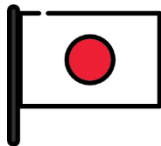
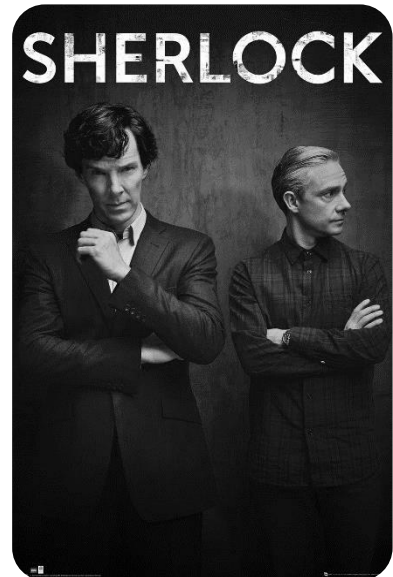
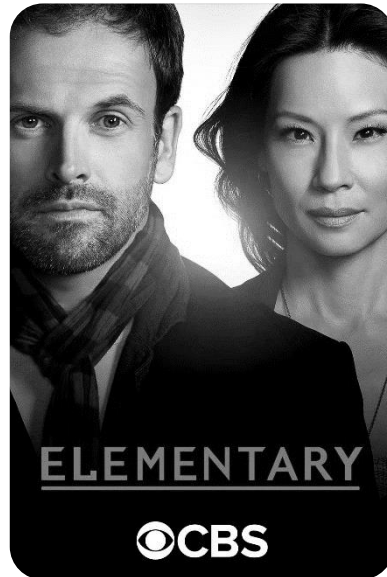


***Elementary, My Dear Watson: The Influence of Culture on the Portrayal of
Autism in the Character of Sherlock Holmes Adaptations***



Charise Brewster

6235956

MA Thesis - Intercultural Communication

Utrecht University

16 May 2019

Supervisor: Dr. Roselinde Supheert

Second Reader: Dr. Johanna Hoorenman

Wordcount: 12.218 including all quotes

Abstract

Conan Doyle's stories on Sherlock Holmes have been adapted on a large scale. The fictional detective remains one of the best known literary characters around the world. The three most recent adaptations are contemporary television series which were broadcast in Japan, the United States and the United Kingdom, respectively. Interestingly, Conan Doyle's detective has often been associated with autism. Autism is often regarded as a fascinating disorder by the public, since it emphasises the concept of Otherness. Furthermore, since global television formats are often adapted to the local preferences of the audience, and the portrayal of autism in fictional characters reflects how a local society perceives autism, the question arises to what extent culture influences the portrayal autism in the character of Sherlock Holmes. Two research questions were formulated. The first focuses on the presence of ASD-features in the Holmes character across the three adaptations. The second question mainly focuses on the influence of culture on the portrayal of autism. The corpus of this comparative analysis consisted of two episodes of each of the three adaptations. The findings regarding the first question showed that Sherlock portrays some aspects that are often associated with ASD. Regarding the second question, it seems that the autistic traits Sherlock portrays are universal, since Sherlock's behaviour was quite similar in each adaptation. However, the way other, normative characters responded to Sherlock's behaviour seemed culture-specific. In conclusion, the outcomes of this study show that the portrayal of autism in the character of Sherlock Holmes is consistent, yet, the influence of culture becomes visible through the response of normative characters, which represent society's view on autism.

Key words: autistic spectrum disorder (ASD), Hofstede's dimensions, fictional character, television adaptations, Sherlock Holmes, cultural influence

Table of contents

1. Introduction	4
2. Theoretical Framework	6
2.1 Adaptation Theory.....	7
2.2 Autism & Sherlock Holmes	9
2.3 Mass Media and Cultural Artefacts.....	10
2.4 Hofstede’s Dimensions.....	11
3. Methodology	14
3.1 Materials.....	14
3.2 Procedure.....	16
3.3 Corpus Analysis: Reliability and Validity.....	17
4 Analysis.....	18
4.4 Answer to Research Question One.....	26
5. Discussion	27
5.1 Communication	27
5.2 Rudeness.....	29
5.3 Addiction.....	30
5.4 Intellect and Motivation	30
5.5 Arrogance	31
5.5 Answer to Research Question Two	32
6. Conclusion.....	33
6.1 Summary of the Present Study	33
6.2 Limitations and Further Research	34
References	36
Appendices	43
Appendix 1. Visuals Analysis	43

1. Introduction

The character of Sherlock Holmes, who was created by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in the late 19th century, is well-known around the world. The great detective has an enduring power and has been adapted numerous times, from motion pictures to merchandise (McCaw, 2011, p. 19). In the 19th century, Conan Doyle's stories of the detective reached enormous popularity among the readers of *The Strand Magazine*. When Conan Doyle finished off the detective in *The Final Problem* the "public reaction to the death was unlike anything previously seen for fictional events" (Keishin Armstrong, 2016, par. 3), which resulted in outrage and more than twenty thousand readers cancelling their subscriptions to the magazine. Today not much has changed: the adventures of Sherlock Holmes, his partner in crime Dr. Watson and even Sherlock's arch enemy James Moriarty are still beloved and adapted around the world.

Interestingly, Conan Doyle's detective has often been associated with autism, not only in the stories but also in adaptations (Freeman Loftis, 2015, p. 23, p. 31). In her work on autism and fictional characters, Freeman Loftis (2015, p. 23) points out that it is not possible to determine whether or not a fictional character has a neurological disorder. Moreover, autism is a "fluid signifier that works through multiple meanings in our culture" (Freeman Loftis, 2015, p. 26), meaning that how autism is perceived might differ in various cultures since the perception of what is considered normative also varies. In other words, the definition and perception of autism may differ in different cultures due to the norms and values of societies that are in constant flux. The portrayal of autism through a fictional character can provide insight into the way in which people on the spectrum are imagined in different cultures. This raises the question whether Sherlock's characteristics differ in adaptations broadcast in different geographical settings. Put differently, how does culture influence the portrayal of autism in the character Sherlock Holmes in different adaptations?

Nowadays, adaptations make up 95 percent of all (mini)series that are broadcast on television (Hutcheon & O'Flynn, 2012, p. 4). Recently, three different contemporary adaptations have been released as television series. There is a British adaptation named *Sherlock* (Gatiss, Moffat & McGuigan, 2011), an American adaptation called *Elementary* (Doherty & Cuesta, 2012) and *Miss Sherlock* (Taki, Mori & Matsuo, 2018), a Japanese adaptation.

Stein and Busse (2014, p. 136) mention that contemporary adaptations of Sherlock Holmes often aim to make the detective and his companion Dr. Watson as youthful and vigorous as possible in order to attract a younger audience which is targeted by producers and television companies. In doing so, the adaptations are suitable for families and teenagers. The average age of the target audience is between 16-35; they are educated viewers from the middle and upper classes (Stein & Busse, 2014, p. 136).

BBC's *Sherlock* was "officially announced as the broadcaster's most watched drama series in the UK since 2001" (Pearson, 2011, n.p.). Sherman (2015) argues that the reception of this series is so positive because of its humour and entertainment value. The "intertextual references" to Conan Doyle's stories, and the references to popular culture create a "dynamic tension between continuity and innovation" which makes the series so loved by its fans (p. 88). Pearson (2015, n.p.) mentions that the BBC's *Sherlock* exceeded CBS' *Elementary* in number of viewers and acclaim. Overall, the American series, set in New York, has been called a "mixed bag" which draws an excellent picture of atmosphere and character, but lacks in plot mechanics, which is a problem with a Sherlock Holmes story (Hale, 2012, par. 8). HBO and Hulu's most recent take on Sherlock Holmes, *Miss Sherlock*, portrays a female Sherlock and Watson in present-day Tokyo. Burt (2018, par. 3) argues that the similarities between *Miss Sherlock* and the BBC's *Sherlock* are striking. For instance, in both series, "Sherlock solves crimes in a signature coat and plays a stringed instrument" (Burt, 2018, par. 3). As *Miss Sherlock* has moved rather far away from Conan Doyle's stories, this series offers a more radical breath of fresh air regarding the canon (Briers, 2018, par 1).

Globalisation and digitalisation have led to media gaining an increasing amount of power in representing a particular culture or group of people (Wu and Mao, 2011, p. 1). More specifically, Mallinger and Rossy (2003, p. 609) argue that films and series in particular represent cultures, because they emphasise which languages and behaviours are socially (un)acceptable. McCaw (2011, p. 3) adds to this claim that detective fiction, "a story in which the principal action and focus of interest is the investigation of a crime or apparently criminal enigma by a detective figure, either professional or amateur" (*The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 2008), such as Sherlock Holmes, contributes to the construction of national identity, since it enhances the development of a criminal Other.

Naturally, a great deal of comparative research has been conducted regarding Conan Doyle's stories of Sherlock Holmes and adaptations of the famous detective. These studies predominantly discuss Sherlock's gender identity (Greer, 2015; Plain, 2014) or the different relationships of the detective with other characters (Porter, 2012) and compare this to several adaptations. However, few studies focus on the influence of culture on the portrayal of autism in the detective. This paper aims to contribute to the field of Intercultural Communication by placing this focus at the heart of its analysis. Accordingly, the research question of this thesis is twofold:

***RQ 1:** To what extent does the character of Sherlock Holmes show autistic traits in three different contemporary television adaptations in Japan, the United States and the United Kingdom?*

***RQ 2:** In what way do national cultures influence the portrayal autism of the character Sherlock Holmes in these three adaptations?*

A contrastive method was adopted to answer this research question, more specifically a corpus analysis. The corpus consisted of two episodes of each series, thus, six episodes in total. Moreover, two original short stories of Sherlock Holmes, written by Conan Doyle, were added to the corpus.

This thesis consists of five chapters. After discussing the theoretical framework and the methodology in chapter two and three, respectively, this thesis moves on to presenting the findings in chapter four. In chapter five the theory and results are linked in the discussion. The final chapter, chapter six, concludes by answering the research question, evaluating the limitations of this research and providing suggestions for further research.

2. Theoretical Framework

It is important to clarify what is meant with certain key terms which are relevant for this study. This chapter starts off with relevant theory regarding adaptation, which will offer insights to the definitions of adaptation, the three categories of adaptations and the point of view of different characters and the audience. Secondly, a closer look will be taken at the relationship between Sherlock Holmes and autism. This chapter ends with more information regarding mass media and cultural artefacts and Hofstede's cultural dimensions.

2.1 Adaptation Theory

Hutcheon and O’Flynn (2012) mention that an adaptation can be defined from “three distinct but interrelated perspectives” (p. 8). Firstly, an adaptation is based on a particular work. The process of re-creation, or *transcoding* may involve a shift in for example medium or context, such as point of view or genre. Secondly, the term *appropriation* is an important feature of adaptations, since it refers to the process of (re-)interpretation and after this (re-) creation. An aspect of appropriation that is especially relevant in the case of motion pictures is the actor’s interpretation of the character (McCaw, 2011, p. 12). Sanders (2014) mentions that *appropriation* is often more rigorous than an adaptation, since it “moves away from the informing source into a wholly new cultural product and domain” (p. 26). As a result, appropriations are not always clearly recognised and linked to the informing source as in the adaptive process. The third perspective is that of *intertextuality*, which, among other things, refers to the reception of the viewer. The audience “experience adaptations as palimpsests through our memory of other works that resonate through repetition with variation” (Hutcheon & O’Flynn, 2012, p. 8). With these three perspective in mind, adaptations can be defined as an: “acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works. A creative *and* an interpretative act of appropriation and an extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work. An adaptation is an extensive transposition of a particular work” (p. 8). Sanders (2014) agrees with Hutcheon and O’Flynn’s (2012, p. 7) definition of *intertextuality* and argues that intertextuality refers to the plethora of ways in which texts influence and (re)produce other texts (p. 162). In this context, it is well possible that the newest television series, *Miss Sherlock* (Taki, Mori & Matsuo, 2018) is also influenced by previously broadcast series, such as the British *Sherlock* (Gatiss, Moffat & McGuigan, 2011) next to Conan Doyle’s original stories.

In her work on adaptations and appropriation, Sanders (2014, p. 20) mentions Cartmell’s three categories of adaptations. These are *transposition*, *commentary* and *analogue*. *Transposition* refers to a shift “in the sense that they [the adapters] take a text from one genre and deliver it to new audiences by means of the aesthetic conventions of an entirely different general process” (Sanders, 2014, p. 20). This corresponds with what Hutcheon and O’Flynn call *transcoding*. Put differently, adapters may adjust the adaptations to a different medium, time and geographical location. Sanders (2014, p. 20)

describes this as the “movement of proximation,” which refers to the process of updating a text to bring it into greater proximity to the cultural and temporal context of the audience. *Transposition* is the most important category of adaptations for this thesis, since this research project mainly focuses on the shift in geographical setting and the influence of culture on the adaptations. Straubhaar (2007) mentions in his theory of cultural proximity that local preferences always should be taken into consideration when adapting a (television) format to another culture, since audiences prefer television programs that are “as close to them as possible” (p.26). However, as a result of cultural hybridization, these preferences might slowly converge. The global-local nexus is also of importance when adapting a format (Moran, 2009, p. 57). Localisation is part of the process of *cultural hybridization*. This process describes the blending of global and local cultures. Earlier studies found that cultural hybridization can be perceived as a “distinctive characteristic of contemporary cultural processes” (Moran, 2009, p. 58).

Cartmell’s second category of adaptations, *commentary*, refers to the process where the adaptation starts to move away from “simple proximation towards something more culturally loaded” (Sanders, 2014, p. 22). Often, with a commentary adaptation, the politics of the source texts are altered for the adaptation. The remaining category, *analogue*, relates to the process where the adapters attempt to create a whole new independent work (Sanders, 2014, p. 23).

An aspect that often changes with an adaptation is the point of view. The *Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (2008) describes point of view as “the position from which the events of a story seem to be observed and presented to us” (n.p). The point of view in Conan Doyle’s stories is different from that of the three television series. In the three series the point of view is non-focalised, meaning the information the viewer receives is not limited to what is seen by a specific character. However, in the stories, which are written from a first-person point of view, the reader only reads about Sherlock Holmes through the perspective of Watson. This means that in the stories Watson is the focaliser. The term focalisation implies that the reader is only reads the “focaliser’s partial knowledge and experience” and does not know the other characters’ “hidden thoughts” (*Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 2008, n.p.). In the television series, the action is seen through the non-focalised camera, and the audience sees both Watson and Sherlock’s behaviour in separate scenes. It is important to note that the differences in

point of view of the series and the stories may affect the audience's interpretation of the characters, or "personage[s] in a narrative or dramatic work" (*Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 2008).

2.2 Autism & Sherlock Holmes

The focus of this thesis is inspired by a chapter of Freeman Loftis (2015) in her book *Imagining Autism*. In this work, the author analyses fictional characters who are suspected to be on the spectrum and discusses the (cultural) stereotypes which are related to autism.

The *autistic spectrum disorder* (ASD)¹ has become the subject of public fascination. Over the years, more and more attention has been paid to autism in the media. The reason for this could be that "autism appears to be Otherness in the extreme," according to Freeman Loftis (2015, p. 4). Berger (2006) mentions that the fascination of Otherness comes from people's needs to determine their identity; "we are, from a Saussurean perspective, the opposite of those exhibiting "otherness," so by encountering them, we find out more about ourselves" (p. 48). The representation of autistic people often highlights "the alien" in those people, which can lead to people on the spectrum being treated more as a puzzle rather than a human being (Freeman Loftis, 2014, p. 4).

Key characteristics of ASD are "difficulty with social skills and communication, a limited range of interest and sensory integration problems such as hypersensitivity to light, touch or sound" (Freeman Loftis, 2015, p. 3). In addition, Freeman Loftis (2015, p. 3) mentions poor physical condition and self-stimulating behaviour, such as pacing, as other traits. Recklessness is also characteristic of ASD (Prior, 2004, p. 29). While some autistic characteristics can be quite disabling, other aspects can confer strengths as well. For example, some people on the spectrum have outstanding memory skills and powers of concentration (Freeman Loftis, 2015, p. 3).

Sherlock's most frequently mentioned, almost stereotypical autistic traits include his lack of social skills with other people, obsession with crime and his strong observation skills, which enable him to master the arts of deduction (Freeman Loftis, 2015, p.23; p. 29). The detective's incredible brilliance can be interpreted as autistic savant syndrome. The *Oxford Dictionary of Psychology* (2015)

¹ A collective name for "a tridimensional group of disorders characterized by impairments of social interaction communication and repetitive and ritualistic patterns of behavior", such as Asperger syndrome and Kanner's syndrome (Woodbury-Smith, 2013).

defines a savant as: “a person with intellectual disability who can perform at a high level in some restricted domain of intellectual functioning,” which in the case of Sherlock Holmes, seems to be his interest in the field of crime and his skills that help him as a detective.

In both the stories and in the tv adaptations Watson represents the neurotypical character, which implies he is normal compared to Sherlock Holmes. A neurotypical character refers to a character that does not “display autistic or neurologically atypical patterns of thought or behaviour. Neurotypical individuals often assume that their experience of the world is either the only one or the only correct one” (*The Oxford Dictionary of English*, 2010). It is important to note that Watson and other neurotypical characters may help shape the viewer’s perception of Holmes. In the series and the stories, the viewer perceives both Sherlock’s autistic traits and Watson’s neurotypical reactions to those traits (Freeman Loftis, 2015, p. 26). Freeman Loftis (2015) suggests that “Watson’s default position as neurotypical narrator mirrors the assumed norm of the majority perspective in our society at large” (p. 26). Furthermore, due to the other characters’ focus on Sherlock’s autistic characteristics as mysterious and almost foreign, the viewer sees the autistic character as a “puzzle in need of a neurotypical solution” (Freeman Loftis, 2015, p. 38). Sherlock’s being perceived as the Other by neurotypical characters in combination with his interest in crime often results in Sherlock being suspected to becoming a criminal himself. Freeman Loftis (2015) points out that Sherlock’s unusual mind is a sign of criminal deviance and the reason why Holmes and his arch nemesis Moriarty are “inextricably connected” (p. 32).

2.3 Mass Media and Cultural Artefacts

Mass media, such as television series mirror cultural identity. Castelló (2009, p. 316) suggests that television functions “like a stage where characters live in accordance with the guidelines of a social project” (p. 316). This implies that the characters “speak as they are expected to” and “have fun in a way that is not merely the result of random creative inspirations” (Castelló, 2009, p. 316). Both literature and television are cultural artefacts. Pennington (2012, p. 100) argues that media outlets, such as television series and literature, act as “complex representations of a culturally constructed ‘real world’”. Mass media are considered as cultural behaviours and artefacts to which technology gives tangible form (Pennington, 2012, p. 100). Thus, because media and culture shape each other, cultural artefacts such as

television series portray the world according to the expectations, preferences and ideological behaviour of a certain culture.

2.4 Hofstede's Dimensions

Looking at ASD and differences in symptom expression both across and within different cultures will result in a better understanding of this neurological disorder (Grinker, Daley & Mandell, 2013, n.p.). Next to the possible differences in symptom expressions, culture also seems to have an influence on how ASD is perceived in different societies. The Dutch psychologist Geert Hofstede conducted research into describing different cultures. Hofstede created four cultural dimensions in the 1980s: *power distance*, *individualism versus collectivism*, *uncertainty avoidance* and the *masculinity versus femininity* dimension (Hofstede, 1984, p. 11). In later work, Hofstede (2011) added two other dimensions: *time orientation* and *indulgence versus restraint*. However, this thesis will only focus on five dimensions, namely *power distance*, *individualism*, *uncertainty avoidance*, *masculinity* and *time orientation*.

Hofstede's framework has been subjected to considerable criticism. The most important points of criticism are Hofstede's etic approach in studying culture and the fact that his data is 55 years old, thus, outdated (Bell Ross & Faulkner, 1998, p. 32; p. 38). In addition, the majority of the participants in his research were highly educated Caucasian men, which makes the research population not representative of a country's population (Bell Ross & Faulkner, 1998, p. 38). Nevertheless, it is one of the few studies into culture on such a large scale. This thesis tries to use the most recent updates of Hofstede's work, since it reformulates some of Hofstede's earlier statements. Moreover, it was taken into consideration that the corpus were cultural artefacts. Applying theory of sociology, such as Hofstede's dimensions on a cultural artefact may have influenced the outcome. Table 1 shows the scores of Japan, the United States and the United Kingdom on Hofstede's dimensions.

Table 1: Scores of Japan, UK & US on Hofstede's dimensions (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004, p. 43, p.78, p. 121, p. 168, p. 211)

Dimension	Japan	UK	US
<i>Power Distance</i>	54	35	40
<i>Uncertainty Avoidance</i>	92	35	46
<i>Masculinity versus Femininity</i>	95	66	62
<i>Individualism versus Collectivism</i>	46	89	91
<i>Long-term versus short-term orientation</i>	88	51	26

Power distance. *Power distance* (PDI) refers to distribution of power and authority by institutions and organisations and to what extent the less powerful members of a society accept inequality of power (Tayeb, 2013, n.p.). Japan has an average score of 54 on the PDI dimension. Hofstede and Soeters conclude that “Japanese society is built on carefully balanced power arrangements between the various parties, classes and sectors in society. Not one single element in Japanese society is able and allowed to dominate others completely” (2002, p. 4). The US has a low score on the PDI dimension. Hofstede (n.d., par. 6) argues that American and British society strongly value “liberty and justice for all” and that there is an emphasis on equal rights throughout the entire society.

Uncertainty avoidance. *Uncertainty avoidance* (UAI) describes the way in which a society deals with uncertain situations. This includes anxiety, the need for (formal) rules and the level of tolerance regarding different ideas, beliefs and behaviours (Tayeb, 2013, n.p.). Japan scores high on UAI. Hofstede and Soeters (2002, p. 5) mention that the behaviour of the Japanese is strictly prescribed according to a “mass production of rules, rituals and language codes as to the social distance in the encounter and mutual treatment of people.”. Interestingly, the notion of shame and face plays a major role within daily to day interactions (Hofstede & Soeters, 2002, p. 5). On the contrary, both the United Kingdom and United States have an average to low score on the UAI dimension. Hofstede (n.d., par. 13) mentions that these cultures are quite tolerant to new ideas or different opinions from others.

Individualism versus collectivism. In individualistic cultures people are encouraged to look after themselves and their closest relatives, whereas collectivistic cultures believe that all members of

society are part of a strong social network, such as a family (Soares, Farhangmer & Shoham, 2007, p. 280). Moreover, individualistic cultures are often high context cultures, meaning that members of society have a direct style of communication and use more words to express themselves, whereas collectivist cultures are low context cultures. In low context cultures, members of society have an indirect style of communicating and use less words, since the meaning of the conversation can mostly be derived from the context (Hall, 1959, n.p.). Japanese culture scores average on the IDV dimension (Hofstede & Soeters, 2002, p. 7). However, compared to the United Kingdom and US, Japan has a fairly collectivistic culture, which can be recognized in the “reliance on and obligations to the family” (Hofstede & Soeters, 2002, p. 7). The United Kingdom and the United States score extremely high on IDV. Both cultures value “uniqueness and self-determination”, resulting in a focus on individual wellbeing rather than the group (Kalliny & Gentry, 2007, p. 18). In addition, Baumgarte (2009, p. 1) argues that people in individualistic cultures often have more superficial relationships than people in collectivistic cultures.

Masculinity versus femininity. The *masculinity versus femininity* (MAS) dimension describes to what extent a society values masculine or feminine traits. Hofstede argues that traditional masculine traits include dominance, toughness, competitiveness and striving for achievements, while modesty, submission, passivity and taking care of others are typical feminine traits (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004, p. 117). Japan scores high on the MAS dimension, which means it has an extremely masculine culture. In addition, Japan’s high score on masculinity is associated with a large difference in gender roles (Hofstede & Soeters, 2002, p. 8). In a study conducted by Hogan (2005) into Japanese advertising, one of the major findings was the “frequent positioning of women in ‘traditional’ and domestic settings rather than contemporary and public settings” (Hogan, 2005, p.199). The US has a score of 62 on the MAS dimension. Merkin and Ramadan (2010, p. 664) mention that American society values masculine traits “such as emphasizing performance, ambition, power and assertiveness”. The United Kingdom also scores high on the MAS dimension (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004, p. 121). Hofstede (n.d.) mentions that a point of confusion for foreigners lies in the “apparent contradiction between the British culture of modesty and understatement, which is at odds with the underlying success driven value system” (par. 7).

Time orientation. *Time orientation* (LTO) refers to the choice of focus for people's efforts, which can be future, present or past (Hofstede, 2011). Long-term orientation cultures value perseverance and thrift, whereas short-term orientation cultures value respect for tradition, reciprocating social obligations, protecting one's 'face' and personal stability (Hofstede, 2011). Japan has a high score, implying that Japanese culture values tradition: "Japanese see their life as a very short moment in a long history of mankind and people live their lives guided by virtues and practical good examples" (Hofstede, n.d., par. 11). The US scores low on the LTO dimension; it is likely to plan for the future, because Americans believe "that present goals are important and can alter future outcomes" (Spears, Lin & Mowen, 2000, p. 60). The United Kingdom has a score of 51, meaning that a clear preference regarding time orientation cannot be determined (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004, p. 211).

3. Methodology

The aim of this contrastive study is to investigate how the Japanese, American and British national cultures influence the portrayal of autism in the character of Sherlock Holmes in three different contemporary TV adaptations. In order to do so, a qualitative research method was adopted, more specifically, a corpus analysis. This chapter starts off with a detailed description of materials used for this study, and continues to elaborate on the followed procedure. This chapter ends with a closer look at the validity and reliability of the adopted approach.

3.1 Materials

The corpus which was selected for this study includes two episodes of the three contemporary television adaptations of Sherlock Holmes in Japan, United States and Great-Britain, respectively. The chosen TV series were the British series *Sherlock* (Gatiss, Moffat & McGuigan, 2011) (see photo 1), the American series *Elementary* (Doherty & Cuesta, 2012) (see photo 2) and the Japanese series *Miss Sherlock* (Taki, Mori & Matsuo, 2018) (see photo 3). It is of importance to note that in *Elementary*, Sherlock is British and moved to New York and that in the Japanese *Miss Sherlock*, Sherlock was educated in the UK. This may affect their behaviour and thus the outcome of the research. The TV adaptations of Sherlock Holmes were selected because they are all set in the same period of time (2010s). In addition, according to the

Internet Movie Database (IMDB) (n.d.), an authoritative source for movie and TV content, the most recent season of all the series was released within the last three years.



Photo 1: Poster Sherlock (Gatiss, Moffat & McGuigan, 2011)

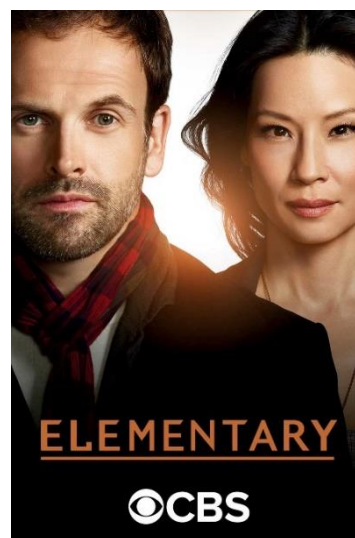


Photo 2: Poster Elementary (Doherty & Cuesta, 2012)



Photo 3: Poster Miss Sherlock (Taki, Mori & Matsuo, 2018)

To analyse Sherlock Holmes' character as accurately as possible, the sampling strategy used for this thesis was criterion sampling. This sampling strategy implies that the selected corpus meets some predetermined criteria (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 12). The most important predetermined criterion was that the corpus consisted of episodes based on the same two stories by Conan Doyle. Hence, two episodes of each adaptation were selected which correspond as much as possible. The first episode of each series was chosen, because in this episode Sherlock meets Watson for the first time and they become flatmates. Furthermore, the episode in which Sherlock defeats his nemesis Moriarty was selected (see table 2 for

an overview of the corpus). It should be noted that the television series, except for the British adaptation, are loosely based on Conan Doyle's work. Only the most important characters, e.g. Sherlock, Watson, Mycroft and Moriarty are included in each adaptation. The cases Sherlock solves, however, are different. This made the process of selecting the corpus fairly difficult. The British series *Sherlock* remains the closest to Conan Doyle's original stories. Lastly, it is important to mention that the episodes of the Japanese series which were included in the analysis had English subtitles.

Table 2: Corpus -Television series

<i>Series</i>	<i>Name episode</i>	<i>Season/Episode</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Director</i>	<i>Release date</i>
<i>Sherlock</i>	A Study in Pink	S1 E1	01:27:59	Paul McGuican	5 June 2011
<i>Sherlock</i>	The Reichenbach Fall	S2 E3	01:27:59	Toby Haynes	29 May 2012
<i>Elementary</i>	Pilot Episode	S1 E1	00:45:00	Michael Cuesta	8 January 2013
<i>Elementary</i>	Heroine	S1 E24	00:45:00	Robert Doherty	24 October 2013
<i>Miss Sherlock</i>	The First Case	S1 E1	00:50:00	Jun'ichi Mori	27 April 2018
<i>Miss Sherlock</i>	The Dock	S1 E8	00:50:00	Yūsuke Taki	15 June 2018

3.2 Procedure

Firstly, the researcher watched the selected episodes repeatedly and wrote down all the aspects of Sherlock's behaviour that stood out to the other characters, such as Watson. Additionally, also behaviour that was striking to the researcher was included. After this, the data was interpreted by the researcher with Freeman Loftis' (2015) theory in mind. Six categories emerged over which all most important observations could be divided. It is important to mention that a main characteristic of qualitative research is its emergent nature, meaning that the research design is not fixed (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 37). Therefore, this study was kept relatively open in order to be able to "respond in a flexible way to new details or openings that may emerge during the investigation" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 37). As a result of this approach, the analytic categories were defined during the analysis, instead of creating these beforehand. During the analysis it became clear that most of the findings could be divided among six subsections, namely: communication skills, arrogance, rudeness, genius and motive to work as a

consulting detective and addiction. The results were written down as detailed as possible in the results chapter in order to create a *thick description*.

Afterwards, the findings were linked to the corresponding cultural dimensions of Hofstede. More specifically, the outcomes of the corpus analysis were compared to the scores of Japan, the United States and the United Kingdom on Hofstede's dimensions. The findings were then linked to relevant theory where necessary, which led to the answer of the research question.

3.3 Corpus Analysis: Reliability and Validity

Stubbs (1996, p. 2) argues that a corpus analysis is suitable when comparing patterns of images and texts from different sources. Yet, a clear disadvantage of a corpus analysis is that the corpus needs to be very large in order to be reliable (De Mönnink, 2000, p. 31). Due to the time frame of this thesis, the corpus is limited. This may influence the reliability of this study. Furthermore, Dörnyei (2007, p. 54) mentions that it is not easy to guarantee the reliability of the research in a qualitative study due to the researcher's subjective interpretation of the data. This could lead to somewhat distorted conclusions. Thus, both the size of the corpus and the researcher's subjectivity are limitations of this study.

The validity of this study can be ensured to a certain level. The external validity does not play an important role in qualitative research, since the findings are often not generalisable to a larger population (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 52). In addition, qualitative research becomes generalisable when theoretical saturation is reached. Due to the time frame, this study did not reach theoretical saturation. The external validity of this study can, therefore, not be ensured.

Dörnyei (2007, p. 61) suggests several checks to ensure internal validity based on the research design and the coding of the data e.g. peer checking, method and data triangulation and prolonged engagement and observation. However, conducting these checks for this thesis were not possible, since it was an individual project with a singular research method within a limited time frame. This may have had an influence on the findings and conclusions of this study. Yet, Dörnyei (2007, p. 60) argues that in qualitative research the integrity of the researcher, which is built-up of smaller components, can ensure the internal validity of the research to some extent. The first component refers to an audit trail. This implies that the researcher offers a detailed and reflective account of the steps taken to achieve the results. Attention was paid to the audit trail in the discussion of this research. Moreover,

contextualisation and thick description, which form the second component, were taken into consideration during the analysis. The final component is the researcher's bias, which in this case was an etic perspective on the data, as a result of which the validity and reliability of this study are limited.

4 Analysis

This chapter describes the results of the corpus analysis. The results are structured per series and contain features of Sherlock Holmes that were most striking to the observer. Each section focuses on the same aspects, namely Sherlock's struggle to communicate with other characters, rudeness, arrogance, use of narcotics and Sherlock's motive to work as a consulting detective. This chapter starts with the findings regarding the British series *Sherlock* (Gatiss, Moffat & McGuigan, 2011), then continues with the Japanese series *Miss Sherlock* (Taki, Mori & Matsuo, 2018) and the American *Elementary* (Doherty & Cuesta, 2012). This chapter concludes with an answer to research question one.

4.1 *Sherlock* (UK, 2011)

The findings of the analysis of the British adaptation *Sherlock* highlights several aspects that make the character of Sherlock Holmes stand out compared to other characters in the series. This becomes mostly clear through the way the British detective interacts with others. He even calls himself a “high functioning sociopath” (*A Study in Pink*, 00:57:58). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2010) a sociopath is: “A person with a personality disorder manifesting itself in extreme antisocial attitudes and behaviour.” Sherlock struggles to communicate with others and does not seem very outgoing or fond of company. In fact, he is quite reserved and indifferent when it comes to others. Sherlock hardly shows affection for other people. It almost seems as if he does not understand affection. For example, in *A Study in Pink*, Molly, Sherlock's colleague in Saint Bartholomew's Hospital, invites Sherlock on a coffee date: “Do you want to grab a coffee” (00:09:02). However, Sherlock misinterprets the situation completely, which becomes evident through his response: “Black, two sugars, please. I'll be upstairs” (00:09:08) (see photo 1).

Both Sherlock's behaviour as perceived by the audience and the way in which Watson and other characters respond to Sherlock's behaviour make it clear that the detective struggles to interact with others. For example, throughout the episode *A Study in Pink*, Sally, a policewoman, calls

Sherlock a freak and psychopath several times. In addition, in the episode *Reichenbach Fall*, Watson asks Sherlock to join him to go to Mrs. Hudson, who might be in danger, Sherlock refuses to come along. Watson says to Sherlock: “Sod this. You stay here if you want. On your own” (01:07:55). Sherlock responds: “Alone is what I have. Alone protects me” (01:08:05) (see photo 2). This example highlights that Sherlock seems scared to let others in emotionally.

Sherlock’s rudeness also testifies to his struggle to communicate with other characters. Sherlock is especially rude to the police and witnesses with whom he has to collaborate when working on a case. He is so direct other characters experience his behaviour as rudeness. He does not seem to care about being polite and does not take the feelings of others into consideration. Sherlock’s rudeness to the police is emphasised in a particular scene in *A Study in Pink*. Sherlock arrives at a crime scene to help the police with a murder case. The victim, a woman, has scratched the word *Rache* in the wooden floor with her fingernails. While Sherlock is investigating the crime scene, a policeman named Andersson stands in the doorway of the room. He says: “She’s German. *Rache*. It’s German for revenge. She could be trying to tell us something” (00:25:45). Sherlock walks over to the door and shuts it in Andersson’s face. While doing so, Sherlock is looking at his phone and sarcastically says: “Yes, thank you for your input” (00:25:52) (see photo 3). Thus, Sherlock’s rudeness seems based on his own arrogance. It implies that Sherlock does not take Andersson suggestion seriously, because he thinks he knows better.

It sometimes seems the British Sherlock cannot help being arrogant. In the episode *Reichenbach Fall*, Sherlock is a key witness in a trial against Moriarty, his arch-enemy. Instead of doing what he is asked and take Watson’s advice not to act clever into consideration, he constantly comments on the attorney who questions him and on the Judge. The Judge finally says to Sherlock: “You are here to answer Ms. Sorrells questions, not to give us a display of your intellectual prowess. Keep your answers brief and to the point. Anything else will be treated as contempt. Do you think you can survive for just a few minutes, without showing off!” (00:17:16).

Sherlock’s arrogance seems indeed mainly based on his cleverness. His services as a consulting detective result in Sherlock outsmarting both the police and criminals on every case. He has mastered the art of deduction through which he is able to connect theories, evidence and motives

which the police does not notice. In addition, he is very observant, he notes all kinds of details that others overlook. For example, in *A Study in Pink*, Sherlock deduces that *Rache* was actually intended to become *Rachel* which is a password the victim left for the police to identify the killer. When he realizes that the policemen do not follow his line of thinking he says: “Look at you lot. You are all so vacant. Is it nice not being me? It must be so relaxing” (1:00:00).

Another key characteristic, which goes hand in hand with Sherlock’s cleverness and arrogance is his recklessness. He seems to believe nothing can happen to him because of his intellect. In *A Study in Pink*, Sherlock seems willing to put his life on the line to show off his intelligence and skills, since he almost takes a pill which has a 50 percent chance of being poison, only to prove he chose the right pill (01:18:59 -01:20:38). During these actions Sherlock stays very calm and looks unconcerned, as if he is convinced he will make the right choice (see photo 4).

Interestingly, in the analysed episodes it becomes clear what drives Sherlock as a consulting detective. He is very result-driven, even competitive. Sherlock wants to show off his genius and aims to solve cases before the police does. It is almost like a game to him. In *A Study in Pink*, Sherlock finds out a new clue about a murder after investigating a crime scene. When he realises this new clue, he suddenly rushes out of the door. He is so eager to solve the case himself that he seems in a hurry to investigate his new discovery. Yet, in his hurry, he forgets to tell the police and Watson about his discovery. When Lestrade asks “Of course, yeah, what mistake?” (00:30:32), Sherlock comes running back into the room, screams: “Pink!” and rushes out again to follow up on his clue (00:30:42). This vague direction leaves the police confused, yet, Sherlock does not come back to explain his discovery.

Sherlock has a tendency to use drugs when he gets bored or does not solve a case quickly enough to keep. He does not care what type of drugs he uses; he will take anything to soothe his needs. In *A Study in Pink* he uses three nicotine patches because he is bored and is waiting for Watson to come home. When Watson asks them why he has three nicotine patches, Sherlock says: “Helps me think” (00:42:45). It seems Sherlock reaches some sort of clarity and is able to structure his thoughts. This would suggest that Sherlock experiences a sensory overload quite often, yet, this is not emphasised at all in the series. In addition, Watson’s response makes it clear that he feels

uncomfortable, since he just stands a few feet away from Sherlock and looks at him as if he wants to say something, then he walks over to the window and looks outside.

4.2 *Miss Sherlock* (Japan, 2018)

Just like in the British adaptation, in *Miss Sherlock*, it is also clearly visible that Sherlock struggles to communicate with other characters. Sherlock is not talkative and only speaks when needed. The other characters do not seem to find this very odd. Furthermore, when Sherlock speaks, she is very direct, which sometimes confuses other characters. They are caught off guard by her directness and do not seem to know how to respond to that: it makes them very uncomfortable. An example emerges when she is visiting a microchip manufacturer with Wato-san and Sherlock's brother and asks for a list with the top donors of the company in the *First Case*. When the employees do not respond immediately she says: "Show me the list!" (00:24:58). As a response to her demand, the employees seem baffled and do not know what to say to Sherlock. Noticeably, just like in the British adaptation, Sherlock seems scared to connect with other people. She tries to keep others at a fair distance. In the entire first episode, it is emphasised by Sherlock that she does not like other people, including Wato-san. She criticises her clothes, says she does not want to live with her and looks irritated when Wato-san asks questions. However, Sherlock later seems to find a friend in Wato-san. In the final episode *The Dock* Sherlock, Wato-san and Moriwaka (Moriarty) are standing on the rooftop of the *Reichenbach Building*. When Wato-san seems in danger, Sherlock suddenly changes her attitude regarding Wato-san. She openly admits that Wato-san is her friend: "You're my friend. My very first friend" (00:43:58). At first she seems surprised by her own confession. However, because Wato-san is hypnotised, she does not realise what Sherlock is saying, which might give Sherlock a feeling of assurance, since this way Wato-san does not know what she said, and therefore, cannot hurt her.

Sherlock seems to have difficulty reading situations and adjusting her communication to these circumstances. For instance, in the episode the *First Case*, she is as happy as a child in a candy store when she identifies the killer and her motive, while the killer is mourning her lost child. However, when the killer becomes more upset and starts crying and talking in a loud voice, Sherlock immediately stops being happy, presses her hands against her ears, sits down on the couch and curls up like a ball. This could refer to a sensory overload, since she seems to have a sensitivity to sound.

Sherlock also does not seem to understand how to behave in accordance with local customs. As mentioned earlier, Sherlock has a very direct way of interacting, which in itself does not have to be considered as rude, yet, due to the way the other characters respond to Sherlock's behaviour it becomes clear that she behaves in a way that is considered rude and inappropriate. Two examples emerge in the *First Case* that emphasise this. Sherlock enters people's homes, without taking her shoes off, which, going by Wato-san's response, is very rude (00:26:57 – 00: 27: 04). Wato follows Sherlock and keeps repeating that Sherlock should take her shoes off and reaches for Sherlock's shoes whenever she stops walking. In addition, Sherlock does not bow to greet a company representative of a microchip manufacturer. While both Wato and Sherlock's brother Kento bow, Sherlock stays seated as long as possible and when she has the chance walks fast past Wato-san and Kento and the employee into the office without greeting the employee. The employee, a man, looks at her with a strict, yet neutral look on his face as she walks by (00:24:14 - 00:24:20) (see photo 5).

Just like in the British adaptation, Sherlock is also quite arrogant in *Miss Sherlock*, however, not as arrogant as the British version of the detective. An example of Sherlock's arrogance emerges in *The First Case* when Sherlock is examining a corpse. She instructs detective Reimon: "We need to do the autopsy now. Can't let a rookie forensic scientist mess him up. We'd miss the evidence" (00:04:32). Other characters dislike working with her because of her arrogance. For example, Sergeant Tatsuya Shibata mentions he does not want to collaborate with her because of her attitude (see photo 6).

Just as in the British and American adaptation, Sherlock is also a genius in the Japanese series. However, it is not as emphasised as in the other two adaptations. In *Miss Sherlock*, Sherlock also has mastered the skill of deduction. However, in the series her deductions are presented as logical reasoning rather than a unique skill. This downplay of Sherlock's abilities only emphasise her great struggle to communicate. For example, in the *First Case*, Wato-san and Kimi Hatano, Sherlock's landlady, have to knock several times on Sherlock's door and eventually have to enter the room, since Sherlock does not respond. When they enter the room, they see Sherlock focused on her computer screen and still she does not immediately respond when Kimi introduces Wato-san (00:12:08 – 00:12:50). In the time that Sherlock is focused on her computer screen, she has discovered multiple clues regarding the case. Yet, since this

is only mentioned briefly. The viewer and other characters only perceive Sherlock as very withdrawn rather than marvel at her genius.

The focus on communication with the other characters also does not make it clear what motivates Sherlock's work as a consulting detective. In the *First Case*, Sherlock seems very happy when she identifies the killer and solves the case. However, it is not made explicit whether she is happy, because she has solved the puzzle and won the game, or because she has made Tokyo a safer place for its residents. However, since she mostly depends on herself and keeps her distance from others, it is likely that her motive is more focused on solving the puzzles.

Just like in the other adaptations, Sherlock has an addiction. However, instead of using narcotics, Sherlock is a *chocoholic*. In *The Dock*, Wato-san is in danger because of Akira Moriwaka (Moriarty). Sherlock experiences pressure since she wants to rescue Wato-san and outsmart Moriwaka. As a result, she ends up sitting on the couch, curled up like a ball eating too much chocolate. She acts like a child who lost a game and cannot stand losing. After a while, Sherlock's landlady comes in and tries to speak with her. When Sherlock does not listen to her, she hits Sherlock in the face and says: "Pull yourself together, Sherlock!" (00:26:02 – 00:27:34). Noticeably, Sherlock does not act like this when she is under pressure from working on different cases. However, since Wato-san is important to her, it seems that she does not really know how to handle her feelings (see photo 7).

4.3 Elementary (US, 2012)

Unlike the British and Japanese adaptation, in the American series Sherlock has much less difficulty interacting with other characters in the series. Sherlock is very talkative and can read emotions, people and situations better. For instance, in the *Pilot Episode*, Sherlock discovers the safe room in the house where an abduction took place. Upon opening the safe room, they find the body of the woman who they thought was abducted. Sherlock says to both himself and to the captain of the police department, Gregson: "Sometimes I hate it when I am right" (00:13:00) while looking at the woman. This example emphasises that Sherlock understands emotions and is able to feel compassionate. Noticeably, this Sherlock is much more nuanced in his communication with other characters than his struggling British and Japanese counterparts. Other characters also respond better to the American

detective. A reason for this could be Sherlock's politeness. He remains polite to every policeman he works with, and does not insult without being provoked.

Yet, just like both the Japanese and British series, Sherlock seems frightened of emotional relationships that come with human connections. Although Sherlock says about himself that he does not have "meaningful connections" (00:38:34), Watson concludes that Sherlock can connect to people, yet those connections frighten him (*Pilot Study*, 00:38:00 – 00:38:49). In the beginning of the *Pilot Episode*, when Sherlock and Watson have just met, it becomes clear that Sherlock tries to keep her at a distance: "I don't need a sober companion. I finished with drugs. I won't be using them again. My advice? Take a six week holiday" (*Pilot Study*, 00:18:47). However, when he gets to know Watson, he starts caring about her. For instance, to thank Watson for her help in defeating Moriarty, Sherlock, a fond bee-keeper in this series, names a new bee species after Watson. Sherlock says: "Allow me to introduce you to *Euglossia Watsonia*" (00:41:43). When Watson acts surprised and asks if he really named a bee after her, Sherlock does not respond nor looks at her. This implies that he is insecure but tries to connect with Watson (see photo 8).

Sherlock's direct way of interacting is clearly related to his temper. Whenever he gets worked up about something, he is rude, sarcastic or demeaning to other characters. For example, when he identifies the person who committed the crime in the *Pilot Episode* and confronts him at his workplace, the killer admits the crime, but since Sherlock does not have hard evidence, he remains free. Sherlock throws a temper tantrum and crashes Watson's car into that of the killer (00:34:53-35:59). In addition to being rude or sarcastic, Sherlock is also very stubborn. For example, in the *Pilot Episode*, Sherlock thinks he led to police to the man who murdered a woman. However, a while later he thinks that he missed a clue, and that the real killer is still free. In order to find the real killer, Sherlock stays up all night to try to discover the motive of the murderer and the identity of the killer. He sits motionless, lost in his own thoughts in the living room of his house looking at the evidence they have so far (00:25:31 – 00:25:39). When Watson comes into the room and tries to convince him that the police found the killer, Sherlock says: "Something's off. I can feel it" (00:26:01) (see photo 9) without taking his eyes off the evidence. The stubbornness, or determination is also a result of

Sherlock's brilliant mind, which helps him solve the most complicated cases. He is very sharp and observing when he is working on a case and not once loses his focus.

Just like his British and Japanese counterparts, Sherlock is quite arrogant in the American series. Yet, not as arrogant as his British counterpart, since he stays polite whereas in *Sherlock*, the detective does not care about politeness. An example of Sherlock's arrogance in the American adaptation *Elementary* emerges in the *Pilot Episode*. Watson and Sherlock visit a woman who survived an attack of a serial killer. Sherlock suspects that the woman is lying to them and, as a result, loses his temper. When Watson intervenes, Sherlock says to Watson: "Just read a book, would you" (00:22:04). This implies Sherlock feels superior to Watson and thinks she does not have the right to intervene. When Watson meets Sherlock at the car later and tells him that he seems full of himself, Sherlock does not respond and only looks at her with an arrogant expression on his face (00:21:49-00:23:16) (see photo 10).

In *Elementary*, Sherlock seems motivated to work as a detective both for his own personal reasons and to help to police to make New York a safer place. In the *Pilot Episode*, Sherlock mentions to Watson that he decided to start working as a consultant detective in New York to keep himself busy. He says to Watson: "You and Father will be pleased to hear I have devised a post-rehab regimen for myself that'll keep me quite busy. I decided to resume my work as a consultant here... in New York" (00:06:19). In addition, his compassionate reaction when he finds the body in a safe room, implies that he also understands the value of his job which ultimately makes the city safer for other people. Furthermore, Sherlock actively collaborates with the police instead of competing against the police. Thus, the game element, which is clearly visible in the British series, is downplayed in the American adaptation.

In the American series, the character of Sherlock Holmes is also connected to addiction. However, in *Elementary*, Sherlock is a recovering (heroin) addict. His addiction, though he is clean in both episodes, is a topic which comes up often and is definitely something Sherlock struggles with. Sherlock uses drugs when he is hurt, whereas in the British adaptation Sherlock uses drugs when he is bored. In the Japanese adaptation, Sherlock eats chocolate when she cannot handle her emotions.

4.4 Answer to Research Question One

The first research question of this thesis focuses on the presence of autistic features in the three different adaptations of Sherlock Holmes in Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States. As mentioned earlier, it is impossible to diagnose a fictional character with autism. Therefore, it does not necessarily imply that ASD is the only explanation of the portrayal of observed aspects.

It seems that in the British and Japanese adaptation, Sherlock struggles a great deal in interacting with other characters. Freeman Loftis (2015) mentioned that “difficulty with social skills and communication” (p. 3) are key characteristics of ASD and are frequently mentioned with regards to Sherlock Holmes (p. 23). Furthermore, in the Japanese series, Sherlock also does not seem to understand local customs, which can also be connected to her social skills. Interestingly, in *Elementary*, Sherlock does not seem to have as much difficulty with communicating. Especially since Sherlock is quite polite, other characters often respond well to him. Moreover, in each adaptation Sherlock does not understand or even seems afraid of human relationships, which corresponds with Freeman Loftis’ (2015) claims regarding autism and social skills. People on the spectrum might have a hard time reading between the lines and therefore favour to communicate directly. This might also be the reason why they communicate directly themselves as well (People with Autism for People without Autism, 2018, p. 25), which is a feature that is emphasised in the British and Japanese series, and to a lesser extent in *Elementary*. This might also be the reason why other characters sometimes seem to consider Sherlock’s behaviour as rude. All Sherlocks have a very specific interest in crime. Solving crimes is all they do to the extent that it can be connected to the savant syndrome. This corresponds with the “limited range of interest” that Freeman Loftis (2015, p. 3) describes as a key characteristic of ASD. In both the Japanese and British series, Sherlock seems to have a sensitivity to either sound or other stimuli, which results in shutting down for the Japanese Sherlock and using narcotics for clarity for the British Sherlock. In the American series, Sherlock does not seem to have a specific sensitivity for a certain stimulus. Tickle and Stott (2010) argue that people with ASD “may appear arrogant towards others and may show a general sense of superiority towards other people” (p. 297). Sherlock’s arrogance is emphasised in all three adaptations.

In all three adaptations Sherlock is addicted. However, no literature was found that connects this to autism. Additionally, it does not become clear that Sherlock's motivation to work as a consulting detective has a clear connection to autism. However, it seems that both addiction and Sherlock's motivation might be related to culture, which is explored in the next chapter. Overall, it can be concluded that Sherlock seems to portray certain similar aspects that are connected to the autistic syndrome disorder in all three series.

5. Discussion

This chapter mostly focuses on the second research question of this study, which regards the influence of culture on the portrayal of autism in the character of Sherlock Holmes. It will draw on theory which was explained in chapter two, such as Hofstede's dimensions. As explained earlier, the most striking observations were divided over six categories. This chapter is structured according to these six categories, since these are mostly connected to autism. Firstly, the communication skills of Sherlock across the three adaptations will be compared, followed by Sherlock's rudeness. After this, attention will be paid to Sherlock's addictions, his cleverness and motive for working as a consultant detective. This chapter ends with an elaboration and comparison on Sherlock's portrayed arrogance.

5.1 Communication

In each adaptation Sherlock is very direct. One crucial difference, however, is that in the British series Sherlock is much more talkative than in the Japanese adaptation. Japan is, according to Hofstede and Soeters (2002, p. 7) a relatively collectivistic oriented culture with a high context culture (Hall, 1959, n.p.), which might be an explanation why Sherlock does not talk much. However, Sherlock's communication style is very direct, which more often occurs in individualistic low context cultures. Thus, the Japanese Sherlock being brought up and educated in the United Kingdom, a low context culture, could be a reason why she communicates in a direct manner. Noticeably, Wato is not direct at all, her communication is much more dependent to the context. The US and UK have individualistic low context cultures (Hall, 1959, n.p.). In both British and American adaptations, Sherlock uses many words and has a more direct communication style. Interestingly, this way of speaking is also reflected in the other characters. For example, in the British series, Watson adheres to

a much more polite way of interacting, which conforms with how modesty is practised in communication in Britain (Hofstede, n.d. par. 7).

Katan (2014), suggest that due to the focus on context in high context cultures, Eastern cultures are known to leave quite some space for silences or pauses (p. 299), which Wato also seems to take in accordance when she speaks. Additionally, since “Western society has a predominantly verbal culture” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997, p. 74), there is less space for silences, which might explain why Watson in the American and British adaptation try to avoid silence.

In addition, in the Japanese series, Sherlock openly admits that Wato is her friend, whereas in the other two series Sherlock does not do this so explicitly. Darwish and Huber (2003) suggest that members of collectivistic cultures have “fewer skills in making new “friends” but “friends” in their case implies lifelong intimate relationships” (p. 50). This implies that it means a lot that Sherlock openly expresses this to Wato-san in *Miss Sherlock*, especially when considering that she struggles with communicating. In *Elementary*, Sherlock seems friendly to each person he meets yet says to Watson that he does not have meaningful connections and pushes people away. This could mean that Sherlock acts friendly because he sees the relationship he has as superficial ones. Superficial relationship occur, according to Baumgarte (2009, p. 1) more often in individualistic cultures than collectivistic cultures. Interestingly, Watson is very open from the moment she meets Sherlock, which might also be related to Baumgarte’s claim regarding superficial relationships in the US.

In the American *Elementary* Sherlock does not seem to struggle as much as his other two counterparts when communicating with others, since he stays polite, which is sometimes connected to *understatement*. This is a much practised style of communicating in the United Kingdom (Hofstede, n.d.) and is a figure of speech “by which something is referred to in terms less important than it really deserves,” for example describing a mortal wound, a scratch (*The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 2008). Interestingly, in the American series Sherlock uses this practice much more often than the British and Japanese, while all of them are brought up in the United Kingdom. The producers of *Elementary*, might have chosen to emphasise this feature, since it makes Sherlock stand out from other characters.

5.2 Rudeness

Noticeably, Sherlock is mostly rude in the British adaptations, whereas in the other two television series, this is more nuanced. The example where BBC's Sherlock insults detective Andersson is the complete opposite of understatement and modesty which is practiced in most occasions in Britain (Hofstede, n.d. par. 7). On the other hand, Watson remains modest and polite at all times. In the *Reichenbach Fall* Watson even tries to advise Sherlock not to "act clever" in court.

Hofstede & Hofstede (2004, p. 211) suggest that Japan has a high score on the LTO dimension, which implies that Japanese society values tradition, reciprocating social obligations and protecting one's face. Interestingly, *Miss Sherlock*, it becomes clear that Sherlock does not seem to understand these rules. As a result, her behaviour is considered rude by other characters. In addition to these prescribed social rules, there is a typical Japanese custom called *wakimae*, which regards the "social norms which people are expected to observe in society and is mostly focused on speakers complying with the expected norms rather than expressing their intentions" (Hua, 2014, p. 97). Sherlock does not seem to take *wakimae* into consideration, due to her direct way of communication. Wato on the other hand, seems to communicate with *wakimae* in mind.

In *Elementary*, Sherlock only gets rude when he loses his temper, which he expresses through sarcasm and dramatic comments. Where Sherlock practices *understatement* when he is not upset, he switches to *overstatement* or *hyperbole* when he is angry. *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (2008) defines *overstatement* as: "exaggeration for the sake of emphasis [...]. An everyday example is the complaint 'I've been waiting for ages'" (n.p). As mentioned earlier, Hofstede (n.d., par. 7) suggests that understatement and modesty are characteristic communication practices of the British culture and when angry, Sherlock does to complete opposite when he is angry. Joan Watson acts similar to Sherlock, she is direct and speaks her mind, yet does not insult Sherlock. A possible explanation of this could be that the US and UK both have high context cultures.

Interestingly, in the British adaptation, it seems Sherlock only practices overstatement when communicating.

5.3 Addiction

In all three adaptations, Sherlock is addicted. However, the reason why the detective is an addict and what substance they abuse differ. The differences in addiction and the reason why Sherlock uses his or her drug across the different series do not seem to have a clear connection to culture. The way the other characters react to Sherlock using drugs however, might be connected to culture. In the Japanese series, Sherlock's landlady hits Sherlock in the face when she ate too many chocolates and refused to listen to her, this could mirror Japan's regulations on drugs. In the Japanese adaptation, Sherlock is addicted to chocolate instead of drugs. The reason for this could be Japan's strict regulations regarding narcotics (Kingsberg, 2013, n.p.). Moreover, in the British series, Watson seems uncomfortable but decides to keep silent when discovers Sherlock's habit. This might refer to Hofstede's IDV dimension. At that time, Sherlock does not yet belong to Watson's intimate circle, therefore, Watson does not yet want to look after Sherlock and therefore minds his own business, which is characteristic for the UK's high on IDV. In *Elementary*, no connections to culture and Sherlock's addiction were found, which might be related to Sherlock being clean.

5.4 Intellect and Motivation

Two aspects that are intertwined in all three adaptations is Sherlock's cleverness and his motivation to work as a consulting detective. In all three adaptations, Sherlock has a brilliant mind, which does not seem clearly connected to culture. However, the detective's motivation to work as a detective slightly differs per series.

The United Kingdom scores 66 on Hofstede's MAS dimension, which implies that British society values masculine traits (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004, p. 121). In the British adaptation Sherlock values masculine traits. For example, he is very result-driven and competitive. It looks like solving cases is a game for him. His motive to solve cases are more or less similar compared to his American counterpart. In *Elementary*, Sherlock's determination to solve a case, conforms to the American ambition-driven culture (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004, p. 121). Yet, since in *Elementary*, Sherlock expresses compassion when working on a case it is much less of a game than for his British counterpart.

In the Japanese series, it is not quite clear with what motive Sherlock solves cases, since the focus on her communication skills are so strong. By working hard to solve difficult cases, Sherlock conforms to Japan's high score on the MAS dimension in the Japanese adaptation (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004, p. 121), it seems as if it is not really accepted by the men in her environment. According to Hogan (2005, p. 199), there is a tendency in Japan to portray women in traditional and domestic settings. Sherlock does not conform to this at all, which causes a clash with the men in the series. This is the only clearly visible observation that regards the difference in gender of Sherlock in *Miss Sherlock*. In terms of her autistic traits, Sherlock does not seem to behave in any different way than her male counterparts.

In all three adaptations, the character that portrays Watson also seems to share Sherlock's eagerness and result-driven mindset to solve the case.

5.5 Arrogance

In the BBC's *Sherlock*, the detective expresses his arrogance by insulting other characters. Furthermore, another way in which Sherlock's arrogance is emphasised in the British series, is Sherlock's recklessness which is a result of a combination of his cleverness and his arrogance. Ziegahn (2007, p. 12) mentions that countries that have a low score on UAI often "move quickly to action" and can be perceived as reckless.

In the Japanese adaptation, Sherlock is also arrogant. However, this is much more nuanced in *Miss Sherlock*. For instance, she points out that she does not want a rookie policeman to perform an autopsy, which can sabotage the case. By doing this, Sherlock, as an amateur consulting detective, takes the authority and at the same time forces the other policemen to act as her subordinates. Arrogance often occurs in countries with a high PDI, since authority figures have a tendency to lean towards arrogance (Hofstede, 2001, p. 94; Akhtar and Smolen, 2018, n.p.). While Japan has a score of 54 on PDI, Sherlock acts as an authority figure, which might explain her arrogance.

In *Elementary*, Sherlock also can be quite arrogant, however, he only expresses this when he feels crossed by the other character. Interestingly, Reisinger (2009, p. 185) mentions that a "display of arrogance" is a much adopted communication style in the US, which is often used by other policemen to emphasise that they are just as good as Sherlock. Sherlock does not do this. However, this might be the result of Sherlock being British rather than American.

5.5 Answer to Research Question Two

The second question of this thesis focuses on the influence of culture on the portrayal of autism in the character of Sherlock Holmes across different adaptations. It seems that only some aspects of autism seem to be influenced by culture. Sherlock's direct way of communicating is striking. In both Japan and the UK, the local culture practices more indirect ways of communicating, to which Sherlock does not conform. The influence of culture is only visible in *Elementary's* Sherlock, who is much more polite and communicates more in accordance with the local cultures. Interestingly, all the characters that portray Watson in the three adaptations, seem to conform to the communication practices of the local culture.

Despite the slight differences, in each adaptation Sherlock's behaviour is regularly perceived as rude or arrogant by other characters. From not understanding social rules and customs to simply not care about other people's feelings. The neurotypical characters on the other hand seem to conform to the local practices and prescribed rules.

Sherlock's motivation, more specifically his result-driven mindset, when working on cases could not be linked to autism, yet, seems mostly influenced by culture. With this mindset, Sherlock seems more oriented towards masculine traits than feminine. This conforms to the high score on Hofstede's MAS dimension all countries have. The other, neurotypical characters seem to share this mindset, since they are just as eager to help Sherlock solve the case.

Noticeably, while Sherlock's portrayed addiction could not be linked to autism and culture, it seems that culture influences the reaction of the neurotypical characters on Sherlock's habit. However, this was not visible in *Elementary*.

Overall, it seems that culture only partly influences the portrayal of autism in the character of Sherlock Holmes. Noticeably, culture seems to influence the neurotypical Watson more so than the character of Sherlock Holmes

6. Conclusion

6.1 Summary of the Present Study

The thesis set out to investigate the influence of culture on the portrayal of autism in the character of Sherlock Holmes in three different television adaptations, i.e. the British BBC series *Sherlock* (Gatiss, Moffat & McGuigan, 2011), the American series *Elementary* (Doherty & Cuesta, 2012) and *Miss Sherlock* (Taki, Mori & Matsuo, 2018), a Japanese adaptation. The adopted research method was a corpus analysis. The corpus consisted of six episodes, two episodes of each adaptation.

The first research question, which focused on the presence of autistic traits in the character of Sherlock Holmes in the three different adaptations has led to the conclusion that Sherlock portrays some features that correspond with Freeman Loftis' (2015) description of ASD in fictional characters. The most prominent feature regards Sherlock experiencing difficulty with social skills and communicating with other characters, which also connects to Sherlock's portrayed rudeness. Interestingly, in *Elementary*, Sherlock's struggle in communicating is much less emphasised than in the other two series. In all three adaptations Sherlock seems frightened of relationships, and the portrayal of the savant syndrome is visible through his interest in crime and his brilliant mind.

The second research question focused on the influence of national culture on the portrayal of autism in the character of Sherlock Holmes. Despite some aspects that could be connected to culture, it seems that the portrayal of autism is fairly similar in the three adaptations. This could be a result of intertextuality. Another possibility is to assume that the traits of ASD are universal. It is important to acknowledge that despite the great similarities, there are some slight differences in the adaptations. The motive for Sherlock to work as a consultant detective seem to be connected to culture the most. Sherlock's addictive behaviour could not be linked to culture. The way other characters' respond to Sherlock does seem to be more culture-specific. Other characters are the neurotypicals that compare the Other with what is perceived as normal in that specific culture.

In conclusion, it seems that autism is portrayed more or less the same way in all three adaptations. Autism might have universal features that do not change, or are not presented differently

in each culture. Furthermore, culture does seem to influence the portrayal of the neurotypical characters to a greater extent than it does the character of Sherlock Holmes.

6.2 Limitations and Further Research

While this research offered insights into the portrayal of culture in Sherlock Holmes adaptations, it also has some limitations. First and foremost, it should be pointed out that this thesis was written in a limited period. This may have reduced the number of secondary sources, since there was no time to read up on theory on autism in the different countries which were included in this thesis. This might have influenced the outcomes of this study. Next to the limited time frame, this study had a limited corpus. Analysing more episodes could have led to other results. In addition, Hofstede's dimensions were used to connect the findings to culture. Despite the interesting insights this approach offered, it should be noted that Hofstede's framework has a tendency to evoke essentialist claims, which may be reflected in the main findings of this thesis. Only some of the dimensions seemed to work in this context, such as the *individualistic versus collectivistic* dimension. Analysing a fictional character may also affect the results, since certain features may have been exaggerated or downplayed. A fictional character is not a true representation of a real person. Lastly, the outcomes of this study are the results of the etic and subjective perspective of the researcher, meaning that some cultural aspects are interpreted in a specific way, or may not even be included in the analysis.

A suggestion for further research is to pay more attention to television studies and adaptation theory during analysis. While this study focused on the influence of culture, the number of corresponding observations on some of the personality traits in all three adaptations were striking. Hence, intertextuality and appropriation might have considerable impact on the portrayal of Sherlock across different adaptations. In addition, the correspondence between results could also be due to cultural hybridization. One way to explore this is to investigate to what extent some personality traits are universal and which traits need to be localized in order to conform to the audience's preferences. Although the differences in gender did not seem to influence the portrayed autistic traits of Sherlock in the Japanese adaptation, the relationship between autism, gender and nationality might be interesting to explore in further research. In addition to investigating the neurotypical characters that shape the viewer's perception of Sherlock, further research could also compare this to how the viewers respond

to Sherlock's behaviour. Thus, looking at both the neurotypical characters and compare this to the audience reception might offer interesting insights.

As mentioned earlier, in the American series *Elementary*, Sherlock is British and he moved to New York and in *Miss Sherlock*, Sherlock was brought up and educated in the UK. The possible influence of this on the portrayal of Sherlock may be an interesting topic to explain in further research. Furthermore, the corpus could be expanded by adding more countries and episodes or by replacing the fictional character. Sherlock Holmes has distinctive universal features which he uses when he is working on a case, such as his unique thought process and creative imagination which enable him deduce things. Another character may offer different insights into the influence of culture regarding the portrayal of autism in a fictional character, since it is likely that other features will be emphasised.

Despite the limitations, this comparative, cross-cultural corpus analysis contributed to the field of intercultural communication, since it is one of the few studies that investigated the influence of culture on the portrayal autism in a fictional character across different adaptations.

References

- Akhtar, S., & Smolen, A. (2018). *Arrogance: Developmental, Cultural and Clinical realms*. Retrieved from:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=OQxjDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT36&dq=arrogance+hofstede+long+term+orientation&hl=nl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiM_dadiZ7hAhWQzqQKHTzWAc8Q6AEILDAA#v=onepage&q=arrogance%20hofstede%20long%20term%20orientation&f=false
- Baumgarte, R. (2009). What does it mean to have a close friend? Comparing cultures [PDF file].
https://www.sietarusa.org/resources/documents/2009con_rbaumgarte_friends.pdf
- Bell Ross, R.B., & Faulkner, S.L. (1998). Hofstede's dimensions: An examination and critical analysis. In: K.S. Sitaram, & M.H. Prosser, (eds.), *Civic discourse: Multiculturalism, cultural diversity and Global Communication* (pp. 31-40). London: Ablex
- Berger, A.A. (2006). *50 Ways to Understand Communication: A Guided Tour of Key Ideas and Theorists in Communication, Media and Culture*. Retrieved from:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=ncUOnM3m-a8C&dq=fascination+otherness&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s
- Briers, M. (10 May 2018). *Gender-Swapped Drama Miss Sherlock Takes The Famous Sleuth To Modern-Day Tokyo*. Retrieved from: <https://wegotthiscovered.com/tv/miss-sherlock-hbo-2018/>
- Burt, K. (4 September 2018). *Miss Sherlock Review (Spoiler Free)*. Retrieved from:
<https://www.denofgeek.com/us/tv/hbo/276030/miss-sherlock-review>
- Castelló, E. (2009). The Nation as a Political Stage. *The International Communication Gazette*, 71, 303-320. doi:10.1177/1748048509102183
- Character. (2008). In *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Retrieved March 19 2019 from:
<http://www.oxfordreference.com.proxy.library.uu.nl/view/10.1093/acref/9780199208272.001.0001/acref-9780199208272-e-188#>
- Darwish, A-F., & Huber, G. (2003). Individualism vs Collectivism in Different Cultures: A cross-cultural study. *Intercultural Education*, 14, 47-56. Doi:
 10.1080/1467598032000044647

- Detective story. (2008). In *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Retried May 14 2019 from:
<https://www-oxfordreference-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/view/10.1093/acref/9780199208272.001.0001/acref-9780199208272-e-300?rkey=emMZUV&result=1>
- Doherty, R. & Cuesta, M. (27 September, 2012). Elementary [*Television series*]. In A. Bezahler, G. Hemwall, M. Owen and C. Cuddy. New York, United States: CBS Television Studios.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Focalization. (2008). In *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Retrieved from: <https://www-oxfordreference-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/view/10.1093/acref/9780199208272.001.0001/acref-9780199208272-e-467>
- Freeman Loftis, S. (2015). *Imagining autism : Fiction and stereotypes on the spectrum*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Gatiss, M., Moffat, S. & McGuigan, P. (5 June, 2011). Sherlock [*Television series*]. In S. Vertue and E. Cameron. London, United Kingdom: BBC.
- Greer, S. (2015). Queer (Mis)recognition in the BBC's Sherlock. *Adaptation*, 8, 50-67. Doi: 10.1093/adaptation/apu039
- Grinker, R., Daley, T.C., & Mandell, D. (2013). Culture and Autism. In: F.R. Volkmar (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of Autism Spectrum Disorders*. New York, NY: Springer. Doi: 10.1007/978-1-4419-1698-3
- Hale, M. (26 September 2012). *A Sherlock Holmes, Out of Rehab and Teaming Up With a Lady Watson*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/27/arts/television/elementary-starring-jonny-lee-miller-and-lucy-liu.html>
- Hall. E.T. (1959). *The silent language*. Garden City: Doubleday & Company.
- Hofstede, G. (1984). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Sage.

- Hofstede, G. (2011). Dimensionalizing Cultures: The Hofstede Model in Context. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2, 1-26. doi: 10.9707/2307-0919.1014.
- Hofstede, G., & Hofstede, G.J. (2004). *Cultures and Organizations: Software for the Mind*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Hofstede Insights (n.d.). Country Comparison: Japan. Retrieved April 2, 2019 from:
<https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country/japan/>
- Hofstede Insights (n.d.). Country Comparison: United States. Retrieved April 2, 2019 from:
<https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison/the-usa/>
- Hofstede Insights (n.d.). Country Comparison: United Kingdom. Retrieved April 2, 2019 from:
<https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison/the-uk/>
- Hofstede Insights (n.d.). Country Comparison: The United Kingdom and the United States. Retrieved April 2, 2019 from: <https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison/the-uk,the-usa/>
- Hofstede, G., Jonker, C., & Verwaart, T. (2008). Modeling Culture in Trade: Uncertainty Avoidance. *SpringSim '08*, 143-150. Retrieved from: <https://dl-acm-org.proxy.library.uu.nl/citation.cfm?id=1400567>
- Hofstede, G. & Soeters, J. (2002). Consensus Societies with Their Own Character: National Cultures in Japan and the Netherlands. *Comparative Sociology*, 1, 1-16. Doi: 10.1163/156913202317346728
- Hogan, J. (2005). Gender, Ethnicity and National Identity in Australian and Japanese Television Advertisements. *National Identities*, 7, 193-211. doi:10.1080/14608940500144104
- Hua, Z. (2014). *Exploring Intercultural Communication: Language in Action*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hutcheon, L., & O'Flynn, S. (2012). *A Theory of Adaptation* (2nd Ed). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hyberbole. (2008). In *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Retrieved from: <https://www-oxfordreference-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/view/10.1093/acref/9780199208272.001.0001/acref-9780199208272-e-567>

- Idiot savant. (2015). In *The Oxford Dictionary of Psychology*. Retrieved from: <https://www-oxfordreference-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/view/10.1093/acref/9780199657681.001.0001/acref-9780199657681-e-4033#>
- Internet Movie Database [IMDB]. (n.d). *Elementary*. Retrieved April 2, 2019, from: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2191671/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1
- Internet Movie Database [IMDB]. (n.d). *Sherlock*. Retrieved April 2, 2019, from: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1475582/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1
- Internet Movie Database [IMDB]. (n.d). *Miss Sherlock*. Retrieved April 2, 2019, from: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt7755494/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1
- Kalliny, M., & Gentry, L. (2007). Cultural Values Reflected in Arab and American Television Advertising. *Journal of Current Issues & Research in Advertising*, 29, 15-32, doi: 10.1080/10641734.2007.10505205
- Katan, D. (2014). *Translating Cultures: An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators*. Retrieved from: https://books.google.nl/books?id=OpK3AwAAQBAJ&dq=british+culture+modesty+and+understatement&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s
- Keishin Armstrong, J. (6 January 2016). *How Sherlock Holmes Changed the World*. Retrieved from: <http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20160106-how-sherlock-holmes-changed-the-world>
- Kingsberg, M. (2013). *Moral Nation: Modern Japan and Narcotics in Global History*. Retrieved from: https://books.google.nl/books?id=fcEBAgAAQBAJ&dq=kingsberg+2013+japan+drugs&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s
- Mallinger, M., & Rossy, G. (2003). Film as a Lens for Teaching Culture: Balancing Concepts, Ambiguity, and Paradox. *Journal of Management Education*, 27, 608-624. doi:10.1177/1052562903252642
- McCaw, N. (2011). *Adapting Detective Fiction: Crime, Englishness and the TV Detectives*. Retrieved from: https://books.google.nl/books?id=x0USBwAAQBAJ&dq=detective+television+series+adaptation&lr=&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s

- Meiosis. (2008). In *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Retrieved May 12 2019 from:
<https://www-oxfordreference-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/view/10.1093/acref/9780199208272.001.0001/acref-9780199208272-e-701?rskey=heKLP8&result=1>
- Merkin, R., & Ramadan, R. (2010). Facework in Syria and the United States: A cross-cultural comparison. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 34, 661-669. Doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2010.05.006
- Mönnink, I. de. (2000). *On the Move: The Mobility of Constituents in the English Noun Phrase: a Multi-Method Approach*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. Retrieved from:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=V18E401wLR4C&pg=PA31&dq=corpus+analysis+disadvantages&hl=nl&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=4#v=onepage&q=corpus%20analysis%20disadvantages&f=false
- Moran, A. (2009). *TV Formats Worldwide: Localizing Global Programs*. Bristol: Intellect Books Ltd.
- Mori, J. & Taki, Y., Matsuo, T. (27 April, 2018). Miss Sherlock [*Television series*]. In K. Murakami and N. Toishi. Singapore, Singapore: HBO Asia.
- Neurotypical. (2010). In *The Oxford Dictionary of English*. Retrieved from: https://www-oxfordreference-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/m_en_gb0997227?rskey=YQAPCN&result=2
- Pearson, R. (2015). A Case of Identity: *Sherlock, Elementary* and Their National Broadcasting Systems. In R. Pearson A.N. (Eds.). *Storytelling in the Media Convergence Age*. London: Palgrave Macmillen.
- Pennington, R. (2012). Mass Media content as cultural theory. *The Social Science Journal*, 49, 98-107. doi:10.1016/j.soscij.2011.08.004
- People with Autism for People without Autism. (2018). Autism Survival Handbook. Retrieved from:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=aUpxDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA26&dq=autism+direct+communication&hl=nl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjN3Im575viAhVBKFAKHRP_AcQQ6AEIMTAB#v=onepage&q=autism%20direct%20communication&f=false

- Plain, G. (2014). *Twentieth Century Crime Fiction: Gender, Sexuality and the Body*. Edinburgh, UK: Routledge.
- Point of view. (2008). In *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Retrieved from: <https://www-oxfordreference-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/view/10.1093/acref/9780199208272.001.0001/acref-9780199208272-e-895?rskey=n9jYmi&result=1>
- Porter, L. (2012) *Sherlock Holmes for the 21st Century: Essays on New Adaptations*. Retrieved from: https://books.google.nl/books?id=_hnMydl5ptQC&dq=sherlock+holmes+relationships+gay&lr=&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s
- Prior, M. (2004). Learning and Behavior Problems in Asperger Syndrome. Retrieved from: https://books.google.nl/books?id=rJWs3tgWb8wC&dq=recklessness+autism&lr=&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s
- Reisinger, Y. (2009). *International Tourism: Cultures and Behavior*. Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann. Doi: 10.1016/B978-0-7506-7897-1.00007-8
- Sanders, J. (2014). *Adaptation and appropriation*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Sherman, J. (2015). Source, Authority, and Audience in the BBC's *Merlin*. *Arthuriana*, 25, 82-100. Doi: 10.1353/art.2015.0004
- Soares, A.M., Farhangmehr, M., and Shoham, A. (2006). Hofstede's dimensions of culture in international marketing studies. *Journal of Business Research*, 60, 277-284. doi: 10.1016/j.jbusres.2006.10.018
- Sociopath. (2010) In *The Oxford Dictionary of English*. Retrieved May 2 2019 from: https://www-oxfordreference-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/m_en_gb0788500?rskey=OYY0Bt&result=3
- Spears, N., Lin, X., & Mowen, J. (2000). Time Orientation in the United States, China, and Mexico. *Journal of International Consumer Marketing*, 13, 57-75. Doi: 10.1300/J046v13n01_05
- Stein, L.E., & Busse, K. (2014). *Sherlock and Transmedia Fandom: Essays on the BBC Series*. Retrieved from:

https://books.google.nl/books?id=avstdxVIEsQC&dq=target+audience+demographics+sherlock+holmes&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Straubhaar, J. (2007). *World Television: From Global to Local*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stubbs, M. (1996). *Text and Corpus Analysis: Computer-assisted Studies of Language and Culture*. New Jersey: Blackwell.

Tayeb, M. (2013). Geert Hofstede. In M. Witzel & M. Warner (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Management Theorists*. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199585762.013.0019

Tickle, A., & Stott, B. (2010). Exploring Bullying with Adults with Autism and Asperger Syndrome: A Photocopiable Workbook. Retrieved from:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=SFISBQAAQBAJ&dq=arrogance+and+autism&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Trompenaars, F., & Hampden-Turner, C. (1997). Response to Geert Hofstede. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 21, 149-159. Doi: 10.1016/S0147-1767(96)00042-9

Woodbury-Smith, M. (2013). Asperger Syndrome. In: F.R. Volkmar (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of Autism Spectrum Disorders*. New York, NY: Springer. Doi: 10.1007/978-1-4419-1698-3

Wu, D., & Mao, S. (2011) Media discourses and cultural globalisation: a Chinese perspective. *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies*, 25, 1-6, Doi: 10.1080/02560046.2011.552202

Ziegahn, L. (2007). Critical Dialogue Around the Social Justice and Cultural Dimensions of Globalization. *Journal of Lifelong Learning*, 16, 1-15. Retrieved from:
<https://iup.edu/assets/0/347/349/4951/4977/10271/3379BFC9-F050-45F7-AD81-FD12D86EACD7.pdf>

Appendices

Appendix 1. Visuals Analysis

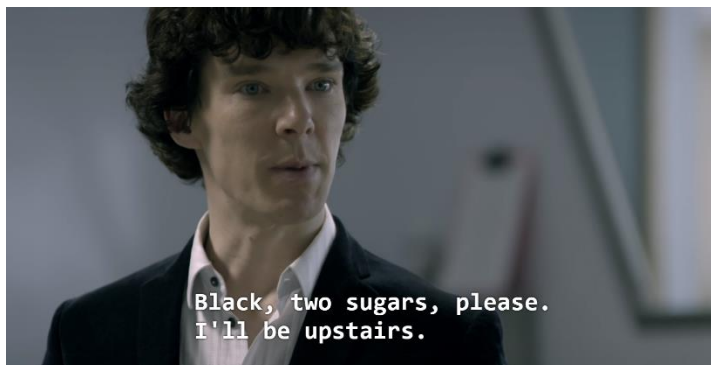


Photo 1: Sherlock misinterprets situation (A Study in Pink)



Photo 2: Sherlock highlights that he relies on himself (Reichenbach Fall)

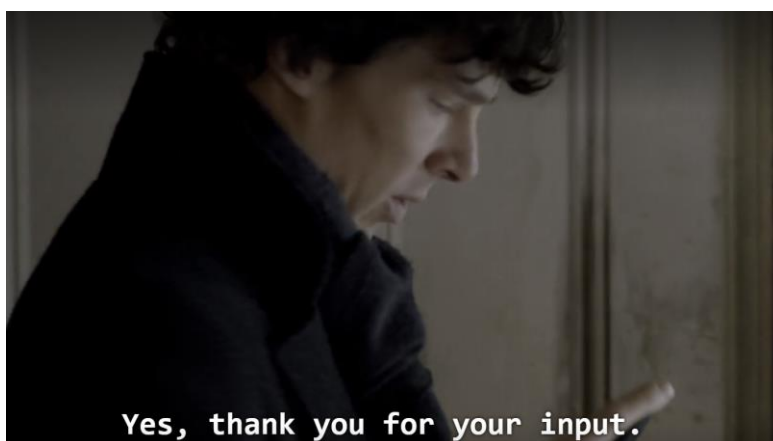


Photo 3: Sherlock insults detective Andersson (A Study in Pink)



Photo 4: Sherlock almost takes a pill which could be poisonous only to prove he is smart (A Study in Pink)



Photo 5: Sherlock does not behave according to the customs and does not bow (The First Case)

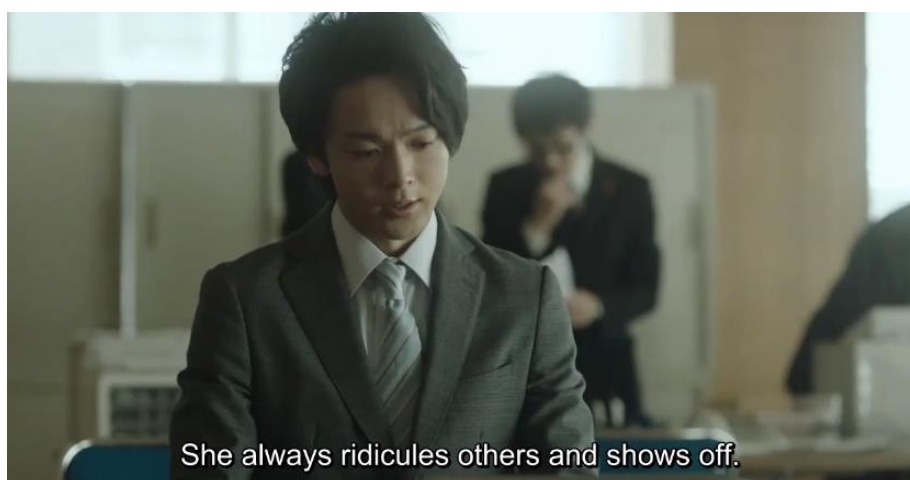


Photo 6: Sergeant Shibata refuses to work with Sherlock (The Dock)



Photo 7: Sherlock who cannot deal with stress and starts acting like a child when she is under pressure (The Dock)

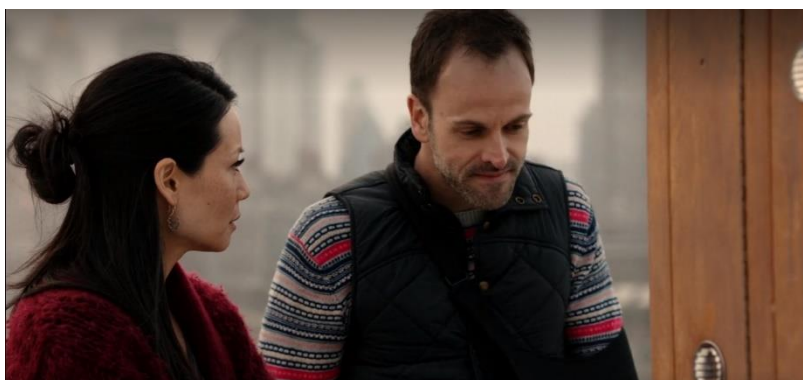


Photo 8: Sherlock is a bit shy when he tells Watson he named a bee after her (Heroine)



Photo 9: Sherlock feels that something off (Pilot episode)



Photo 10: Sherlock seems full of himself (Pilot episode)