The Misrepresentation of Representation: In Defense of Regional Storytelling in Netflix's *The New Legends of Monkey*

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The 2018 Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC Me), Television New Zealand (TVNZ), and Netflix's coproduction of the original series The New Legends of Monkey (2018) is a fantasy-based television series that reimagines Monkey (1978), a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) dubbing of the Japanese television series Saiyūki 西遊記. Saiyūki was an adaptation of the historically significant Chinese novel Xiyou ji (Wu Cheng'en, 1592), known in English as Journey to the West. Monkey gained a cult following in Australia, New Zealand, and other international markets leading to the 2018 reboot The New Legends of Monkey, which, unlike Monkey, was released in the United States (Flanagan). This new iteration prompted cultural confusion from those largely unfamiliar with the preceding series, the contexts in which it was introduced to English-speaking viewers in Australia and New Zealand, or the cult response that resulted. This article presents the recent series with this background in mind and within the context of locally produced television in New Zealand, where The New Legends of Monkey was filmed. Analysis of online discussions exposes the interpretive differences arising from this lack of context regarding the show's connection to Monkey and highlights the problems viewers face interpreting stories outside of their local production markets—an increasingly relevant problem as more regional productions become accessible to a wide range of audiences through transnational streaming services like Netflix.

The 2018 *The New Legends of Monkey* television adaptation, produced by and for the Australian and New Zealand markets and co-produced for international

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The Popular Culture Studies Journal, Vol. 8, No. 2.5 Copyright © 2020

streaming by Netflix, pays homage to and capitalizes on nostalgia for the 1970s BBC production of *Monkey* in these countries (Hausler; Nguyen "The New"; Ma). Rather than an adaptation of the Chinese novel, The New Legends of Monkey adapted the BBC television series *Monkey* from four decades prior, replicating for the Australian and New Zealand audience a transcultural product whose complexity evades easy explanation (Hausler). The 2018 Netflix release of *The New Legends* of Monkey introduced the series to audiences more familiar with other adaptations of the Chinese story Journey to the West, which led to controversy regarding The New Legends of Monkey and claims of "whitewashing" as the series appeared to ignore the Chinese roots of the tale despite the production incorporating a more gender and ethnically diverse cast (Hausler). This paper analyzes online articles and discussions about the two series, arguing that many of the accusations of whitewashing are situated within the dominant American discourse of racial politics and fail to recognize the historical intercultural and intertextual context of the production that was inspired by Monkey that itself has little to identify it as Chinese.

Monkey is best understood as the television adaptation that introduced the Chinese tale to British, New Zealand, and Australian audiences as fantasy productions rather than cultural artifacts. Without the religious, cultural, and historical knowledge that contextualizes the importance of Journey to the West to the cultural heritage of China (Geoghegan), Monkey was simply an amusing and entertaining series as foreign and abstract as other Japanese productions, such as Godzilla (1954). As an adaptive work, The New Legends of Monkey combines a distinctly Australian/New Zealand television production style with the story of the Monkey King that all but ignores the historical legacy of *Journey to the West* in favor of what the producers claim to be the universal themes. Michael Carrington, head of Children's television at ABC Television, a co-producer of The New Legends of Monkey, highlighted the universality of the story that "continues to captivate global audiences." He said, "We can't wait for fans to see this new series that features the heroes they love, and we are just as excited to introduce this reimagined magical and exciting world to a whole new generation of viewers" (Mitchell). Many of the online comments seemed confused about the New Zealand filmed series as well as the realities, constraints, and processes of local television production in an increasingly transnational media environment that has evolved in the twenty-first century as television has transitioned to include streaming services such as Netflix.

Literature Review

In examining the articulation between cult television and transnational discourse, this article contributes to an as yet relatively small body of research in this narrow subfield of cult media and transnational studies (see Tierney; Smith *Hollywood Meme*). While this article argues that *The New Legends of Monkey* is in fact a direct adaptation of another television work, namely the BBC's *Monkey*, rather than a literary source, the series is nonetheless an indirect adaptation of *Journey to the West* (Wu Cheng'en), a classical Chinese text from the Ming Dynasty that has attracted a substantial body of scholarship in both Chinese and European languages (see Hsia; Plaks; Yu, "To Literary Examples, "Religion"). This article contributes to the currently under-examined area of television adaptations of that enduring text.

Contemporary scholarly attention has focused primarily on literary adaptations of the novel rather than televisual. Cross-cultural reproduction is a staple of production media in general (Nicholas), with Journey to the West enjoying a large selection of adaptations, including multiple feature-length movies, television series, stage productions, video games, and print media. Notable examples include the China Central Television's (CCTV) 西遊記 Journey to the West (2000) and the feature film *The Forbidden Kingdom* (2008), starring Jet Li and Jackie Chan. Works in print include Aaron Shepherd's 2005 novel Monkey: A Superhero Tale of China, Monkey King by Patricia Chao (1998), the graphic novel American Born Chinese by Gene Luen Yang (2006), and the immensely popular Japanese Dragon Ball franchise (Burke; Mínguez-López). This recent Western scholarship addressing adaptations of *Journey to the West* and those specifically engaging with the character of the Monkey King have usually been completed in an American context, with Radovan Škultéty going so far as to claim the Monkey King mythology to be "a sovereign property of American Literature" (Škultéty 116). Likewise, Stephen Pearson argued that the "use of the Monkey tradition by American authors and in distinctly American contexts has the effect of naturalizing Monkey as an American myth" (Pearson 358). As contextualized by this literature, the 2018 series The New Legends of Monkey functions in a similar way in the Australian and New Zealand context by taking the story elements introduced in Monkey and recasting and culturally transplanting them in ways that make the Monkey King myths recognizable as Australian, British, and New Zealand rather

than Chinese artifacts. In this way, Monkey has entered the hearts and minds of a generation of New Zealand and Australian children through the late 1970s television adaptation *Monkey* that led to the 2018 nostalgic reboot *The New Legends of Monkey*, a trajectory largely disconnected from the original *Journey to the West* text.

Paralleling research on *Journey to the West* adaptations, much of the existing research on Netflix comes from an American perspective deeply rooted in discourses surrounding television and its relationship to the cultural and political history of the United States (Jenner). This academic and social media trend largely ignores, and in some cases is blind to, the fact that Netflix has integrated itself into local mediascapes around the globe, with subscribers in 190 countries (Smith "Netflix Statistics"). Netflix works within the existing media structures in each country, facilitating partnerships with local producers (such as the ABC and Television NZ) to produce content that is both widely appealing and locally relevant, particularly in these smaller markets. The approach has been hugely successful with audiences accessing a range of internationally produced content under Netflix originals (Jenner).

In addition to adaptation and new media studies, the reboot of the cult series Monkey necessitates recognition of fan and cult television studies. Cult television becomes a part of the experiences of the audience, producing additional meaning and knowledge (Le Guern 3). Matt Hills argues that it is necessary to consider cult status in relation to both fan and commercial distribution ("Transnational" 80). Ernest Mathijs and Jamie Sexton claim that cult cinema is transnational (Mathijs and Sexton 120). The willingness of audiences to embrace these shows is explained by Milly Buonanno, who theorizes that audiences bring their own national experience to the texts (89), a concept that echoes Edward Hall's suggestion that cultures interpret others through their own cultural understandings (63). Hall's theory likewise explains the naturalization of Journey to the West both into American society and into British and Oceanic societies. The rise of Netflix is accompanied by an increase in online social media, which has provided a space for transnational dialogue, bringing together fans otherwise separated by vast geographical distances and allowing transnational audiences to connect with one another (see Jenkins; Jenner; Smith Hollywood Meme). The increased prevalence of user-mediated content has allowed widespread dissemination of independent reviews and opinions that make moral and political claims on popular entertainment, included in the examples analyzed here, yet as Hall notes, these

interpretations are always mediated through the cultural assumptions of the individual.

Methodology and Data

This study draws on articles and the comments section of six separate media articles and one online focusing on the television series The New Legends of Monkey. The New Legends of Monkey was chosen due to the intertextual and intercultural nature of the adaptation and its international production collaboration as well as the attention it has garnered surrounding accusations of "whitewashing." The article forms a case study examining interpretations made by the general viewing population expressed through their comments in relation to representation in the series, particularly focused on interpretation of the series as an adaptive work and trans-Tasman production based on the BBC's 1978 series Monkey (Ma "ABC"). The articles used in this piece were those found on the first few pages of search results for the program's name. This approach was taken to ensure that the articles selected were those that the average person would likely find when conducting a similar search about the series.

The articles used are: "'It Has a Lot of Diverse Ethnicities:' Producers of New Legends Of Monkey Hit Back at Claims of 'Whitewashing' Cast for Reboot of Cult TV Show" by Stephen Bisset for Daily Mail Australia; "Netflix Remade a Classic Chinese Story with a Non-Chinese Cast" by Christopher Luu on Refinery29; "Why the Legend of Monkey Is Not Racist or 'Whitewashing'," an opinion piece by Jack Van Beynen on the New Zealand news site Stuff.co.nz; "The New Legends of Monkey Writer Responds to 'Whitewashing' Accusations" by Wenlei Ma on the Australian news website News.com.au; Diana Lodderhose's article on Yahoo entitled "See-Saw and Jump Team on 'Legends Of the Monkey' for Australia, Netflix"; Robert Mitchell's "See-Saw's 'Legend of the Monkey' Swings Into Production for ABC Australia, Netflix"; and finally, a forum thread on the popular online site reddit entitled "Anybody watching The New Legends of Monkey" (Spartacats, 2018).

The researcher used close reading techniques to uncover viewer engagement with the series and knowledge of the connection between the program and its predecessor *Monkey* and New Zealand where production took place. The researcher examined and coded a total of 188 comments to expose the various ways

commenters engaged with themes of representation arising from the online articles focusing on "whitewashing."

Results

The media articles examined here uncovered misunderstandings and presumptions about the series in the following areas: the relationship between the series and its predecessor *Monkey* and the original Chinese novel *Journey to the West*; a lack of knowledge about the region of production, particularly the distinction between the two separate countries of Australia and New Zealand involved in the project, along with their vastly different demographic, televisual, and colonial histories; and a hyperfocus on issues of representation and identity politics that privileges an American racial and televisual history and largely fails to address the unique heritages of Australia and New Zealand.

In the international context, much of the online discussion that engaged the theme of whitewashing appeared to come from American audiences. The online conversations revealed significant confusion surrounding the relationship between the new series and the BBC series *Monkey*, with many users unaware of *Monkey* and assuming the show was a direct adaptation of the *Journey to the West* novel. While many New Zealand and Australian viewers will recognize this ancient tale only through the BBC's 1978 series *Monkey*, which enjoyed repeat screenings on national broadcast television between 1981 and the late 1990s, with little to no knowledge of the Chinese origin of the tale, most commentators did not recognize this point. As Hanh Nguyen notes, "Mainstream American audiences may not be quite as familiar with the original tale as viewers in Australia, whence this new adaptation hails" ("Netflix's"), an error made here by the article writer rather than the commenters. The misattributed connection to the earlier text was considered a slight against Asians and suggests that audiences thought the series was an attempt to deliberately circumvent the Chinese-ness of the story.

The writer did not acknowledge that *The New Legends of Monkey* is based on a British production that used Japanese and not Chinese televisual material. As one commenter noted, "Asians get screwed on this stuff all the time" (Commenter 1). "Fuck no. This show took a legend that is incorporated into literally every Asian culture and did not include any Asians in it" (Commenter 2). Ironically, comments such as these highlight a cultural blindness and hypocrisy of some of the commenters, who themselves conflate Chinese culture with Asian identity, an

allegation leveled against the series because of the universal fantasy approach taken by the producers. Nguyen, who was remarking only on the series and not the response to it, including his own, stated that this approach is unfortunate because it "maintains the misconception that not only are all Asian cultures the same, but they're also random and indistinct" ("The New Legends of Monkey"). "The New Legends of Monkey" has instead created an entirely separate fantasy realm. It's one that's vaguely orientalist though, from the look of its wushu-esque martial arts and armor design to its religious trappings and incomprehensible writing" ("The New Legends of Monkey"). Nguyen, in this way fetishizes and appropriates a European focused but inauthentic Asian aesthetic in favor of a fictionalized fantasy universe that is said to be "exploring the universal themes of identity, family and destiny" (See-Saw-Films). "Thus, it's dressed itself up in Chinese inspiration but does so without having to actually acknowledge the Chinese" (Nguyen "Netflix's"), which reflects a lack of awareness of the series' obvious connection to Monkey, in which Asian cultural representation was garbled through the Japanese televisual product that was over dubbed by the BBC.

The problematic assumption that the series is an adaptation of *Journey to the* West while failing to account for the acknowledged connection to Monkey helps solidify a justification for the accusations of whitewashing that surrounded the series. Notably, two of the whitewashing articles followed previous media releases by Nguyen ("Netflix's") and Ma ("ABC") about the production of the series that highlighted the nostalgia of Australian and New Zealand fans for Monkey, as well as revealed the cast without revealing its ethnic makeup. Rather than a deliberate attempt at whitewashing, the apparent failure of The New Legends of Monkey is that it does not directly mimic the historic source of the story by incorporating ethnically Chinese actors, written language, or visual clues. However, the point largely overlooked by the commentators in deference to a hyperfocus on racial politics is that, as already noted, these cues were already absent from the show's source material, *Monkey*. The introduction of Chinese elements into a television program produced and acted in New Zealand would rightfully leave the series open to similarly racially charged allegations of exoticizing cultural difference by defining these cultures through a Western lens of Orientalism (Hills "Ringing"; Martin; Said). In this case, the term whitewashing has been substituted for the more nuanced issue of cultural recognition, specifically, Chinese representation, or perhaps simply Asian representation, yet by using the term whitewashing, these discussions

have introduced the concept of racial whiteness to an artifact that, in fact, has very little whiteness at all.

Craig Irvine, one of the series' writers and directors, defends the series by pointing out that "The cast is really diverse—more than half of them are non-European" (Bissett) and are instead from ethnic groups indigenous to the Pacific region. According to the perspective of those making the program, the mixed ethnicity cast is not heavily white and represents a mixed race cast of New Zealand and Australian actors. Irvine goes on to add, "When you see this, you'll see the world is incredibly varied" (Bissett). Irvine's remarks speak to the racial diversity concerns of New Zealand, ensuring the presence of indigenous actors, specifically those of Maori and Pacific Island descent, and leaves out of the discussion any connection to the story of *Journey to the West* directly addressing the concerns of liberal racial politics that are in this case in conflict with the equally valid representational concerns of the region of production.

The New Legends of Monkey portrays a distinct kind of New Zealand mainstream diversity. As one poster (Spartacats) wrote on the reddit thread observed, "This show is typical for Australian/New Zealand fantasy productions, a diverse cast that usually has quite a few Tongan and Maori actors" (Commenter 3). Claims of whitewashing in relation to the lack of Chinese actors in The New Legends of Monkey fail to take into account the demographic realities of the region. As an example, one poster commented, "I don't know why the casting is the way it is. I am sure there are plenty of Chinese actors in Australia and New Zealand. It is not like the series is full of stars or anything" (Commenter 4). New Zealand, also known as Aotearoa in the Maori language, the location for filming of The New Legends of Monkey, is a relatively small island nation in the South Pacific with a population of just under 4.8 million people (World Population Review). Aotearoa/New Zealand has a bicultural heritage of Maori and European. Only 163 thousand (Stats NZ) Chinese were recorded in the last New Zealand census, many of whom would fall outside the age range to make them viable actors for this series, without taking into regard that most of them are likely not actors. This relatively small number can be compared to the comparatively staggering Asian American population in the United States, making representation of Chinese and Asian actors a less achievable goal than in the United States. Given the demographic makeup, proportionally the series is in fact heavily Asian, if not specifically Chinese, a distinction argued earlier that the commentators could not themselves decide upon.

The absence of Asian actors on Australian and New Zealand screens is a problem under scrutiny in the region. Olivia Khoo argued that Asian identities were being sacrificed in favor of a homogenizing Australian identity. Benjamin Law has also written about the absence of Asian representation on Australian television, noting that a 2016 study by Screen Australia revealed that Australian television suffered from a lack of diversity across all sectors, with 80% of characters being able-bodied, heterosexual, and white. Similarly, Sonia Gray pointed out that New Zealand primetime is also lacking Asian representation: "If you're a male of North, South, East, West, in fact any Asian descent, your only TV appearance is likely to [be] on *Border Patrol*. And the representation of Asian females is only slightly better." New Zealand has increased television representation of Maori and Pacific Islanders since the 1990s, yet Asian New Zealanders still remain largely out of view. Recognizing that representative inclusion of Asian identities in Australian and New Zealand film and television is still developing, it should be acknowledged that this series goes far in increasing Asian representation on the small screen.

The unfortunate product of the online discussion highlighting the supposed whitewashing in the series was that many of the commenters minimized or failed to recognize the Asian actors who were present in the production. One *reddit* user broke it down like this, "And most everyone is white/New Zealander. Just from the first episode Luciaine Buchanan as Tripitaka, Tongan Heritage. Josh Thomson as Pigsy, Tongan Heritage. Rachel House as Monica, Maori heritage. Then a bunch of throwaway secondary characters, mostly played by folks of various Asian heritage" (Commenter 3). In addition to referring to the Asian actors as "throwaway characters," this particular breakdown of only the first episode is problematic in a number of ways: firstly, the poster conflates the distinct racial dynamics of Aotearoa/New Zealand, ignoring the diversity of race and heritage and the legacy of colonialism even while articulating the different races of the primary characters; secondly, the post is notable because of the absence of the title character Monkey, played by Chai Hansen of Thai-Australian descent. The variety of minor roles deemed as "throwaway characters" were filled with Asian actors, including Chinese New Zealand actor Tian Tan, "often regarded as something of a role model for Asian diaspora youth" (Tseng), who was overlooked by commentators on both sides of the argument. Neither Tan nor any other of the actors beside Hansen, including Daniel Sing, JJ Fong, and Min Kim, were identified by name in a single post examined in this piece, a reality that highlights the invisibility of the Asian cast even to those championing for their inclusion. The apparently culturally blind approach of casting a diverse set of actors inferred by Irvine's statement about the series' diversity misses the point of specific Chinese representation, but as Irvine rightfully highlighted, the series does well in presenting diversity that includes a proportional amount of Asian New Zealand and Australians.

In addition to confusion about the origins of the series and the demographic makeup, online discussions also evidenced a high level of confusion about the film and television contributions of each of the nations involved in the production. It was not uncommon to see posts that neglected to note New Zealand's involvement with the production at all despite the New Zealand dominant cast and that the filming took place in that country. Comments on the reddit thread included, "Good on Australia for making this!" (Commenter 5), and "It's Australian. It's by an Australian TV Network and Netflix has the rest of the world rights" (Commenter 6). Another poster also confused Australia and New Zealand when they used Hercules the Legendary Journeys (1998) as an example: "The style reminded me of Hercules. Then I saw it was an Aussie series so that explained a little" (Commenter 7). Hercules the Legendary Journeys (1998) was in fact an American production filmed in New Zealand starring American and New Zealand actors. The conflating of the two countries of Australia and New Zealand is yet another symptom of cultural blindness that is problematic by failing to recognize the cultures doing the adapting, this case, primarily New Zealand. Almost all the articles examined here neglected to acknowledge the nuances of the transcultural nature of the text. In this sense, it is narrow-sighted to criticize the lack of Chinese actors in a television series that is so complexly transcultural while ignoring for example, the Japanese origin of the source television series Monkey; the contributions of the Asian actors in the series or New Zealand's role in the latest production.

Conclusion

It is easy to draw on the ever-expanding literature on the experience of Asian Americans and Asian underrepresentation in Hollywood, American television, and television programming (Hamamoto; Ryan; Wang Yuen) as a way to make sense of cultural representation in *The New Legends of Monkey*, an approach I have deliberately not taken here. In terms of adaptation, audiences have privileged *Journey to the West*, also an adaptation, as the sole source of inspiration for adaptation, ignoring generations of storytelling practices reimagining narratives

both in China and globally. By focusing too heavily on rigid concepts of cultural authenticity to original sources, we do a disservice to the ongoing cultural interactions, as well as the unique heritages, histories, and postcolonial and intercultural relations, of Asians in Australia and New Zealand that undermine the distinctiveness of race and cultural relations in these countries. Focusing on American-centric racial politics fails to recognize the unique realities of underrepresentation, Sinophobia, and anti-Asian sentiment past and present in Australia and New Zealand as well as in other regions of the globe. Likewise, the two countries of Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand are separate and distinct and cannot be easily compacted into each; like the distinct Asian cultures, these countries have their own unique social, political, historical, and intercultural heritages that warrant recognition. In terms of Asian representation on the small screen, the most egregious issue uncovered in these discussions was the failure to recognize the valuable contributions of the Asian actors who participated in the series and the esteem they hold for Asian Australians and Asian New Zealanders, particularly youth.

As the world becomes increasingly connected through consumer media, while at the same time remaining regionally distinct and different, new issues arise around these multidimensional understandings. Even in the face of increased pressure for diversity and particularly minority representation in film and television, hegemonic positions based on population density and consumer power can influence the discussion in ways that may advance one representational agenda or position while ignoring others, including those they seek to champion. Despite the backlash and pressure for better representation of culture and diversity on screen, the endeavor of increasing representation is still in its infancy, and a consensus on how to reconcile these complex issues is far from resolved. The international release of this series on Netflix elicited a response to this failure but also fell short through its own failure to recognize the valuable contributions of the Asian actors in this series. Commenters also were ignorant to the cultural histories and geographic realities of New Zealand and its uniqueness as a country separate from Australia, often conflating the two or ignoring New Zealand as an entity at all. If public discourse has the power to persuade producers to make this change, it must first recognize and acknowledge the need and desire for this broad representation, which includes diverse communities that differ from those represented in the hegemonic American portrayals.

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