate holiday home in Hillsdale.

The predominant picture is one of a comfortable middle class family in 1950s America with much of the home life footage shot in summertime with images of children and parents playing, dancing and swimming in a creek, as well as several scenes of tennis playing, evidently a favourite family pastime.

The footage evidences a particular technical ability and understanding of film-making not always apparent in family archive, with Drucker's camera work displaying expertise in a range of shots and compositions. These include nicely composed close-ups of his daughter Emily and a Chinese ferry master; a tracking shot – evidently taken from a rick-saw – as well as 'cinema verite' style images of street life in in 1950's Hong Kong. The depth and rich colour palette of much of the 16mm footage is striking given that it was more than 50 years old when it was digitised. The lower resolution 8mm footage hasn't survived so well and has lost much of its texture and contrast, displaying more washed out images.

Before his death in 1995 Drucker recorded an interview with American academic or journalist Marilyn Starr[19] in which he outlined his life, commitment to communism and travels to the Soviet Union as a recent graduate from Yale Law School in 1929, and again in 1932 with his new wife Esther; they had a second marriage in a Moscow registry office during the trip. He also discusses his working life as a New York lawyer from the late 1920s until the early 1950s, which included periods representing the Soviet Union and communist China in their external trading operations, as well as his surveillance by the FBI.

Apparently recorded on some sort of analogue tape recording device the audio is somewhat deteriorated and compromised by 'hum' but largely audible with some minor adjustment made using a post-production sound correction tool.

The detailed FBI surveillance file on Drucker was compiled over several decades using pro-forma reports, evidently as a way of standardising information on individuals under suspicion that would have come in from a large network of informants.[20] Their names and those of the FBI agents compiling the reports have been redacted, presumably to protect their identities. But a number of personally written and signed memos by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover concerning Drucker's activities are also included in the file, where his name and signature have been left un-redacted. The pro-formas and memos are type-written onto FBI crest headed note-paper. Some of the documents contain whole paragraphs that have been blacked out, again, presumably to conceal names, places and other sensitive information that the FBI were not ready to reveal at the time of the file's release to Drucker. He was able to obtain the

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[19] The purpose of this interview is unknown, possibly for an academic research project. The date of interview or further information about the interviewer is also unknown.
[20] Ted Morgan, Reds. McCarthyism in Twentieth Century America (New York. Random House, 2003), 585

file over several years based on a number of Freedom of Information requests he made to the FBI after his return from exile in 1977.[21]

Also included in the film is some original news footage of J. Edgar Hoover testifying at the House of Un-American Activities Committee[22] and a still of him at his desk which were acquired from a commercial stock footage library, and are the only elements of the film not drawn from the Drucker family archive.

In terms of visual and aural qualities of the film these historical sources have undergone little physical adjustment in their transition to the completed film. With the exception of minor sound and colour correction, the footage, audio and memos have essentially become the form of the film: 'cine-look' footage, 'hummy' audio and inky photo-stats of the type-written FBI memos.

Assimilation and Analysis[23]

While the starting point for the project was very much Drucker's extraordinary original 16mm Kodachrome footage documenting his adventures in the far east, a question emerged as to whether within the broader family archive there might be the potential for a film narrative as a way of presenting his story.

Drucker was long since deceased when the project came into development so there would be no opportunity for a participation by the protagonist himself whereby he could be asked questions in relation to the footage he shot or the FBI file entries detailing his activities over so many years.

With around 90 minutes of footage, nearly 3 hours of audio testimonies, 2000 pages of FBI file, and numerous family photos it was evident that if a film was to be produced there needed to be an organising structure. If the necessary moments of drama and conflict could be found within the materials then perhaps a three-act structure based on the Syd Field model[24] could be constructed, with Drucker re-framed for narrative purposes as main protagonist, or hero character, and Hoover as antagonist.

Archive materials have traditionally been thought of as a form of historical purism, allowing the historian a direct insight into in a particular moment in time as argued by Jamie Baron. "The footage has been 'found', and it therefore has an aura of being directly excavated from the past" (2014, 6)[25]

In the case of the film project under consideration here these materials also presented the opportunity for a plotted short film narrative perhaps in the genre of a historical or political thriller. But it became evident that in order to achieve this there would need to be a particularly high degree of authorial selectivity in the curation of the historical artefacts; a process that would inevitably bring further slippage in the connection between the archive media and its original referent as a layer of narrative signification is added.

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[21] Copies of David Drucker's letters of request for the surveillance information kept on him cover several years and indicate that the memos were only released to him in limited batches.
[22] Newsreel footage of HUAC (1947). Universal © original copyright holders.
[23] Bruzzi, New Documentary, 27
[24] Field, Screenplay
[25] Baron, The Archive Effect, 6

Drucker's audio testimony became key in providing not only a narrative voice and backbone for the film but also a pre-recorded 'script' of sorts full of potential plot points and moments of drama. After a set-up where Drucker's family and background are established, his employment by the *Amtorg* trading organisation[26] acts as the first plot point, propelling the narrative into the second act or confrontation, where the protagonist experiences a number of challenges and obstacles. This takes the form of two further plot points - grand jury appearance and office eviction – which took place over a 10 year period as represented by about two minutes of screen time.

In some scenes Drucker's description of events coincides neatly with an entry in the FBI file allowing the viewer to observe a contrast between the official version of events and his own, enabling the found archive to challenge the traditional orthodoxy of the official government record. At other times the images are more loosely used, so that an event described by Drucker might be illustrated by some family footage shot perhaps years prior or after.

The film comes closest to a historically accurate chronology as it moves into the third act when Drucker is invited to represent a Chinese-American export company in a similar legal role to his previous one for the *Amtorg* trading company. This final act begins with a perilous descent into Hong Kong airport for which it is unknown whether the footage we see on screen is of the actual event described. We then follow Drucker as he has his passport confiscated, is tailed by an FBI informant and is finally extradited home (climax) - where screen time at 4 minutes and story time of two weeks become the most closely aligned at any point in the film - before escape and exile in Mexico (resolution).

Drucker's role as protagonist is very much that of reactive to events; his actions are characterised not so much by obstacles to be overcome so that he can achieve an ultimate goal, but rather by his fight for survival and liberty in the face of an increasingly suspicious FBI. Nonetheless his narrative journey leading to ultimate salvation in the face of adversity does fit the role of main protagonist as under-dog that an audience can get behind.

Concluding Comments

"All was subordinated to the theme," said Esther Schub (Leyda 1964, 25)[27] with reference to her re-purposing of the Tsar's home movies in the service of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Similarly, it was for the purposes of constructing a genre narrative that the archive materials of *The Archive* were arranged, irrespective of their original intended purpose many decades earlier. As argued by Baron 'foundness' is not only a window onto the past but also identifies a material as distinct from that for which it has been purposely produced.

Furthermore, "The sense of the 'foundness' of the footage enhances its historical authority because what has been 'found' has not (ostensibly) been fabricated or shaped by the filmmaker who repurposes this footage." (Baron 2014, 6)[28]

Established signifiers of historical truth such as family archive film, audio testimonies and government documents have undoubtedly provided a degree of this 'historical authority' to

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[26] Amtorg was the external trading organisation of the Soviet Union responsible for procuring goods that couldn't be produced domestically; its New York office opened in 1924.
[27] Leyda, Films Beget Films, 25
[28] Baron, The Archive Effect, 6

The Archive - and fulfil this function in any number of historical documentaries - but in this case have also been utilised for their narrative worth.

While arguably the 'historical authority' of the original materials has been compromised by an editing strategy informed by a model for commercial film-making, I would argue it has also presented an opportunity for a new way of understanding this episode in US history, enabled particularly by its emphasis on conflict between two individuals. In the first instance J. Edgar Hoover and Drucker - a previously un-heard and un-known subject of FBI investigations - have been given 'equal billing' in the film. Each character and his political outlook is established in the first act of the film through footage, first person audio and a dissolve between photographs of Drucker and Hoover at the first major plot point.

Figure 2. David Drucker and J. Edgar Hoover, *The Archive, 2018*

Further moments of confrontation in the second act operate to give Drucker right of response to his accusers. For example, the Wall Street based *Amtorg* trading organisation which employed Drucker as a lawyer is described as a 'front organization', presumably for a Soviet spy ring, in the FBI memos.[29] This may have been the case but the editing strategy necessitated by the genre narrative approach has enabled an on-screen juxtaposition between Drucker's voice over and the FBI file entry at this plot point, which serves to challenge the official view.

Figure 3. FBI Memo, *The Archive, 2018*

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[29] Ted Morgan is in no doubt as to Amtorg's role as a front organisation for Soviet spies. Morgan, Reds. McCarthyism in Twentieth Century America, 115

In another scene we hear Drucker describe his work representing a company called 'Bookniga Inc.' 'as a lawyer for the Russians and which was the importer of Soviet books and periodicals' which according to the FBI memo we see on screen addressed to J. Edgar Hoover places Drucker, along with a number of other individuals, as 'Agents of Foreign Principals'.[30]
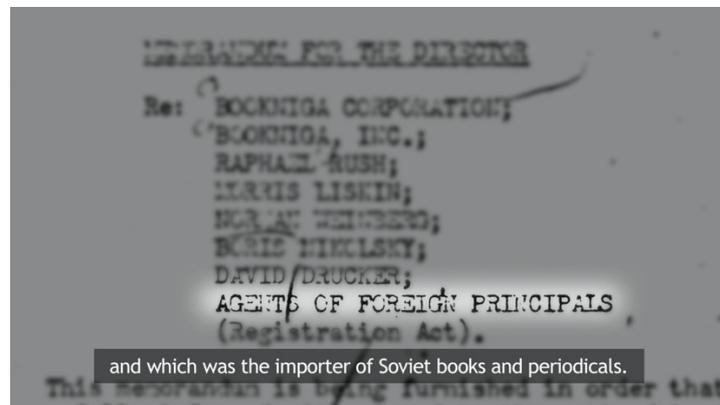
Figure 4. FBI Memo, *The Archive, 2018*

In this way the film is able to give voice to a target of FBI suspicion where previously the official, government record on the activities of Drucker and others like him would have likely prevailed as the accepted version of events. As Baron states,

"I contend that the presence of such documents in appropriation films may represent a democratizing of history and contribute to public knowledge about or experience of past events by including traces of otherwise unknown individuals into histories that previously accounted only for those who held the most social and political power." (Baron 2014, 82)[31]

Furthermore, in the case of *The Archive* the 'found' artefacts consisting of Drucker's first person audio testimony and shot footage bare a much closer indexical relationship to their referent than the 'official' written FBI documents, largely based on informant information, arguably giving them greater historical value in this context.

During the Hong Kong episode we hear Drucker's first person audio description and footage inter-cut and overlaid with rostrum shots of the FBI memos, where the two accounts of events largely support each other, so that in this instance Drucker's archive actually adds a degree of validity to the surveillance documents.

In addition to the opportunity provided by the film for Drucker to give his own version of events, the coming together of the FBI file and family archives documenting his life enable a fuller representation of the individual: both as loving family man diligent in documenting on film his daughters throughout their childhood years as well as a suspected Soviet spy - not that the two roles are mutually exclusive.

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[30] The Foreign Registration Act (FARA) was passed in 1938 and requires "certain agents of foreign principals who are engaged in political activities or other activities specified under the statute to make periodic public disclosure of their relationship with the foreign principal." FARA is enforced by the Counterintelligence and Export Control Section in the National Security Division. www.justice.gov/nsd-fara. Accessed 30th July 2020.
[31] Baron, The Archive Effect, 82

The Archive has screened to audiences in New York and Moscow, and at a number of international film festivals, which has enabled greater exposure for Drucker's story and its place in history – alongside many others like it.

To conclude, where the film-maker's imperative to tell a good story has undoubtedly deprived the artefacts of *The Archive* of a degree of their historical purity, the genre narrative approach has also presented an opportunity. Archive materials from two conflicting sources have been brought into close contact with each other through the film's editing strategy of juxtaposition and overlaying of media to create new understanding and perspective. Furthermore, this new context of juxtaposition between the two archives asks us to question the respective 'value' of these historic documents that may previously have been categorized according to a hierarchy of 'official' and 'found'.

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Baomu in China: The Portrayal of Female Domestic Workers in Newspapers and Social Media

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Abstract

This study investigates how female domestic workers, known as *Baomu*, are portrayed in Chinese news media. Extant studies have provided an enlightening insight that this group is increasingly framed as a non-negligible threat in newspapers with the growing social demand of domestic services and the heated discussion of several vicious crimes committed by some *Baomu* in recent years. Nevertheless, few studies have explored how the portrayal of this group varies across news media featuring different degrees of political control and commercialization. To fill the research void, this study combines the attribute agenda-setting and framing theory to examine how different agendas and frames of *Baomu* are privileged by the party-affiliated newspapers, non-party newspapers that are more market-oriented, and social media that are populated by diverse privately-owned news outlets. Therefore, 630 *Baomu*-themed pieces of news between July 2018 and July 2021 are sampled and collected for the quantitative content analysis, including 130 from party newspapers, 390 from non-party newspapers, and 110 from social media. It is found that the differences between party and non-party newspapers in their use of agendas and frames are not significant. Additionally, social media tends to use more arresting agendas and frames, while newspapers prefer agendas and frames concerning social economy and stability. This study is conducive to not only generating a more comprehensive understanding of the news outlets representation of *Baomu* but also testifying whether social media have the potential to offer an alternative portrayal that is distinct from newspapers.

Keywords: Female Domestic Workers, Party Newspapers, Non-Party Newspapers, Social Media, Agenda-Setting Theory, Framing Theory

1.   Introduction

In mainland China, *Baomu* is a term frequently used to describe female domestic workers who are often composed of rural migrant women. Either as a live-in or a part-timer, *Baomu* is usually responsible for looking after children, patients, and the elderly and in charge of cooking, cleaning, and other household chores (Sun, 2009; Tong, 2008). In most official discourse, a gender-neutral term "domestic workers" (*jiazheng fuwu renyuan*) is more favoured than the term *Baomu*, a female-connotation word, to overcome gender bias. Nevertheless, this replacement may obscure certain social issues such as gendered division of labour and unequal power relations as is argued by Wanning Sun (2009). Thus, this article will adopt the term *Baomu*, both for its popular usage and for its ability to capture social-economic tensions at the intersection of gender and class issues in contemporary China more accurately.

In recent decades, with the expanding urban middle-class, the social demand for *Baomu* hiring has been rapidly increasing (Tong, 2018). Despite a large number of this group, it is still marginalized institutionally and culturally. Without sufficient laws and legal contracts, their basic rights, minimum payment and working conditions can be hardly guaranteed (Sun, 2009; Ma, 2011), and their diverse fringe benefits including medical treatment and retirement benefits also tend to be lacking (Tong, 2018). In addition, the *hukou* system that differentiates the entire population between the urban and the rural further compounds urban/rural dualism and social discrimination against rural citizens who are usually considered to need to be modernised and civilised due to their low *suzhi* (Yan, 2006a, 2006b, 2010). All these factors predispose *Baomu* to become an alienated Other in media representations (Sun, 2009).

Since people's perceived reality is largely mediated by media, investigating the portrayal of *Baomu* on news media platforms is significant, since it may influence not only the public perception of this group but also *Baomu*'s own subjectivity. Extant studies (Sun, 2009; Li, 2018; Wu, 2018) have provided an enlightening insight that this group is increasingly framed as a non-negligible threat in news media against the backdrop of several vicious crimes committed by some *Baomu* in recent years. Nevertheless, few studies have explored how the portrayal of this group varies across news media featuring different degrees of political control and commercialization. Thus, to fill the research void, agenda-setting and framing theories are employed to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: How do party-affiliated newspapers and non-party newspapers portray *Baomu* differently in terms of the use of agendas and frames?

RQ2: How do newspapers and social media portray *Baomu* differently in terms of the use of agendas and frames?

2.   Literature Review

2.1 Agendas in Representing *Baomu*

The attribute agenda-setting, also named as the second-level agenda-setting, can be utilized to examine the relative salience of the attributes possessed by the object (McCombs, 2006; Weaver, 2007), namely, *Baomu* in this research. The attribute agenda-setting can be categorized into the substantive and the affective aspects. The substantive dimension deals with the factual information that media selectively cover to help the audience cognitively understand (Wanta & Alkazemi, 2018), while the affective attributes refer to the tone of the media coverage to elicit the audience's emotions (Kiousis et al., 1999; Wanta & Alkazemi,

2018), including the positive, negative and neutral tone.

Seven substantive agendas related to the representation of *Baomu* can be identified in the existing studies, which are enlightening for this research. They include Social compassion agenda concentrating on the assistance that *Baomu* receives from the government or society (Sun, 2009), Sexuality and marriage agenda emphasising *Baomu*'s unbridled sexuality and marital lives (Sun, 2008, 2009), Deviance and criminality agenda emphasising *Baomu*'s violations of social norms and laws (Li, 2018; Wu, 2018), Personal struggle agenda concentrating on the difficulties *Baomu* encounter in work and persona life (Li, 2018; Wu, 2018), Right infringement and protection agenda concentrating on the invasion and protection of *Baomu*'s rights (Li, 2018), and Market expectation and employment agenda emphasising market's requirements for *Baomu* and the industrial employment conditions (Li, 2018; Wu, 2018), Self-fulfilment and contribution agenda concentrating on *Baomu*'s sense of fulfilment and contribution to society (Wu, 2018), and Emotional bonds agenda emphasizing the harmonious relationships between *Baomu* and their employers' families (Wu, 2018). Furthermore, Spiritual life agenda is also proposed based on the preliminary sampling which focuses on *Baomu*'s spiritual and cultural life during their leisure time.

2.2 Frames in Representing *Baomu*

In addition to the attribute-agendas, media frames are of equal importance to examine *Baomu*'s portrayal. Entman's (1993, p.52) frequently cited statement defines frames as a way to select certain facets of the perceived reality to make them more salient, so that "problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" can be promoted. On the one hand, attribute agenda-setting overlaps with framing, for they are both concerned with *how* rather than *what* objects are reported and may influence the audience's thinking patterns (Weaver, 2007; McCombs, 2006). On the other hand, framing extends beyond attribute agenda-setting, since framing also involves a series of interpretive schemas and may function as an explicit or implied argument (Callaghan & Schnell, 2011).

Two typologies of frames suggested by de Vreese (2005) are helpful, namely, generic frames and issue-specific frames. Generic frames transcend the restraints of themes and can be universally applied to a different context, while issue-specific frames concentrate on the specificity and details relevant to the issues (de Vreese, 2005). Currently, the frames used to analyse *Baomu*'s media representation involve three generic frames: Conflict frame focusing on the conflict between *Baomu* and others (Li, 2018), Responsibility frame which attributes the cause of an issue to *Baomu*, their employers or agencies (Li, 2018), and Economic consequence frame concentrating on the economic impacts on *Baomu*, employers, and society (Li, 2018). Apart from them, the other four generic frames are also relevant: Morality frame which interprets issues with moral expectations, Human interest frame portraying *Baomu* from an emotional angle, Factual information frame which straightforwardly presents sensitive information about *Baomu* without indicating implications or moral judgements, and Leadership frame focusing on the actions or speeches of a leader of an institution.

Baomu's image serves as the issue-specific frames for more precise analysis: The vulnerable image, portraying *Baomu* as a victim and focusing on the struggles and difficulties they suffer from; Threat image, portraying *Baomu* as criminals who infringe employers' property rights or individuals who behave inappropriately and breach social norms; The unprofessional image, portraying *Baomu* as if they cannot perform their jobs properly and are indolent or

negligent while working; and Role model image, portraying *Baomu* positively, configuring them as qualified workers or individuals who make contributions to society.

2.3 Representation on Different Kinds of News Media

Shoemaker and Reese (1991) propose a hierarchical influence model to explain how various factors may affect media agendas and frames. From the organisational level, media platforms with disparate ownerships, purposes, and values may contribute to distinct agendas and frames in portraying *Baomu*.

Newspapers in mainland China are all owned by the state, but their degree of political control and commercialisation tends to vary for party and non-party newspapers (Kuang & Wei, 2018). Heavily relying on the state's organs' mandatory subscription as their major revenue source, party outlets are tightly controlled by the Party-state and are responsible for diffusing policies, guidelines, and other more serious content (Wei, 1999; Shao, 2002). In contrast, their non-party counterparts are more self-sufficient and enjoy more autonomy to generate entertaining content to cater to the market (Liebman, 2005; Huang, 2001; Wei, 1990). Departing from the state-owned newspapers, social media are populated by diverse privately-owned news outlets.

Although the existing research comparing the representation of *Baomu* between party and non-party newspapers is scarce, relative research concerning rural migrants is fruitful and illuminating. Regarding party outlets, they usually portray rural migrants in a positive light (Hu, 2014; Huang, 2013; Mei et al., 2019), highlight their contribution to society, and construct them as role models (Hu, 2014; Yin, 2016). Since party newspapers are often regarded as "mouthpieces" of government (Kuang, 2014), they are also estimated to use more Leadership and Factual information frames to explain political policies and reduce public debate than non-party outlets. Accordingly, two hypotheses are proposed:
Hypothesis 1 (a): Party newspapers use more Self-fulfilment and contribution agenda and Positive tone than non-party newspapers.
Hypothesis 2 (b): Party newspapers use more Leadership and Factual information frames and Role model image than non-party newspapers.

For non-party newspapers, a negative stance is frequently adopted (Wu, 2018; Mei et al., 2019) to capture audiences' attention (Marcus, et al., 2000). Accordingly, agendas concerning criminality and sexuality (Wu, 2018; Mei et al., 2019; Li & Bo, 2017; Li, 2018; Sun, 2008, 2009) are often used to blame *Baomu* and rural migrants as the cause of various vicious events and mark them as the urban and domestic threat (Wu, 2018; Mei et al., 2019; Li & Bo, 2017; Li, 2018; Sun, 2008, 2009). Based on these, two relevant hypotheses are suggested:
Hypothesis 2 (a): Non-party newspapers use more Deviance and criminality agenda, Personal struggle agenda and Negative tone than party newspapers.
Hypothesis 2 (b): Non-party newspapers use more Responsibility frame, Threat and The vulnerable images than party newspapers.

In contrast with bountiful studies on newspaper representation, the portrayal of rural migrants and *Baomu* on social media is rarely explored. Hence, hypotheses concerning the representation of *Baomu* on social media are not proposed.

3.   Data and Methods

Content analysis was employed as the research method. In total, 630 pieces of news with the keyword of "Baomu" in titles were examined in this study. These include 130 pieces of news from party newspapers and 390 pieces of news from non-party newspapers, with the publication time from July 2018 to July 2021, and 110 social media news articles posted in the same duration. News articles from newspapers were collected from the database WiseSearch, a Chinese news data provider. Among these newspapers, those affiliated to party and government organizations belonged to party newspapers, and the others belonged to non-party newspapers. In terms of news articles from social media, they were collected from the top 500 popular WeChat official accounts in 2020 according to NEWRANK, an authoritative data provider for cross-platform ranking of media content.

After data collection, 20 percent of the entire sample was used to test the inter-coder reliability. For most variables, the inter-coder reliability was above .70 (See Table 1 & 2). A series of chi-square tests was performed in SPSS to answer research questions. In addition to the p value, effect size was also measured using Creamer's V, because the variables (media types, agendas, and frames) involved were nominal. The statistical significance level was set at alpha = 0.05; for the r family of effect size measures (Creamer's V included), 0.5, 0.3 and 0.1, respectively, represented the cutting points for 'strong', 'medium' and 'weak' associations.

Types of frames	Frame names	Scott's Pi
Generic frames	Conflict frame	0.74
	Responsibility frame	0.76
	Morality frame	0.74
	Economic consequence frame	0.70
	Human interest frame	0.78
	Factual information frame	0.83
	Leadership frame	0.70
Issue-specific frames	The vulnerable image	0.76
	Threat image	0.92
	The unprofessional image	0.68
	Role model image	0.88

Table 1. Inter-coder reliability of variables of agenda and tone

Types of agendas	Agenda names	Scott's Pi
Attribute agendas	Personal struggle	0.84
	Deviance and criminality	0.90
	Sexuality and marriage	0.79
	Right infringement and protection	0.65
	Spiritual life	1.00
	Self-fulfillment and contribution	0.66
	Emotional bonds	0.97
	Social compassion	1.00
	Market expectation and employment	0.67
Tones	Overall tone	0.69

Table 2. Inter-coder reliability of variables of frame

4. Results

4.1 Agendas and Frames Used in Newspapers

4.1.1   Newspapers' General Preference on Agendas and Frames

According to the collected data, party and non-party newspapers have a similar tendency of agenda and frame choices (see Table 3 and Table 4). In all agendas, Market expectation and employment agenda is most favoured in both party and non-party newspapers, used by 53.1% of party newspapers and 46.9% of non-party newspapers respectively. The secondly preferred agenda for both party and non-party newspapers is Deviance and criminality agenda (26.9% and 29.2% respectively). In addition, the most preferred tone for both is the neutral tone (53.1% and 60.5% respectively).

In terms of frames, Economic consequence frame is favoured mostly by both party and non-party newspapers (74.6% and 64.9% respectively), which is followed by Responsibility frame (40.8% and 49.0% respectively). Moreover, *Baomu* is more likely to be portrayed as Threat image and Role model image in newspapers, but there is a slight difference between party and non-party newspapers, which will be elaborated in the next section.

Agenda/Tone	Party newspapers	Non-party newspapers
Personal struggle agenda	10.0%	6.7%
Deviance and criminality agenda	26.9%	29.2%
Sexuality and marriage agenda	1.5%	6.4%
Right infringement and protection agenda	6.2%	5.6%
Spiritual life agenda	0.8%	0.5%
Self-fulfillment and contribution agenda	8.5%	4.6%
Emotional bonds agenda	13.8%	10.8%
Social compassion agenda	2.3%	2.1%
Market expectation and emplyment agenda	53.1%	46.9%
Negative tone	8.5%	10.0%
Neutral tone	53.1%	60.5%
Positive tone	24.6%	18.5%

A piece of news can simultaneously use more than one agenda and frame, so the percentage of all agendas and frames add up to more than 100.

Table 3. A description of agendas used in party newspapers and non-party newspapers

Frame	Party newspapers	Non-party newspapers
Conflict frame	7.7%	15.1%
Responsibility frame	40.8%	49.0%
Morality frame	12.3%	12.8%
Economic consequence frame	74.6%	64.9%
Human interest frame	20.8%	27.7%
Factual information frame	5.4%	4.1%
Leadership frame	5.4%	5.1%
The vulnerable image	6.9%	13.8%
Threat image	30.0%	37.2%
The unprofessional image	2.3%	8.7%
Role model image	36.9%	26.7%

A piece of news can simultaneously use more than one agenda and frame, so the percentage of all agendas and frames add up to more than 100.

Table 4. A description of frames used in party newspapers and non-party newspapers

4.1.2   Newspaper Types and Selection of Agendas and Frames

A series of chi-square analyses were conducted to check the four hypotheses derived from Research Question 1 that concerns the differences between party and non-party newspapers' agendas and frames using (see Table 5 and Table 6). For H1a, the p values of Self-fulfilment agenda and Positive tone are 0.098 and 0.300 respectively with low V values at 0.073 and 0.084, which means there is no significant difference between party and non-party newspapers in these two variables, so H1a is rejected. As for frames, the p values of Leadership frame and Factual information frame are also higher than 0.05 (0.909 and 0.538 respectively) with low V values at 0.005 and 0.027, so the difference in these two variables is also not significant. Although the p value of the variable Role model image is 0.026, the V value is 0.098, lower than 0.1, indicating an extremely weak association between the use of this image and newspaper types. Therefore, H1b is rejected.

Agenda/Tone	Party newspapers (N=130)	Non-party newspapers (N=390)	Chi-square tests	
			p	V
Personal struggle agenda	10.0%	6.7%	0.211	0.055
Deviance and criminality agenda	26.9%	29.2%	0.614	0.022
Sexuality and marriage agenda	1.5%	6.4%	0.030	0.095
Right infringement and protection agenda	6.2%	5.6%	0.828	0.010
Spiritual life agenda	0.8%	0.5%	0.738	0.015
Self-fulfillment and contribution agenda	8.5%	4.6%	0.098	0.073
Emotional bonds agenda	13.8%	10.8%	0.342	0.042
Social compassion agenda	2.3%	2.1%	0.086	0.008
Market expectation and emplyment agenda	53.1%	46.9%	0.224	0.053
Negative tone	8.5%	10.0%	0.300	0.084
Neutral tone	53.1%	60.5%	0.300	0.084
Positive tone	24.6%	18.5%	0.300	0.084

Table 5. A comparison of agendas used in party and non-party newspapers

For H2a, the *p* values of Deviance and criminality agenda, Personal struggle agenda, and Negative tone are all high at 0.614, 0.211 and 0.300 respectively, with *V* at 0.022, 0.055 and 0.084, lower than 0.1, so H2a is rejected. In terms of frames, a notable point is the *p* value of Responsibility frame is 0.015 with a *V* at 0.164 indicating a weak association, but that is because news can be coded differently under this frame according to different liable subjects in news. Moreover, 40.8% of party newspapers use this frame, while the number for non-party newspapers is 49%, so this difference is not very outstanding. For The threat image, the *p* is high at 0.138 and the *V* is low at 0.065, and for the image of the vulnerable, the *p* is low at 0.036, but with a low *V* at 0.092, so for both variables of the image, the differences are still not significant. Thus, H2b is rejected.

Frame	Party newspapers (N=130)	Non-party newspapers (N=390)	Chi-square tests *p*	*V*
Conflict frame	7.7%	15.1%	0.112	0.107
Responsibility frame	40.8%	49.0%	0.015	0.164
Morality frame	12.3%	12.8%	0.843	0.026
Economic consequence frame	74.6%	64.9%	0.040	0.090
Human interest frame	20.8%	27.7%	0.119	0.068
Factual information frame	5.4%	4.1%	0.538	0.027
Leadership frame	5.4%	5.1%	0.909	0.005
The vulnerable image	6.9%	13.8%	0.036	0.092
Threat image	30.0%	37.2%	0.138	0.065
The unprofessional image	2.3%	8.7%	0.014	0.108
Role model image	36.9%	26.7%	0.026	0.098

Table 6. A comparison of frames used in party and non-party newspapers

In brief, the agendas and frames that party and non-party newspapers use to portray *Baomu* demonstrate no significant differences basically, which serves as one major finding.

4.2 Agendas and Frames Used in Newspapers and Social Media

4.2.1   Social Media's General Preference on Agendas and Frames

As for agendas used in social media, Deviance and criminality agenda ranks the first at 50.9%, while in newspapers it is Market expectation and employment agenda at 48.5%. Negative tone is more privileged on social media accounting for 29.1%, which is contrary to newspapers' widely-used positive tone at 20.0% (see Table 7).

Agenda/Tone	Newspapers	Social media
Personal struggle agenda	7.5%	13.6%
Deviance and criminality agenda	28.7%	50.9%
Sexuality and marriage agenda	5.2%	11.8%
Right infringement and protection agenda	5.8%	6.4%
Spiritual life agenda	0.6%	1.8%
Self-fulfillment and contribution agenda	5.6%	4.5%
Emotional bonds agenda	11.5%	5.5%
Social compassion agenda	2.1%	0.0%
Market expectation and emplyment agenda	48.5%	14.5%
Negative tone	9.6%	29.1%
Neutral tone	58.7%	60.0%
Positive tone	20.0%	8.2%

A piece of news can simultaneously use more than one agenda and frame, so the percentage of all agendas and frames add up to more than 100.

Table 7. A description of agendas used in newspapers and social media

Frame	Newspapers	Social media
Conflict frame	13.3%	32.7%
Responsibility frame	46.9%	64.5%
Morality frame	12.5%	2.7%
Economic consequence frame	67.3%	46.4%
Human interest frame	26.0%	47.3%
Factual information frame	4.4%	4.5%
Leadership frame	5.2%	0.9%
The vulnerable image	12.1%	18.2%
Threat image	35.4%	58.2%
The unprofessional image	7.1%	6.4%
Role model image	29.2%	13.6%

A piece of news can simultaneously use more than one agenda and frame, so the percentage of all agendas and frames add up to more than 100.

Table 8. A description of frames used in newspapers and social media

With regard to frames, Responsibility frame and Human interest frame are more favoured in social media, each at 64.5% and 47.3%. In newspapers, the top two were Economic consequence frame at 67.3% and Responsibility frame at 46.9%. For images, Threat image is more common at 29.2% in social media, and Role model image was more widely used with the proportion at 58.2 % in newspapers (see Table 8).

4.2.2   Newspapers' and Social Media's Selection of Agendas and Frames

According to the statistics, the significant distinction between newspapers and social media when portraying *Baomu* helps to answer Research Question 2 (see Table 9 and Table 10). Regarding the agenda use, Table 9 illustrates that newspapers use Market expectation and employment agenda much more frequently than social media, with the proportions of 48.5% and 14.5% respectively. The low *p* value approaching 0 means this difference is statistically

significant, and the V value is 0.260, reflecting a medium association. Similarly, social media shows a higher frequency in using Deviance and criminality agenda than newspapers, for the former one at 50.9%, and the latter one at 28.7%. This can also be reflected in the low p value approaching 0, and the corresponding V value of 0.180. As for the tone used, 29.1% of social media news articles use the negative tone, more frequently than do the newspapers (9.6%). Instead, newspapers employ a more positive tone with a proportion of 20%, and the percentage for social media is 8.2%. Both of their p values are extremely close to 0 and V values are 0.254, indicating the statistical significance and strong relation.

Meanwhile, the framing of *Baomu* issues in newspapers and social media reveals huge differences as well. Newspapers use Economic consequence frame much more often than do social media, with a comparison of 67.3% versus 46.4%. The difference is also significant with the p value extremely close to 0, and the V value of 0.165. Nevertheless, social media are more likely to use Responsibility frame, with a proportion of 64.5% compared to the proportion of 46.9% in newspapers. The second and third favoured frames for social media are Human interest frame at 47.3% (compared with 26% in newspapers) and Conflict frame at 32.7% (compared with 13.3% in newspapers). The p values for all these variables are extremely small (0.010, 0.000 and 0.000 respectively), and the corresponding V values are 0.155, 0.177 and 0.210 respectively, suggesting their statistical significance. For the use of image, Threat image is more often used in social media at 58.2%, compared with 35.4% in newspapers. With the small p value approaching 0 and V value of 0.177, the significance is confirmed. By the same token, newspapers use Role model image more frequently than social media, with the proportion of 29.2% versus 13.6%. The p value is 0.001 and the V value is 0.134, which indicates the significance is statistical.

Agenda/Tone	Social media (N=110)	Newspapers (N=520)	Chi-square tests p	V
Personal struggle agenda	13.6%	7.5%	0.037	0.083
Deviance and criminality agenda	50.9%	28.7%	0.000	0.180
Sexuality and marriage agenda	11.8%	5.2%	0.010	0.103
Right infringement and protection agenda	6.4%	5.8%	0.810	0.010
Spiritual life agenda	1.8%	0.6%	0.183	0.053
Self-fulfillment and contribution agenda	4.5%	5.6%	0.664	0.017
Emotional bonds agenda	5.5%	11.5%	0.058	0.075
Social compassion agenda	0.0%	2.1%	0.124	0.061
Market expectation and employment agenda	14.5%	48.5%	0.000	0.260
Negative tone	29.1%	9.6%	0.000	0.254
Neutral tone	60.0%	58.7%	0.000	0.254
Positive tone	8.2%	20.0%	0.000	0.254

Table 9. A comparison of agendas used in newspapers and social media

Frame	Social media (N=110)	Newspapers (N=520)	Chi-square tests p	V
Conflict frame	32.7%	13.3%	0.000	0.210
Responsibility frame	64.5%	46.9%	0.010	0.155
Morality frame	2.7%	12.5%	0.010	0.121
Economic consequence frame	46.4%	67.3%	0.000	0.165
Human interest frame	47.3%	26.0%	0.000	0.177
Factual information frame	4.5%	4.4%	0.955	0.002
Leadership frame	0.9%	5.2%	0.048	0.079
The vulnerable image	18.2%	12.1%	0.087	0.068
Threat image	58.2%	35.4%	0.000	0.177
The unprofessional image	6.4%	7.1%	0.779	0.011
Role model image	13.6%	29.2%	0.001	0.134

Table 10. A comparison of frames used in party and non-party newspapers

In brief, the agendas and frames that newspapers and social media use to portray *Baomu* have some significant differences. For agendas, social media more prefers Deviance and criminality, while newspapers prefer Market expectation and employment agenda; for overall tone used, social media is more likely to use negative tone, but newspapers are more likely to use a positive tone. In terms of frames, social media prefers Responsibility frame, Human interest frame, and Conflict frame compared with newspapers, and newspapers prefer Economic consequence frame compared with social media. In addition, for the choice of image, social media is more likely to portray *Baomu* as Threat image, while newspapers are more likely to portray them as Role model image. The difference between social media and newspapers serves as another major finding.

5. Discussion

In extant studies, *Baomu* (female domestic workers) are often included in the group of rural migrant workers and studied as a whole. Nonetheless, given the specific attributions and issues of *Baomu*, such as gendered division of labour, *Baomu* is innovatively studied as a separate group in this research. Through examining this group's portrayal in newspapers (both party and non-party) and social media, this research tries to fill the research gap of how such the marginalized group is represented both in official and unofficial discourse.

5.1 Newspapers: Party and Non-party

According to the degree of political control and commercialization, Chinese newspapers can be generally categorized into party and non-party newspapers. It is also because of these differences and the degree of censorship that studies comparing the two often find their choice of agendas and usage of frames have certain nuances. Kuang & Wei (2018), for instance, find that for nationally and locally sensitive issues, party and non-party newspapers tend to adopt different agendas and frameworks. However, the results of this research suggest that the coverage of *Baomu* is more consistent in terms of the agendas and frames employed by both party and non-party newspapers. Such convergence in the portrayal of *Baomu* in the two types of newspapers seems to be understood for several reasons.

Firstly, since the 1990s, the decline of the major party newspapers has led to the realization that what the public needs is no longer a mouthpiece of the government but a newspaper that

cares more about their daily lives (Wei, 1999). As a result, non-party newspapers have gradually emerged. However, Wei (1999) still draws an analogy between the relationship of the two types and "a mother-son relationship", implying that the emergence of non-party newspapers still fails to change the leader-led relationship between the two. The party newspaper still has an influential political, economic and organizational guidance on the non-party newspapers, such as ensuring non-party newspapers conform to the party's guidelines and policies and reviewing its reporting plans and important articles. As a result, many non-party newspapers, even though they have a degree of freedom, still trans-print a great deal of information from mainstream party newspapers with minor language revision to guarantee that they can successfully pass censorship. In addition to the dependence of non-party newspapers on party newspapers, there has also been a gradual stylistic convergence of party newspapers on non-party newspapers. After the reform and opening up of the country, the use of party newspapers for political education for all no longer seemed effective (Wei, 1999). Party newspapers' official and preaching style led to their inability to attract readers (Wen, 2016). As a result, in 2012 the government proposed that party newspapers should move closer to non-party newspapers in terms of writing style so that they can narrow the distance between them and the public. Therefore, in the portrayal of *Baomu*, it is perhaps the interdependence and stylistic convergence between party and non-party newspapers that has led to such homogenization.

5.2 Newspapers and Social Media

Unlike the high homogenization appearing in the party and non-party newspapers, this research demonstrates that there are some differences in the strategies used by social media and newspapers in terms of agendas and frames, after comparing newspapers as a whole to social media.

Different from newspapers, which are censored and primarily serve government propaganda, social media is more market-oriented. Its profit-making goal leads it to be more likely to create sensational stories to attract more audience (Kilgo, Harlow, García-Perdomo & Salaverría, 2018). In this way, Human interest frame, portraying *Baomu* from an emotional perspective is favored by social media. Furthermore, scandals with a voyeuristic tendency can also provoke audiences' curiosity (Grabe et al., 2001; Vettehen et al., 2005), which can explain why Deviance and criminal agenda, highlighting violations of social norms and laws among *Baomu* (Li, 2018), is preferred by social media as well. Furthermore, social media has a certain tendency to cater to the taste of elite groups and support their values (Jakobsson, Lindell & Stiernstedt, 2021), and thus the coverage on social media are more focused on their needs and satisfaction (Chen, Shi, Guo, Wang & Li, 2019). That is why *Baomu*, a group that serves the middle or elite class, is often portrayed as Threat image, accompanied by a negative tone. The frequent use of Conflict frame and Responsibility frame, discussing whether *Baomu* should be responsible for some mistakes, is also make sense.

Conversely, newspapers are engaged in political propaganda, which means that they need to promote core and positive values in line with the call of the 19th Party Congress. Therefore, newspapers extensively use role model images with a positive tone to calm public panic about *Baomu* and correct prejudicial impressions of the whole group to maintain social harmony. Apart from that, newspapers usually, from a macro perspective, focus on topics concerning the development of the *Baomu* industry to explain relevant industry regulations and the positive impact of the domestic worker industry on the national economy. In this context, Market expectations and employment agenda and Economic consequence frame are

more common in newspapers.

6. Conclusion

This research examines how the marginalized group of *Baomu* is portrayed in different news outlets, on the basis of agenda-setting and framing theory. The portrayal of *Baomu* is found quite unoptimistic. Newspapers are accustomed to portraying the domestic service industry as a whole from a macro-political and economic perspective and rarely pay enough attention to the real lives of *Baomu*. Newspapers also promote role models of *Baomu* to achieve a harmonious society. Social media, by contrast, prefers to portray them in a negative and sensational light. As a result, both of them seem to portray this group in an indifferent and unsympathetic manner without sufficient humanistic care. The highly generalized and official portrayal in newspapers and the stigmatized portrayal in social media might further marginalize *Baomu*.

Although this research fills the void in the study of *Baomu* to some extent, it inevitably has limitations. In terms of the coverage on social media, this research only selected news articles posted on WeChat as a sample of social media news but did not take into account the news posted on other social media news with different audiences and characteristics, which means that the social media news sample in this research may slightly lack representativeness. Therefore, future research could collect news from a diverse range of social media to explore more comprehensively how different news outlets portray vulnerable groups.

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A Success of Content Communication Through Y-Series: A Case Study of 2gether the Series

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Abstract

The research entitled "A Content Communication through the Y-Series Entitled 2gether The Series" is a qualitative research aimed to study 1) the content presentation in y-series entitled 2gether The Series and 2) the exposure to the content of the y-series entitled 2gether The Series. The purposive sampling method was applied; and the y-series entitled 2gether The Series was selected. The qualitative approaches were used by analyzing play scripts and discussing with audiences of the series. The research findings were as following: 1) The narration was created based on a love story of university students that connected to the audiences of all ages. The characteristic of creative works was produced through the tradition of y-series which presented gays as main actors. The story was fun and realistic. Even though there were obstacles between 2 main characters, it finally became a happy ending. 2) The approaches raising the exposure to the content of 2gether The Series were the well-known theme songs among audiences that were rearranged to fit with the story. This created parallel experience by watching on both television and online media linking with hatch tag together with casting the right actor for the right character. The business strategy was implemented through fan meeting activities, which were considered as popular marketing events for a successful series to become a viral trend among audiences.

Keywords: Thaiboyslove, 2gether The Series, Thai Drama Television

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Introduction

The y-series is a television drama whose meaning is derived from 2 words including "TV series" and "Y" adopted from Yaoi in Japanese language. In Thailand, TV series is a series whose broadcasting length is about 30-60 minutes/episode broadcast once a week. Each episode has its own ending; there's a conflict to be revealed at the end. The letter "Y" or Yaoi is an initial of a Japanese manga presenting a relationship of male homosexual whose target audiences are women. Consequently, Yaoi is considered as a manga by women for women.

In terms of subculture, the relationship of male homosexual may be called "boys' love" which represents a love story of homosexual characters. The boys' love is different from LGBTQ's story because the y-series is forwarded among women and its story does not engage with LGBTQ. Therefore, the y-series typically presents the story of male homosexual which is created by women and consumed among women.

2gether The Series was based on the novel composed by "JittiRain", a female writer. It is therefore considered as a y-novel composed by a female author. The story is about "Tine", performed by "Metawin Opas-iamkajorn", who wishes to find a true love in a masculine style in the university; but he has to meet "Green", a pestering boy trying to flirt with "Tine" and never giving up. Consequently, "Tine" has to ask "Sarawat", performed by "Vachirawit Chiva-aree" to be his fake boyfriend. Because of the intimacy and incoming obstacles, their love grows. This y-series was firstly broadcast every Friday on GMM25 at 10.00 p.m. during February 21st – May 15th, 2020.

The series have been popular among a large number of audiences. The 2 major characters including "Metawin Opas-iamkajorn" and "Vachirawit Chiva-aree" have become more famous; and the number of followers, a current measure of popularity, on their personal Instagram has dramatically increased. The success of 2gether The Series has not only been well-known in Thailand but also in Philippines, Laos, Indonesia, China and Japan together with Latin-American countries. Thailand has finally got a reputation as a producer of the y-series because a lot of y-series have been produced and received positive feedback from audiences.

Accordingly, the researcher would like to study the strategy leading to a success of content communication through Y-Series: a case study of 2gether The Series, a widely popular series making other audiences get to know more about the y-series which were originally known among female audience groups only. 2gether The Series has got a wider target audience so the researcher would like to find out the key success factors leading 2gether The Series to the larger groups of audience as well as being accepted by a large number of audiences and to create a case study for other y-series producers in the future.

Objectives of the Study

1. To study the content presentation in y-series entitled 2gether The Series
2. To study the exposure to the content of the y-series entitled 2gether The Series

Research Framework

| Content creation of 2gether The Series

- Narration
- Communication through characters | → | Exposure to the content of audiences

- Online feedback

- Exposure to actors

- Daily life experiences

- Technologies

- Marketing strategies | → | Success of content communication through 2gether The Series

- Narration
- Acting
- Language and culture
- Marketing strategy setting |
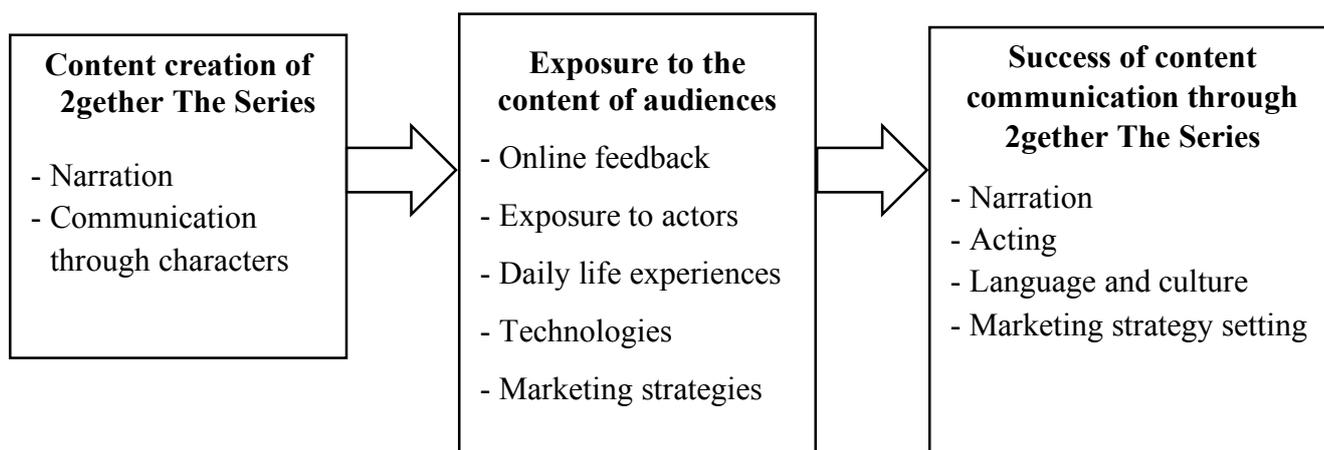
Research Methodology

The research entitled "A Success of Content Communication through Y-Series: A Case Study of 2gether The Series" was a qualitative research. The research methodology consisted research population and sample, research instrument, data collection, data analysis and research findings; and the researcher presented the analysis of data in descriptions.

The research population was a group of audiences watching 2gether The Series. 15 audiences were selected using purposive sampling technique. A group discussion with the sample was conducted using a semi-structured interview protocol to study the exposure to the content and the addiction to 2gether The Series.

2gether The Series was analyzed using content analysis technique together with the analysis of narration structure, TV drama script of its 13 broadcast episodes and the review of literature gathered from documents, researches and news; and the results gained from the analysis had mentioned in the discussion.

Research Results

The research results were divided into 2 parts according to research objectives as following:

Part 1 Content Presentation in Y-Series Entitled 2gether the Series

Figure 1. 2gether The Series

Source: GMMTV

The content presented in 2gether The Series was analyzed according to the concept of narration as follows.

Narration of the series had its own ending within one episode performed by actors. Its opening was under the condition of love. "Tine", a major character, narrated his experience towards friendship and girlfriends. He was disappointed with his ex-girlfriends, so he tried to find a partner again without realizing that the match he met this time would be different from the one he had previously dated. "Sarawat", another major character with difficult-to-access characteristics, was a person with a high privacy. He had to help pretend to be a boyfriend for "Tine" in order to make "Green" another young man who clearly flirted with Tine. Because of his look similar to a dazzling and outgoing girl, "Tine" who was still interested in women, had to find a woman to be a fake girlfriend; but it didn't work. Therefore, he had to try to find a man with the same characteristics to make Green restrain his passion. Being under the condition of a fake boyfriend between "Tine" and "Sarawat", the two male characters learned from each other with the background of the university. The story about the characters of the y- series applied a life of college students as the plot to make it easier to continue on matters that might present content required to be communicated beyond the youth level.

In terms of conflict, there were opposite characters in the story who were hindering relationship between "Tine" and "Sarawat". The attitude of "Tine", who was still confused about whether he liked females or males, was different from "Sarawat", who initially didn't show any attitude at first in order to hide his feelings towards "Tine" and thought that "Tine" would not like a man like him.

The climax occurred when the turning point breaking point of the story or the condition requiring certain decision making from the characters in the series. For 2gether The Series,

the climax was in the situation that "Sarawat" could not hide his feeling towards "Tine". He could not bear to see that Tine, his secret admirer, was about to tell another woman that he liked her. Furthermore, "Tine" realized that "Sarawat" had known that "Green", who was the reason why "Tine" had to ask him to become a fake boyfriend, had already had a boyfriend who was a senior musician in the same club as "Sarawat". Indeed, Green already had a boyfriend who was a senior musician in the same club as the Sarawat. Including the story that "Sarawat" had met Tine before since the previous year, the whole story sounded like "Tine" had been deceived and "Sarawat" had planned everything.

The resolution of the story in 2gether The Series was when hidden story had been explained and clarified. It was time for "Tine" and "Sarawat" to learn about their feelings towards each other followed by trying to live as a couple.

The story of the series had opened up new conflicts by presenting secondary partners, such as Tine's brother with Sarawat's friend and Sarawat's brother with his senior in the university; It ended with the opposite character, Sarawat's ex-lover, to be the ending point of the story so that "Tine" and "Sarawat" could learn to love in their own ways. In order to present the content about the relationship of the 2 major characters, known as a service for fan club, the love scenes were presented in the same expression as presented by heterosexual couples.

The ending of 2gether The Series was the conclusion of all relationships in the series which allowed audiences to capture their appreciation through the series theme songs of Scrubb Band before saying goodbye to audiences.

The narrative structure in 2gether The Series was similar to other drama series. In the beginning, it introduced the characters through conflicts to the critical point followed by relaxing point end the end of the story. The highlight was the selection of theme songs belonging to the band called Scrubb, a famous band since 2005 to present, as part of the story. Consequently, audiences were familiar with the content, music and melody of theme songs which made 2gether The Series different and unique. Moreover, the genre of the drama was a romantic comedy style which made the content attractive.

Due to its narration telling stories about male homosexual in terms of group culture, the expression of its values, norms and identities were different from the mainstream sexuality group. The love between 2 major male characters was personal issue and the plot did not say that the characters were LGBTQ, but were male characters who were in love with a specific person only. Thus, there will be differences with the mainstream groups in different dimensions throughout the narration including conflicts with mainstream sexuality groups, LGBTQ groups, mental conflicts, the issue of same-sex preferences, self-acceptance and standing in their own stance among the differences from the mainstream. This kind of narration would be a specific story or a specific world of a group called "y-girl", a group of female audiences who liked to make men fall in love with men, in terms of a non-gay man falling in love with each other.

Part 2 Exposure to the Content of the Y-Series Entitled 2gether the Series

There were factors related to the exposure of the viewers to the drama series '2gether The Series' that promoted the awareness and content exposure of the audience as following:
The feedback from online communities on Twitter and the rating scale of drama series '2gether The Series' started to raise from the 6th week of the broadcast or EP.6 with

approximately 342,600 viewers (AGB Nielsen, 2020) and was trending on Twitter No. 1 in every broadcast week Twith 4.8 million tweets worldwide with with #คั่นกูตอนจบ on May 15ᵗʰ, 2020. The drama series, '2gether The Series', was therefore widely talked about as the phenomenon of y-series drama with its highest ratings at that time and was exposed by a large number of people. making the two lead actors, namely Wachirawit Chiva-aree or Bright and Methawin Opas-iamkajorn or Win, were known and earned more fans as measured the number of followers on Instagram of Wachirawit surpassed 2.4 million and Methwin's surpassed 1.5 million within just one month.

Appropriate casting of characters from a bunch of good-looking young men and the performances of both major characters with the same chemistry; "Wachirawit Chiva-aree" as "Sarawat" and "Methawin Opas-iamkajorn" as "Tine" to represent the imagination from a popular y-novel which many people want it to be made into a series. The natural acting of the characters impressed a large number of viewers. In addition, according to the tradition of the y-series, the actors were often portrayed as real men who did not show any outward appearances of homosexual or behave that were more feminine, this had made the audience believe or satisfied with the realistic show.

Storytelling through student love life, novel or creative works in the Y genre were often plotted with university student scenes that could be easily connected to all groups who have had shared experiences. The unique characteristics of y-series were light-hearted, not over-expected. Although the path of love between the main characters contains obstacles, but it was lined with sweetness, and lead to happiness and fulfillment in the end.

The two-screen viewing experience: parallel broadcasts in both television and online media that connected with related hashtags. The producers of the series said that they intended to create ambience of watching a series together through a huge online world. At the same time, the English subtitle was also provided for the international audience to enjoy.

Moreover, this story had lots of fans from the original novel to follow; therefore it could be expected that the series would receive a warm welcome. Also, the series producers used the business strategy to create more profit by portraying the lovers on screen to real life situations and assigned the other prominent couples to do marketing activities, join television programs, be interviewed through various media to please the fans and create a trend.

Figure 2. 2Gether Live on Stage Poster

Source: GMMTV

Figure 3. Two Major Characters in the Event Entitled 2Gether Live on Stage
Source https://thestandard.co/bright-win-global-live-fan-meeting/

Figure 4 Atmosphere of the Event
Source: https://thestandard.co/bright-win-global-live-fan-meeting/

Conclusion

According to the results of the study, key success factors of the narration in 2gether The Series could be summarized as following : The narration through the love story of students connected audiences with the content because the majority of audiences was studying in the university or just graduated. Therefore, the story could be linked to experiences of each audience.

The actors fit in their characters very well. The narration was made according to the traditions of y-series including uncomplicated love story and actors representing masculinity which were appreciated by female audiences.

The content communication was aligned with songs of Scrubb Band whose music and lyrics caught the audiences. Therefore, the theme songs could reach the audiences and enhance the mood of the series.

The story was conducted through music and the characters were musicians. It was therefore possible to use the song as a symbol to communicate the meaning of love and care of the characters well.

Watching the series in an era where audiences turned to TV dramas more due to being in a state of lockdown under the COVID-19 pandemic and public stress in society made people want entertainment media that helped to relax and escape from bad things in society for a moment.

Social media were used for tracking and discussing through the hashtag of the drama series made the audiences feel a shared experience. They also felt like having friends to watch the series together via Twitter which became a parallel world connection between television and online media.

The online marketing strategies that reached the target audiences very well allowed audiences to follow their favorite actors including organizing fan meeting activities. Although the event could not be held in a normal format, the online fan meeting was perfectly replaced which made it more broadly reach other audiences.

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The Reduction of Domestication of Anime on American Television Over Four Decades

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Abstract
The importation of anime into the United States began with Astro Boy in 1963. One aspect of this anime boom in the US that has not been explored fully is the process of domesticating anime for American audiences, and gradual reduction of that process. Early anime was heavily edited and reworked to adapt to what the US distributors and producers thought the audience would accept. An extreme example of this editing is when two anime shows, Space Pirate Captain Harlock and Queen Millenia, were combined into a single anime show, Captain Harlock and the Queen of 1000 Years. Over four decades in the study, domestication of anime has dropped significantly, to where domestication of most shows has been minimized to only the necessary translation of the works. This study aims to explore the reasoning behind becoming less domesticated by analyzing the timeline of the anime imported into the US for American television. Specifically, the study has looked the transition of main character's names over 40 years while also considering the anime's English producers and translators, distributors, broadcasters, target audiences, and adaptations from 99 anime television shows that were either syndicated, on broadcast, or on cable in the US from 1963 to 2003.

Keywords: Anime, Domestication, Translation, Television

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Introduction

Anime has been shown in the US since 1963 and has become a cultural juggernaut around the world. However, how companies today translate anime is vastly different from previously. The largest changed was the lessening of domestication that happened starting in the 1990s. Before that time, shows were highly domesticated for American audiences. They eventually shifted towards more accurate representation of the original Japanese shows. Japanese culture, values, and lifestyles became more on display for American audiences. There is a lack of comprehensive research into the ways in which anime became less domesticated over time as well as the reasons for that. This paper is an early attempt at explaining that process.

Early Anime

Anime's international distribution goes back further than television. Japanese animation went to film festivals fairly early on. (Denison, 2015) Rental libraries of containing anime movies started in the 1950s. However, the first anime to be broadcasted on American television was Astro Boy in 1963. Between 1963 and 1979, nine were translated and broadcasted for American audiences and between 1980 and 1989, 24 anime were translated for American audiences (Erickson, An Illustrated Encyclopedia, 1949-2003 Television Cartoon Shows, 2005) (Woolery, 1983). In the early years, Japanese media wasn't looked at something worth preserving. In general, media was seen as more ephemeral and short-term than it is today. One American translation of one anime shown in 1967, Cyborg Big "X", has been lost to time, and no known copies remain.

Additionally, the stories were re-written, the characters changed, and in one example, two anime were combined into one and spliced together. Captain Harlock and the Queen of 1000 Years was an anime that aired in the US in 1985 and was spliced together from two anime, Space Pirate Captain Harlock and Queen Millenia (Erickson, An Illustrated Encyclopedia, 1949-2003 Television Cartoon Shows, 2005). Star Blazers was reworked to that very little matched the original Japanese version (Napier, From Impressionism to Anime: Japan as Fantasy and Fan Cult in the Mind of the West, 2007). The anime Gatchaman was translated and reworked three times to make three unique anime for American audiences unrelated to each other, Battle of the Planets, G-Force, and Eagle Riders.

There is also the issue with censoring content. What is acceptable in each country is different morally as well as legally. Scenes, dialogue, episodes, and entire seasons had to be cut for censoring reasons (Denison, 2015). One of the pioneers of bringing anime to the US was Fred Ladd. He was credited with saving three of six Astro Boy episodes that were originally rejected by "Standards and Practices" at NBC by cutting sequences and hiding the deaths of character though dialogue changes (Denison, 2015).

This was to become the hallmark of Japanese animation in the USA before the advent of home video cultures – a constant push from pressure government and pressure groups like the ACT (Action for Children's Television) and therefore from US re-producers – for Japanese animation to be produced in ways that did not challenge US conceptions of morality and child-friendly content.

Fan Expectations

There was the editing and censoring on television on the one hand. There was is also the push for more authenticity between fans, on the other hand. That was because fan translation makes the effort to be as authentic as possible, even if they are illegal. They do not have to negotiate contracts, so they can work very fast and get to the audience before official work does. This drives the desire for content that is close to the original. Anime fans would go to conventions and swap video tapes they translated themselves. Many of them not otherwise available in the US at the time. This swapping of video tapes was a very important activity at anime conventions (Napier, From Impressionism to Anime: Japan as Fantasy and Fan Cult in the Mind of the West, 2007).

Western anime fans began to clamor for more and different varieties of anime and were increasingly able to obtain them. As time went on, subtitling became ever more sophisticated, as fans began to learn Japanese themselves. Later, the internet allowed fans all over the world to get in touch with each other, to spread news about conventions, to trade tapes, obtain anime-related paraphernalia, and to organize clubs of like-minded souls in the same area. As the anime continued to expand on television and beyond into the US market, these tensions and between producers and distributors and fans would become more apparent. (Denison, 2015)

Cultural Exposure

Part of the draw of anime is the fact that does come from Japan, as Napier says, "as anime becomes more and more mainstream, fans are still highly aware that they are participating in activities surrounding a culture very different from their own, which may well be one of anime's central attractions." (From Impressionism to Anime: Japan as Fantasy and Fan Cult in the Mind of the West, 2007) A Napier also expresses the idea that in contemporary culture, anime could also be an intersection where the elements of different cultures come together to form something new. And given how Japanese and American culture continue to be dissimilar, the "differentness" will expand in the future. (Anime from Akira to Howl's Moving Castle: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation, 2005)

Beginning in the 1990 and through to the early 2000s, there is a distinct pattern that developed as more people became accustomed to Japanese culture and names. The names of the characters were originally translated to more English or Western sounding names. Later, American and Canadian translators started preserving the names as much as possible.

This phenomenon did not happen spontaneously, this was a conscious decision of the distributors based on many factors, the strongest of which is the audiences desire for more authentic content in their anime. Anime on television was not the source of anime. VHS fan-subbing was also really popular among die-hard fans. (Denison, 2015)

Anime is seen as a significant part of Japanese culture and many people who enjoy anime specifically is because it is Japanese. They may not be fans of animated shows in general. Preserving the foreign names is an important part of keeping it as "Japanese" as possible for the fans. And these names are still foreign. They are not names that have been integrated into American society outside of the ethnic Japanese population in the United States. It is not a case where the "foreignness" is integrated, it stays explicitly "other" and that is a part of its desirability. (Allison, 2006)

With anime, the characters might signal race, but they don't have to be a certain ethnicity unless expressly stated. Iwabuchi describes how Japanese export products like anime are "culturally odorless." (Iwabuchi, 2004) In anime, as opposed to live action shows, character names can be changed without changing the actor behind it. Also, the dubbing process allows the switching of names to happen seamlessly during the translation process as a whole. There is no technical reason to keep Japanese names as there is no technical reason to shift to a Western name. The whole process is demonstrating that the American audience wants more authenticity in their translation process and exposure to Japanese culture, even without knowing Japanese.

Anime often is set in places that are not clearly Japanese. These places allow for the entire context of the anime to be accessible to viewers compared to other contemporary medium (Napier, Anime from Akira to Howl's Moving Castle: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation, 2005).

Culture Specific Items

Translations have never been easy, especially for anime in the United States where the source and target languages are vastly different, and the culture specific items are numerous. Culture specific items are words or phrases that do not have one to one translation because they are tired to the culture that they exist in. A person's name, a type of local flower, a festival, or a religious custom could all be examples of culturally specific items. These are typically problematic to translate, [Bilá Kačmárová, 2018] [Horbačauskienė, Kasperavičienė, Petronienė, 2016] [Olalla-Soler, 2018] because there is a delicate balance when dealing with language and culture [Zainudin Awal, 2011] [Dinçkan, 2010] [Amiri Tabrizi, 2018] [Shiryaeva Badea, 2014].

There are also the skills of the translators and their experience that affect the quality of the translation. With every new anime that is translated into English, all the translations decisions must be made all anew. Hagfors describes how culture specific items "not only place the story of a book in a specific culture and period of time, but also imply certain values and create an ambience. These elements also have an effect on how the reader identifies with the story and characters. Thus, it is important to find the most appropriate strategy to translate such elements [2003]."

These decisions are part of the domestication process of translating, when going from the source language to the target language. Domestication of media happens whenever translation happens. It is inevitable that gangly translations are smoothed out for the consuming audience. This paper will explore the domestication decisions of distributing media in the US when they import Japanese anime for the US audience. Domestication happens for many reasons that are both necessary and unnecessary to understand the original content [Amiri Tabrizi, 2018].

Domestication has many considerations. There is the original text, the authenticity, the accessibility to the target audience, the demographics of the target audience, the history between the countries, and the potential profitability of the text among many others [Bilá Kačmárová, 2018].

Motivation behind the translation is also important. Recently, translations are often looked at as ways to enrich the consumers' culture by learning about foreign ones. [Hagsfors, 2003]

Different times places would have other motivations when translating. The values and standards of the translator also influence the translation [Tuominen, 2019]. Finally, media discourse, and the shows that have come before influence the translation [Kraeva, 2019].

Exchange of information and stories was also common. In the early days of anime, Japanese companies based many of their works on international stories as well as domestic. Osamu Testuka was said to have based some of Astro Boy on Disney characters, especially the big eyes [Napier, Anime from Akira to Howl's Moving Castle: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation, 2005].

A particular cross-cultural example of how things are domesticated. Thunderbirds was a puppet show, "supermarionation", from 1964 to 1966 from England. The show followed and American family, patriarch Jeff Tracy and sons, Scott, John, Virgil, Gordon, and Alan. After, Fuji Television created an anime based loosely off the original show. Instead of a family, it used an international team of characters, who the main character was Raiji Hidaka. When ITC, the company who did the original Thunderbirds, dubbed the anime, most of the original names were tweaked, but the original names were not reused. For example, Gerald Simpson became Jared Simpson. However, Raiji Hidaka became Dylan Beyda.

Methodology

This research looks at the names of the main characters from Japanese animated shows that aired on American televisions from the 1963 to 2003. The first step was an online search for Japanese anime that appeared on American television, which originally produced 314 shows. All shows had to confirmed with at least online two online resources or in one of two books used as reference, preferably both.

Book 1	An Illustrated Encyclopedia, 1949-2003 Television Cartoon Shows, Vol. 1-2
Book 2	Children's Television: The First Thirty-Five Years, 1946-1981 Part 1.
Online Site 1	Anime News Network: https://www.animenewsnetwork.com/
Online Site 2	Cartoon Network Achieves: https://cnas.fandom.com/wiki/List_of_Shows/Cartoon_Network
Online Site 3	My Anime List: https://myanimelist.net/

Table 1: References to confirm anime on US television.

Conflicting online information was sorted based on the discretion of the researchers based on the accuracy of previous information, sited sources, and upkeep of the website. Then the shows that were made by Japanese production companies but were based on works in other languages were eliminated. Direct to home videos were also eliminated from the works to be examined, since the shows were supposed to be shown on television. All sequels were eliminated as well on the basis that the characters would have been named the same in subsequent seasons.

Television shows were chosen because they would be the most conservative with their translations. Most television can be accessed by a general audience, while things like movies were more targeted because they people needed to pay money for access.

Additionally, only broadcasted or cable networks are counted, as other programming, such as satellite had not been included. Any steaming services were not included, especially since there were no streaming services by 2003. Subtitled material was not included. Movies and specials, such as those shown on HBO or Cinemax, are also excluded from the lineup. From that, we have 99 television shows.

Translating show titles was also considered but discarded. Original Japanese programming will make use of English titles for various reasons. On the other hand, unless the main characters were distinctly not Japanese, they would usually have Japanese names. Another consideration animation that has been sourced from foreign sources. Generally, those will not be included in the evaluation.

Only the main characters name was considered. This is because futuristic shows also tended toward a global array of characters. When that was the case, the main character was typically still a Japanese character. It is also noted if they changed the non-Japanese characters names as well. Sometimes, Japanese names could be shorted to a nickname more familiar to American-English ears. For example, Kentaro could be shortened to Ken. In these situations, it was considered as a name change as long as the full name was never acknowledged in the translated episode.

The shows were cut off from 2003 for two reasons. The first was that this research is looking at the transition of character names from English to Japanese. By 2003, the transition was mostly complete. The second reason is that ending it the list in 2003 allowed the shows to be confirmed on television with the *Television Cartoon Shows* guidebook by Hal Erickson. This paring down left 99 shows remaining ranging from 1967 to 2003, with a massive jump in the 1990s.

Title	Television	Year	MCs Non-Japanese Names	Main Characters Name Change
Astro Boy	Syndicated	1963	No	Yes
Gigantor	Syndicated	1964	No	Yes
8th Man	Syndicated	1965	No	Yes
Kimba the White Lion	Syndicated	1965	Yes	Yes
Prince Planet	Syndicated	1966	Yes	Yes
Marine Boy	Syndicated	1966	Yes	No
Zoran Space Boy	Syndicated	1966	Yes	Yes
Cyborg Big "X"	Syndicated	1967	No	No
The Amazing 3	Syndicated	1967	No	Yes
Speed Racer	Syndicated	1967	No	Yes
Battle of the Planets	Syndicated	1978	No	Yes
Star Blazers	Syndicated	1979	No	Yes
Danguard Ace	Syndicated	1980	No	Yes
Gaiking	Syndicated	1980	No	Yes
Grandizer	Syndicated	1980	No	Yes
Spaceketeers	Syndicated	1980	Yes	Yes
Starvengers	Syndicated	1980	No	Yes

The Adventures of the Little Prince	Nickelodeon	1982	Yes	No
Thunderbirds 2086	Syndicated	1983	No	Yes
Honey Honey	CBN	1984	Yes	No
Belle and Sebastian	Nickelodeon	1984	Yes	No
Voltron	Syndicated	1984	No	Yes
Mighty Orbots	ABC	1984	Yes	No
Teknoman	Syndicated	1984	No	Yes
TranZor Z	Syndicated	1985	No	Yes
Captain Harlock and the Queen of 1000 Years	Syndicated	1985	Yes	No
Robotech	Syndicated	1985	No	Yes
The Magical Princess Gigi	Syndicated	1985	No	Yes
Macron 1	Syndicated	1985	No	Yes
G-Force	TBS	1986	No	Yes
The Mysterious Cities of Gold	Nickelodeon	1986	Yes	No
Adventures of the Little Koala	Nickelodeon	1987	Yes	Yes
Maple Town Stories	Nickelodeon	1987	Yes	No
Saber Rider and the Star Sheriffs	Syndicated	1987	No	Yes
Noozles	Nickelodeon	1988	Yes	No
Grimm's Fairy Tale Classics	Nickelodeon	1989	Yes	No
A Wind Named Amnesia	AZN Television	1990	No	No
Maya the Bee	Nickelodeon	1990	Yes	No
Dragon Warrior	Syndicated	1990	Yes	No
Littl' Bits	Nickelodeon	1991	Yes	No
Ronin Warriors	Syndicated	1995	No	Yes
Sailor Moon	Syndicated	1995	No	Yes
Teknoman/Tekkaman	Syndicated	1995	No	Yes
Dragon Ball Z	Syndicated	1996	Yes	No
Eagle Riders	Syndicated	1996	No	Yes
The Adventures of Honeybee Hutch	Syndicated	1996	No	Yes
Samurai Pizza Cats	Syndicated	1996	Yes	Yes
Pokémon	Syndicated	1998	No	Yes
Monster Rancher	FOX	1999	No	No
Digimon: Digital Monsters (seasons 1-3)	FOX ABC Family	1999	No	Yes
Mobile Suit Gundam Wing	Cartoon Network	2000	Yes	No
Escaflowne	FOX	2000	No	No
Tenchi Muyo	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2000	No	No
Cardcaptors	WB	2000	No	No
Dinozaurs	FOX	2000	No	No
Flint: The Time Detective	FOX ABC Family	2000	No	Yes
Tama and Friends	Syndicated	2001	No	No

Shinzo	ABC Family	2001	Yes	No
Medabots	ABC Family	2001	No	No
Cowboy Bebop	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2001	Yes	No
Outlaw Star	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2001	Yes	No
The Big-O	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2001	Yes	Yes
Dragon Ball	Cartoon Network	2001	Yes	No
Yu-Gi-Oh!	WB	2001	No	Yes
Mon Colle Knights	FOX	2001	No	No
Zoids New Century Zero	Cartoon Network	2001	Yes	Yes
Kirby: Right Back at Ya!	FOX	2002	Yes	No
Ultimate Muscle	FOX	2002	Yes	Yes
Fighting Foodons	FOX	2002	No	Yes
Pilot Candidate	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2002	Yes	No
Crest of the Stars	TechTV	2002	Yes	No
Silent Mobius	TechTV G4 (Anime Unleashed)	2002	No	No
Beyblade	ABC Family	2002	No	Yes
InuYasha	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2002	No	No
Hamtaro	Cartoon Network	2002	No	Yes
Tokyo Pig	ABC Family	2002	No	Yes
Shaman King	FOX	2003	No	No
Sonic X	FOX	2003	Yes	No
Dai-Guard	Cartoon Network/Toonami	2003	No	No
Martian Successor Nadesico	Cartoon Network/Toonami	2003	No	No
The Twelve Kingdoms	ImaginAsian TV	2003	No	No
Android Kikaider: The Animation	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2003	No	No
.hack//Sign	Cartoon Network/Toonami	2003	No	No
Scrapped Princess	ImaginAsian TV	2003	Yes	No
Banner of the Stars	TechTV	2003	Yes	No
Betterman	TechTV	2003	Yes	No
SD Gundam Force	Cartoon Network/Toonami	2003	Yes	No
Knights of the Zodiac: Saint Seiya	Cartoon Network/SVES	2003	Yes	No
Daigunder	ABC Family	2003	No	No

FLCL (Fooly Cooly)	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2003	No	No
Yu Yu Hakusho	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2003	No	No
Blue Gender	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2003	No	No
Dual! Parallel Trouble Adventure	TechTV	2003	No	No
Gate Keepers 21	TechTV	2003	No	No
Trigun	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2003	No	No
Rurouni Kenshin	Cartoon Network/Toonami/SVES	2003	No	No
Pecola	Cartoon Network	2003	Yes	No
Cyborg 009	Cartoon Network/Toonami	2003	Yes	No
Reign the Conqueror	Cartoon Network/Adult Swim	2003	Yes	No

Table 2: The Main Character Name Change Chart by Year

The yellow means that the main character's name was Japanese, and it was changed. Orange means that the main character's name was not Japanese, and it was changed. Green means the main character's name was not Japanese, and it was not changed. Blue means the main character's name was Japanese, and it was not changed.

Conclusion and Discussion

There is a clear increasing trend towards keeping the original name as a culture specific item. This ties in with the idea that they fact it was Japanese meant that it was more desirable. Almost all early shows changed the names of the main character, whether they were originally Japanese or not. The first show that did not change the main character's name was Cyborg Big "X", in which they kept the main character's name of Akira, in 1967. This would not happen again until 1990, when A Wind Names Amnesia was shown on ANZ network, a cable station. The next time it happened also jumped to 1999 with Monster Rancher on FOX. By 2003, none of the main character's names where changed, whether they were originally Japanese or not.

Another consideration was that anime originally shown on cable, besides the ones on Nickelodeon, which was aimed more at younger children, were far more likely to keep the names than syndicated shows. This could suggest an older and more targeted audience. Fans' demands based on their increasing sophistication towards anime as well as changing thoughts on the purposes of translation lessened the domestication over time.

Limits on the paper include contemporary reactions to the anime titles at their release. All of the resources have been retrospectives looking back at anime and not first-hand accounts of audiences' responses. Further studies expanding on this research could include contemporary resources of audience impressions and translation decision making.

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Resilient Creatives: Experiences of Filmmakers During Covid-19

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Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic has in various ways affected many industries across the globe, including filmmaking. The global film community, struck by the severity of the pandemic, had to face production postponements, financial losses, and the uncertainty of when production could resume. While many governmental organizations have instituted specific Covid-19 film production guidelines, from mandatory physical distancing to recommended best practices, other strategies were also developed within the film communities themselves. This paper employs the methodology of ethnographic fieldwork, which includes material collected from in-depth interviews with individual filmmakers from the United States, Japan, Nigeria, South Africa, and Mexico, and reports their individual Covid-19 experiences. To date, existing research detailing the impact of Covid-19 on the film community has mainly covered the entertainment economy and the emerging streaming sector. Activity from the film community and their evolving changes have not been explored and reported to any great extent. Based on interviews with individual filmmakers across continents, this paper demonstrates changing ideas and best practices, the resilience of filmmakers, and viable trends for future productions. These findings have a two-fold implication: potential contributions to the sub-field of film studies and the sociological impact of Covid-19.

Keywords: Covid-19, Global Filmmaker, Independent Film, Covid Film Production

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic has in various ways affected many industries across the globe, including filmmaking. At the early stage of the pandemic, almost all film productions were halted by government shutdowns and industry-imposed regulations. The global film community, struck by the severity of the pandemic had to face production postponements, financial losses, and the uncertainty of when production could resume. While many governmental organizations have instituted specific Covid-19 film production guidelines, from mandatory physical distancing to recommended best practices, other strategies were also developed within the film communities themselves. Filmmakers across many continents have demonstrated even greater resilience and an innovative spirit to continue working within this "new normal."

Numerous news reports, articles, and media interviews with filmmakers have described the severe impact Covid-19 has had on the global film community. According to a 2020 report released by the Motion Picture Association (MPA) in the United States, the entire global theatrical and home & mobile entertainment market totaled $80.8 billion. This is a decline of 18% from 2019 and represents the lowest since 2016. The most significant decline was in theatrical revenue, which dropped from $42.3 billion in 2019 to $12 billion in 2020. Theatrical entertainment accounted for only 15% of total global entertainment revenue. In comparison, this number was 43% in 2019.

It is unassailable the severe impact Covid-19 has had on the film community. While there have been several industry reports on the pandemic's impact, this research sets out to extend these observations and discussions beyond industry statistics. What is it really like to shoot a film during the pandemic? How can a financially stretched production company manage? How practical are current film production safety protocols? How different is the production experience of an American filmmaker versus an Asian filmmaker? These are among some of the most important questions this research attempts to answer.

Literature Review

Only a limited amount of research addressing the pandemic's impact on the film community has been published globally. Researchers Sarah Moon and Murat Akser looked at the film entertainment industry in a more generalized manner, summarizing the precautions that major industry leaders took during the early stage of the pandemic. Their studies included discussions of the long-term impact on filmmaking and film education. A research paper entitled, *American Film Industry Challenges in China: Before and During Covid-19 Outbreak*, analyzed how the pandemic is affecting the Hollywood film industry in the Chinese market. Two more studies, performed by Lothar Mikos, and Joel Frykholm illustrated the pandemic's ramifications on the German and Scandinavian film industries respectively.

Similarly, a significant portion of the existing research discussed specific countries and the necessary changes taking place within film festivals and the film distribution sectors. A study by Jan Hanzlík evaluated several East European film festivals who utilized streaming services that brought the festival experience to their audiences, while a research paper from Wang Changsong, Lucyann Kerry, and Rustono Farady Marta discussed various film distribution options currently available through video streaming platforms in Southeast Asia. In addition, several interdisciplinary topics have been explored, including the possible

correlation between television streaming sites and post-Covid "film tourism" by Jennifer Stewart. Other researchers, including Luke Creely, Robert Letizi, Whitney Monaghan, Grace Russell, and Simon Troon, addressed key challenges in film education and efforts to transform the curriculum and content into material for online teaching.

In addition, a few research projects have examined the pandemic's impact on film content creation. Lucio Reis Filho reported how the crisis evokes many tropes of horror cinema, reinforcing the role a pandemic takes in the notion of apocalyptic imagination. A group of Malaysian scholars used the methodology of framing analysis and gender perspective as a means to look at the underlying ideology(s) of a popular TV program in Indonesia.

Methodology

This research aims to employ the methodology of in-depth interviews as well as content analysis. To do this, interviews were conducted with five professionals from the following countries - the United States, Japan, Nigeria, South Africa, and Mexico. All have reported their unique Covid-19 production experiences. Filmmakers who participated in this study are established and award-winning, and currently very active in their respective film communities.

Participating Filmmakers	*Position*	*Country*
Dan Mirvish	director, screenwriter, producer	United States
Ohyama Koichiro	director	Japan
Imoh Umoren	independent filmmaker	Nigeria
Aurelie Stratton	actress, scriptwriter, director	South Africa
Juan González	producer	Mexico

Table 1: Participating Filmmakers

This research is also advanced by utilizing several secondary sources such as interviews, written comments, and news reports from media outlets.

Credibility and Trustworthiness

To ensure the data's trustworthiness, all interviews were conducted by both the author and co-author with standard questions for all interviewees and additional customized questions based on individual backgrounds and experiences. Specifically, participants were invited to add, change, or otherwise comment on relevant questions raised in the interviews. Spanish and Japanese Interpreters were present to ensure the non-English speaking interviewees accurately described their experiences in their native languages. Lastly, in a few cases, written transcripts were provided for the filmmakers' review so they could be confirmed for accuracy and clarity following the interviews.

Limitations

Several limitations to this study should be noted. First, the in-depth interviews were conducted with a modest group of filmmakers. To compensate for this limitation, this research managed to select interviewees with a variety of backgrounds and roles on set. Second, due to international travel restrictions during the pandemic, the researchers were not able to perform sufficient fieldwork on the actual film set. Finally, interviews may not be the

most accurate method to collect reliable information for more sensitive matters such as financial management of production companies, and other topics the participants may perceive as personally sensitive.

Findings

This paper focuses on the critical areas among filmmakers' most significant interests. To do this, six topics out of three major phases in filmmaking activities were summarized and examined. The first phase, on set production, includes the participants' description of their production activities during the pandemic. The second phase, pre-production, explores measures that were taken prior to filming to prepare for this unique pandemic environment. The third phase, distribution, discusses the participants' experiences with online film festivals, and the changes in their distribution plans as a result of the global health crisis.

Phase	*Topic*
On Set Production	Covid-19's Direct Impact
	On Set Filming
	Covid Protocols
Off Set Pre-production	Financial Impact Due to Covid
	Covid Inspired Stories
Film Distribution	Online Film Festivals & Emerging Media

Table 2: Research Topics

(1)   Covid-19's Direct Impact

When Covid took hold in March 2020, governments worldwide shut down non-essential activities. All interviewees in this research stated that their film productions had to be suspended indefinitely. In the U.S., a significant portion of the production postponements was initially motivated by industry leaders or unions, and non-profit organizations, when many states had not yet released any specific guidelines for productions to follow. For example, American independent filmmaker Dan Mirvish, who had completed approximately 80% of his new narrative film, "18½", said his production had no choice but to take a "pandemic pause" on the suggestion of a representative from the Directors Guild of America (DGA). It was six months later, that he and his crew could resume production and finish the four remaining days of shooting.

A couple of days before we shut down, we had a visit from our DGA representative – the Directors Guild of America. She said: "You are pretty much the last production shooting in North America. Maybe there is one other shooting on an island of Puerto Rico, and you." That's really when it hit home that we were like the last remaining shooting. (Dan Mirvish)

On March 16, 2020, the DGA released a statement to its members, in which they reinforced their support and encouragement to film productions regarding the shutdown. The statement however, served only as a guidance rather than an order of enforcement.

We are, and will continue to be, in touch with the Studios, Networks and other employers about their plans and their obligations to you. As you've seen, most but not all productions have temporarily hit the pause button, which we fully support. (The Directors Guild of America)

Contrary to Dan Mirvish's situation, in some countries, production shutdowns were a direct result of their governments' Covid restrictions. This also extended to the later stages of the pandemic, after film professionals were gradually allowed to return to production activity with Covid protocols required. For example, South African filmmaker Aurelie Stratton described in her interview that South African filmmakers were stymied by local regulations even at the point when productions were allowed to resume.

The original curfew was that you had to be home by 9:00 p.m. So, the struggle for film sets in August, when that was put out, was trying to get a letter because if you got pulled over by the police, and you didn't have a letter saying you were an essential worker and you were allowed to be out, you were in trouble. So that became a big problem. (Aurelie Stratton)

(2)   On Set Filming

As the virus went to a full pandemic, filmmakers were rapidly reassessing and altering their production plans under unprecedented circumstances. It was clear even at the beginning of the pandemic the potentially serious risk that could grow exponentially with more crew members on set. During the interviews, filmmakers described their constant awareness to limit and configure the size of the casting crews that would be on set for safety and liability reasons. For example, Nigerian filmmaker Imoh Umoren, who regularly worked with a sizable crew, continued to scale back his team considerably since the early stage of the pandemic. His situation highlights the fact that film jobs were being lost or postponed indefinitely throughout the film industry, leaving many talented film professionals out of work.

At every point on set, when you have 50 or 60 people on set, obviously that's a huge risk. Because the more people that come to the space, the greater the risk of the virus spreading. With the kind of show we are shooting, I wasn't willing to risk to a suicide. So, on the film now, I scaled it back considerably. I mean, even half the number. (Imoh Umoren)

Since love stories are the most popular film theme in the Nollywood film industry, the combination of a pandemic and the necessity of kissing scenes pose another set of challenges. Imoh Umoren stated that it is very difficult to completely avoid shooting intimate scenes. Often times cast and crew are making their best effort to create alternate strategies to get the intended shot.

Similarly, it became necessary for filmmakers to develop aesthetic backup plans in the event any crew members would become infected, which would inevitably result in their absence and quarantines. American filmmaker Dan Mirvish decided if any of his lead actors would come back with a positive PCR test and they would have to be quarantined, he would shoot their scenes as a point of view shot and add voiceover remotely. In the case of a supporting actor testing positive, their lines would be given to a different character or recast using crew members already on set. Fortunately, his crew did not have to use the above backup plan before successfully finishing production.

These changes would have affected the aesthetic a lot, but the film still would have worked. (Dan Mirvish)

In Mexico, film producer Juan González adopted a similar strategy for crew members who worked on a recent production in Columbia.

*There were some people who tested positive. And so our protocols required if any crew member, be it an assistant director, or anyone, who could not show up to the set, then the second assistant would move up. **(Juan González)***

The use of face masks, face shields, and the requirement for social distancing can make communication challenging in an on-set production environment. They make the speaker's voice softer and more muffled, conceal vocal tone, and reduce facial expressions that limit essential non-verbal signals that both acting partner and director need. While there has been no specific academic research regarding how negatively these precautions effect on-set productivity, several studies have discussed their detrimental effect on older, frail, and cognitively impaired populations. In this research, several filmmakers described the effect of face protections and social distancing on their productions, as having vitiated their efforts toward achieving production goals.

The communication was tough because everyone's wearing masks plus face shields. Plus, in my case I've got about three pairs of glasses. On a normal set, you want as a director you wind up whispering to actors, you take them aside, you put your hands, or you take them aside. You say OK, in this next take, do this and you go on. You have to do it very quietly. **(Dan Mirvish)**

(3)   Covid Protocols

As countries and economies began to reopen, many governments and organizations put forth production protocols and Covid safety guidelines. In the interviews all filmmakers expressed a supportive attitude toward the implementation of safety protocols, and believed such policies were necessary for the current pandemic environment. Some filmmakers even took a step further to better promote these protocols, and demonstrated innovative methods with their financial and technical resources. For example, Mexican film producer Juan González and his company Saywhisky, created an animated film to introduce all the rules required for film productions. The creative work has helped his team to quickly adapt to the transition.

Several filmmakers expressed their concerns over the implementation of these protocols among anti-vaccination coworkers. While conspiracy theories surrounding Covid-19 can be found on the internet and in various communities, film producers have not been immune to the personal beliefs of individual members of their production team. South African filmmaker Aurelie Stratton described her frustration with crew members who lean toward the anti-vaccination ideology.

*It's all that conspiracy stuff that has gone around that the vaccine is going to kill you in two years, that it's the rich trying to kill you, it's these people and those people who have all gotten together and have had this plan to get rid of people. It's insane. **(Aurelie Stratton)***

On several occasions during the interview process, interviewees also expressed a dissatisfaction regarding contradictory actions between the implementation/enforcement of the Covid protocols for productions versus the looser requirements observed during political gatherings. For example, Imoh Moren made his point about this "double standard" of the Nigerian government's enforcement of Covid rules during the pandemic.

The ironic thing is that the government flounders on guidelines because they have lots of big political gatherings during the pandemic. And so for us as filmmakers, there was a big

hypocrisy, like, OK so you're going to sanction filmmaking, but you are having political gatherings. It's ridiculous. (Imoh Umoren)

Producers and directors very often found themselves beholden to impractical production protocols. Japanese director Ohyama Koichiro said it is extremely challenging to follow all the rules that are currently being practiced on set. He also stated that the policymakers should have had more conversations with crew members who are charged with implementing these rules.

Since the Covid guidelines were made by people who are not familiar with the film industry, and limit the number of crew members, this became too challenging for our production. Naturally we got frustrated and tended to ignore some of the guidelines. (Ohyama Koichiro)

(4)   Financial Impact Due to Covid

Every filmmaker has impressed upon the researchers how the pandemic has caused an increase in their production budget. Filmmakers have been saddled with extra costs which include regular testing and additional lodging and transportation arrangements, in order to maintain a safe environment. In addition, a Covid-19 compliance officer is now required on set in many countries.

The PCR (*Polymerase Chain Reaction)* test, which is often regarded as "the gold standard" for Covid-19, was not conveniently available to the general public at the early stage of the pandemic. Therefore, having to test all crew members would not only increase the production budget, but also take up a significant amount of the locales testing capacity. This has left film production companies to deal with the requirement for rapid testing and the inaccessibility to medical labs on their own. To fulfill the protocol requirements, some film production companies have partnered with testing labs in order to get the results for their crew members in a timely manner.

Part of the problem was figuring out where to get tested. And by just Googling, we were able to find Mount Sinai Hospital that worked with us and for our New York City testing. And then we found a local hospital in Greenport that worked with us. What do you do when you have a group of people and a bunch of actors and a bunch of crew members coming in, and whose insurance gets billed and whose doesn't get billed. And, you know the logistics of that were really challenging. (Dan Mirvish)

In countries where Covid tests are not offered free of charge, this puts more financial stress on many production companies and independent filmmakers. Mexican producer Juan González pointed out that production companies in Mexico have to shoulder approximately $80 for a regular PCR test, $15 for an antigen test, and two or three tests are required per crew member per week. Out of necessity, González has been able to comply with the guidelines in this way: for commercial jobs, the cost of testing is covered by the client, and when it is a self-funded independent shoot, the cost is absorbed by the independent production.

For example, when it's our own films where obviously it's our own budget and costs, it does affect us and the costs can be up to 7% or 8% of our budget. (Juan González)

Transportation is often needed between different film locations. In the U.S., most state-mandated Covid protocols recommend the use of a higher-capacity passenger vehicle which allows for six feet of physical distancing. Under the guidelines, producers must arrange and provide more vehicle trips with fewer passengers per trip to maintain minimal contact. In addition, film production companies are required to designate the maximum number of passengers per vehicle and post it on the vehicle.

If two people are in the same car and then one of them, their test result comes back positive, they're sick or whatever, then that means you have to quarantine. So we had to evenly distribute the crew and make sure that two people from the same department weren't in the same car together. **(Dan Mirvish)**

Several filmmakers stated that these added demands from Covid protocols not only affect production, but influence all budget and personal considerations, even from the first moments of pre-production. As Aurelie Stratton prepares her new documentary film which will record the lives of artists and their struggles during the pandemic, she is experiencing difficulties planning her production budget.

We're talking to funders about that at the moment, and we literary realized the other day, oh, Covid protocols, we haven't put that in the budget yet. **(Aurelie Stratton)**

(5) Covid Inspired Stories

The researchers identified a reoccurring theme that Covid-19 was influencing filmmakers to tell a variety of pandemic related stories. In fact, during the first wave of the pandemic in early 2020, an International Public Health Film Competition organized by the British Public Health Film Society was launched to showcase the work of amateur and professional filmmakers around the world. The festival indicated that the pandemic has had some influence on the types of stories filmmakers wanted to tell. Nigerian filmmaker Imoh Umoren created a collective called "The Lockdown Writers," who have been working on a series based on the pandemic, and the seemingly indefinite lockdowns occurring there. This effort created employment opportunities for Nigerian scriptwriters who produced original scripts related to Covid. One of these scripts is currently ready for film production.

Not only were we able to create our own script, but also it became a resource for us. And so lots of people got jobs from just being in the group, because right after Covid there will be increased activity in terms of production and everything. **(Imoh Umoren)**

Despite imposing new challenges on the production aspect of filmmaking, the pandemic brought to light difficult stories about social issues that have prompted many filmmakers to start new projects. A recent short film titled "I Will Call You Later" by Aurelie Stratton highlights the increase in domestic violence during the pandemic. Her award-winning work sheds light on this difficult subject in South Africa.

In a country where we have an incredibly high rate of violence towards women, it's something that really just kept sticking in my mind. I literally just opened Final Draft and started writing. And that's how it actually happened. **(Aurelie Stratton)**

Meanwhile, some filmmakers stated without any doubt they would not have interest in developing Covid-related projects. Conversely, festival programmers and film producers have been witnessing a dramatic increase in pandemic related stories.

There's obviously a great temptation for filmmakers to start projects during the pandemic. And there were and there are a lot of those. And unfortunately, there are going to be way too many of those. **(Dan Mirvish)**

(6)   Online Film Festivals & Emerging Media

The pandemic has brought tremendous upheaval to the distribution phase of nearly every production, forcing global filmmakers to rethink and change their plans. Instead of packing for international travel, many filmmakers had to interact through zooms and apps with festival juries and audiences, while others postponed the release of their new works completely. Although online film festivals have been around for over a decade, many independent filmmakers still view them with skepticism, and many would argue there is no comparison to face-to-face meetings. In this research, every filmmaker expressed disappointment over Covid's negative impact on film festivals. For example, Japanese director Ohyama Koichiro said without any doubt that he values much more a typical film festival than an online event because "in-person interaction is crucial for him to exchange ideas with other filmmakers and to give and receive critiques."

Making a film can take years of planning and failing, investments of time and money, unexpected wins, as well as stretches of real momentum. This study shows most filmmakers agree that nothing compares to a packed, in-person festival screening for the audience and the filmmaker. Whether huge or intimate, every festival audience gives the filmmaker something back that they carry with respect into their next project: a broader vision, future opportunities, and partnerships. Nonetheless, festival programmers, producers and distributors had to quicky improvise and recalibrate during this pandemic. Many members in the film community put force their best effort to minimize the losses, stay relevant and continue the festival tradition.

Conversely, South African filmmaker Aurelie Stratton made her point that online film festivals during the pandemic had brought her several fortuitous opportunities. In her case, she was able to virtually attend overseas film events which she would not have been able to afford otherwise.

The good thing about it is, a very interesting thing about it, is that there were festivals that I could maybe not attend because it was expensive, but I ended up going to [them] because they were all online. **(Aurelie Stratton)**

With the covid pandemic continuing, some filmmakers believe a great opportunity can come out of this crisis. At the very early stage of the pandemic, Nigerian director Imoh Umoren predicted a substantial increase of live streaming services in Africa and therefore quickly adjusted his production plans. At the moment, he is wrapping up his most recent series, which will be distributed online exclusively. He has also confirmed that instead of waiting for Covid to end, that he would submit his new work to online festivals.

All of this are part of the filmmaking process. If festivals don't work, you still have a chance of people watching your film through streaming sites and all that, you know, commending or

panning it depending on how they feel. So it's still a part of the business they can still enjoy, thankfully. **(Imoh Umoren)**

Conclusion

This research aims to investigate the extent to which filmmaking activities has been impacted and reshaped by the pandemic. Some of the toughest challenges faced by the film community include navigating the complex and sometimes impractical Covid protocols, managing budgets in the face of heightened production costs, and scrambling for new distribution strategies. Confronted by an unprecedented global health crisis, filmmakers who participated in this study indicated they had to scale back crew size and develop alternate aesthetics to ensure a production process that could be as smooth as possible under the circumstances.

Six central topics emerged as a result of this study. First, all interviewees stated that their film productions had to be suspended when governments worldwide shut down non-essential activities in March 2020. While some production shutdowns were a direct result of Covid restrictions, others were primarily called for by industry leaders or unions, and non-profit organizations.

Second, filmmakers described how they had to be constantly aware of limitations and challenges when it came to configuring the size of the casting crew that could be on set. With Covid spreading widely and surging in multiple waves, it became necessary for everyone in the film community to develop alternate aesthetics to minimize production disruption and keep the original crew intact.

Third, while many governmental organizations have instituted specific Covid-19 film production guidelines, from mandatory physical distancing to recommended best practices, producers and directors very often found themselves beholden to impractical production protocols. Filmmakers in this study expressed several concerns regarding the design and implementation of current Covid protocols.

Fourth, every filmmaker had impressed upon the researchers how the pandemic has caused an increase in their production costs. With a Covid-19 compliance officer required to be on set, production companies are also saddled with incremental costs which include regular testing and additional lodging and transportation arrangements.

Fifth, the pandemic has had some influence on the types of stories filmmakers want to tell. Those motivated by the topic of Covid have chosen to salvage the raw stories, so they are not lost to time. However, other filmmakers stated without reservation they would avoid the topic completely.

Lastly, most filmmakers expressed disappointment over how the pandemic has negatively impacted film festivals, coupled with their skepticism of online events. However, some filmmakers believe this crisis has brought about unexpected film distribution opportunities, with better access to online screenings and increased revenue from emerging media platforms.

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Detecting Political Secession of Fragmented Communities in Social Networks via Deep Link Entropy Method

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Abstract
Breakdown of global connectivity in social networks trough disintegration of fragmented but interacting communities leading to political secession is a major source of forming and strengthening echo chambers and political polarization. Hence, quantifying the significance of each edge (the connection or relationship between two particular nodes, for example two friends on Facebook, or two follower/followed accounts in Instagram or Twitter) from the perspective of global connectivity is a crucial problem in online political communication studies. Among the existing methods for quantifying the edge significance in complex social networks, link entropy (LE) has been a very successful one, which takes into account the two nodes' (making up that particular edge) uncertainties of belonging to different communities. Considering also the contribution of the uncertainties of the adjacent nodes of those two particular nodes, we recently proposed the deep link entropy (DLE) method. In this work, we examine the political secession of disintegrating communities. In particular, we study complex social networks consisting of multiple communities which are in direct or indirect interaction through bridging individuals. We consider scenarios where those bridges are lost through unfollowing or unfriending an individual belonging to a different community. We show that the DLE method detects the community disintegration with a high performance. We discuss DLE method's contribution to social network and online political communication studies, in particular to examining the online political secession.

Keywords: Deliberative Enclaves, Fragmentation, Turkish Politics, Youth Participation in Politics, Social Media, Twitter

Introduction

Social networks consist of ideologically fragmented communities, and the strength of interaction between each pair of communities play an essential role in the dynamics of echo chambers and polarization. Data driven social network analyses are fruitful for a better understanding of these dynamics. Sloan et al. (2015) showed that it is possible to characteristics from tweets. Studying the anti-migrant sentiments, it was recently shown that among the fragmented groups, even the similar minded groups are fragmented (Yurtcicek Ozaydin 2018). Deliberative enclaves (Yurtcicek Ozaydin 2019) and strong echo chambers (Yurtcicek Ozaydin and Nishida 2021) are found among the youth groups of political parties on Twitter. Jo et al. (2021) studied the spread of coronavirus and policy implications based on social network analysis. Analyzing hashtag wars in geographical basis, it was found that similar to presental or general elections, local elections too contribute to political polarization across a nation (Yurtcicek Ozaydin 2020; 2021).

In addition to live or historical data such as tweets or posts, the more precisely analyzing the dynamics of social network structure paves the way for a more accurate understanding of the echo chambers and political polarization. The structure is determined by the peers and their connections. We consider each peer of a social network as a node, n_i and the connection between two nodes n_i and n_j as an edge, e_{i-j}. See Figure 1 for illustrating example where $i = 3$ and $j = 9$.
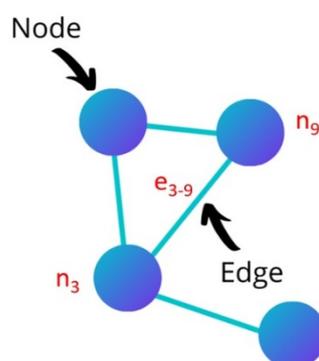

Figure 1: Edge e_{3-9} is connecting nodes n_3 and n_9.

The impact of establishing a new edge or breaking of an existing edge on the echo chamber and polarization dynamics of the communities of a network heavily depends on the properties of the nodes of that edge. If its nodes belong to the same community, the impact might be limited. However, if its nodes are constituting a bridge between two communities, i.e. n_i belongs to one community and n_j to another community, the impact might be greater in the sense that, breaking that edge will interrupt the interaction between communities, while establishing such an edge improves the interaction. Hence, the significance of each edge from the viewpoint of diffusion of ideologies and global connection provides a valuable information about the echo chamber and polarization dynamics of the fragmented communities. See Figure 2 for example. Edges in red color, for example e_{4-10} and e_{13-24} are expected to be more significant than edges in blue color, for example e_{1-2} and e_{9-12}. Quantifying the significance of each edge is therefore important in analyzing the network structure and several methods have been proposed for calculating the significance, the most popular ones being bridgeness (Cheng et al., 2010), k-path centrality (De Meo et al., 2012), degree product (Wang and Chen, 2008) and edge betweenness centrality (Girvan and Newman, 2002). Qian et al. (2017) have proposed the Link Entropy (LE) method, based on

the entropies of the nodes, which outperforms the existing methods, and we recently proposed the Deep Link Entropy method, as an improvement over LE by also considering the entropies of adjacent nodes of the pair of nodes in hand (Yurtcicek Ozaydin and Ozaydin, 2021).
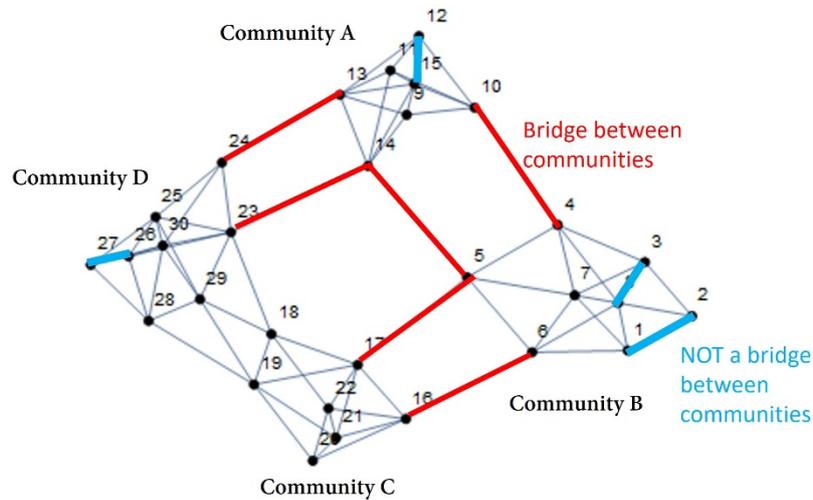

Figure 2: Edges (in red) connecting two fragmented communities are more significant than edges (blue) connecting nodes of within a community.

In both LE and DLE methods, the first step is to discover the communities by applying the non-negative matrix factorization method (Wang et al, 2011). Because communities are not isolated (disconnected) from each other so that nodes might be connected to nodes of more than one community, each node in a complex social network is found to be a member of each community with some probability. In other words, there is a finite uncertainty for each node to be belonging to each community. Based on these uncertainties, particular entropy functions are calculated. In details, for calculating the significance of an edge e_{i-j} LE calculates the entropies $H(n_i)$ and $H(n_j)$ of n_i and n_j, respectively, and $JSD(n_i, n_j)$ the Jensen-Shannon divergence of n_i and n_j. In DLE, entropies of the adjacent nodes of n_i and n_j are also calculated and added with a weight. See Yurtcicek Ozaydin and Ozaydin (2021), for details. Although our focus is on social networks within the context of online political communications, edge significance is important in a wider context, such as in quantum networks (Ozaydin et al. 2014; Li et al. 2016; Zang et al. 2016; Bugu et al. 2020; Ozaydin et al. 2021).
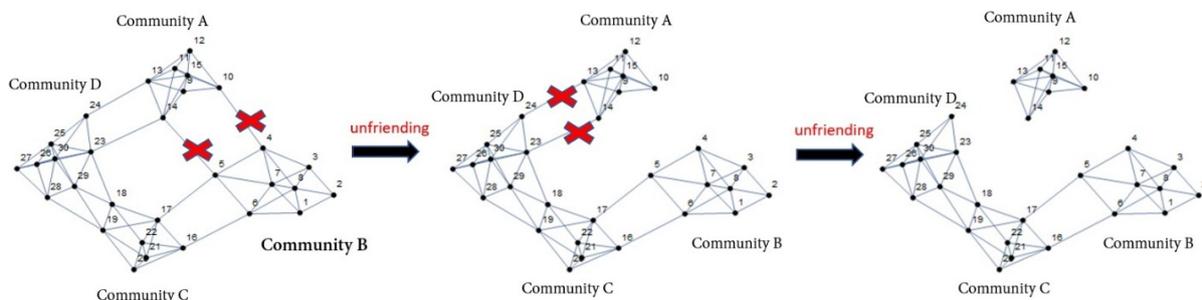

Figure 3: Breaking of edges e_{4-10} and e_{5-14} through *unfriending* or *unfollowing* in a social network site, political secession of Communities A and B is observed. Furthermore, if edges e_{13-24} and e_{14-23} are also broken, Community A is disintegrated from the other communities.

In the online political communication studies, disintegration of communities from each other is widely studied. However, interrupting the interaction between two communities can also occur due to secession of them. See Figure 3 for the illustration. At the two extremes, Community A is either connected to Communities B and D (left), or it is disintegrated from all the communities (right). However in a moderate case, Community A lost its connections only with Community B. They can still interact through other communities, though being very limited. We refer to such a case as political secession.
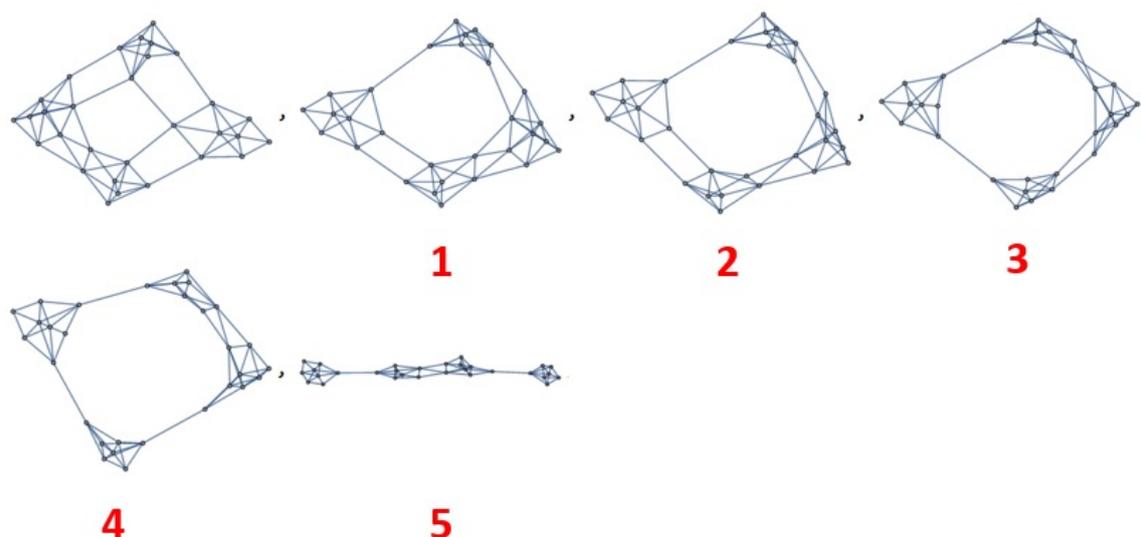

Figure 4: Observing secession according to LE method.

We examine the political secession of communities in complex networks using LE and DLE methods, as follows. After quantifying the significance of each edge, according to each method, the top significant edge is removed. The community discovery algorithm is repeated because in each edge-removal, the network structure is slightly changed. The significance of all the remaining edges are calculated again, and the top significant edge is removed. This procedure is repeated until all the edges are removed. We find that DLE successfully leads to secession, earlier than LE. As an example, we present the results on the social network illustrated in Figure 2. As can be seen in Figure 4, applying LE, we find that the first secession is observed in 5 steps, i.e. after removing 5 edges. However, applying DLE as can be seen in Figure 5, secession is observed in only 2 steps, i.e. after removing 2 edges, only.
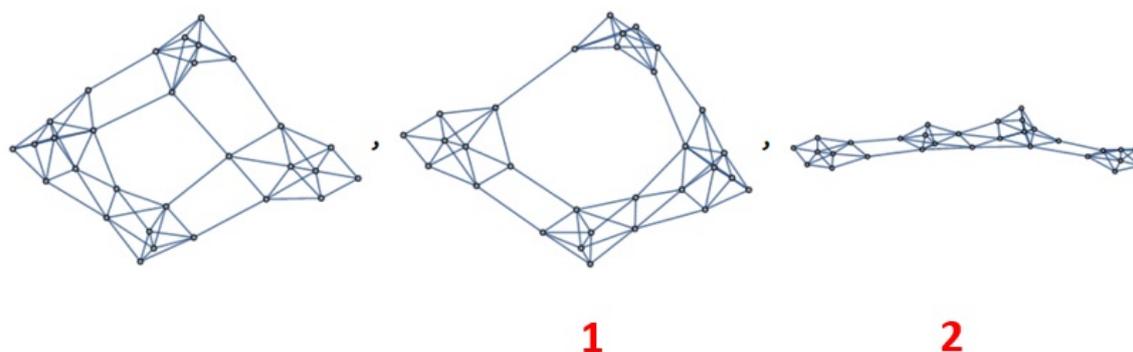

Figure 5: Observing secession according to DLE method.

Conclusions

We have examined the political secession of fragmentation of communities in social networks using the edge significance quantification in literature, namely Link Entropy, and Deep Link Entropy. The latter one is an improvement over the former by considering the adjacent nodes, enabling a deeper insight. We find that through such a consideration, political secession is observed faster. We point to the need of developing a detection mechanism specific for political secession as an open question for further research. We also argue that political secession deserves more attraction in online political communication studies, in particular in political fragmentation, echo chambers and polarization.

Acknowledgements

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