Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling:

A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China

Sijing Lu

University of Liverpool, UNITED KINGDOM
sijinglu@liverpool.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

This article uncovers the external and internal power relations of fansubbing in China and discusses the role of fansubbers as social agents that constitute hierarchies in the online environment. Adopting the concepts of *field* and *capital* from Pierre Bourdieu's sociology, the study investigates to what extent fansubbers are reproducing the accepted governmental ideologies through their supposedly autonomous activities, followed by an account of how fansubbers are maintaining or challenging the status quo through the pursuit of, and competition within, various forms of capital. The findings show that even though fansubbers have freedom through conducting self-selection and self-distribution, their compliance to dominant governmental policies, and their market-oriented material selection indicate fansubbing's heteronomous principle of hierarchisation that exists within the field of power. Additionally, fansubbing communities are centred on distinct capital accumulation and conversion among agents, and it is such diverse position-takings that enable a dynamic mechanism of fansubbing communities.

Keywords: Capital; fansubbing; field; Pierre Bourdieu; power relations

1. Introduction

The advent of new technologies has had a profound impact on translation practices, and further given rise to a wide range of scholastic focuses on many new translation phenomena, such as, to name a few, crowdsourcing translation (Losse 2008), user-generated translation (Perrino 2009; O'Hagan 2009), community translation (DePalma and Kelly 2008), and online activist translation (Tymoczko 2000; Baker 2009; Pérez-González 2010). The open, participatory and interactive nature of the Internet has made it possible for like-minded people to gather together for common goals (Ferber et al. 2005), and those online collaborative activities have made amateur translation practice a more visible activity than ever before.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

86

Although the non-remuneration feature of amateur translation is perceived as a substantial threat to the structure of the labour market, as well as to the livelihood of translation professionals (Yang 2009; McDonough-Dolmaya 2011), the positive social implications that amateur translation brings have been extensively illustrated, including the higher degree of domain-knowledge (O'Hagan 2009), the facilitation of civic engagement (Baker 2009; Pérez-González 2010; Li 2015), and the creative innovation of translation techniques (Tessa 2012; McClarty 2013; Cecilia van Tonder 2015).

One of the practices that has arisen at the forefront of amateur translation is the emergence and ongoing development of fansubbing. Fansubbing, or subtitling carried out by fans for fans, is a social phenomenon facilitated by technological developments and existed long before the digital era, having emerged in the early 1980s triggered by the promotion of Japanese anime (Munday 2008). Fansubbing was originally born to provide fans across nations with the latest and most authentic experience of Japanese anime[1]. However, over the past three decades, globalisation has extended the remit of fansubbing from Japanese anime to various audiovisual genres, such as Hollywood films, North American TV shows, university open courses, and Korean reality shows (Dwyer 2012). A fansubbing community is an online subtitle production community with stable core members, shared interests and purposes for the translation of audiovisual materials, and conventional rules and regulations which are sustained by a set of technology and translation software applications (Vellar 2011; Tian 2011; Bayar 2012). Specific organisational rules and regulations of fansubbing communities will be discussed later in the article.

An increasing number of fansubbing communities has been established in recent years and has received scholarly attention. Early in 1999, Nornes regarded fansubbing as a form of

---

[1] The major motivation for the emergence of fansubs is the promotion of Japanese anime in the United States. With the release of video cassette recorders in 1975, Japanese anime began to spread across the United States and TV stations began broadcasting different genres such as super robot shows, cartoon and fantasy. Between the late 1970s and the early 1980s, fan clubs of Japanese anime began to be founded and expanded to become of national scale in the United States. Japanese anime fans helped publicise and subtitle the videos and distributed them to the regions in which TV broadcasting were not available. The first anime club in the United States was established by Fred Patten and called the Cartoon/Fantasy Organization.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

87

"abusive subtitling" to underline the boundaries between mainstream subtitling and fansubbing (1999:17-34). Fansubbing is regarded as working outside of the mainstream industry with abusive subtitle features such as using different coloured subtitles to correspond to material aspects of language, including footnotes or small-type definitions which are illegible on the fly, and freely inserting fansubbers' own comments all over the screen (ibid.). Nonetheless, fansubbing communities have proliferated in the past few years. Li (2012:77) argued that the reason for the proliferation of fansubbing communities is mainly due to the fact that fansubbers' "aesthetic manipulation" of subtitles is mostly favoured by audiences. Aesthetic manipulation includes fansubbers' increasing and creative use of various typographical features, such as colourful and karaoke-style subtitles, which are dramatically different from the use of static white or black subtitles in mainstream practice. Furthermore, the fan nature makes fansubbers usually more familiar with the needs of the target audiences; therefore, they reject professional subtitles which have long been known for their unified appearance or dilution of cultural references. As a result, audiovisual translation represents one of the areas in which professional norms and practices have been challenged most by the freedom and empowerment of users of the Internet and open-source software (Jiménez-Crespo 2017:179). Academic studies in recent years have focused on subtitling norms in fansubbing and comparing them with mainstream practices from both descriptive perspectives (Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006; Pérez-González 2007; Bogucki 2009, Tian 2011; Zhang and Wang 2015) and empirical perspectives (Lee 2011; Caffrey 2009; Massidda 2012). Along with the growing interest in studying fansubbing norms, scholarly enquiry has also extended from pure text-oriented research to contextual studies, including studies of the agents involved in the fansubbing process (Díaz-Cintas 2006; Pérez-González 2007) and the communities and networks that fansubbers build (Li 2015; Liu and Seta 2015; Rong 2015).

Jenkins (1992) noted that fansubbing involves two types of activities: fans producing texts, and fans creating communities. Previous studies of fansubbing in China mainly focus on the former activity, i.e. subtitling strategies developed by Chinese fansubbers when producing

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

88

subtitled audiovisual texts (Li 2012; Zhang 2013; He 2014; Chang 2014). These studies show that Chinese fansubbing has greatly influenced professional subtitling with their "groundbreaking innovations" such as commentary notes and pop-up glosses (Díaz-Cintas 2009:11). For example, professional subtitlers began to adopt fansub-style comments and notes in subtitles to provide extra contextual and background information and use vivid language to create a kind of intimacy with audiences (Wang 2014). Scholars also illustrate that the creative subtitling strategies used in Chinese fansubbing help to maintain the register of the original as well as the colloquialism and authenticity of the source dialogue (Ding 2013; Wang 2017). However, with the rise of the participatory culture[2], fansubbing communities in China have mushroomed and the social position of fansubbers has been foregrounded in both online spaces and the offline subtitling industry. This has inspired a shift of research interest from the textual aspect to the extra-textual one, i.e. fan-created communities. Recent scholarly attention has also called for a focus on the "social substratum and participatory dimension that underpin non-professional subtitling agencies" (Pérez-González 2017:17). In a country with strict ideological sanctions against the media, the practice of fansubbers creating communities in China is creating "new neoliberal scripts" in which fansubbers transgress national limitations and become involved in altruistic production in articulation with the ambiguous non-legal/legal online cultural economy (Hu 2013:228). Moreover, fans are traditionally understood as passive information consumers, but nowadays fans of cultural products are taking technologies into their own hands to create or translate texts to express their own media experiences or challenge dominant discourses. This article considers fansubbers as active social agents whose ideologies[3] are influenced by the government and the power field,

---

[2] Media scholar Henry Jenkins developed the concept of "participatory culture" in his book *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (2016). He argued that participatory culture emerged with the rise of Web 2.0 and that it is opposite to "consumer culture" in which people are merely consumers. In participatory culture, people can take part in the generation and creation of news, ideas and works on the Internet. More implications of participatory culture for civic engagement and creative expressions can be found at: http://henryjenkins.org/blog/2006/10/confronting_the_challenges_of.html

[3] The term "ideology" used in this article adopts Bourdieu's argument (Bourdieu and Boltanski 1976). Bourdieu notes that ideology is simultaneously "doubly determined" by the dominating class and the subjugated masses. For instance, in the case of hegemonic discourse, the primary function of ideology is "to express and produce the logical and moral integration of the dominant class"; in the case of counterhegemonic discourse, ideology is to "convey and guarantee the social and normative integration of dominated groups" (Susen 2014:92).

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

89

and who constitute hierarchies in the online environment informed by a persistent search for the accumulation of resources. Aiming to uncover both the external and internal power relations of fansubbing practice, the article methodologically builds on a six-month project collating netnographic data about three Chinese fansubbing communities (Community 1, Community 2 and Community 3) and employs Bourdieu's interrelated concepts of *field* and *capital*. The article initially attempts to map out the current position of Chinese fansubbing practice within multiple social fields. It then investigates to what extent fansubbers are reproducing accepted governmental ideologies in terms of power through their supposedly autonomous activities, followed by an account of how fansubbers are maintaining or challenging the status quo as agents through the pursuit of, and competition within, various forms of capital. Before proceeding to the research data, the article begins with an overview of Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical approach and its relevance in studying fansubbing, specifically focusing on the analytical concepts of field and capital.

2. Applying Bourdieu's sociological approach to fansubbing

Pierre Bourdieu's sociology evolved from his criticism of the two traditional opposing understandings of the formation of the social world. Bourdieu situated himself in the French intellectual world of the 1950s and early 1960s, when he attempted to solve the dichotomy between subjectivism and objectivism. According to Bourdieu (1987), the main problem of the two sides lies in the separation of the individual human agent from the external world. Subjectivism ignores the objectivity of the subjective and believes that a human's behaviour arises merely from subjectivity. By contrast, objectivism shows that human's behaviour is directly subjected to external conditions (Swartz 2002:61-63). As Johnson (1993) illustrates, Bourdieu introduces a theoretical model that combines the concept of the agent that is free from the idealism of subjectivist accounts, and the concept of social space that is free from the mechanistic causality inherent in many objectivist approaches.

The social space Bourdieu refers to is what he calls a field (Bourdieu 1990). Bourdieu developed the concept of field in response to other concepts that attempt to explain social

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

90

reality, namely the duality between subjectivism and objectivism. A field is a historically constituted social space with its own fundamental laws, norms and rules. Each field has its own taken for granted logic and structure. Moreover, a field is "a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:97). Therefore, the field provides an analytical tool to focus on fansubbers, who produce effects through their supposedly autonomous activities within the given field; describes the struggles or the boundary of the field and defines the distribution of capital at stake influenced by the government and the power field.

When Bourdieu was developing his theory, the notion of field had already been largely used in other disciplines, such as physics and mathematics (Hilgers and Mangez 2015). However, what makes Bourdieu's notion of field different from others is his discussion of the "struggle" of the field. Agents are defined by their social positions in a space that can be described as a field of forces. Social fields are fields of struggles, where struggles are aimed at transforming or preserving the forces and positions that agents hold within a given field. The relations of a field are not merely defined by interactions between agents but also based on "the force of competing positions" and the struggle to "re-configure field hierarchies" (Hilgers and Mangez 2015:218). As Bourdieu (1996) illustrates, there is constant competition in social space where agents and institutions struggle for certain social positions or power relations. Bourdieu (1992:229) argues that a field is a "multi-dimensional space of positions" where positions of power are defined by the stakes or values that social agents hold. Those stakes or values are considered as capital (ibid.).

Bourdieu defines four principal forms of capital. *Economic capital* is the root of all other forms of capital. It can be directly converted into property rights or money (Bourdieu 1986). However, economic capital is less relevant in an amateur subtitling environment such as fansubbing, because instead of gaining monetary rewards as in the professional industry, amateur subtitlers mostly provide free labour and are activated by altruistic motivations. *Social capital* is a form that arises from belonging to a particular social group and takes effect

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

91

through the connections established between its members. Bourdieu (1986:248) defines social capital as a "durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition". *Cultural capital* refers to cultural assets beyond economic means, including knowledge, skills, languages, qualifications and so on. Most of the properties of cultural capital are linked to the body and presuppose embodiment (Bourdieu 1986: 244). Therefore, the accumulation of cultural capital lies in what is called "culture" and "cultivation", and it implies a labour of "inculcation" and "assimilation" (Bourdieu 1986:243). Unlike the exchange of gifts, money or property rights, cultural capital is a personal investment of "self-improvement" that can be converted into an integral part of the person, feeding into their embodied dispositions (Bourdieu 1986:244). This embodied state of cultural capital makes it impossible to acquire beyond the "appropriating capacities of an individual agent"; thus it functions in numerous ways in an agent's "biological singularity" and will decline and die with the bearer (*ibid.*). As the transmission and acquisition of cultural capital are more subtle and "disguised" than economic capital, it can also function as *symbolic capital*, which refers to the legitimate competence of honour, prestige or recognition. As Skeggs (1977:8) explains, symbolic capital is "powerful capital" because it brings power within it and it is a symbol of status. It can be inferred that symbolic capital mainly functions as the legitimate basis of social positions in a given society; it does not have its own particular mode of existence and it can be seen as a form of capital in the eyes of the others (ibid.).

Drawing on these definitions of field and capital, I argue that the subtitling field can be seen as a social space that is specifically dedicated to the activity of subtitling and its boundary is set by subtitling capital. Referring to Ivarsson and Carroll's (1998:97) definition of subtitling practice, "displays" are produced during the shooting of the film and used as written texts within the picture; "captions", or "subtitles", are written narrative, intertitles, or places indicating where the scene took place and produced after the actual shooting and added to the film later. Rather than being presented within the same modality, as in traditional translation, the practice of subtitling transfers the communication mode by converting the spoken verbal Source Text (ST) into the written verbal/visual Target Text (TT). The shift modality between

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

92

ST and TT makes subtitling a social practice that is different from any other form of translation. The subtitling field is defined by subtitling capital that transgresses the modality between ST and TT, and subtitling capital could be regarded as a form of capital that is guarded and dispensed only by subtitlers. It is inferred to be a credit that subtitlers possess, accumulate and spend. Specifically, subtitling capital is cultural, referring to particular subtitling abilities or skills required in subtitling production. It is the subtitler's cultural competences and a strategic "sense of the game" deriving from the internalization of cultural capital in the subtitlers' dispositions. As subtitling is sited in a system that transfers the semiotic mode from spoken into written, subtitlers are thus considered to be able to deal with various specific skills involved in subtitling, such as dealing with technical constraints (such as of time and space), synchronizing images with timecodes and possessing technical abilities in using subtitling software. Subtitling capital also implies a symbolic dimension, referring to symbolic power and status in the subtitling field, including the recognition and acceptance of the importance of subtitling in society, the reputation gained by creating good subtitles and so on. Crucially, it is worth noting that capital is convertible rather than immutable. The convertibility of different forms of capital is basic for maintaining the reproduction of capital and the agent's social position in a given field. For example, the possession of large amount of cultural capital helps some well-skilled fansubbers to stand out in the community and thus gain a high degree of reputation and the possibility of becoming a group leader or supervisor. This convertibility of capital from cultural into symbolic is pivotal for reproducing group positions and roles in fansubbing communities.

As previously mentioned, a field is a structure of relative positions within which social agents act and take positions (Hilgers and Mangez 2015:5), and the acquisition of capital enables social agents to maintain or obtain more dominant positions in a field. In addition to the competitive nature of a field, another key property of a field is that it is not a thing-concept, but a relation-concept (Hilgers and Mangez 2015:4-10). For Bourdieu, it is the set of relationships in the system, or its configuration, that truly gives access to a field. Seen in this light, when studying a specific field, it is necessary to weave together other neighbouring

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

93

fields rather than focusing on a single field in isolation. A property of fields is that they are "systems of relations independent of the populations defined by those relations" (ibid.). Moreover, a field is "a relatively autonomous domain of activity that responds to rules of functioning" (ibid.). According to Bourdieu (1993), the autonomisation of certain groups or activities indicates the emergence and accumulation of a specific type of capital, whose holders constitute the specific field. The more autonomous, the more specific competence an agent needs to master and possess, and the more a specific language and form of representation are required in order to enter the field. Yet it is worth noting that the autonomy of the field is relative. Taking the artistic field as an example, Bourdieu (1983) argues that the field is a struggle between two opposing principles, an internal principle of autonomy that rejects external determinants and represents the pure value of art, and an external principle of heteronomy taking into account economic and political power, since artistic production is used to make money or to gain political power. In other words, any given field is affected by two types of forces: the autonomous forces that are internal to the given field, and the heteronomous forces that originate from the field of power.

The field of power is thus a key concept to understand the structure of a social field. Bourdieu (1992:300) notes that rather than being linked to a specific social activity, the field of power is "the space of relations of force between agents or between institutions having in common the possession of the capital necessary to occupy dominant positions in the different fields." The field of power is structured by two opposite fractions: the dominant economic fraction and the dominated cultural fraction. Thus the field of power is defined by the opposition between dominant economic capital and dominated cultural capital. Every specific field is likely to be situated within the field of power and it is for this reason that every field, such as fansubbing, is influenced by a double hierarchy. I argue that the dynamics of the fansubbing field derive from the structure of the field of power, i.e. of the relation of domination that hierarchises cultural capital and economic capital. The fansubbing field generates an autonomous pole (subtitling purely for the love of genres that are often unavailable within the mainstream, commercial and nationally regulated framework), and a heteronomous pole (producing

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

94

subtitled products that help to market goods, or to promote mainstream discourse and ideologies favoured by the dominant class). Additionally, the field of fansubbing itself is also structured by the history of its internal struggles.

To uncover both the external and internal power relations of fansubbing practice in China and to discuss the role of fansubbers as social agents that constitute hierarchies in the online environment, this article uses Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field and capital to examine the power dynamics of fansubbing in China. The advantage offered by Bourdieu's theory is its ability to "construct an object of research afresh" (Krasnopeyeva 2018:40). Specifically, fansubbing not only challenges traditional translation models, but also blurs the boundaries between producers and consumers, professionals and amateurs, and individual and collaborative practice. Bourdieu's theory, in essence, is relational and contextual. It acknowledges social agents' potential to transform their settings and circumstances and allows us to explain how social structures or mechanisms are reproduced by individual agents in their daily activities. It enables us to look into the dynamics of the online amateur environment and social relations of power as well as the hierarchical relations of fansubbing practice. Although the concept of power has been defined in various forms by social theorists before (e.g. Weber, Foucault), Bourdieu expands Weber's (1979) theory of power in his (Weber's) discussion of political economy and religion to include cultural and social relations (Swartz 1996). When exploring to what extent fansubbers are reproducing accepted governmental ideologies in terms of power through their supposedly autonomous activities, cultural and social relations of power become central to the analysis. Foucault (1991, 1998) elaborates power in terms of social life and notes that power is cognitively and bodily embedded in cultural practices. Bourdieu builds on Foucault's approaches to power but theorises different forms of capital within a field in which power becomes embedded. This provides Bourdieu the ability to explore various forms of resources such as symbolic and social capital to understand when and how power can develop within a given field (Geukjian 2013), and provides an effective tool to understand how fansubbers produce and circulate valued capital to acquire power within the subtitling field.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

95

Building on a Bourdieusian perspective, below is a summary of the key discussions of the notions of field and capital and their relation to fansubbing practice in China. Detailed analysis will be presented in the following sections.

Table 1: Key Properties of Bourdieusian Field and Capital in Fansubbing

Basic Properties of Bourdieusian Field and Capital	Fansubbing Applications
Property 1: Each field has its own logic and taken for granted structure of necessity and is marked by its field-specific capital.	The subtitling field is dedicated to a specific type of translation that transfers the modality between ST and TT by adopting technological software, and is defined by subtitling capital.
Property 2: Social space does not take place in an ideal independent field. Rather, it eventuates in a socio-cultural environment where agents are influenced by powers from other institutions.	The structure of the subtitling field is closely related to the film field and subtitlers need film capital during the production of subtitles.
Property 3: Each field is governed by two opposing principles: an external or heteronomous principle that originates from the field of power and an internal or autonomous principle to the given field.	The fansubbing field derives from the field of power and is structured by the double hierarchy between the dominant economic principle (helping to market goods or to promote mainstream discourse and ideologies favoured by the dominant class) and the dominated cultural capital principle (subtitling pure genres only for fun or love).
Property 4: A field is a structure of constant struggles within which social agents act and take positions.	Within the fansubbing field, fansubbers are competing with each other to gain certain positions by accumulating various types of capital.
Property 5: Based on the unique logic within a specific field, the accumulation of resources	The fansubbing community constitutes their own ways of defining how status and power can

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

96

under different forms of capital can lead to different types of distinction.	be acquired and allocated, based on a set of community rules and membership criteria.

3.   Research method

This article adopts Kozinets' approach of *netnography* as the dominant method to collect relevant data in the three fansubbing communities under consideration *(*Community 1, Community 2 and Community 3). Netnography (i.e. ethnography on the Internet) is a term coined by Kozinets (1998, 2010) and is derived from the traditional anthropological approach of ethnography to understand a particular online cultural group or social setting. Kozinets (2010:366) defines netnography as a "written account resulting from fieldwork studying the cultures and communities that emerge from online, computer-mediated, or Internet-based communications."As the definition indicates, both fieldwork and textual accounts are methodologically informed by the traditions and techniques of cultural anthropology.

Following Kozinets' (2010) argument, unlike the traditional ethnographer who might travel a great distance to locate a particular culture or community, netnographers can make use of the judicious deployment of an Internet search engine. In line with the purpose of this article, I initially narrowed down the communities based on their language pairs (mainly translating from English into Chinese) and genres (mainly subtitling films or TV series). Aiming to have a panoramic and diverse understanding of Chinese fansubbing communities, I read the history and background information of several potential sites and tried to select both well-established and newer fansubbing communities. Eventually, Community 1*,* Community 2 and Community 3 were chosen as the target sites for the following reasons:

(1) *Relevance*: Community 3 has over 900,000 registered members, Community 2 has over 6,000 and Community 1 has over 750. Established in 2009, Community 3 is one of largest and more mature Chinese fansubbing communities, while Community 1 and Community 2 were both established more recently in 2015. This provides a diverse

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

97

perspective into fansubbing communities of different scales and different positions in the field.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

98

(2) *Activity*: fansubbing communities have a high turnover rate. The recent and regular communication on either the forums or websites of the three fansubbing communities selected indicates an active and stable status.

(3) *Accessibility*: the three communities are all currently open for new applications, which made my fieldwork activities and participation to the communities itself possible.

After selecting the three fieldsites, I participated in the three communities' entry tests according to their recruitment policy and successfully became an official member in all three. The data used in this article was collected during my participation between January 2018 and July 2018. The main ethical consideration that arises from my netnographic research regards my role as a full insider, as I had to protect fansubbers' privacy and maintain each fansubbing community's confidentiality. To overcome this ethical issue, I asked three fansubbing communities' group leaders for permission for my entry as a researcher to carry out the participation and sent the participation observation consent form to fansubbers alongside the participant information sheet describing the detailed procedure of the research. Participants' pseudonyms and organisation's claims are revealed in this article only on the basis of their consent.

As suggested by Kozinets (2010:98), netnographic research can involve three types of sources: (1) archival data; (2) fieldnotes; (3) elicited data. The first two types of data are utilised for the purpose of this article. Regarding archival data, two sub-types of archival documents are considered. The first is the external documents that are shown publicly to all Internet users without any access limitations. This includes fansubbing communities' websites, forums, and social media pages (e.g. Weibo[4] and Wechat Official Accounts[5]). This type of source offers rich glimpses into the background information, trends and themes of an online social phenomenon and its relation to other external social fields. For instance, the fansubbing

---

[4] Weibo is a Chinese microblogging software launched by the Sina Corporation in 2009. It has become one of the most popular social media platforms in China.
[5] Wechat Official Account was launched in 2013 by Tecent after the blocking of Facebook. Users can open their account to access a web page directly or conduct live chat with friends on this platform.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

99

community's history, goals, specialities, recruitment information and communication regulations are generally described on these sites. From a research standpoint, these sources can shed light on fansubbers' decisions or ideologies in response to external circumstances and can enable a mapping of the social field in which fansubbing takes place. The second type of archival documents utilised in this article consists of the internal documents and files uploaded on a fansubbing community, including membership rules, translation principles, worksheets and subtitled works. Such a source is potentially valuable as it provides an effective way of identifying the internal policies and regulations in fansubbing communities, and of exploring issues such as the comparison between the fansub production pattern and its established subtitling equivalent; the degree of productive autonomy enjoyed by fansubbers; and the hierarchical membership criteria based on the distribution of various forms of capital. In terms of the fieldnotes data, Evernote[6] was employed to take notes immediately after daily participation as a supplement to the archival data. As Evernote can be downloaded as an app and installed in mobile software, I used it to record images, texts, and screenshots together with my own comments for subsequent analysis. As the major communication tools utilised by Chinese fansubbers for daily contact are QQ[7] and forums, my fieldnotes are primarily based on the messages I read in QQ and forums, interactions observed in the three communities, and reflexive fieldnotes generated by my participant observation.

4.   Fansubbing as a social sub-field in the subtitling field

4.1 Mapping out the subtitling field in China

China's subtitling field began to develop long before the emergence of fansubbing and can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century. Even before China developed a film field of its own, a large number of foreign films from Europe and America had overwhelmed the Chinese market (Yu 2013:58). In 1922, the Shanghai Peacock Film Company pioneered translating foreign films shown with Chinese subtitles; this turned out to be a great success

---

[6] Evernote is an app designed for taking notes and archiving images and videos. More details regarding the functions of Evernote can be found here https://www.evernote.com.
[7] QQ is a Chinese instant messaging software. The major service provided by this online software is text chat or video chat.

and led many other film studios to follow suit (ibid.). After the foundation of P. R. China in 1949, four state-run studios (Shanghai Studio, August First Studio, Changchun Studio and Beijing Studio) were successively established and considered to be the first agents in China who produced subtitles. Between 1978 and 1990, with the promotion of the official Opening up Policy[8], the change of production mode in terms of the economics and management of film studios led the four state-run studios to become market-oriented, and foreign films started to be gradually regarded as a commercial product instead of a political propaganda tool (Ma 2005:26). However, the four state-run studios are still considered to be directly governed by the country's leading party as their work is strictly censored and modified, aiming to oblige them to conform to the leading party's ideologies (Wang and Zhang 2015:182).

Since 1992, a revitalization of reform[9] and a renewed emphasis on the market economy have encouraged the emergence of a second subtitle-producing agent - private subtitling companies. With the advent of the 21st century, Web 2.0 has facilitated the transformation of users to active producers and this has provided an opportunity for amateur translators to enter the subtitling field. Loyal fans of audiovisual products constructing online subtitling communities have contributed to the formation of the third agent in China who produces subtitles. The emergence of these two new agents has brought new struggles and strategies by adding new modes of ideas and expressions. For example, as a newcomer to the field, Chinese fansubbing introduced new positions by challenging the traditional orthodox subtitling techniques of the established subtitlers, and in order to gain recognition, fansubbers produced their own methods of "creative subtitling" (van Toner 2015) or "abusive subtitling" (Nornes 1999) yielding both aesthetic and functional subtitles.

Nevertheless, subtitling as a social activity does not take place in an ideal independent field.

---

[8] The Opening up Policy (*改革开放*) was proposed by the Chinese reformist Deng Xiaoping in 1978 and refers to programmes of economic reforms known as "Socialism with Chinese characteristics."
[9] As a follow-up reform of the "opening up policy", China's economy began to dramatically expand from 1992, based on a revitalizing reform and a renewed emphasis on market economics. More details regarding the reform process commenced in 1992 can be found at:
http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/424651468769174777/China-reform-and-development-in-1992-93.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

100

Rather, it eventuates in a socio-cultural environment where agents' production practice is influenced by powers from other institutions or the acquisition of capital from other relational fields. In fact, the emergence of subtitles was a result of the arrival of films. The initiation and production of subtitles is an intention to meet the cultural diversity of target viewers to understand a foreign film. The popularization of the film industry carried its power to the subtitling field and influenced the production of subtitles. According to the *Report on the Development of the Global Film Industry*[10], the global film industry hit an all-time high of $40.6 billion in 2017 and is still growing each year. The dominance of Hollywood films is no longer restricted to producing traditional films, but also covers various audiovisual products such as TV series, music videos and reality shows, and all these cultural exports facilitate the transfer into multiple languages. The Chinese film industry also experienced a boom after the Opening up Policy and although restricted by the state to protect the domestic market, a high number of foreign films have been imported. According to the *Report on the Development of the Global Film Industry*, 129 foreign films have been subtitled and adapted for the screen in 2017. Additionally, the Golden Rooster Rewards for 'Best Translated Film' established by the China Film Association represents the film field bringing its influence to the subtitling field and increasing the visibility of subtitle production. Owing to this reward from the film field, authoritative recognitions are imposed and the impact on the acceptance and visibility of subtitling is enhanced. Moreover, subtitlers require film capital during the production of subtitling. Professional subtitlers normally need knowledge of film studies, such as an understanding of different types of camera shots and knowledge of composition, so as to better synchronise the subtitles with the image (Ma 2005:30-41). Regarding fansubbing, fansubbers have rich domain knowledge in terms of film plots and characters, and this is used to produce the most appropriate subtitles.

Additionally, the structure and production of subtitles in China exist within the nexus with its broader field — the field of translation. As a sub-field of translation, the production of

---

[10] *Report on the Development of the Global Film Industry,* also known as the *Blue Book of Film,* is an annual report on development of the global film industry published by the Beijing Film Academy and Social Sciences Academic Press. More information can be found at: https://www.ssap.com.cn/c/2018-06-15/1069189.shtml

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

101

subtitles shows that the canonical principles of 信 (faithfulness), 达 (comprehensibility) and 雅 (elegance) rooted in the translation field are also widely promoted and applied. These translation principles were proposed by Chinese translator and political reformist Yan Fu in the late nineteenth century. Yan Fu was one of the first translators to introduce Western social sciences and cultures to China and was the first reformist to propose to develop China as a strong nation by learning from Western countries in the wake of the First Sino-Japanese War (Sinn 1995). Yan's books and articles have enlightened academic elites and translators and his canonical principles from one of his famous books *Tianyan Lun* (天演论) have firmly established the translation field in China (ibid.). As Yan Fu states, translators should be faithful to the original source and the factors of comprehensibility and elegance should be considered only if faithfulness is fulfilled (Liang 2010). Yan's tripartite translation principles attract universal attention in Chinese-speaking regions thanks to generational education, and foster the standardization of translation behaviour for translation agents. Conforming to the traditional Chinese ideology of "loyalty"[11], Yan's translation principles have been highly acknowledged, accepted and internalised in the minds of translators, instructing them to be "loyal" and "faithful" to the ST (ibid.). For example, Community 2 (Figure 1) explicitly states on its official website that the general translation principles and objectives in the community should follow the traditional concepts of faithfulness, comprehensibility and elegance, and respectthe ST as much as possible.

---

[11] The ideology of "loyalty" has influenced Chinese culture since the fourth century BC when Qu Yuan, a Chinese poet and minister who lived during the Warring States period of ancient China (340–278 BC), committed suicide to show his loyalty to the emperor. This ideology also conforms to traditional Confucian thought, guiding people to be loyal to their partner, to their parents, to their employer and so on.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

102

Figure 1: Screenshot of Community 2's Translation Principles and Objectives on the IntroductionPage of the Website (highlighted and translated in red).

4.2 Fansubbing's autonomous and heteronomous status in the field

Being situated within the field of subtitling, fansubbing illustrates its heteronomous principles against established professional practice. The results demonstrate that the working flow of the three communities (Figure 2) tend to be the same and could be divided into three major processes: administrative process, moderation process and translation process. Administrators are involved in the administrative process, and they are mainly in charge of recruitment and defining a community's rules and regulations. The moderation process usually involves moderators and directors. Their main function is to keep the community organised by making sure news or comments are posted and replied to in an appropriate way. They are also in charge of guiding new members and supervising the entire subtitling workflow. The translation process involves subtitlers who are responsible for different parts of the task: raw material finders, timers, translators, editors, proofreaders and encoders (Figure 3). It is worth noting that the raw material providers select the videos (usually obtained from the USA and the UK) based on the community's preferences, and this procedure is free from external

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

103

supervision. The timer is responsible for verifying the synchronization. Translators then voluntarily sign up for a part of the translation (usually 100 to 300 subtitles per person) and once the translation is finished, proofreaders will revise the work and ensure the coherence of the translation. Editors are in charge of making special effects on subtitles and merging the subtitle file with the video file to create one single file. Finally, encoders convert the video into different formats and upload them to subtitle-sharing websites available for audiences to download.

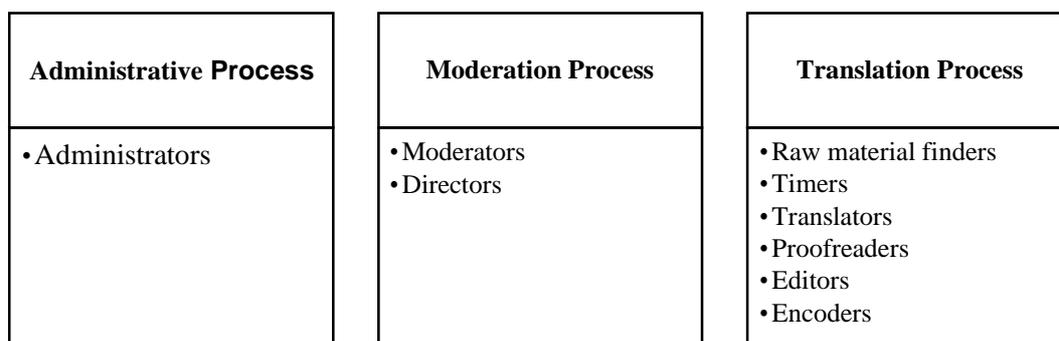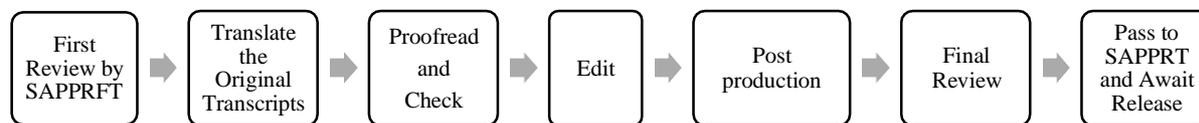Figure 2: Workflow in Three Fansubbing Communities

Administrative Process	**Moderation Process**	**Translation Process**
• Administrators	• Moderators • Directors	• Raw material finders • Timers • Translators • Proofreaders • Editors • Encoders

Figure 3: Subtitling Process in Three Fansubbing Communities

Raw Material Reception → Timing → Translating → Proofreading → Editing → Encoding and Distributing

As shown above, being situated within the field of subtitling, the working processes of the three fansubbing communities discussed here share characteristics with established subtitling practice. Fansubbing's workflow of timing, translating and editing, alongside its management model, echoes the professional subtitling procedure. Chen (2014:159-161) describes the general process of subtitling in professional subtitling settings in China, including the stages from commission to transmission. Figure 4 illustrates the stages from reception of the material to its distribution in four state-run studios:

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

104

Figure 4: Professional Subtitling Process in State-run Studios

First Review by SAPPRFT	→	Translate the Original Transcripts	→	Proofread and Check	→	Edit	→	Post production	→	Final Review	→	Pass to SAPPRT and Await Release

By comparing fansubbing processes to professional subtitling workflow, I argue that fansubbing implies a "semi-professional" tendency due to its assimilation of the advantages of the established industrial production model. On the other hand, the fact that three fansubbing communities have their own patterns of production, promotion and release implies that Chinese fansubbing groups mediate and carry out a relatively autonomous surrogate demand-supply distribution and circulation system, or in other words, a "productive autonomy" as described by Rong (2014:105). Through participation, the three communities apply a "self-selecting" and "self-distributing" rule when choosing raw materials and uploading subtitled works. Both rules are free from the pre-censorship and post-censorship procedure imposed by SAPPRFT[12] which is the case for the four state-run studios and private companies. The allocation of tasks in fansubbing communities is normally based on personal interests and is never mandatory unless translators are in short supply, and the distribution of final works is completed by uploading files to domestic third-party subtitle-sharing or video-sharing websites, such as SubHD, Zimuku, and Bilibili. Formal media supervision is absent in the production stage of fansubs. This provides fansubbers with an unparalleled degree of power over the flow of media and enables them to be transformed from passive consumers into active producers, creating autonomous individuals (Kelty 2008:210). The production model of fansubbing also displays the democratic power of subtitle creation and the lack of pressure from dominant institutions or authorities, which fosters a self-mediating dynamic of social interaction.

---

[12] SAPPRFT is the acronym of the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television. It is a ministry-level agency directly led by the State Council of China and its main duty is to supervise and administrate the media industry.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

105

However, although the formal monitoring mechanism is absent in the production stage of fansubbing, censorship imposed by the government does happen at other levels or stages of the practice, such as monitoring fansubbers' products on third-party video-sharing websites. For instance, Bilibili claims that all the content of films and TV played on the website will be reviewed and that contents that do not meet their standards will be blocked or removed from the platform. To avoid their content being blocked or deleted from third-party websites, the three fansubbing communities suggest a tendency of self-censorship either explicitly or implicitly. Self-censorship refers to a set of unconscious moral ideologies of individuals struggling between self and context (Bar-Tal 2015:37). Self-censorship rules are formulated by community members themselves. For example, in Community 3, on the administrative district of the forum, there is a top note explicitly referring to the self-censorship rule:

> In order to stay in line with Internet censorship regulations, participants are strictly forbidden to publish and translate any politically sensitive, violent or sexually explicit content either on their forum or QQ groups. Once found, you will be kicked out of the community permanently (original in Chinese, translated by the author).

The results suggest that the three communities are highly aware of the existence of the government policies. They explicitly show how they stay in line with the state's ideologies, including Internet regulations and national copyright laws. The top notice of the QQ groups of Community 2 declares:

> Any politically sensitive utterances are forbidden, otherwise you will be kicked out. Moderate sexual content is fine but be careful not to be too excessive (original in Chinese, translated by the author).

As Bourdieu notes, competent players within a field are those who can negotiate, reinterpret, or break the rules by keeping the appearance of the rule or its supposed outcome, rather than

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

106

those who conform to norms as cultural dopes (Reckwitz 2002:256). Thus in order to maintain the status-quo, fansubbers have reproduced the accepted governmental ideologies through reinterpreting and negotiating the mainstream ideologies in the community's rules. In Community 1, the top notice declares the requirements of obeying national laws and Internet regulations, and the consequences that may arise from illegal actions. In Community 3, there is a "monitoring system" (see Figure 5). Administrators of the forum will monitor members' inappropriate utterances, and ordinary members are encouraged to conduct mutual supervision and are rewarded for reporting such violations. Members are strictly forbidden to publish any politically sensitive utterances or sexually explicit contents. Violators will be warned or expelled, and serious cases will be subject to legal action.

Figure 5: Screenshot of Community 3's Monitoring System (highlighted in red)

Despite the three fansubbing communities having relative autonomy over deciding which material to subtitle, the results demonstrate that fansubbers attempt to keep away from material that is highly sensitive or that violates accepted power ideologies. Below is a dialogue from a group discussion in Community 1 regarding the translation of an R-rated[13] film,

---

[13] An R-rated film is defined as restricted film by the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) film

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

107

rating system and requires a parent or adult guardian for those under 17.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

108

Fifty Shades of Grey. The community consequently gave up subtitling the film due to the potential risks triggered by strong sexual content and nudity in the film. China's Internet censorship has been referred as "China's Great Firewall [14] " and has strict rules and prohibitions for detailed sexual plots including nudity. In order to avoid being sanctioned by China's Great Firewall, fansubbers are enforcing accepted power ideologies to maintain their status quo.

Fansubber 1: Are we going to subtitle *Fifty Shades of Grey*? [Shy Emoji]
Fansubber 2: Hahahahahahahaha.
Fansubber 3: Too much sex and nudity? Anyone in the community already watched?
Fansubber 1: I'm really worried. It would be banned.
Fansubber 3: Agree.

Internet laws have changed the production of fansubbing translation not only in the treatment of the issue of sensitive content but also with regard to copyright infringement. Since the spread of the "Great Clean-up" policy[15] in 2014 and the closure of China's largest subtitle website Shooter, the strict copyright laws either promoted by the nation and commercial film companies have forced fansubbing communities to merely provide subtitles rather than the whole videos. For example, in the Resource Download District on the official website of Community 3, the majority of the resources are marked as "subtitles download only" (Figure 6). This means the files to be downloaded are subtitle files (usually in SRT. or ASS. format) containing only text. In Community 1 and Community 2, on their video downloading page, subtitle files have been put in the prioritised place for downloading (Figures 7 and 8).

---

[14] China's Great Firewall (*中国防火长城*) is China's Internet censorship system regulated by the government led by the leading Communist Party from 2000. It aims to take legislative actions to prohibit selected foreign websites and control the distribution of harmful contents including sex, violence and politically-sensitive information. More information can be found here: https://www.bloomberg.com/quicktake/great-firewall-of-china

[15] The "Great Clean-up" policy was launched in 2014 by the state, aiming to close and block any content on the Internet that was against the law.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

109

Figure 6: Screenshot of Community 3's Download District (highlighted in red)

Figure 7: Screenshot of Community 2's Download Page (highlighted in red)

Figure 8: Screenshot of Community 1's Download Page (highlighted in red)

S02E01	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：salj	磁力下载
S02E01(精校版)	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：34ci	磁力下载
S02E02	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：zm73	磁力下载
S02E03	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：1cjd	磁力下载
S02E04	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：9p12	磁力下载
S02E05	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：3rk3	磁力下载
S02E06	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：mq6j	磁力下载
S02E07	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：mnd8	磁力下载
S02E08	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：f9se	磁力下载
S02E09	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：9d1c	磁力下载
S02E10	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：zec7	磁力下载
S02E11	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：6trh	磁力下载
S02E12	字幕下载	百度网盘	密码：q0l8	磁力下载

The subtitle files are placed as the prioritised format.

In terms of deciding which digital material to subtitle, the three fansubbing communities not only focus on members' interests but also pay attention to market expectations. For example, in Community 3, the raw material finders are required to conduct questionnaires or interviews with audiences regularly, or let audiences vote for the films or TV series they most want to watch in order to understand the mass audiences' demands and capture the most popular materials. In Community 1, moderators construct a voting system that encourages audiences to vote for their favourite video resolution or the most highly-anticipated documentaries (Figures 9 and 10). This implies that fansubbing communities tend to subtitle the products that are most preferred and demanded by the audiences and follow the logic of the market to enhance their visibility. In general, it can be inferred that compared with the state-run studios and private subtitling companies, online fansubbing communities have some autonomy to select whatever content they want to subtitle, how they would like to translate, and where they want to distribute their translated work. However, the fact that they have developed self-censorship rules to ensure that the content they subtitle as well as the messages they post on their forums do not contain any politically or sexually sensitive content demonstrates that their activities are not free from the influence of dominant ideologies. The forces from the power field still constrain fansubbing practice via imposing Internet censorship and copyright laws to a great extent.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

110

Figure 9: Screenshot of Voting for the Favourite Video Resolution in Community 1

(highlighted in red)

Figure 10: Screenshot of Voting for the Most Highly-Anticipated Documentary in Community 1

(highlighted in red)

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

111

Figure 11 functions as a summary of the previous section, displaying the power relations of fansubbing with the political and economic fields and other two agents in the subtitling field in China. As discussed above, state-run studios and private subtitling companies both enforce the accepted governmental ideologies and indicate a higher degree of the heteronomous principle of hierarchization that exists within the field of power. The degree of influence exerted by the power field in fansubbing is lower than for the other two agents; however, the forces from the political field constrain fansubbing practice through imposing Internet censorship and copyright laws, resulting in an increasingly lower degree of autonomy. After examining the external power relations of fansubbing within multiple social fields, in the next section the internal power relations and ideologies within the community in terms of capital competition in the three communities will be discussed.

Figure 11: The Power Relations of Fansubbing in the Subtitling Field in China
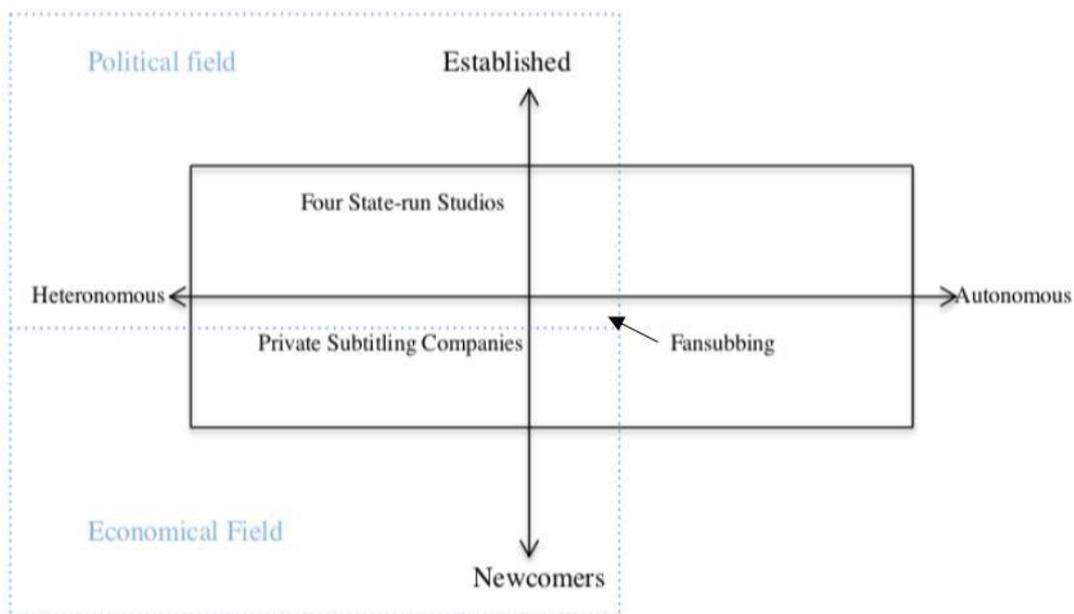
5. Competition for capital and power structure in fansubbing

5.1 Three dimensions of capital in fansubbing

5.1.1 Fansubbing and culture capital: recruitment process, in-group languages and etiquette

As seen above, relative autonomy has enabled fansubbing to develop its own appropriate practices and behaviours, and therefore become a "field" in its own right with internal power relations and ideologies. The same as any other cultural field, fansubbing is recognised as a field with its various norms and values, and as having various types of capital. One of the most renowned aspects of fansubbing is its presence of cultural capital through constructing several cultural conventions. The result shows that unlike the wider acceptance of entries that mostly rely on the applicant's educational qualifications, the three communities all require newcomers to answer a questionnaire, take an in-group test and undertake a certain period of internship (see Figure 12 below). This demonstrates that fansubbers not only need institutionalised cultural capital in the form of educational qualifications recognised by formal institutions to join the community (i.e. university degree certificate, College English Test, IELTS or TOEFL[16]), but also embodied cultural capital, because the questionnaire, in-group test and internship can be seen as an examination of fansubbers' embodied abilities. For example, in the questionnaires, participants will be provided with a series of very detailed movie-related questions to examine whether they are really experienced in and passionate about watching foreign media products. This illustrates that the recruitment process of fansubbing communities requires an applicant's cultural capital in its embodied form that cannot be acquired instantaneously, but costs time, and the time must be invested personally by the investor rather than "second hand", because the interest and passion for, and skill in handling foreign media products is a long-term process of acquisition by the agent him/herself.

---

[16]In China there are four major qualifications to evaluate a citizen's language level, namely a university degree certificate, College English Test (CET), IELTS and TOEFL. CET is a national standardised English test organised by the Higher Education department of the State Ministry of Education and can be divided into three levels: band 4, band 6 and band 8. IELTS and TOEFL, the International English Language Testing System and the Test of English as a Foreign Language, are two international English tests set by the University of Cambridge and the American Educational Testing Service for foreign students who want to study at universities in English-speaking countries.

Figure 12: Recruitment Processes in the Three Communities

	Language Skills	**Resource Required**	**Time Dedication**	**Entry Test**	**Internship**
Comm unity 3	At least College English Test Band 6 or other equivalent qualifications	Not required	Not specified	Yes	Yes
Comm unity 2	No certificates or language test scores required	Fast Internet connection	At least two afternoons or evenings free every week	Yes	Yes
Comm unity 1	At least a first degree in national elite universities or overseas universities; overseas experience preferred; higher language qualifications preferred	Not required	Not specified	Yes	Yes (at least one month)

Furthermore, the three fansubbing communities tend to build their own cultural knowledge, in terms of having their own in-group language and etiquette. This cultural capital is a shared and collective intelligibility that fansubbers are committed to making sense of and giving sense to for other members. To exemplify, in-group language includes fansubbers' own nomenclature for the digital material, such as "*熟肉* ('cooked meat' –subtitled works)" and "*生肉* ('raw meat' –un-subtitled works)"; nomenclature for the different levels' members, such as "*萌新* ('sprout' – newer members) and "*大佬*" ('gangster' – senior members). Etiquette thus involves a system of addressing individuals which shows the community's members seniority as well as the community's hierarchization. Newcomers are called "小白 (little rabbit)" and should show their modesty and respect towards the existing members by calling others "*老板* (boss)" or "*老司机* (old driver)". A "master-apprentice" mode is also found in fansubbing communities. New members are regarded as apprentices and should not feel ashamed at having to learn from the senior members who are referred to as "master." This kind of internal power relation may be seen as a result of the wider social structures influenced by the accepted ideologies of Confucianism. Confucian ideas have been deeply rooted in the Chinese context for centuries, and as such people are encouraged to show their modesty and respect to others, especially to people who are located in a higher position

(Hofstede and Bond 1988). How fansubbers use in-group language and adhere to group etiquette reflects the degree of appropriate community knowledge, the level of hierarchy and tacit power relations, as new members and apprentices 'accept' to respect seniors and be modest. It is also possible that accepting and reproducing group etiquette is a kind of "symbolic violence" as described by Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), implying an ideology that is imposed on subordinated members by the dominant group(s) to maintain and naturalise the status quo, and which is internalised and recognised by the dominated members.

5.1.2 Fansubbing and symbolic capital: the credit system and the value of avatars

Symbolic capital implies status and power, and each field has its specific rules of constructing symbolic power. In fansubbing, symbolic power is usually calculated by a credit system or a virtual avatar. In Community 3, a virtual credit and prestige system are constructed on the forum. Based on the rules, the higher credits fansubbers get, the higher prestige they will receive. The credit is presented as a number and the prestige is presented as an emoji (Figure 13), involving a combination of star, moon and sun emojis. This system is developed to allow fansubbers to spot their most outstanding members and to show reputation in the community. The changing of a credit number, and the changing from the emoji from "star" to "sun", are fansubbers' symbolic and highly visual ways of representing the level of symbolic capital in the community. Fansubbers in Community 3 are therefore encouraged to keep accumulating their credits and keep changing their emojis to be visibly experienced fansubbers, as a symbolic form of distinction from other members. Having this form of symbolic capital helps construct the continued participation in a community, as well as enabling fansubbers to acquire cultural capital through exchanging credits for more digital resources in the group. Lower levels of credit, on the other hand, directly influence fansubbers' symbolic capital and their access to the cultural capital of the community. Additionally, a high reputation and influence provide more opportunities for social networking, as in the virtual world fansubbers are more willing to communicate and make friends with those who have higher credits or a higher number of emojis. Therefore, symbolic capital in turn also increases fansubbers' social capital.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

115

Figure 13: Screenshot of Community 3's Credit and Prestige System (highlighted in red)

Regarding Community 2 and Community 1, although the two communities do not have an explicit credit system of building symbolic capital as shown in Community 3, both communities use fansubbers' avatars to signal reputation and establish prestige, which could be referred to as "avatar capital" following Castronova (2005). An avatar is of considerable importance in a virtual environment as it can become a brand in its own right – a well-known avatar in the fansubbing communities can imply large stocks of symbolic capital. Seen in this way, avatar capital could be considered a particular type of symbolic capital used by fansubbers in the construction of identity, recognition and self-branding. Fansubbers' avatars, alongside their pseudonyms, have the symbolic power to signal someone's contribution and participation, because the more other members are familiar with an avatar and pseudonym, the moreexperienced or well-known the fansubber in question will be.

5.1.3 Fansubbing and social capital: the building of 'community'

Social capital focuses on the durable network and relationships accrued through individuals' participation in group activities. Social interaction in the three communities starts with the assignation of a membership, that is, a commitment to participation in the group. Then,

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

116

fansubbers build social capital through notions of 'communities'. QQ groups, Wechat, and forums are the platforms for fansubbers to build and accumulate such capital. Building a community is seen by group members as a way to increase bonding and mutual belonging among each other, which in turn helps to build up social capital. Fansubbers are encouraged to sign in to record their attendance every day and participate in group discussions actively, as this contributes to the building of a durable and lasting connection among fansubbers and increases the degree of mutual acquaintance, recognition and accountability.

Generally, the fansubbing communities under investigation share the characteristics of two types of communities: a community of knowledge and a community of interest. The 'community of knowledge' is described by Jerkins (1992), referring to an online community centred around sharing knowledge and building collective intelligence. In the case of fansubbing, it is a self-sufficient community for fansubbers to solve translation or technical problems (see examples below). Fansubbers who share a common interest in subtitling work together to find solutions to a certain translation issue or software problem. Additionally, cultural capital can also be acquired passively through learning knowledge from other members. Some fansubbers use the community as a chance to make 'academic' friends and their discussion contents go beyond the community level, covering various aspects such as their own studies at university. This can also be interpreted as a matter of boosting fansubbers' status and credentials to gain more recognition and power against other members within the field. In terms of the community of interest, based on different films or TV series, each fansubbing community consists of several sub-communities. Fansubbers are free to join any sub-communities according to their own interests to find like-minded people. Friendships can be formed, and it is interesting to note that some members are not only friends inside the community but have formed long-lasting friendships in offline society as well.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

117

Example 1:

Intern Translator: "You know a lot of… The Plumbing is archaic." The first sentence is not finished and the speaker continues directly. Do I need to add something for the ellipsis? "You know a lot of (problems)". Can I translate in this way?

Official Translator: I think there is no need to use brackets. Just translate it as "you know a lot of problems".

Intern Translator: Gotcha!

Example 2:

Official Translator: Can I ask how to delete the subtitles that is not my part in Aegisub?

Director: Select the part that is not yours, and then click the right button, and then choose delete.

Official Translator: The sequence number is disturbed.

Director: No worry. Choose the button "tool" on the top, and then select "re-order subtitles".

Official Translator: Thanks! Love you.

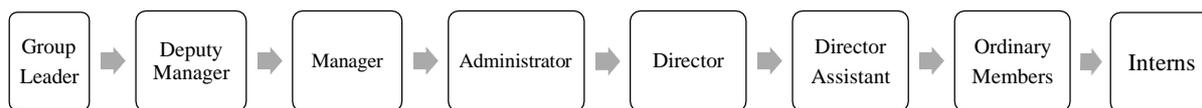## 5.2 Fansubbing's hierarchy system

Every field is built on relations. These relations are defined and constrained by the capital the agents hold. Owning different amounts of capital shows the different positions in fansubbing communities (Bourdieu 1993). Organizational divisions and membership criteria indicate members' distinctive amounts of power held and each fansubbing community has a clear division between members' roles. Membership criteria are based on a combination of each member's cultural, social and symbolic capital. Community 3 has two major types – administrators and ordinary members. The administrator is responsible for the whole operation of the forum, including designing, planning and coordinating forum members. Based on the different amount of various forms of capital, especially the accumulation of symbolic capital in the form of virtual credits, the administrator role is further divided into eight levels, while the ordinary member role is further divided into 11 levels.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

118

Figure 14: Membership Criteria in Commuinity 3

Administrator	Ordinary Members
Official Administrator	Community 3 Expert Top Level
Super Moderator	Community 3 Expert Level 3
Moderator	Community 3 Expert level 2
Intern Moderator	Community 3 Expert level 1
Editor	Forum Senior
Monitor	Premier Members
Auditor	Advanced Members
VIP	Intermediate Members
	New Members
	Restricted Members
	Visitors

Community 2's membership imitates a company management style and is assessed by members' online time, contributions and frequency of participation. It is mainly divided into eight levels:

Figure 15: Membership Criteria in Community 2

Group Leader → Deputy Manager → Manager → Administrator → Director → Director Assistant → Ordinary Members → Interns

Community 1's membership[17] categories display a very interesting style. The names of membership

---

[17] Besides group leader, administrator and director, 'crosstalk comedian' (*相声演员*) is the fourth level of member type in Community 1. This type of member usually possesses a large amount of capital. As the name indicates, they are competent in producing interesting works, and good at socializing and have a high-level networking
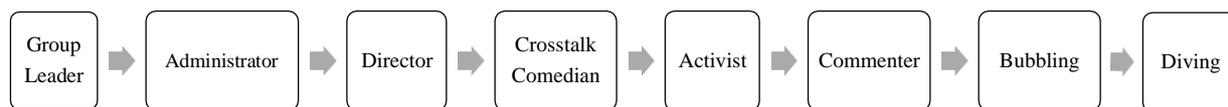
ability. 'Activist' (*活跃分子*) literally means active members. They are the fifth level of member type in Community 1.

'Commenter' (*吐槽*) is an Internet neologism in Chinese, literally referring to a person who is humorous and loves making jokes and commenting. 'Bubbling' (*冒泡*) is an Internet neologism in Chinese, referring to the

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

119

members who seldom talk in the community and have a limited social network. 'Diving' *(潜水*) is the lowest level of member type in Community 1. This word is also borrowed from an Internet neologism and refers to the members who seldom or never talk in the community and have a very limited communication circle.
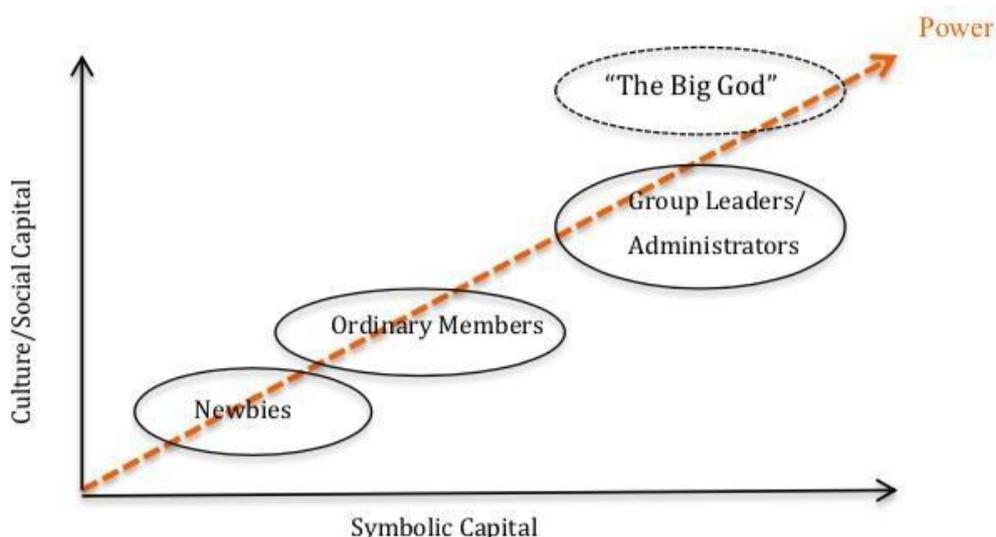
types are borrowed from Internet neologisms. Member levels in Community 1 rely heavily on levelsof networking ability or the accumulation of social capital:

Figure 16: Membership Criteria in Community 1

| Group Leader | → | Administrator | → | Director | → | Crosstalk Comedian | → | Activist | → | Commenter | → | Bubbling | → | Diving |

As Bourdieu (1993) notes, social differences are exposed through systems of power and competition, which occur in areas of cultural practice and symbolic exchange. The membership criteria in each community indicate the existence of hierarchy (Figure 17). Hierarchy in the three fansubbing communities demonstrates that individuals hold different amounts of capital. The power structure in fansubbing communities indicates that the members who have a higher degree of social capital, symbolic capital and cultural capital are more powerful in the community, such as the case of group leaders who have a higher degree of capital and are considered to be the most powerful members who have the prioritised right to establish or modify certain rules or regulations. By contrast, new members are seen as at the lower level of capital accumulation: they are less familiar with the group rules or etiquette (less cultural capital), they have limited connections with other fansubbers (less social capital) and they are seldom recognised by others (less symbolic capital). In turn, more capital helps the dominant hold and reinforce their existing positions. This can be demonstrated by the fact that new members do not find it easy to enter a fansubbing community or gain certain roles, as the established members continually work hard to accumulate various types of capital to maintain their status quo.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

120

Figure 17: Relationship Between Capital, Role and Power in a Fansubbing community

Nevertheless, the positions held by different agents are not static, as there are continuous struggles within a given field (Bourdieu 1992). The power hierarchy in fansubbing communities referred to above changes over time and is a dynamic process rather than a fixed state. For example, fansubbers are engaged in and compete for the accumulation of cultural capital in the form of language capacity or Internet-related technological competence, such as in the case of the existence of a "*大神* (big god)" in the three communities. The "big god" is someone considered to be talented in dealing with various technical issues, or competent in solving difficult translation problems. Being a "big god" implies the highest amount of cultural capital a fansubber can possess, and this in turn helps the fansubber occupy a more dominant position in the community. It is interesting to note that "the big god" is not actually a specified role; instead, it is a kind of "symbolic role" which is legitimately recognised among fansubbers. The embodied cultural capital helping "the big god" to gain his/her reputation illustrates the conversion from cultural capital into symbolic capital.

6. Conclusion

This article uncovered both the external and internal power relations of fansubbing practice in the Chinese context by empirically employing netnography through the analysis of data such

as archival documents and fieldnotes in three fansubbing communities (Community 3, Community 1, and Community 2). The analytical tools of field and capital make Bourdieu's theory a valid approach for highlighting amateur subtitling mechanisms. According to my data, the three fansubbing practices considered can be seen as the result of power negotiations within and among multiple social fields influenced by the government and immersed in the field of power as a wider structure. Specifically, the article reveals that the field of subtitling in the communities under scrutiny is defined by a type of field-specific capital – subtitling capital. This field-specific capital differentiates the subtitling field's agents from other external agents by focusing on the specific expertise of producing subtitles. Additionally, compared with the state-run subtitling studios and private subtitling companies, even though fansubbers in the communities considered have some supposedly autonomous activities in terms of power through conducting self-selection and through self-distribution, they still have to ensure that the content they translate, as well as any other digital materials shared on their online platforms, do not contain politically or sexually sensitive content. The fansubbers' compliance to dominant governmental policies and market-oriented raw material selection indicate fansubbers' heteronomous principle of hierarchisation that exists within the field of power, and that the fansubbing field in China is still characterised by a very low degree of autonomy. In terms of internal power relations, the three communities' fansubbing developed a set of in-group hierarchies and behaviours, implying an ideology that is imposed on subordinated members by the dominant groups to maintain and naturalise the status quo. The internal power relations in the analysed fansubbing communities are centred on the accumulation and conversion of distinct forms of capital by agents. The varying degrees of capital possessed by members of the three communities show that diverse position-takings enable a dynamic mechanism within fansubbing communities.

The article has contributed to discussions of the theoretical and methodological approaches to fansubbing's social dynamics in a Chinese context. However, further research is necessary to involve in-depth discourse analysis to focus on the extensive array of texts on fansubbing communities' websites, forums, and social media platforms, as online resources prove to be a

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

122

good place for discussion of language, cultural and ideological issues. Theoretically, one limitation of the article to be noted is the lack of discussion about the status of non-human objects such as technology as a way of experiencing and negotiating the field. Thus further research is required to address the role of technology, such as the design features of the websites and forums of fansubbing communities, in shaping the social struggle and dynamics within these communities. Methodologically, further research could benefit from involving elicited netnographic data, such as surveys and interviews, to look into the driving forces behind a given agent's accumulation of various types of capital.

References

Appadurai, Arjun (1990) 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', in Mike Featherstone (ed.) *Global Culture*, London: Sage, 295-310.

Baker, Mona (2009) 'Resisting State Terror: Theorising Communities of Activist Translators and Interpreters', in Esperanza Bielsa and Christopher Hughes (eds) *Globalization, Political Violence and Translation*, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 222-42.

Baker, Mona (2009) 'Translation and Activism: Emerging Patterns of Narrative Community', *The Massachusetts Review,* 47(3): 462-484.

Bar-Tal, Daniel (2015) *Self-censorship as a Socio-political-psychological Phenomenon: Nature, Antecedents, Consequences*, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.

Bayar, S. C. (2012) 'Online Practice of Fan-based Subtitles: The Case of the Turkish Translators', Master Thesis, Erasmus University.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1983) 'The Field of Cultural Production: The Economic World Reversed', *Poetics*, 12: 311-356.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1986) 'The Forms of Capital', in John Richardson (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York: Greenwood,

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

123

241-258.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1987) 'What Makes a Social Class? On the Theoretical and Practical Existence of Groups', *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 32: 1–17.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Luc Boltanski (1976) 'La Production de L'idéologie Dominante', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 2(3): 4–73.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Jean-Claude Passeron (1990), *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, London: Sage.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Loïc Wacquant (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1993) *The field of Cultural Production,* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1996) *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field,* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bogucki, Łukasz (2009) 'Amateur Subtitling on the Internet', in Jorge Díaz-Cintas and Gunilla Anderman (eds), *Audiovisual Translation: Language Transfer on Screen. Basingstoke*, Palgrave Macmillan, 49–57.

Bold, Bianca (2011) 'The Power of Fan Communities: An Overview of Fansubbing', *Tradução em Revista*, 11(2): 2.

Caffrey, Colm (2009) 'Relevant Abuse? Investigating the Effects of an Abusive Subtitling Procedure on the Perception of TV Anime Using Eye Tracker and Questionnaire', Phd Thesis, Dublin City University.

Castronova, Edward (2005) *Synthetic Worlds: The Business and Culture of Online Games*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chen, Xi (2014) *论我国影视字幕译制的三种工作模式* [Discussing Three Work Modes in China's Subtitle Production], in *当代教育理论与实践 [Theory and Practice in Contemporary Education]*, 6 (8): 159-161.

Davis, Darrell William and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh (2017) 'Zimuzu and Media Industry in China', *Media Industry*, 4(1): 1-19.

DePalma, Donald and Nataly Kelly (2008) *Translation of, by, and for the People*, Lowell

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

124

Mass: Common Sense Advisory.

Deuze, Mark (2009) 'Convergence Culture and Media Work', in Jennifer Holt and Alisa
Perren (eds) *Media Industries: History, Theory, and Method,* Malden, MA:
Wiley-Blackwell, 144–56.

Díaz-Cintas, Jorge and Pablo Muñoz Sánchez (2006) 'Fansubs: Audiovisual Translation in an
Amateur Environment', *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 37(6): 37-52.

Dwyer, Tessa (2012) 'Fansub Dreaming on ViKi: Don't Just Watch but Help When You are
Free', *The Translator,* 18(2): 217-243.

Ellis, Rebecca (2009) 'Applying Bourdieu to eBay's Success and Socio-Technical Design', in
Brain Whiteworth (ed.) *Handbook of Research on Socio-Technical Design and Social
Networking Systems,* Philadelphia: IGI Global.

Ferber, Paul, Franz Foltz and Rudy Pugliese (2005) 'The Internet and Public Participation:
State Legislature Web Sites and the Many Definitions of Interactivity', *Bulletin of
Science, Technology & Society*, 25(1): 85–93.

Foucault, Michel (1991) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, London: Penguin.

Foucault, Michel (1998) *The History of Sexuality Volume I: The Will to Knowledge*, London:
Penguin.

He, Zhengguo (2014) 'Chinese Fansubbers' Pursuit of Translation Accuracy in the Absence of
State Censorship', in David Orrego-Carmona and Yvonne Lee (eds) *Non-professional
Subtitling*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 261-285.

Hilgers, Mathieu and Eric Mangez (2015) *Bourdieu's Theory of Social Fields: Concepts and
Applications*, London: Routledge.

Hofstede, Geert and Michael Harris Bond (1988), 'The Confucius Connection: From Cultural
Roots to Economic Growth', *Organizational Dynamics*, 16(4): 5-21.

Hu, Kelly (2013) 'Chinese Subtitle Groups and the Neoliberal Work Ethic', in Nissim
Otmazgin and Eyal Ben-Ari (eds) *Popular Culture Co-productions and
Collaborations in East and Southeast Asia,* Singapore: NUS Press, 207-232.

Ivarsson, Jan and Mary Carroll (1998) *Subtitling*, Simrishamn: TransEdit.

Jenkins, Henry (2006) *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*, New York:

*Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on
Fansubbing in China, 86-129*

125

New York University Press.

Jenkins, Richard (1992) *Pierre Bourdieu*, London: Routledge.

Jiménez-Crespo, Miguel (2017) *Crowd Sourcing and Online Collaborative Translations*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Johnson, Randal (1993) 'Introduction', in Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1-28.

Kelty, Christopher (2008) *Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Kozinets, Robert (1998) 'On Netnography: Initial Reflections on Consumer Research Investigations of Cyberculture', *Advances in Consumer Research*, 25: 366-371.

Kozinets, Robert (2010) *Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online*, London: Sage Publications.

Krasnopeyeva, Ekaterina (2018) 'Understanding the Dynamics of User-Generated Translation on YouTube: A Bourdieusian Perspective', *New Voices in Translation Studies,* 18: 38-83.

Li, Jian (2012) 'Ideological and Aesthetic Constraints on Audio-Visual Translation: Mr. & Mrs. Smith in Chinese', *Intercultural Communication Studies,* 11(2): 77-93.

Li, Dang (2015) 'Amateur Translation and the Development of a Participatory Culture in China: A Nethonographic Study of the Last Fantasy Fansubbing Group', PhD Thesis, University of Manchester.

Lima, Rita de Cássia Pereira and Pedro Humberto Faria Campos (2015) 'Field and Group: A Conceptual Approximation Between Pierre Bourdieu and the Social Representation Theory of Moscovici', *Educação e Pesquisa*, 41(1): 63-77.

Liu, Xiao and Gabriele De Seta (2015) 'Chinese Fansub Groups as Communities of Practice: An Ethnography of Online Language Learning', in Peter Marolt and David Kurt Herold (eds), *China Online: Locating Society in Online Spaces,* Abingdon: Routledge, 125–140.

Lee, Hye-Kyung (2011) 'Participatory Media Fandom: A Case Study of Anime Fansubbing', *Media Culture Society*, 33(8): 1131-1147.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

126

Losse, Katherine (2008) 'Facebook: Archiving Quality in a Crowd-sourced Translation Environment', Available online at [http://www.localisation.ie/resources/presentations/videos/video2.htm] (accessed 20 November 2018)

Ma, Zhengqi (2005) 影视译制概论 [An Introduction to Film Translation], Beijing: Communication University of China Publishing House.

Massidda, Serenella (2012) 'The Italian Fansubbing Phenomenon', PhD Thesis, Università degli Studi di Sassari.

McDonough Dolmaya, Julie (2011) 'The Ethics of Crowdsourcing', *Themes in Translation Studies,* 10, 97-110.

Munday, Jeremy (2008) *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*, London/New York: Routledge.

Nornes, Abé Mark (1999) 'For an Abusive Subtitling', *Film Quarterly,* 52(3):17-34.

O' Hagan, Minako (2009) 'Evolution of User-generated Translation: Fansubs, Translation Hacking and Crowdsourcing', *The Journal of Internationalization and Localization*, 1(1): 94 -121.

Pérez-González, Luis (2007) 'Fansubbing Anime: Insights into the Butterfly Effect of Globalisation on Audiovisual Translation', *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, 14(6): 260-27.

Pérez-González, Luis (2010) 'Ad-hocracies of Translation Activism in the Blogosphere', in Mona Baker, Maeve Olohan and María Calzada Pérez (eds) *Text and Context*, Manchester: St Jerome Publishing, 259-287.

Pérez-González, Luis (2017) 'Investigating Digitally Born Amateur Subtitling Agencies in the Context of Popular Culture', in David Orrego-Carmona and Yvonne Lee (eds) *Non-Professional Subtitling*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 15-36.

Perrino, Saverio (2009) 'User-generated Translation: The Future of Translation in a Web 2.0 Environment', *The Journal of Specialised Translation,* 12(7): 55-78.

Perego, Ellisa (2004) 'Evidence of Explicitation in Subtitling: Towards a Categorisation',

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

127

Across Languages and Cultures, 4(1): 63-88.

Reckwitz, Andreas (2002) 'Toward a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5(2): 243–263

Rong, Zongxiao (2014) 'Hybridity with Peer Production: The Power Negotiation of Chinese Fansub Groups', in David Orrego-Carmona and Yvonne Lee (eds) *Non-Professional Subtitling*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 87-114.

Skeggs, Beverly (1977) *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Susen, Simon (2014) 'Reflections on Ideology: Lessons from Pierre Bourdieu and Luc Boltanski', *Thesis Eleven*, 124(1): 90-113.

Swartz, David (1996) "Bridging the Study of Culture and Religion: Pierre Bourdieu's Political Economy of Symbolic Power", *Sociology of Culture and Sociology of Religion,* 57(1): 71-85.

Swartz, David (2002) 'The Sociology of Habit: The Perspective of Pierre Bourdieu', *The Occupational Therapy Journal of Research*, 22: 61-69.

Tan, Hui (2014) *中国译制电影史* [The History of Film Translation in China], Beijing: China Film Press.

Tian, Yuan (2011) 'Fansub Cyber Culture in China', MA Thesis, Georgetown University.

Tymoczko, Maria (2000) 'Translation and Political Engagement: Activism, Social Change and the Role of Translation in Geopolitical Shifts', *The Translator*, 6(1): 23-48.

Vellar, Agnese (2011) 'Lost (and Found) in Transculturation: The Italian Networked Collectivism of US TV Series and Fansubbing Performance', in Fausto Colombo and Leopoldina Fortunati (eds) *Broadband Society and Generational Changes*, Oxford: Peter Lang, 187-200.

Van Tonder, Laurinda (2015) 'Fansubbing and Creative Subtitling – How Amateur Approaches Can Help Improve Professional Products', paper delivered at *South African Translators' Institute–Second Triennial Conference*: *The Changing Face of Translation and Interpreting,* South Africa: Gauteng.

Wang, Dingkun and Xiaochun Zhang (2015) 'The Cult for Dubbing and Beyond: Fandubbing

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

128

in China', in Rachele Antonini and Chiara Bucaria (eds.) *Non-Professional Interpreting and Translation in the Media*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 173-192.

Weber, Max (1979) *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, trans. by Ephraim Fischoff et al, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Yang, Qiuhua (2009) *宏观反观微观* [A Review of Cheung' s Book Between Tradition and Modernity], Beijing: China Foreign Languages Publishing.

Yu, Haikuo (2013) 'English-Chinese Film Translation in China', *Journal of Translation*, 9(2): 55-65.

Zhang, Xiaochun (2013) 'Fansubbing in China', *Multilingual,* 4(7): 30-37.

Sijing Lu, Understanding the Social Dynamics of Amateur Subtitling: A Bourdieusian Perspective on Fansubbing in China, 86-129

129