The Strange Case of the Animated Jekyll and the Online Hyde: a documentary study of Korean youth culture and identity

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The Strange Case of the Animated Jekyll and the ‘Online Hyde’:
A Documentary Study of Korean Youth Culture and Identity

by Man Ki Park

A Doctoral Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University
31 October 2014

Research Supervisor Professor Paul Wells,
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and the ‘Online Hyde’:

A Documentary Study of Korean Youth Culture and Identity

VOLUME 1
Abstract

Robert Louis Stevenson’s *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) is the starting point for my practice-led research project. Stevenson's Victorian novella enables me to identify core themes which are pertinent to a discussion of the construction of contemporary identities in Korean youth culture. These identities are exemplified in the creation of avatars – the virtual characters of animated online games such as ‘massively multiplayer online role-playing games’ (MMORPGs).

My animation practice is developed by addressing how *Jekyll and Hyde* provides useful critical and creative tools, such as gothic imagery and detective thrillers, for looking at ‘the double’. This concept is used to investigate the case of a young Korean boy, addicted to online gaming, who committed violent acts. My animated drama-documentary draws on research into the real and virtual Korean worlds and employs a visual ethnographic methodology to test my research question: in what ways can the construction of ‘identity’ (based on concepts drawn from *Jekyll and Hyde*) be identified in contemporary 'virtual' media (i.e. 'MMORPGs'/'the 'animated' documentary), and how does this facilitate an address of the specific case of 'Korea' and 'Korean-ness'?

The thesis is structured into five chapters: The Idea of *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, Theorising Identities in a Korean Context, Theorising Visual Ethnography, Theorising Animated Drama-Documentary, and A Film Practice as Animated Drama-Documentary in Visual Ethnography. Evidence of the research process and findings is located in a series of appendices. Theories about the construction of identity are discussed from three different perspectives: sociology, psychoanalysis and bio-culturalism. In my film practice, I look for the connection between the anxious self and Korean social issues, such as modernisation and the 1997 IMF economic crisis, to account for Korean youth’s identity formation through online gaming.

My research shows that many South Korean MMORPG users construct identity within contemporary ‘virtual’ media and that this contributes to a very
complex ‘Korean-ness’ amongst Korean youth. Online gaming has both positive and negative consequences. Immersion in the virtual world can lead to addiction and to the violence which is at the core of my film narrative. It can also result in close online friendships, offering kinship not available in many broken families, or families inhibited in their communication by social roles and expectations, or the effect of economic failure and loss.

My practice criticises young Korean people’s narrow and limited social environment and proves that they desire liberal expression and decision-making for themselves, which can be experienced through the embodiment of animated avatars in MMORPGs. Hence, the ‘online Hyde’, though assumed to be a negative or destructive force, is actually a vehicle for varied and numerous social identities for youth culture preferable to those available in real Korean society. The research mounts a critique of the meaning of the ‘online Hyde’, not as a misrepresentative and negative representation of Korean-ness, but as a revelation of its contemporary meaning which can be articulated through animation, a tool which has applications within visual ethnography.

**Keywords:** *Jekyll and Hyde*, Korean youth, Transformation, Online Hyde, Visual Ethnography, Animated Drama-Documentary, Korean-ness.
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Introduction

0.1 Research Background and Aims

My research is an investigation into the construction of identity, using Robert Louis Stevenson’s *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) as a thematic metaphor for the exploration of Korean identity (principally of young people) in the contemporary context. This thesis is based on practice-led research, and attempts to analyse and explore the relevant themes of the novel through practical work. My practice involves the creation of an animated ethnographic film that addresses the role of online gaming in Korea as part of a social infrastructure which helps construct the identity of young Korean people.

This investigation includes primary data – interviews with Korean online gamers (both as regular participants in ‘the real world’ and as avatars within a virtual game world) and academic experts – and secondary sources drawn from established literature on animation and cultural identity. I have also used participant observation, and have drawn upon my own role as a researcher to inform the fictional elements of my practice, playing the role of an investigator. I am using the idea of the ‘double’ or ‘doppelganger’ to inform my thematic and conceptual outlook.

In Korea, Stevenson’s text is of special significance because it is required reading in schools, and is seen as an important reflection on the human condition. This is largely because Korea sees itself as a divided society in a modern industrial economy, so it is through such a text that Koreans can address the psychology of behaviour and emotion.

A particular focus on ‘Korean-ness’ reveals that the construction of Korean identity can be seen within Korean online virtual worlds. As Pink (2001) found in her visual ethnographic research, the issue of identity has both been influenced by and had influence on social and cultural contexts in the real world, where agency and structure are enacted.
The purpose of my visual ethnographic research is to offer an understanding of Korean cultural and social contexts, which show how Korean identity has become intertwined with the rapid modernisation processes under Confucianism and capitalism. This is decoded in an animated ethnographic film, which seeks to imitate and reflect contemporary Korean culture. It is a reflexive work linking animated avatars to the notion of a constructed and artificial contemporary identity. My analysis looks at how identity is constructed amongst a group of Korean gamers (40 people), particularly utilising avatars in online (animated) games, especially massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs). This is Korea’s most popular new media genre, based on animation and communication technology.

I have used the everyday lives of gamers who participate as avatars within MMORPGs as the core subject of my analysis. The information is readily available in online game media and data (i.e. online footage of avatars and their gaming in real time), and acts as ‘footage’ to be used as part of the animated documentary to illustrate the practical context and execution of the games and the social practices of those participating in them. My aim is to develop and produce a new style of animated ethnographic documentary that will convey the core issues pertinent to Korean identity. It is very important, in the first instance, to explore the meaning of ‘animated documentary’. To do this I address specific media practices – for example, the performative documentary code defined by Nichols (Nichols 2001: 131) and re-purposed by Wells (Wells 1997: 40-45). It is hoped that this will enable ethnographic researchers and animators to re-define the idea of ‘documentary’ in the animated form when considering representation which speaks to both fiction and non-fiction, and has fictional and non-fictional elements.

This discussion aims to show how contemporary South Korean identity can be represented in an animated documentary film. My practice in this respect is a mixture of recorded online footage, self-created 2D hand drawings and 3D computer graphics. The primary audience for this animation will be those people who may have experienced online game immersion or addiction, especially teenagers and their parents. This project focuses particularly on ‘Korean-ness’ and ultimately suggests that youth culture is characterised by
the limitation or ‘in-animated-ness’ of identity in the Korean contemporary context. It presents the idea that online gaming ‘animates’ Korean identity, and suggests that these issues are best represented and revealed in animated form.

With regard to the issue of representation, the ethnographic reflexive approach is inevitably intertwined with the researcher’s subjective interpretation and representation. This may potentially result in the collected data being viewed as biased, both in visual rhetoric and written text. Nevertheless, Pink (2001) points out that the interpretive representation offered by the researcher/practitioner should be viewed as part of, and grounded in, social and cultural reality, and is useful in enabling the exploration of ‘the other’ from an internal participant’s perspective. This is also a way of presenting identities in other cultures which acknowledges a discourse of subjectivity, both in the participants and in the analysis afforded by the researcher (ibid: 22). Although it is impossible to measure and replicate the real world in all material forms, an animation has the capacity to produce meaning and knowledge in more symbolic and metaphorical forms, or by illustrating experience, advancing observation or recording ‘actuality’ in a more rhetorical or self-reflexive way (Wells 1998: 27-28). The nature of this ‘footage’ when applied to any situation works as an inherently reflective form, and as a model of interpretation in an ethnographic documentary film (ibid: 139-141; Chapman 2009: 115-117).

Honess Roe (2013: 3) emphasises that the animated documentary, as defined by Grierson (1933: 8) and Nichols (2001: xi), can achieve a reflexive and authentic documentary expression in terms of enhanced or self-conscious treatment of actuality as a means of interpretively representing the world (the non-fictional event; experience in the actual world) rather than the presumption that conventional documentaries should contain direct and absolute records of material reality itself ‘in front of the camera’. To this end, many animated documentaries are produced with visual imagery based on the real audio recording of interviewees as the indexical link to the real world (Nichols 1991: 149, Wells 1997: 41), whilst nevertheless enabling more freedom in visual interpretation.
These representational strategies available in animation function to make recognisable disembodied personal experience and also the unobservable or invisible reality that the ethnographer seeks to represent in order to provide socio-cultural meaning (Wells 1998: 4, 16 and 122). Simply, due its ability to visualise certain aspects that reveal issues – i.e. a specific ethnic (virtual) identity (Honess Roe 2013: 23) – animation provides an opportunity to present the world afresh, from an imaginative yet socially grounded perspective.

To facilitate this approach, I recorded gamers’ performances (i.e. a visual recording of gamers’ in-game activity) and verbal dialogues between the gamers and my own avatar (audio recordings) to secure personal narratives. Such interactive interviews between the ethnographer and the gaming subject help us to gain an understanding of the construction of identity in a local culture or world (Pink 2001: 124-125). For this, it is necessary to present authentic visual and written narratives by informants or interviewees in order best to apprehend this aspect of their experience and social performance (ibid: 130). It remains the case, of course, that themes and specific social categories will be defined and utilised by the ethnographer or researcher, since there is the necessity to organise and edit this video recording footage and the interview transcripts into a scenario for an authored animated documentary film. This means that the final animated practice is framed and selected by the researcher subjectively, partly based on a form of artistic self-expression that seeks to create work on the boundary between actual material reality and an animated ‘world’ in order to provide a clear representation of ethnographic knowledge (Kriger 2012: xiii; Pink 2001: 101).

By using interpretive and imaginative visuals from online sources, recording and capturing conversation from both online and offline interviews and demonstrating a clear awareness of social context, this creates a model of animated representation within the performative documentary model (Ward 2008: 194, 2011: 294-297). This particular approach recognises both the fictional metaphor in the story of Jekyll and Hyde (the self and its other) and the non-fictional imperatives of dual identity in society. The documentary allows for the self-conscious presentation of the self in direct relationship to a
known and chosen avatar. This becomes the primary data of the field-work, and operating as a mode of animated realism or documentation (achieved sometimes through collaborative research and visual ethnographies), it addresses particular issues of ‘Korean-ness’ as demonstrated by Korean game-players in a certain social and cultural milieu.

0.2 Research Questions

The Main Question

In what ways can the construction of ‘identity’ (based on concepts drawn from ‘Jekyll and Hyde’) be identified in contemporary ‘virtual’ media (i.e. ‘MMORPGs’ / the ‘animated’ documentary), and how does this facilitate an address of the specific case of ‘Korea’ and ‘Korean-ness’?

Robert Louis Stevenson’s *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) is a key text in Korea, distinguishing how identities are perceived and constructed; interestingly, the concepts derived from the novel are mapped onto a variety of different forms, explored in film, literary and cinematic cross-platform approaches. For example, the Korean film *Who are U?* (directed by Ho Choi, 2002) articulates the themes of duality and the obsession with concealing who one really is. The film exposes the construction of new avatar-identities through advanced immersive 3D computer graphics and online text chat services. At the same time, James Cameron’s *Avatar* (2009), an advance in immersive 3D cinema, plays out a number of binary themes corresponding to the Jekyll and Hyde metaphor – Jake’s ‘spirit’ seemingly separated from his body and finding a more ‘natural’ place in the Na’vi body; his conscious versus unconscious states; primal lifestyles and cultural roles; fact and fiction; moral archetypes of good and evil.

In comparison to the two films, however, what seems to be suggested by *Jekyll and Hyde* in terms of the double or split is actually far more fragmentary, with opposition and tension informing all aspects of experience, virtual and prosthetic experience as much as physical and material (Punter and Byron 2004: 228; Manovich 2002: 113-114).
*Avatar* is effectively about the core issues in my research. With the emergence of online virtual worlds and the advancement of computer animation effects in games, it is the user’s mental experience that makes it possible to see and touch such media products as *Second Life*. This is of primary importance in defining the concept of contemporary identity in relation to the ways in which humankind uses avatars and virtual forms. It also helps to support the analysis of how identities are constructed using creative digital technologies, especially as these are now commonly available to everyone.

Stevenson’s concepts are addressed through a range of theories including sociology, psychoanalysis and bio-culturalism, and tested in particular in relation to Korean identity in an animated film and in MMORPGs. The purpose of my practice, however, is to avoid offering simply another disciplinary perspective by taking a sociological approach. Rather, I am able to consider the development of an expanded and fundamentally social and collective approach to identity in contrast to individualist and psychological approaches.

Identity refers to that which makes, or is thought to make, something just what it is (Ferguson 2009). The core idea of self-identity in modern Western society may be expressed as the notion that self-identity is bound up with understanding the coherence of everyday life (Jenkins 2008). Self-identity is, therefore, both receptive and the active agency of experience and also the form of experience itself (Lawler 2008: 14). Self-identity is a social form, at both collective and individual levels (ibid). However, other approaches to grasping contemporary social reality are now required. In the past rapid flux in identity was not an easy thing to experience and instead identity was more centred, a core identity (Woodward 1997: 11-12).

People did, however, assume different social roles, which is one of the main concepts explored by Stevenson; this relates strongly to my experience of a particular kind of Korean culture in which people appear to assume a mask which represses their inner identity and desires. Korean people’s lifelong involvement with tradition, family, community and nation under Confucianism lends itself to control by an idea of the self and one’s own identity (Tudor 2012: 42). In the contemporary context, however, one can often identify the
split personality of ‘Jekyll and Hyde’. Postmodernism has further complicated this dualism by dissolving and fragmenting identity, setting it in a constant flux (Sennett 1998: 133). Interestingly, this has a greater impact on Korean identity due to the shift from tradition to a post-modern society happening faster than people are able to adjust their minds (Hong 2006: 191). This is revealed through Korean people’s adoption of Western culture, where they are unable to respond to their own identity, suggesting that they are in a constant state of flux (ibid: 314).

It is important to consider how we may think about identities as being socially produced, something which I am testing online and offline, to determine by what ways and through what means we can be said to achieve identity. Thus, my investigation is a way of understanding the everyday creation of avatar characters in Korean online worlds and the way in which such virtual practices can affect non-virtual, material existence.

Looking further, I address cross-platform methods, taking the concept of current avatar culture derived from Neal Stephenson’s science fiction novel *Snow Crash* (1992). I look to this within my practice with regard to Second Life or massive multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs) based on social networking services (SNS) in a contemporary context. It appears that some parts of Korean avatar culture are distinct from those of its Western counterpart, perhaps because Koreans are utilising it as an alternative means to break away from Korean serialised identity. The creation of various avatars online is used as a means of examining and testing Stevenson’s ideas in an attempt to explore the idea of a coherent self, set against the rigid social system based on a strong idea of Confucianism, capitalism and globalism. As stressed, the issue is not only related to the main idea about the double or split personality. An interesting idea which *Jekyll and Hyde* suggests is that identity is more fragmentary than the double or split personality. Conceptions of identity are moving away from the idea of the split personality and relating instead to a far more fragmentary division in personality whereby oppositions, including good and evil, which seem to be coherent become incoherent and problematised (Laclau 1990: 40).
With the advance of digital technologies in relation to computer animation such as three-dimensional animated films, games and internet, Korean users are able to transfer their desire easily into virtual forms through the creation of characters and new environments (such as virtual text), for example, *Second Life* and *Lineage 2*, in order to achieve a more flexible self (Guest 2008: 312-313). Turkle (1995: 261) notes that the essence of self is not unitary (nor are its parts stable entities) and that it is easy to move through multiple changes in order to achieve constant communication with each other. Turkle is highlighting a key issue in today’s society where postmodernism has created a shift in identity, which has become fragmented. This raises the issue of how one is able to assess or find coherence in an increasingly fragmented world, which is a multifaceted thing.

The practice also investigates the ways in which we recover coherence in such a fragmented or risky society (Beck 1992, 1999). In essence one of the ways to recover this coherence is to find paradigms that make life much simpler or to participate in cultures in which one is able to confront other people’s identities and find bonds on a much more niche basis.

### 0.3 Methodologies and Methods

This section briefly outlines the methodology and strategies in which theory and practice inform each other to obtain the data used for a visual ethnographic response and representation in animation. My research is led by the practice of documentary making, and works as a model of practice-led research. By documenting and theorising creative art practice, this operates as a form of research to explore the phenomena across different boundaries and without barriers. The problems and issues that are discovered in the topic generate ideas and thoughts which may be explored as a different form of inquiry, purpose and action when creating an art work in the service of the research process (Smith and Dean et. al., 2009: 49-50; Sullivan 2009: 102, 107).

I argue that visual artwork as research can reflect natural and social reality.
The creation of practice as the primary data method affords a reflexive process to create data or collect data-driven material derived from captured and recorded reality, and to provide meaning from a fresh perspective in response to new purposes and ways of being (Gray and Malins 2004: 98-108; Sullivan 2009: 101).

The purpose of this research is to contribute new knowledge and understanding using a visual ethnographic approach (an iterative inductive and cyclic process) with self-critical awareness, through the creative work of making a visual practice supported by critical research work (Smith and Dean et. al., 2009: 19-20). This is informed by a reciprocal relationship between the art practice and its written text using an interdisciplinary approach, contextualised through the adoption of other conceptual, cultural and theoretical perspectives that are socially situated and culturally relevant (Barrett and Bolt et. al., 2010: 2-7; Sullivan 2009: 7).

Unlike the traditional and existent research methodologies using numbers and words, visual art research has a multi-dimensional feature in its visual ethnographic aspect (Pink 2013[2001]). This offers not only new strategies and methods for investigating questions and problems and collecting data from everyday experience, but also new representational forms with which to visualise the information, based upon individual action and daily life. Eventually, it is hoped, this will illuminate in the appropriate context the thoughts and feelings of agents and the related social structure, which may need critique and change (Sullivan 2009: 195; Pink 2013[2001]: 26-27).

To synthesise and integrate this material, it is necessary to conduct a contextual review, address the terms of the concepts of *Jekyll and Hyde*, adapt this into visual art research, visualise the issue and problem, the data, the information, etc., as this will play a crucial role in effectively embodying and enacting the research process. It may show evidence drawn from primary or original data and reflect interpretation, analysis and a conclusion with the outcome of an ethnographic film text, using relevant iconography and symbolic codes (Fry 2008: 3-4, quoted in Sullivan 2009: 194). This means that visual art research as a model of visual ethnography could represent the
quality of real data and an observation of reality adapted to a new way of seeing and understanding (Pink 2013[2001]: 8; Boellstorff and Pearce et. al, 2012: 168-169).

This outcome may test and apply existing knowledge to address a past idea or concept with new possibilities and further change a position to allow for alternative interpretation as a result of how practice and theory are creatively interwoven.

Methodologically, this research involves two different approaches: 1) the primary data: the field work including the interviews (informal and formal); field notes; ethnographic observations and participation in the creation or collection of data (visual and verbal texts) through online and offline practices; and 2) the secondary data: the contextual reviews including the literature review; the case study; and the comparison with previous film texts, all drawn from the concepts of Jekyll and Hyde.

0.3.1 The Primary Data

Participant Observation and Interview in an Ethnographic Field

The field research for this study was conducted through online and offline practice, creating and gathering the primary data for visual ethnography using the original verbal-visual texts. The secondary data was gathered through contextual review, such as a literature review, case study and comparison with the previous film text or art works.

The process of collecting ‘primary data’ through online and offline practice (participant observation and interview in an ethnographic field) is very important as it enables an immersion in Korean online game culture to help understand its relation with everyday life offline at home, at school, or in work places in the social context of South Korea. Over about 13 months, the interview process and participant observation progressed using multiple data gathering methods, from online animated games to working in ‘PC bang’ (a personal computer room), to interviewees’ offices and places of residence for
formal in-depth interviews, and using a ‘snowball’ sampling in which researchers are naturally and accidentally introduced to and meet up with other interviewees (Bryman 2004: 304). As explained in Bryman’s Social Research Methods (2004: 301, 320 and 326), this interview and participant observation is conducted to enable personal participation. In a given field, such as online game communities, it is a method of naturally gaining rapport and credence with various game users and experts. It functions in the following ways:

The Formulation of Participant Observation (Online and Offline)

1) Non-Participant Observer
2) Non-Observing Participant
3) Participant Observation
4) Informal interview with other players
5) Capturing interviews and animated footage, and analysing the collected data (Concerning ethical issues, captured interviews do not expose gamers' real faces and private information. Consent was sought to use their voices in making animated interviews)

The Formulation of Interviews (Online and Offline)

1) Research Issue and Topic Guide
2) General Interview Questions → (identify novel issues)
3) Specific Interview Questions → (identify novel issues)
4) Review/Revise Interview Questions
5) Informal / Formal / In-depth formal using (flexible) semi-structured interviewing

The informal and formal in-depth interview was one of the key aspects of field
research for this study, and was conducted using an ethnographic approach to understand how Korean online game players (aged from 10 to 40) construct their own identity based on their personal interest in virtual world narratives during a 1 year period from November 2010 to December 2011 in Seoul, South Korea. Also, in the real, physical world, a 3-month short term fieldwork practice (observation, participation and interview) as offline research was also conducted. Accordingly, through online and offline practices (including informal and formal interviews), I met interviewees: 40 gamers from the 6 most popular MMORPGs, their game communities and different PC bangs (personal computer game rooms for Internet use and online games as a leisure activity) from 10 towns in the centre of Seoul city, such as Gang-nam (the south part of Seoul) and Gang-buk (the north part of Seoul). I also met with another group of interviewees: 10 game experts at the Korean Internet Addiction Protection Centre, both at their offices and at game companies. This made a total of 50 interviewees drawn from the pool of game users and game experts. In this case, with regard to ethical considerations, all of the gamers agreed to give an interview on condition of anonymity. Their recorded interview footage does not reveal their own personal information and I am allowed to use only recorded voices, maintaining the anonymity.

To access the proper sample by online and offline practice after the online pilot study, I referred to the game communities on the web and participated in most Korean popular virtual game worlds, not only so that I could rely on the snowball effect, but also to achieve purposive sampling in offline practice in order to target and find appropriate online game experts. Their publications and information in news media were used to select the experts group from the Internet Addiction Centre run by the Korean government, from universities and from online games companies. At the same time, the gamers group included participation by real gamers in the game communities and the Internet Addiction Centre. These gamers voluntarily participated with in-depth offline interviews after I had explained the purpose and process of my research.

To create the primary data, firstly a pilot study drawn from online sources was conducted to access the Korean communities of Second Life (game by Linden Lab, 2003) in order to find out the features of Korean online game users (in
contrast to Western gamers); the purpose of game utilisation and game users' personal narratives were then related to the double identity issue based on the concept of *Jekyll and Hyde*. From the very beginning of the pilot study on the *Second Life* game, I realized that many Korean users prefer to play and utilise MMORPGs rather than other game genres such as *Second Life*, so I created avatars to access popular Korean MMORPGs such as *Mabinogi* (created by Nexon, 2004). Two different online pilot studies were carried out by mainly informal interviews, containing open-ended and flexible questions (such as a free conversation about identity in daily routines). This was an attempt to undertake an ongoing process of practice participation and observation to gain rapport and deep affinity with the participants and general information as to their Korean-ness. This activity formed the basis of the in-depth formal interview criteria and the rigorously structured questionnaires (see appendix A and B) for other different avatars (online) in other popular MMORPGs in South Korea and for game users (offline) and game experts (offline).

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<td>Lineage 2</td>
<td>World of Warcraft (WOW)</td>
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<td>Mabinogi</td>
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Table 1. The interview criteria from Appendix A
0.3.2 The Secondary Data

Secondary data theorises and contextualises the written work, and draws upon a literature review. This is introduced in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. In Chapter 2, it references the construction of identity from three different perspectives, sociological, psychoanalytical, and bio-cultural, using the theories of Mead, Goffman, Giddens, Freud, Lacan, Zizek, Dawkins and Grodal.


*Coming of age in Second Life* (2008) by Boellstorff and *Ethnography and Virtual World* (Boellstorff and Pearce et. al, 2012) introduce ethnographic research methods and their main features in virtual worlds through creating avatars in Second Life (as virtual worlds). They offer examples of virtual world research methods which are applied to my visual practice, using records of avatar-based interviews and participant observation in Korean MMORPGs in relation to visual ethnography and virtual worlds. This idea will interrogate how these recorded auto-created animations of online practices can be engaged with animated documentaries in visual ethnography in virtual and real worlds, compared with self-created animation in a non-fiction context.

In Chapter 4, literature on the theory of animation is discussed to determine animation's own distinctive language, function, orthodoxy and new possibilities in the areas of online media and animated documentary. Primary reference is made to Paul Wells's publications *Understanding Animation*
(1998) and Re-Imagining Animation: The Changing Face of the Moving Image (2008), and Maureen Furniss's Art in Motion: Animation Aesthetics (1998) and The Animation Bible: A Guide to Everything from Flipbooks to Flash (2008). Significantly, Wells and Furniss mention that animation can be essentially defined as a continuum or the creation of movement which takes place frame by frame in order to give life or soul to the in-animate. This animation principle can be projected into film and considered in relation to the issue of representation between configuration or mimesis (as orthodox animation) and abstraction (as experimental animation), in terms of the transformation of reality (Wells 1998: 36 and Furniss 1998: 6-7).

Although some theories and theorists are selectively introduced as the main core of the argument, this study also attempts to look for related references and theories, including post-modern approaches, which more readily speak to the integration of primary and secondary data when we re-consider the issue of Korean identity and link this with animation in a documentary. Hence, analysing this data incorporates and addresses questions raised about the construction of online identity (e.g. an animated online Hyde), based on the concept of Jekyll and Hyde, translating this into visual representation in the final animated practice.

0.3.3 Animated Ethnographic Documentary Film as a Final Visual Practice

The construction of an animated documentary required looking at Korean avatars online and determining how the recorded footage and interview dialogue as ethnographic research methods could be constructed into a fictional or dramatic narrative based on real/historical events (e.g. a murder committed by a boy) with a focus on the construction of Korean identity.

Wells contends (1998: 28; 2008: 69) that animated documentary is able to act self-reflexively upon the way in which online avatars are behaving or revealing themselves, with the intention of testing two key issues: how the themes of Jekyll and Hyde are going to play out generally, but also how they will play out
in relation to some kind of idea of Korean-ness, representing the case of a tragic real murder committed by a now-dead boy.

According to Wells (1998: 36), one capability of animation specific to experimental animation involves its multiple styles and the presence of the artist, but this kind of experimentation can be applied to relative realism or a non-fictional context, and may be utilised and reconciled in the documentary mode to carry an animator’s intention to address personal or socio-political issues. Wells also notes that animated documentaries interrogate the construction of reality, and reveal intrinsic truths through the use of animation as a subjective rhetorical tool (ibid: 28).

This suggests that animation can represent ethnographic knowledge and meaning as a partial or incomplete truth in a documentary in order to address the main question about the issue of contemporary construction of identity of young Korean people in ethnography. Pink (2013[2001]: 35) also alludes to the possibility that an ethnographic truth can be representing through animated visual practice (as virtual and real world practices), both by the participant researcher and the researched as informants or interviewees. This approach will support my own research into interpretations of the Korean animated online (Edward) Hyde compared with the original version of *Jekyll and Hyde* in the contemporary era.
Figure 1. The map of my practice-led research
0.4 The Scope of the Thesis

This thesis can be summarised as follows;

Chapter 1 focuses on the idea of Jekyll and Hyde, and provides a sustained discussion of how Stevenson's Hyde resonates with animated online gamers in modern Korean society. I consider Stevenson's main theme of self-reproduction by sudden social change (e.g. modernisation) and social fears as the principal features of his gothic fiction. His ideas on gothic imagery, surreal tone and sound are adapted in my drama-documentary to depict or reconstruct a real murder committed by a Korean boy. Stevenson's double or dual identity is linked to the role of avatars and usage of online games in the particular context of Korea. This explains self-repression and anxieties among Korean users during the 1997 IMF crisis in relation to reliance on fantasy novels and the emergence of online game industries.

Chapter 2 provides an overall theory of construction of self-identity for understanding the specific case of Korean identity among young Korean people in Korean MMORPGs, compared with their real life in real society. For this, identity theories are explored from three different perspectives: sociological, psychoanalytical and bio-cultural. This provides an exploration of the issues of gaming culture and online identity in a Korean context (e.g. lack or emptiness of subjectivity in the real Korean social or domestic system). This helps us to understand how young Korean people become an 'animated online Hyde' and why they need imaginary ideal characters and antisocial fantasies, which in turn helps us to contend with gaming addiction or immersion.

Chapters 3 discusses visual ethnography, from the early features of ethnographic documentary films to animated documentaries online, in terms of visual practices in ethnography in a post-positivist approach. This explains how ethnographic online practice can be engaged with animation in visual ethnography in virtual and real worlds through records of interviews and participant observation. Thus, this animated visual practice is used to articulate a specific Korean gaming culture and online identity in a Korean socio-cultural context, through my use of a dead boy's case as ethnographic
information visualised by presenting myself in a piece of animation in a subjectively-reflexive way.

Chapter 4 explores the concept of 'documentary - fiction' from Rouch's subjective intrusion (e.g. docu-fiction or science fiction) to Nichols's dramatic re-enactments and drama-documentary by Roscoe and Hight on (ethnographic) documentary film in visual ethnography. This chapter identifies how this concept influences my animated practices in terms of drama, or dramatisation – documentary as visual ethnographic multi-media in a post-positivist approach. This explains how animated documentary can be a practice-research tool to represent ethnographic knowledge and findings.

Chapter 5 discusses the conceptual issue of final practical representation and offers an evaluation, adapting the meaning of Korean animated online identity from Stevenson's Hyde in his gothic fiction. My final film practice consists of three sections, explaining my ethnographic research data through animated representation in a drama-documentary.
Chapter 1: The Idea of *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*

1.1 Introduction

My film practice, *Jekyll's Letter* (2014), represents or reconstructs a real murder by an online game addict – a young Korean boy, who functions as a metaphor for the construction of the evil online Edward Hyde, created by Robert Louise Stevenson as an example of double identity.

The idea of a split identity or *doppelganger* articulated through *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* enabled me to use a literary source I already knew, and to adapt it to respond to my research question: “In what ways can the construction of ‘identity’ (based on concepts drawn from Jekyll and Hyde) be identified in contemporary ‘virtual’ media (i.e. MMORPGs/the animated documentary), and how does this facilitate analysis of the specific case of ‘Korea’ and ‘Korean-ness’?” It is first necessary to briefly introduce a synopsis of the original Jekyll and Hyde with comments about the 19th century Victorian novella genre.

First, let me give a brief synopsis of Jekyll and Hyde is as follows. Dr Henry Jekyll is a well-respected physician and chemist. His friend, Gabriel Utterson, is his lawyer. Another colleague, Dr Hastie Lanyon, is a scientist. The three main characters each contribute to the narrative from three different viewpoints or perspectives, to carry out three different sub-plots that are united in one central-plot. The plot revolves around incidents involving the respectable Dr Jekyll and the ugly and violent Edward Hyde, who tramples on a young girl and murders the elderly Sir Danvers Carew. The final narrative ultimately reveals the real identity of Dr Jekyll and his permanent transformation into Edward Hyde after Hyde’s death. The threads of the story are brought together in the last chapter, when Dr Lanyon’s narrative reveals Jekyll's secret about specific drugs and their power to transform him into Jekyll or Hyde.

My film project takes a plotline of the original text, where an urgent letter is sent by Dr Jekyll to Mr Utterson, and adapts this as its starting point. In my story, the letter is sent to his South Korean research colleague, Mr Park...
Dr Jekyll asks me to investigate the tragic murder of a young Korean boy. A young Korean boy killed his mother and then killed himself, as a result of playing online games. This actually happened in real life on the 16th November 2010, in South Korea. For this reason, the investigator moves to South Korea and attempts to reveal the issues underlying the incident.

In order to explore how Korean youth construct identity and culture, my film uses content-based dramatization and narrative-concepts from the original *Jekyll and Hyde* story. It is also influenced by the gothic style or genre of Stevenson's Victorian novella, written in nineteenth century Britain. In this chapter, working with the ‘idea’ of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, I explain why the Victorian novella is widely known in South Korea and how it offered ways of structuring my animated documentary and contributing to social ethnographic research. I also identify the anxious or depressed self, in terms of an ‘identity panic’, in Stevenson's 19th century Britain, which is comparable to the contemporary Korean socio-economic situation. This panic or conflict is linked to the dual or double identity of many Korean gamers (e.g. Jekyll) and their own created virtual avatars (e.g. Hyde) in online games. My animated practice investigates the connection between the fictional Jekyll and Hyde and a real young Korean boy, which relates the fin-de-siècle viewpoint of the Victorian era and Korean modernization, including the 1997 IMF crisis. My animation engages with social ethnography, presenting transformations into Hyde (as vicious acts and the following suicide) in a Korean contemporary context.

1.2 The Genre of the 19th Century Victorian Novella

Due to the dramatic technological advances of the Industrial Revolution, machines such as looms and steam-engines enabled mass-production in factories (Shea and Whitla 2014: 5). Humans were also used or driven like parts of machines, and seen as expendable. The French Revolution also had a significant impact on the political thinking of the eighteenth century Romantic movement in British literature, especially on poets such as Robert Burns, Walter Scott and William Blake (Chandler 2009: 1-3). This initial Romanticism (1798–1837) was mainly related to the political economy,
produced by the Scottish Enlightenment, which emphasized ‘the natural processes that bring humans and their environments into reciprocal relations’ (Gallagher 2009: 71; Siskin 2009: 102). In respect of this, Romanticism can be seen in part as a reaction to the Industrial Revolution. As Adorno and Horkheimer (1944) pointed out later, Romanticism can be seen a revolt against the aristocratic social and political norms of the age of Enlightenment (Siskin 2009: 101). This movement, the Enlightenment, was also a reaction against the scientific rationalization of nature. Later, in the Victorian era (1837–1901), the Romantic movement – under the idea of the Enlightenment – continued to influence nineteenth-century Victorian literature, in a number of different genres (Chandler 2009: 3-4). This was also a result of technological advances in printing, improved economics of distribution and the rising number of women authors and readers (ibid).

These elements played an important role in the rise of literacy and encouraged the development of different genres such as the Romantic-historical novel, the Manners novel and the Realistic-social novel (Stewart 1996). Historical novelists of romantic tendencies relied on the growing knowledge of real or historical events for abundant narratives and turned to materials from other peoples and cultures. Manner-novelists paid attention to ordinary people’s daily lives, engaging with industry, the church or religion and politics, which had previously been neglected in favour of illuminating the lives of the middle or aristocratic classes. This expanded the subject matter of novels. Social-realistic novelists explored the economic issues of the day and the conflict between traditional beliefs and scientific skepticism.

1.3 The Redefinition of Jekyll and Hyde in a Korean Contemporary Context

I am particularly interested in the style and role of gothic fiction, such as Robert Louis Stevenson’s Jekyll and Hyde, as representative of a sector of Victorian literature. In regard to this, it is necessary to explain why novellas from this period are well-known in South Korea and how they relate to Korean online gaming culture and online identity. This helps to redefine the core theme of Jekyll and Hyde in a Korean contemporary context, and to study
young Korean youth identity and culture in the virtual and real Korean context.

Stevenson's novel, *Jekyll and Hyde* is a widely read piece of classical fiction in Korea, and many young people recognize it as a symbol of the duplicity or duality of human existence. It appeals to the Korean reader as evidence of the depressed or panicked self, positioned against a highly developed material power by urgent modernization. This novel's theme is widely introduced in Korean elementary schools and has permeated Korean popular culture, influencing television drama, cartoons and movies with a horror/gothic theme, especially when depicting individuals' psychological or emotional anxieties, fluctuations, unconsciousness and schizophrenia.

There are no specific surveys or statistics investigating the reason why the translated version is so broadly read and well-known among many Korean people. However, I argue that this is linked to the speed of Korean modernization, after the Korean War (1953), which quickly accepted the Western capitalistic system and industrialization in order to revive the nation. In this process, Western philosophy or ideology, culture and technology led to an inevitable modernization similar to the Enlightenment in the West. Although it brought economic success in terms of a short-term improvement, many Koreans suffered from symptoms of anomy and mental conflict, and a form of confusion as a sort of identity panic (Chang and Park 2011). This fast change or shift in social and capital circumstances also caused the decline of traditional belief or faith, which emphasized humanity and nature (Houston 2005: 3; Gallagher 2009: 73).

Under capitalist utilitarianism, many Koreans fell into a form of consequentialism — minimum loss and maximum gain or benefit, which treats them as parts of a machine of mass-production, which can be easily replaced by other machine components. Korean society, as a form of group agency, became obsessed with material power and economic gain. However, Korean people as social members or individuals could not properly adjust or recognize this incongruent shift or transformation between rapid modernization, such as technological advance and the development of the modern social system in relation to globalism and capitalism and human-
nature. This led to an unexpected external force that had psychological implications in terms of producing a double when constructing one's own self-identity in this new environment. For instance, many young Korean youths were forced to compete with each other for high-ranking schools or universities and jobs in large global companies.

This rapid modernization has parallels with the Victorian age: aristocratic social and political-economic situations as outer elements and a mental one – identity panic – as the inner. After the 1997 IMF, Korea faced an economic crisis that led to financial pressure, fluctuation, and psychological anxiety and depression. Significantly, Houston (2005: 94) states that Stevenson's writing reflected his personal instability and financial derangement, and also implies a sort of identity fluctuation in the age of science and capital. For this reason, Stevenson' writing appeals to many Koreans who have experienced the psychological implications of the double and are keen on the physical transformation of one being into another. This both deals with and offers a form of escapism by the power of the imagination: the ideal figure of identity – the virtual body and a personal narrative in asocial fantasy contents, from novels to dramas in Korea. Stevenson' Jekyll and Hyde provides people with a sort of proxy satisfaction through the transformation into Hyde in anti-social fiction. This means that they are able to virtually transform or represent another version of Hyde who can express or reveal their own suppressed feelings and thoughts, and even violent behaviours or actions, which are simply not allowed in real society.

Houston (2005: 1) argues that 'Gothic tropes register, manage, and assess the intense panic produced and elided by the unstable Victorian economy'. He (2005: 1) also notes, 'it is no coincidence that fiction became the most popular genre at the same time that capitalism's construction of reality required that a new discourse be developed around the economy'. This helps to explain the above connection, which I deal with in my animation. My film implies a sort of identity panic that causes the occurrence of a vicious deed in the real Korean socio-economic context. This idea of transformation allows me to use the original concept of Jekyll and Hyde (in the Victorian era) as the initial source idea, taking the above structural device and using it as a metaphor to create
my animated film. My visual practice explores the particular case of South Korean youth gaming culture and virtual online identities.

1.3.1 Transformations into Hyde, in terms of Ideal Identity

Stevenson continuously asked himself about the issue of self-identity and its construction through the imaginative transformations he depicted between Jekyll and Hyde, which are relevant to questions of dual identity. He also explored how this issue was influenced by internal factors, such as (self) anxiety and fear of degeneration, or external ones, such as progressive modernization.

The Korean boy-murderer in my animation seems very ordinary, but he is addicted to online games. He often has arguments with his mother, who tries to stop him playing. Hyde and the young Korean boy killed people, but after the tragic murders, they felt guilty and killed themselves as acts of penance or atonement. They confessed their concerns, confusions and evil actions in a letter as their last message. This means, since they remained responsible for their last letters in the end, both Jekyll and the Korean boy were aware of their processes of transformation and of what they had done: the result of their violent behaviour after the metamorphosis.

At this point I wonder, like Stevenson, how this kind of transformation can be linked to an identity panic and a new environment, especially in relation to the double or doppelganger as a sort of self-reproduction, and whether or not it is influenced by external forces or the social circumstances that surround the anxious self.

Hogle (1988: 167) notes that Jekyll and Hyde might display Marxist ideas, due to the widespread social change resulting from a rapid economic shift during the late 18th and 19th centuries (in the Victorian era). Accordingly, he points to individuals' concerns, including Jekyll's about a coherent or unified self-image amid the sudden socio-economic change, and the conflict or alienation of the human subject.

Significantly, Punter and Byron (2004: 20) note that fast changes in the socio-
economic pattern related to the power of modernization under the automata system of industrialization and technological rationalism in modern Britain. Botting (1996: 14) points out that Gothic fictions echo concerns about 'the limits, effects and power of representation in the formation of identities, realities and intuitions' (in processes of modernization). In this respect, the circumstances are very similar to that of Korea under its own modernization in terms of the Confucianism and capitalism (Park 2011). I contend that this might have affected the construction of the Korean youth's online identity and gaming culture, and the particular case of a Korean boy's murder on which I focus in my film practice.

Hence, the issue of online identity and game-culture formation is intrinsic to my film practice, which is an adaptation of Stevenson's main concerns or theme using his own narrative concepts. I use these to redefine and reconstruct a Korean boy's tragic murder and the actual events that happened to a boy addicted to online gaming, in relation to his fears or anxieties, engaging with Korean socio-economic change and modernization.

1.3.2 Anxieties about Modern Technologies or Modernization and Self-reproduction in Gothic Fiction

Reid (2009) states that *Jekyll and Hyde* directly reflects the concerns of Robert Louis Stevenson's era, being written at the end of Victorian period when there were issues of apprehension and anxiety about inevitable technological progress. New evolutionary thought and external shifts throughout the process of modernization obviously affected Stevenson's writing of *Jekyll and Hyde*, where the idea of 'the self' is thought in terms of being repressed.

Grodal (2009: 110) also states that representations such as Hyde, considered in terms of the *doppelganger* or double identity, can be seen as a kind of cultural evolution in human beings' mental or psychological states, towards the survival and reproduction of self. Wells (2000: 9) explains that this doubling is relevant to self-reproduction, creating an alter ego in order to protect oneself against fundamental fears and anxieties about the relationship
between the self and the external world.

Accordingly, antisocial fictional horror and fantasy has culturally (re)produced troubling, contradictory, and unexpected sub-texts of sudden social change (Wells 2000: 10-11). This is because the fictional text can depict non-physical matter and invisible emotion in terms of the depression of the self in particular circumstances or contexts. For this reason, it is useful to explore Stevenson’s approach to repression and anxiety by looking at his era or background.

These anxieties about the ascent of modernity in the late Victorian era are relevant to fin-de-siècle Europe in the 1880s and 1890s and are represented in Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, which alludes to 'mental disintegration' with 'physical or biological science'. This is narrated through Hyde's creation, Jekyll's invented medicine, and drugs (Hughes 2012: 188-189). Stevenson's writing not only emphasizes dual identity, the tension between sanity (civilized form) and insanity (savagery, instinct) through the influence of modern science, but also the tensions between 'the hereditary nature of degeneration' and 'the role of the cultural environment in triggering degeneration' (Reid 2009: 104; Vrettos 2002: 71).

Today, Stevenson's narrative speaks of aspects of creative cultural contagion, evoking the invisible depression and morbid introspection of the modern era through the depiction of dual consciousness between a true inner self and an insensible self (Vrettos 2002: 81-82). It is this issue that makes Korean readers connect to a Victorian Gothic narrative, with their concerns about modern Korean society.

Arguably, my practice contends that dark gothic fiction or antisocial fantasies reflect a sort of 'crash phenomenon' (in Arthurs and Grant's sense of term, 2000: 2-4) between modernization and anti-modernization, or news and conventions (progressive and conservative). With regard to this cultural 'crash', Botting (1996: 19) notes that cultural fears and antisocial fantasies are projected as an alternative channel for a release of energy and antisocial imagination, based on the repressed self's unconscious desires – including sexual and material needs.
In this sense, my practice emphasizes these kinds of fears and fantasies, through my use of dark visual imagery and sound. Importantly, this indicates some notions of contemporary Korean identity, socio-economic power and dramatic modernization, symbolizing the representation of the double in the form of the animated online Hyde.

To formulate the structures and connotations of my film practices about Korean gaming culture, I considered modernization during the Enlightenment and the changing structure of society and its industrial model in Britain. While modernization accelerated the collapse of conventional and traditional virtues of the agricultural social system connected with the natural world, at the same time it brought about the industrial social world and the centralized urban city, and a new system emerged under capitalism (Punter and Byron 2004: 20). This new social structure focused on mass production and the transposition of labour from rural areas into the urban arena. The notion of materialism connected with this manufacturing system is drawn from the perceived impact of modern science and new technologies, which increasingly substituted or replaced the human body with the animated body-machine, based on the idea of automata (ibid: 20, 198). Obviously, this suggests that traditional or cultural beliefs may be subverted as humankind adopts a more materialistic position through the inevitability of technological progress. In my practice, parallels began to emerge between change in nineteenth-century industrial Britain and contemporary South Korean society.

1.4 Evolution from the Hyde in Textual Gothic Fiction to Avatars in Animated Online Games

In the late Victorian era, new gothic fiction began to reflectively indicate individuals' internal states of mind, connected to human engagement with external influences. This indirectly criticizes impoverished conditions and the dark side of rapid modernization in the industrial social system under capitalism and the materialistic values of such (Korean) societies. Modern society continuously seemed to require the disavowal of lower desires or elements, along with self-management and strong willpower in repressing
these interior elements of the mind (Reid 2009: 104-105).

This idea has informed contemporary science fiction, including the cyberpunk genre of today, such as William Gibson's *Neuromancer* (1984) and Neal Stephenson's *Snow Crash* (1992), which both investigate double identity through the artificial transformation of the physical human body into a non-physical, formless, virtual or spiritual body (Botting 1999: 150). Also important, for the creation of avatars, is James Cameron’s *Avatar* (2009). In both *Avatar* and *Jekyll and Hyde*, the fantastical power of the story lies in the way in which one spirit or psyche shifts between two different bodies. In the transformation of *Jekyll and Hyde*, the spirit remains permanent while the body changes (Grodal 2009: 114). However, the spirit and body in *Avatar* not only experiences metamorphosis in the one body, but two different bodies in different spaces. The *Avatar* metamorphosis concentrates on the possibilities of the sameness of the psyche/spirit between ontologically different bodies in two different realms, implying one of the features of identity (Grodal 2009: 109-111). The shifting of the psyche or consciousness between two different bodies allows the protagonist, Jake, to overcome his physical disability and physical limitations (ibid: 109).

In Cartesian philosophy, we encounter non-physical forms – the spirit or soul is defined as the consciousness of self (Grayeff 1977: 38-45), and has superiority over the body. In Descartes the body is treated as equivalent to a machine (Ryle 2000: 17, 23), based on the double, divided into the soul as mental process (cognition) and body as material process (extension) (Descartes 1641: *Meditations*, Meditation VI). This allows us to comprehend the psyche or consciousness as possibly dwelling inside the body; an approximation of the concept of ‘avatar’, a term from Neal Stephenson’s *Snow Crash* (1992). Otherwise, the body may be replaced by a machine, and be operated by the state of consciousness with supernatural means or technologies (Mazilish 1993: 60-98). Such ‘body-machine’ ideas have been explored by La Mettrie in ‘*Man and Machine*’ (Mazilish 1993: 50; La Mettrie 1748: 2-42).

Later, these automata would be the catalyst for the emergence of the film
projector, invented by Etienne-Jules Marey (Wood 2002: 180-183) – allowing the audience to immerse themselves in a totally different dimensional phenomenon where they are able to encounter the non-physical double through the medium of projected film (Wood 2002: 176). The animated spirit in the imagery is assured by the extension of automata. Freud (1919) suggested that this new machine led to the uncanny double narrative between the external and internal world being displayed on screen. The film projector allowed Georges Melies to magically represent non-physical identity in ‘another world’, which might be the impossible or virtual world (Wood 2002: 196-204). Grodal (2009: 114) stated that this representation might give the impression that the inner or mental life has an objective existence. This might be related to the idea of non-physical identity, affecting different properties and figures as ‘the double’. This in turn seeds the issue of the construction of identities (sameness or difference) through the creation of avatars in virtual online games, such as Second Life and Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Games (MMORPGs), where the spirit or self can control the non-physical body.

Avatar, as a non-physical identity, is a compound word, a combination of ‘Ava’ and ‘Terr’ in Hindu Sanskrit, meaning ‘being descendant’ and ‘a territory or the material realm’ respectively (Scola 2007: 1). The term is derived from the God Vishnu in Hinduism, who changed into a physical body and descended to earth as a transformed human figure (Boellstorff 2008: 128). This transformed or metamorphosed human, the virtual body in Second Life, is referred to as the incarnation of the Vishnu God (ibid: 128-129).

Victorian gothic fiction reproduced fantastic metamorphoses of the physical body to justify mental pathologies in the notion of human identity and to support a sense of escapism from the heavy pressures of the real social world (Warner 2002: 165). However, today’s science fiction reproduces metamorphosis through a different type of non-physical or virtual body, with the use of the codes and conventions of the detective genre. It offers a means of escape from the fixed physical environment in relation to standardized social systems and cultural conventions (Grodal 2009: 6-7).
In Stevenson's *Jekyll and Hyde* and Neal Stephenson's avatar in *Snow Crash*, the spirit or psyche shifts between different bodies. An ideal identity, realized through text is communicated with readers who wish to escape their fixed social lives and environments. This is echoed by young Korean people's desire to create avatars to explore social levels or positions within their own social groups and express their own state of mind. Science fiction texts, including those in the gothic genre, help to reveal or penetrate the invisible conditions of individuals in relation to the industrial social system under capitalism (Botting 2001: 8-12). William Gibson's *Neuromancer* (1984) offers strategies for transcending the sense of alienation and nihilism or for avoiding living as an inauthentic self. However, Neal Stephenson's avatar in *Snow Crash* (1992) and the avatars of *The Matrix* (1999) suggest a non-conventional way out (Hibbs 2002: 161). The latter advocates finding real meaning (or non-conscious reality), liberty and autonomy by living as the authentic self, rejecting the blinded and comfortable life offered by the dominant system. Later science fiction pursues the idea of self-expression through active participation in or access to real issues beyond orthodox boundaries, emphasizing the contradiction of the true meaning of liberty, using virtual reality and the avatar's virtual body.

Castronova (2003: 5) states that the (online) avatar is the non-physical representation of the self in virtual reality or the virtual world. In the contemporary era, the avatar was firstly employed in the novel *Snow Crash* (1992) by Neal Stephenson, mentioned above. Here it is redefined as a computer-generated visual representation of a user of the internet, now increasingly being used as a 3D-graphic self-icon in virtual social environments (Schroeder et al., 2002: 7) including, among others, the game Second Life (Boellstorff 2008: 128-129).

With the help of visual media and information technology, through online games or three-dimensional virtual social services, the individual can visually represent the romantic self (an animated online 'Hyde'). Gamers can construct their own ideal identity by animating themselves as 'avatars' in online virtual game worlds such as Second Life and MMORPGs. Second Life or MMORPGs rely on digital technology that is available to everyone. A three-
dimensional computer-generated animated image in Second Life and MMORPGs (e.g. *Linage 2*) allows for the construction of identity through mimetic representation by users of interfaces who create new protagonists as virtual bodies in online animated games. Animation has always allowed for this possibility, but it is now widely available and more user-friendly through the adoption and customisation of the avatar.

Audiences want to be more active users or participants than before, interacting with other people by using online animated games in virtual worlds (Meadows 2008: 13-15). In relation to gaming, Wells (2006: 124) notes that increasingly sophisticated animation is being produced that is much more user friendly and accessible. Significantly, animation in games is directly connected with the emergence of computer graphics (Furniss 1998: 174), which not only pursues its aesthetics through the surfaces of three dimensional images, but also tries to represent users’ own body language or body formation (Manovich 1999: 12). Users can create avatars as well as their new habitats online, especially in Second Life and MMORPGs, based on internet social networks and the acceleration of software engines (Chong 2008: 149).

Gamers join and participate in virtual worlds to ensure they challenge their daily lives through narration or story-telling, which re-configures their existence (Ryan 2006: 12-15). Users are subject to new bodies as virtual forms – they embrace the construction of animated films as a vehicle for their social and creative liberation (Chong 2008: 82-83; Grodal 2009: 183-186). Hence, this new form of body allows them to change and shift into other bodies to achieve their social desires and ultimately construct identities through narratives or stories in online games. The animated online Hyde enters Korean virtual worlds as an avatar.

My film practice did not directly explain the Jekyll and Hyde concept or the 'Hyde' avatar in animated (Korean) online games. However, it symbolizes this relationship, using Steveneson’s metaphor (the double), gothic visual imagery, and his multiple narratives. Accordingly, my practice identifies the animated online Hyde in Korean virtual worlds, through comparison with gamers' daily
lives in real Korean society.

I argue that the situation in contemporary Korea bears some resemblance to the Victorian era as explored in gothic fiction. During the sudden period of change in late-twenty-century Korea, some people felt horror or anxiety about the decline of tradition and convention. The emergence of the animated avatar, and its consequent social deployment, bears some resemblance to concerns about the construction of self-identity and inhuman/automata or body-machinery in early modernity (Hogle 1998; Punter and David 2004: 20).

1.5 The Role of Avatar and MMORPGs in Modern Korean Society

To understand of the role of an animated online Hyde and Korean MMORPGs for young Korean people, it is important to explain the notion of Korean identity before and after the International Monetary Fund (IMF) crisis in 1997, as these were instrumental moments in the construction of contemporary Korea. Sociology, psychoanalysis and bio-cultural approaches will be considered and compared with Stevenson’s representation of Hyde in his own era, to identify a specific Korean identity.

After the Korean War, during the 1950s and 60s, South Korea was the poorest country on the planet. South Korea subsequently achieved an economic miracle with the adoption of capitalism and become one of the richest countries through a distinctive industrial system that invested in and relied upon large Korean companies, such as Samsung, Hyundai, Kia and the LG group (‘chaebol’ or conglomerate firms), using a long-term economic plan that stretched into the 1980s and 1990s (Tudor 2012: 66-77). South Korea realized dramatic economic achievement and moved up to 13th in world rankings of gross domestic product (GDP) nominal and 29th in GDP per capita, according to the IMF’s 2014 report (compare this to the UK, who were 6th in nominal GDP ranking and 22nd in GDP per capita).

South Korea accomplished rapid modernization and significant change in a short time, and maintained economic prosperity for about 40 years before the IMF or moratorium crisis in 1997, avoiding economic collapse until 2001. Even
now, it continues to manage an industrial social system under capitalism. Within this system, most Korean companies became rigidly hierarchical and bureaucratic, influenced by Confucian culture. Korean firms required that workers to behave as daughters and sons and the chair people or group leaders as parental figures to whom workers were to defer and offer complete loyalty (Tudor 2012: 70). Under this unique economical system, based on the growing capitalist environment and Confucianism, the South Korean government invested in many 'chaebol' firms, with the opportunity to build up the social infrastructure and strengthen the manufacturing base as the foundation of a highly efficient industrial system. This led to rapid modernization and brought about a domestic free-market and significant economic success under protective trade policies.

South Korea's version of capitalism had very distinctive characteristics as it mixed a unique industrial developmental system – the 'chaebol' – with Confucianism, which brought with it older Korean customs based on traditional and cultural beliefs (Park 2011). Confucianism is based on the obligations of golden rules, which consist of two main elements: first, the necessity of treating others in the society or local community with humanity, and second, the adoption of proper manners or etiquette concerning how to behave and speak to others within society's set of moral or ethical responsibilities (Tudor 2012: 43). These notions unconsciously or consciously brought loyalty, honour, respect and harmony to the nation. For Koreans, these have been regarded as core social rules and a basic code of manners, and each operates as a ritual in daily life. Loyalty and obedience play pivotal roles in the social duty of responsibility as well as operating as the driving force in maintaining social hierarchies in a Confucian-influenced culture (Tudor 2012: 173). Confucianism is applied to private corporations, working from the main relationship between the ruler and subject, parents and children, husband and wife and the old and young, most notably in the 'chaebol' form of large Korean corporations, which are controlled by family businesses.

Importantly, this has had an impact in forming the stereotypes of Korean social identity today, in which the father should work hard though not be a workaholic, and demonstrate good faith to his superior to get promotional
opportunities for himself and his family as the patriarch (Park 2011). He has his own different social obligations as a son, a husband and a father. This is why he should be full of loyalty not only to his private groups, but also to his work, with the concept of filial piety in relation to social or public duty (Tudor 2012: 43). His wife should do chores in the household, supporting her husband and children. The wife should focus on the children's education, ensuring a better and safer life for them with the goal that the children should enter a famous university and join one of Korea's large or famous companies.

Korean students must try to achieve a high position and social level. For this, it is necessary to have a good education, in order to gain entry to famous universities and get good jobs in companies with a major reputation (Kim 2011; Tudor 2012: 52). They are required to achieve a better working position and social class than their parents or the previous generation. The extreme competition for places at top universities has led to the development of a huge private education market; Korean youth inevitably go to private institutions to get extra tuition after finishing public school (Chang 2011). This means that South Korea is never going to truly remove itself from Confucianism, since even in the area of education self-improvement is encouraged and is a major aspect of the civil service examination system that has existed for over a thousand years (Tudor 2012: 51). But in the present, continuous self-development in young people has to be acknowledged by others and society, including the family and the workplace or school (Seo 2011).

Rapid modernization reduces reliance on agriculture and the traditional notion of society, basing progress on a heavy manufacturing system (Smith 2010). The rapidly-growing capitalist environment hides and removes the past, often regardless of traditional values and cultural convention (Beck 1992). In this heavy hardware system, Korean society traditionally emphasizes the group over the individual, due to the mechanism of the division of labour for large-scale production processes (Tudor 2012: 71). Korean society has changed into an urban-centered industrial world, relying on the nuclear family to provide a rural sensibility (ibid: 135).
1.5.1 The Decline of the Korean Traditional Capital Structure and a New Breed of Online Game Industries

In 1997, rapid modernization led to the breakdown of the Korean industrial system, in the face of the economic crisis, and financial debt after accepting the transfer moratorium from the IMF (Tudor 2012: 177). This late-millennial degeneration once more echoes the Victorian era represented in Stevenson’s work. Fortunately, South Korea could rebound and recover from the financial hardships of the late of 1990s to raise its sovereign credit rating. South Koreans attempted to create a new type of an industrial system to implement more long-term economic strategies based on established industries and a new information technology policy, prioritizing new digital technologies, data systems and computer engineering (Kim 2011; Seo 2011).

During the IMF era, some 'chaebol' corporations were effectively bankrupted and disappeared, due to heavy debts from the excessive expansion of a family business. Many employees, especially old male workers, lost their jobs and employee loyalty waned (Kim 2011). However, firms still required the same loyalty from new workers. Significantly, for the remaining employees, the IMF crisis influenced change in individual values, virtues, and cultural beliefs and modified fixed social rules about the work place and working conditions (Tudor 2012: 179). According to a recruitment agency, the survey 'Job Korea' found that 70% of Korean workers would switch employers if given a better offer, proving the decline of loyalty compared to that of 1980-90, before the IMF era.

Many Koreans experienced mass dismissal and discouragement from the 'chaebol' conglomerate system. This prompted distrust in the Korean Capital structure and in society, companies, and public organizations in general, and led to a significant increase in suicide rates (Durkheim 1897). In Confucian culture and traditional Korean society, suicide is treated as a matter of dishonour, self-indulgence or failure, but during the IMF era, Korea witnessed mass suicide and the media reported fear of degeneration every single day as the central social issue. This indicated how external forces had had an effect on the mental disintegration of individuals. Korean people began to be
interested in self-expression, rejecting loyalty to the group and doubting traditional value and belief.

In 1998, during the IMF crisis, South Koreans changed the government and the new administration reduced manufacture in the industrial system and turned to internet markets and software development with the dawn of the internet economy (Seo 2011). This information technology boom took shape in the form of online entertainment businesses, such as Nexon's online game: *The Kingdom of Winds* and NCsoft's online game: *Lineage 1* in the late 1990s. Along with the government's IT policy and investment fund, Korean online game companies created virtual worlds made up of colourful animated films in the service of fantasy storytelling and the SNS (social network service) function (Kim 2011).

Also, due to this support and funding from the Korean administration, the sacked workers from the IMF crisis, especially older men, had opportunities to start their own businesses such as an internet cafes or internet games room, referred to as a 'game bang or PC bang' (Park 2011). These places are peopled by young Koreans playing online games on personal computers, provided and maintained by Korean game companies such as Nexon and NCsoft. The PC bang manager or owner rents and offers the space and personal computers for playing online games and the use of the internet without any charge for the game content, but users are required to pay rent to use the space and computers. PC bang users often subscribe or take up PC bang membership, to get a discount on the normal charge. In this case, there is a symbiotic relationship between the Korean government, the (Korean) online game companies and the PC-bang owners (Kim 2011; Park 2011).

In some sectors of the economy, the traditional importance attached to loyalty, age, and hierarchy is beginning to decline and break down (Tudor 2012: 181). The new Korean administration attempted to lay the cornerstone to encourage a new breed of Korean firms to invest in capital-led internet and software systems. South Korea became the most internet-connected nation, per capita, on the planet, offering the fastest speed of internet connection (Guest 2008: 307). As such, the emergence of Korean online games and PC bangs, with
the support of the Korean administration, can be seen as a unique feature of contemporary Korea and Korean identity, and clearly influences the construction of Korean identity in the socio-cultural sphere. This new type of business offers a unique means of industrial development and economic restructuring, but there have been unexpected personal repercussions in terms of the invisible risk to the environment (Beck 1992, 1999).

1.5.2 The Emergence of Personal Computer-based Textual Fantasy Novels and Visual Animated MMORPGs in PC Bangs

Since the mid-1990s, the fantasy fiction genre in South Korea has boomed, benefiting from publication on the internet and mass readership. It is called PC communication. Young-Do Lee, who wrote Dragon Raza (1997) as his first full length story on an online board (the Hitel modem service) became very famous and popular, influencing the development of phantom fan culture, chiefly amongst Hitel modem users, mainly in their teens. Finally, his fantasy novel was published for offline readers and released as a set of 12 books in 1998. It is acknowledged that his work was influential for the first generation of fantasy novels in Korean literature, receiving online and traditional publications and best-seller status. Most importantly, its original idea was based on the dungeon adventure and epic fantasy inspired by Dungeons and Dragons (1974) published by TSR, a TRPG (table top role-playing games) and J. R. R. Tolkien's masterpiece, The Lord of the Rings (1954).

Unusually, this boom of the Korean fantasy novel happened over four different personal computer communication boards, relying on a net-work of modems from four telephone companies (before the emergence of World Wide Web version of the internet), mainly amongst teenagers. The young generation was influenced by the recession and witnessed the decline of absolute authority in the form of traditional values and loyalty to Korean society and government. Young people experienced frustration about the impossibility of self-expression or self-determination and the achievement of what they wished to do or be for the future (Chang 2011). They turned to online fiction and role-playing games for escapism and rebellion. This move to escapism has some
parallels with Stevenson's gothic fiction of the late Victorian era.

Young Koreans turned to the creation of video games on PC communication boards, which could be shared with others: CRPGs (computer role-playing video games), originally inspired by *Akalabeth* (1980) and *Ultima* (1981) by Richard Garriott became an important pastime. Fantasy novels on online boards did not require any specific qualifications or knowledge, and allowed anyone to make and upload their own fantasy work, maintaining an equal relationship between the writer and reader, and encouraging a fantasy fandom culture. Ultimately, a new type of online community emerged that might be termed the virtual Agora, which mirrored the concept and system of epic fantasy, based on online fantasy texts, engaging with Northern European myth and a medieval world view. In this context, new models of identity were developed.

After the online boards and fantasy novels boom, the younger generation spent a long time playing online games together, such as *Star Craft* by Blizzard (USA) and *Lineage 1* by NCsoft (South Korea). This activity not only released tension and pressure, but also allowed people to feel a sense of kinship, between friends and neighbours, by cooperating through playing games together (Park 2011). Later, the MMORPG emerged, based on the capabilities of the World Wide Web, which allowed more than two game users to interact and communicate with one another online, in a real-time virtual animated world. MMORPGs are the graphic version of online games which offer colourful visual fantasy and role-playing or re-enacting opportunities as avatars (Kim 2011), where all game events that happen actually or virtually to game users in online real-time can be shared.

Figure 2. Game users inside a PC bang in Seoul, South Korea, photograph by Man Ki Park
In South Korea, MMORPGs became a popular activity for young people. It is a new type of socio-cultural phenomena for South Korea – compared with the cases of other countries in the 1990s-2000s, most Korean game users have never played games alone (Park 2011). At least two people gather to play online games together, communicating with each other in groups. This helps to construct wider social relations and new avatar-identities against a tightly regulated life between home, school and private education. While PC bang culture (Fig. 2) enables a focus on the social definition of Korean-ness, the psychological dimension of repressed Korean youth identity may be measured by looking at the online gaming (culture) that is directly linked to Korean MMORPGs, in order to understand how Korean gamers utilize online games and construct an identity in the virtual world, connected with the issues of real Korean society (discussed in detail in Chapter 2).

1.5.3 The Korean Hyde in the Virtual World

The Korean Game expert, Sang-Woo Park (2011), explains that MMORPGs allow gamers to engage in game quests based on animated film, and communicate with other users, playing together via the internet (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 007-008). To understand what Korean online game features are and to discuss the online Hyde and how Koreans utilize the game world, it is relevant to look into the main features of Korean MMORPGs, such as the Lineage series: Lineage 1 (1998) and Lineage 2 (2004; Fig. 3) by NCsoft.

Figure 3. Online game scenes in Lineage 2, photograph by Man Ki Park

While the game content is basically created by the player in Lineage, the game is based on ‘siege warfare’, and the battle to take ‘the hunting ground’.
Western games such as ‘World of Warcraft’ have been created by same developer, offering content with very strong storytelling. Here lies the point of distinction between Korean MMORPGs and Western ones (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 009). Lineage players can easily create their own content through playing with other users, forming, for example, an avatar group, through on-going user-interaction. In Lineage, even though the content and storytelling is not stronger than that of World of Warcraft, players are offered a stronger communication media function, which appeals to Korean users. This means that Lineage users can do whatever they want, such as having castle battles, in terms of user-interaction and self-created-content. Ironically, this is attributed to a lack of game content, but Lineage users can get around this disadvantage by sharing self-created content. To cover up this content shortage, NCsoft offers Lineage users a free environment. Players can freely create and join in their own parties and guilds, making their own game narratives such as the siege castle battle. In the Lineage game world, users are able to create their own utopias. But, ironically, this utopian world relies on relationships between other users and these relationships create unexpected problems (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 026-036).

Korean society has been used to a vertical or hierarchical relationship, patriarchal loyalty and the pursuit of growth and development. In contrast, the culture of playing and leisure is regarded as one of competition. After the IMF era, even though the young generation have less loyalty to their work-places and realize the importance of self-satisfaction and self-determinism, Korean society still required respect for socio-economic values and organization. Such features are still reflected in Korean MMORPGs, which retain the aspect of the pre-modern (Confucian-influenced convention and tradition), the modern (the Enlightenment as external cultural force), and the post-modern (capitalism and new types of industrial form).

In Lineage, the concept (like many Korean MMORPGs) is a world-view of medieval flavour, engaging with Northern European myth and a style of characters drawn from Japanese animation (Kim 2011). The game world also reinforces hierarchical society, and allows a stronger character to kill a weaker one via a legal fight. This is called PK or ‘player killing’, or PvP - 'player
versus player' (Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 018-021). Strong avatars can make their own guild or create a party of characters, and control the other avatars, for instance collecting tax from them. The high-level avatar requires loyalty to the guild, while the rest of the avatars join the high level avatars' guild and party. Sometimes they illegally purchase and trade expensive game-character items, such as swords, magic power, armour, etc., as key weapons for overwhelming other avatars (Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 022-023). After attaining this, some start to exact revenge killings and occasionally an offline player will enact such a killing in the real world (Guest 2008: 310). More fighting and killing happens between game players to socially level-up and defeat the competition. Real-world game users are often addicted, and sometimes this leads to the tragic real death of gamers, due to restless game-playing for over two days (Guest 2008: 308, 313-314). Even though they first started to play it for pure enjoyment, it seemingly makes them into ‘serial automata’, whereby they are addicted to online games (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 030-033).

The avatar group’s activity accounts for the fact that the Korean MMORPG world is an extended version of real Korean society or the Korean character, as it symbolizes the dual consciousness of the gamer and the avatar as a juxtaposition of the real and the virtual (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 050-058). For them, the avatar is not just simple puppet or cyber character. It is literally an incarnation or projection of self-identity in everyday life (Flusser 2004). Thus, by reproducing another self or re-constructing identity, an attempt is made to protect the depressed self and confirm one’s existence and dignity through playing together and communicating with other users. This discussion of the Korean MMORPG world suggests how prevalent violence is in the games and how strongly this reflects society in the real world. The animated online Hyde emerges as a way of creating this double self-identity.
1.6 Developing Ideas for My Film Practice

Korean society provided the context for my fieldwork, which aimed to find out more about the addictive and immersive culture of online gaming in relation to defining the young Korean and the Korean character. This in turn was necessary if I was to represent the Korean boy's violent acts – murder and suicide. My research focused on participant observation and in-depth formal interviews online and offline, some with online game characters or avatars, as well as offline with various game users and eight different game experts (see Appendix A, B and C). The fieldwork was supported by secondary data – Stevenson's gothic novella and his creation of Jekyll and Hyde as a form of double identity. My practice visually conveys the specific context of South Korea to identify the role of online-gaming fictions for young Koreans, specifically my animated online 'Hyde' avatar, compared with their real lives in Korea.

My film practice draws on the 'idea' of Hyde and adapts Stevenson's narrative concept to (re)interpret the dead boy's real murder with gothic visual imagery and a surreal tone, in the genre of a detective thriller. I reconstruct this tragedy, using imaginative, dramatic elements in animation to present ethnographic human knowledge in the form of a documentary. My animated representation offers a visual fiction and content-based dramatization of a violent non-fictional act.

Ultimately, this practice offers an interrogation of how contemporary Korean identity (an animated online Hyde) might be constructed through avatars and Korean online games. This revisits the concept of Jekyll and Hyde through my film practice using creative expression/treatment of collected research data, detailed below.

Key themes

- Stevenson's 19th Century fin-de-siècle anxieties and Korean collective repression in the 1997 IMF era.
- Concerns about the limits, effects and power of representation in the formation of identities, realities and institutions.

- Fears and anxieties about the impact of modernization and new technologies.

- The regression of mind vs the advance of the body as machine.

- Rapid modernization and the sudden shift to an industrially-based, capitalist social system vs romanticism.

- The reproduction of ‘self’ in science and technological processes.

_Jekyll and Hyde_ essentially symbolizes a dualism and a mode of doubling that is represented directly in the opening and closing sections of the film (Fig. 4). It adapts Stevenson's gothic atmosphere and includes a strange masked man, a dark stairwell in an old grey building, and a murder scene in a dusky apartment interior and recreates the multiple narratives that will be combined into one mystery story to be revealed by a letter (e.g. Dr Lanyon's letter or Mr Utterson as an investigator in Stevenson's text).

![Figure 4. Still image from the beginning section of Jekyll's Letter (2014)](image)

The first section of my film explains the real murder incident that happened in South Korea, and why a dead boy could not stop playing online animated games. Equally, it suggests that he usually utilized online games – the ‘online Hyde’ – in the construction of his identity. Three different scenes – a running masked man on the stairwell, a noose in the real murder scene and the researcher/presenter in his office – are established (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 001-021). Fiction and non-fiction mix freely. A researcher, Mr Man Ki Park (myself), is sent a letter from his colleague Dr
Jekyll, indicating the title of my animated documentary, *Jekyll's Letter*. The presenter explains that he is going to investigate this incident to find its cause (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 045-048). The masked man is not revealed and remains a mystery element throughout the narrative.

This discussion of the ‘idea’ of *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* has indicated that Stevenson’s text is pivotal to my film narrative. The nineteenth century novella not only provided me with ideas for characters, settings and atmospheres, but the concept of transformation from Jekyll to Hyde and the good/evil personality split offered a way of exploring Korean gaming, and to represent a real life tragedy that occurred through online-gaming addiction.

In this animated documentary, I explore the connection between the anxious or depressed self, in terms of an identity panic (e.g. the fin-de-siècle apprehension), and real (Korean) social issues (e.g. urgent modernization and the 1997 IMF crisis) in aspects of material power or economic reality, to identify why young Korean users (e.g. Jekyll) rely on this endless virtual-transformation into virtual warrior avatars (e.g. Hyde). In terms of this connection, I determine the social ethnography within this animation and depict a doubling through references to the fictional Jekyll and Hyde, real Korean society, and murder (Sir Danvers Carew in Stevenson’s text) and the Korean boy’s mother – to outline a real contemporary act of violence followed by a suicide.

This animated documentary conveys this connection, and it the main aspect of *Jekyll and Hyde* that I explore and adapt – by investigating a particular case-study of a Korean boy on the conventions of the detective thriller. Eventually, this animated practice facilitates our understanding and empathy with the interests and concerns or anxieties of young Korean game users in the virtual world and real Korean society as compared with the Victorian era – the socioeconomic environment (high demand for capital) is critical when thinking of transformation in terms of the matter of virtual or ideal identity.
Chapter 2: Theorising Identities in a Korean Context

2.1 Introduction

When investigating young Korean game users, it is necessary to look for the way in which most South Koreans construct their own identities and recognize themselves in the fast-paced changes of their socioeconomic environment. This is connected to individual Koreans’ sense of self in the highly demanding Korean social system. The sense of identity consciously or unconsciously reflects the reality of subjective experience, and involves the conscious and unconscious personal thoughts and emotions that are responsive to different (subject) positions in specific social and cultural contexts. This framework helps us to understand how Korean youths utilize animated avatar and online games to construct, recognise and play with online identity and game culture in virtual worlds, as opposed to in their real lives, when exploring virtual or ideal identity through transformations into an animated online Hyde.

These different or specific social and cultural positions make experience subjective, and individuals come to adopt and construct their own identities between two different realms: real and virtual worlds or inanimate Jekyll and animated Hyde. Particular identities are selected, providing an exploration of feelings of subjectivity, which can be irrational as well as rational (Woodward 1997: 39).

In the following section, I will analyse the issue of how we consider and construct our identities from sociological, psychoanalytic and bio-cultural perspectives. I will take the particular case of South Korean identity as a specific construction of other people – identity in the above three disciplinary contexts. Eventually, my visual practice will present this matter in terms of the construction of Korean virtual online identity such as the animated online Hyde and gaming culture, based on several ethnographic research findings as key themes in the middle section of my animation.
2.2 Sociological Perspectives

The concept of self and identity within sociological approaches is reviewed through three books: *Self Identity and Everyday Life* by Harvie Ferguson (2009); *Social Identity* by Richard Jenkins (2008); and *Identity: Sociological Perspectives* by Stephanie Lawler (2008). This is in order to understand the meaning and attributes of identity and concept of self within a social perspective. I realize that these are inevitably connected with each other and are important for an explanation of the concept of self and for further consideration of contemporary identity in social contexts.

In this respect, I will look at how Korean identity is related to (the Western) social theories from Herbert Mead and Erving Goffman to Anthony Giddens. They emphasize the value of shared symbolic interactions (in the 1930s), the presentation of self-performance and practice within socially or ritually situated settings (in the 1950s) and lastly, the importance of self-reflexivity (in the 1990s). This will be compared with my primary data about Korean identity, which mostly focuses on group consciousness rather than the importance of individuality.

I will examine the concept of self with close reference to Herbert Mead and Erving Goffman. Mead’s theory, from *In Mind, Self and Society* (1934) addresses symbolic interaction and daily life, with a focus on the importance of communication and symbols. Broadly speaking, sociology allows for observation of the impact of other people and wider society through cultural forms and moral norms when approaching the making of self. For sociologists who emphasise interpersonal interactions, the self can be regarded as a central mechanism that intersects between the individual and groups or communities. From this perspective, Korean self-identity should be considered in relation to how Koreans make and define their daily life alongside particular situations and contexts for social analysis (see Appendix E, middle section: part 1 scene 001-008).

According to Mead (1934: 173), each of us forges a sense of selfhood through engagement with the selves of others. This is why if others’ selves exist and enter into our lives, we can make our own selves exist and enter into our
experiences and lives as well (ibid). He also stated that language is at the core of the constitution of the self (ibid: 135). Unlike other animals, human beings can communicate through semiotic principles that represent objects or things in our own minds or others’, functioning as shared symbolic interactions (ibid: 136-137). Mead (ibid: 164) points out that language plays a vital role in this communication or connection. Through language, the symbol makes it possible for the self to do reflective thinking and communicative acting in social groups, which possess universal qualities and shared common meanings, for example rituals, rules, infrastructure, etc.(ibid). Hence, this context functions to form a sense of self and aid interactions with other people (ibid: 140). Mead’s crucial point is that the self functions as a social product through the perspective of its social symbol interaction responsive to the reactions of others (ibid). This becomes very important when addressing the Korean identities of online gamers. This context also provides understanding of the role of social interaction based on group consciousness in Korean virtual worlds in comparison with real Korean society (see Appendix E, middle section: part 4 scene 001-002).

The self, for Mead, is peopled by the attitude of others: as other people view us, we learn to see ourselves; through the exchange of symbols we take the role of the other, a process we can see through the example of infants and young children at play. Mead views the formation of the self in this social interaction as related to play and organised games, which allow children to imagine others and play out who and what they are (ibid: 150-151). The children play-act a sort of doubling in which one both plays a role and responds to it, rehearsing a pair of social structures or a set of roles and selves in the process of practising interacting identities (ibid:151, 153-154). This ongoing interaction between the self and others is termed 'the conversation of gesture' by Mead (ibid: 173).

For the sociologist, symbolic interaction and analysing the way in which an individual actively communicates or interacts with each action is relative to the study of the self and ultimately to understanding the social self (Blumer 1962: 182). Nonetheless, the self outlined by symbolic integrationists such as Mead and Blumer does not explain the matters of emotion and passion, feeling, or
thoughts at the centre of the mind, as opposed to merely thinking in the rational and conscious realm. Goffman, in The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959) and Asylums (1961) regards the self through the metaphor of being on the stage in a theatre, performing day-to-day activities, observing the ways that individuals act towards a given 'cast' and the roles they undertake in each social setting.

Furthermore, Goffman (1959: 252) explains that the self is able to perform multiple roles within various situations, settings or contexts. The individual’s various performances play an essential role in continuously making and consciously monitoring their own self-impression (Lemert and Branaman et. al., 1997: 23-24). Public identity is played out to audiences and the private self knows that such performances and roles are important in order to keep and manage personal identity in daily life (ibid: 196). Goffman’s self is characterized by subjective behaviour, and is very creative and considerably inventive in determining how it strategically controls the manipulation of impressions through the specific roles it performs and practices on the stage (Goffman 1959: xi). By adopting and maintaining a social role as an individual, one can construct identity within the social institution itself. Goffman points to the presentation of self as situated within social ritual, moral assumptions and physical settings, surrounded by the given interactive framework where the self can perform and create images in the unending social situation of everyday life (Goffman 1961: ix-x). For the presentation of self to occur easily, it is necessary to screen off some parts or entire aspects of personality, especially if they are inappropriate to the identity ‘on the front stage’, displayed to others (Goffman 1959: xi). This means the individual continually displays the competence of self to others and to the social world at large with self-monitoring and self-control (Goffman 1959: 15). Goffman’s theory informs me of the possibilities of manipulation and representation of self through repression and concerns about the impression given to others in unexpected social or interactive situations (Lemert and Branaman et. al., 1997: 193-196). This concept becomes relevant to film-making, where the director manipulates, and to game-playing, where the player and other participants manipulate representation.
This concept can be discerned in Korean social identity, which consciously cares about group-based social interaction and how Koreans' own constructed images work on and influence other social members. Most Korean focus on how they are seen and how they perform to others, based on group-focused Confucianism. This is easily found in Korean everyday life through my ethnographic practice. Real Korean society is based on vertical relationships, which display well-managed self-consciousness to others. Interestingly, this feature is extended to the case of Korean virtual identities. In (Korean) MMORPGs, the avatar induces users to perform their own emotions, feelings and thoughts, hence communicating with other users whilst participating in a huge number of groups or guilds in these games (see Appendix E, middle section: part 3 scene 063). The avatar is not only applicable to virtual animated bodies, but is also a means of displaying personal narratives and collectively sharing them with other avatars in terms of social interaction or performance on the virtual stage in real time (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 026-038). Further, the avatars also can consciously display their selected or created selves to others (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 039). For this reason, some Korean avatars chase this kind of social (conscious) desire about their own self-impression through avatar material items, symbolising social level and position in game communities (Baudrillard 1970: 129-148).

Anthony Giddens (1991) suggests the concept of ‘reflexivity’, wherein the self as the 'core point' produces two different areas: the private self in personal life and the public one in social life. This means that for Giddens, self-identity cannot be just given, but must be constituted by the consistent self-defining process through multiple social factors, including institutional and global forces. At this point, self-identity relies on examining or monitoring one's own character and external information about social practices between the self and society to adopt a subject-social position and to construct one’s own identity in social life. This sociological theory is remarkably similar to the literary construction of the Jeykll/Hyde dualism.

The private or personal self-identity can be formed in childhood in relation to gender, race and nationality, and these may flaw or damage one's own
character. However, Giddens (1990) explains that social identity is examined and reformed based in personal life by altering the self and accepting the influences of social rules and positions adopted through constant social practice.

Further, he sees this process as mixing and combining personal self-identity with the social or collective one which provides individuals with a sense of belonging in social groups. This is because if the social or collective self-identity failed to reform based on the personal one, it would operate conversely and bring about disintegration of the self, causing the collapse of the subject-position in society. In this sense, reflexivity attempts to prevent or get through the self-division or double identity between certainty and anxiety by reacting to psychological and cultural information, adjusting its flow of social action accordingly. Through the flexible process of self-reflexivity, the individual can negotiate the instructional dimension of modern social life. Giddens (1992) contends that the relation between self-identity and society involves negotiation, the adoption of social transformation and overcoming. For example, in terms of reflexivity, self-identity reacts against significant social changes including love, affection and intimacy, new anxieties, opportunities or dangers, which have an impact on the traditional social role or position and personal relationships. These might include, for instance, a reconstituted family through an individual's divorce and re-marriage. Importantly, self-identity is engaged with conscious reflexive self-monitoring and liberal individualism constantly to address the conventional view about the relation between the self and society. Accordingly, Giddens (1991) emphasises the increase of the interconnection between personal and social lives; institutional and global social contexts have influential effects on dramatic personal shifts involving family, work, (re)marriage and sexual issues. Beyond these dramatic personal influences and social issues, the reflexivity of self-identity – the reflexive project of the self – inevitably operates as a form of social control and limitation, engaged with society regardless of personal emotions and desires. This can be seen as a limitation, a sign of the repression of the authentic self. The psychoanalysis of subjectivity acknowledges this with reference to Freudian thought, recognising
unconscious fantasy and repression of the self.

Figure 5. Korean society before the IMF finance crisis from Jekyll's Letter (2014)

With regard to significant (social) changes in modern Korean society, caused by global influences (e.g. capitalism and individualism), Korean social identity was re-constructed in the home, work-place and school in the new (capital) environment (see Appendix E, middle section: part 1 scene 001-008). It is based on the values of the nuclear family re-located in urban centres, and engages with the seeming lack of community and lack of relationships. Unfortunately, the South Korean system is creating strong industrial soldiers, who have their own given roles and obligations and working positions as father, mother, son or daughter (Fig. 5). In Confucianism, the notion of traditional duty and roles for each family member has changed into the idea of being an member of industry and a socially-connected worker in order to help achieve fast economic growth in the short term (Tudor 2012: 173-174). Consequently, it encourages the construction of a narrow form of identity and a lack of social communication, compared with traditional Korean society, which had a connection with the natural world, and was reliant on a big family group or local community. Further, working in such an environment, along with a hierarchical relationship defined by loyalty and obedience to the family and work places or school, makes most Koreans feel heavy pressure from their own social groups while suffering from a lack of personal identity and life style.
This conceals repression and repudiation (e.g. especially in young Korean people) in the inner mind, and creates a psychological pathology due to fixed social rules and roles (Chang 2011).

2.3 Psychoanalytic Perspectives

In terms of repression and repudiation of young Korean people in relation to unconscious self-identity, I will discuss the psychological understanding of the self in terms of repression and the unconscious, key concepts articulated by Freud in his *The Unconscious* (1915b), *The Ego and the Id* (1923), and *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900). I will then consider how these concepts affect the construction of identities, or what they offer to construct identities.

As discussed in the social approach, the self engages with the actions and reactions of other people in an interpersonal relationship where the self is perceived through this interplay, ultimately influencing the construction of identity (Goffman 1959; Blumer 1969). This means that identity is produced by the actions and choices of the individual, the patterning of thoughts, dispositions, feelings and desires, and the structuring of subjective experience in relation to their social class order (Goffman 1959: 252-253). It is not easy to grasp the different kinds of self performed in various social fields – as a basic example, we often act differently when we encounter friends or family from when we encounter our boss or other workers (Frosh 1997: 242).

Furthermore, it is hard for the inner world of the self to explicate the conflict between the individual and society. Social organisation may not appease the issues at the emotional core of the lives of individuals and this results in emotional denial and repression, stemming from our rationality (Freud 1915a: 146). It is believed that the self has the capacity to control itself, in contrast to the Freudian notion which suggests that it is not under the control of agency, emphasising that the ego is not master in its own house. Further, Frosh (1997: 71) interprets this as the ego being subject to the fancies of desire. This means that human beings can only know their own lives incompletely. Freud
(in Elliott 2000: 134) deems emotional dislocation not simply a problem derived from social issues, but also an innate issue of the self in its own right. From this view, desire is the main cause of the complex ways in which the individual and society interact (ibid: 133). Problems with personal unhappiness, guilt, the pressure of moral values, self-destructiveness and dissatisfaction, violence and aggression: such forms of social alienation are fundamentally treated as the substance of psychological disorders (Lawler 2008: 82). This is to say, the organization of society penetrates the emotional substance of individuals (Elliott 2000: 133).

In consideration of how Freud offers the analysis of the self and identity provided by psychoanalysis, Lawler (2008: 83) explains that psychoanalysis may offer an interpretive schema, a way to consider the formation of self in terms of repression, desires and identity in favour of irrational, unconscious and emotional elements. Also, Frosh (1997: 72) states that rational understanding depends on the capacity to allow expression to non-conscious and non-coherent aspects of identity. The psychoanalysis of Freud lays the cornerstone of the way to understand the spirit or psyche (the inner state or mind) that reflects human subjectivity, and is split into three parts: the unconscious, the pre-conscious and the conscious (Eillott 2000: 135). Further, it developed another insight into the three divisions of the person and the construction of identity: the ego as the partially conscious sense of I, the superego as the social conscience and the id as the asocial part of the self, related to unrealised desires in the pleasure area (Lawler 2008: 84). This naturally reminds me of another tripartite personality structure. Stevenson's relationships, his creations Jekyll and Hyde, and his fiction in general allude to the possibilities of multiple identities in relation to a polymorphic body language or transformations. Such phenomena are based on the different power which makes up the self transforming other bodies and visages (Hogle 1988: 164). In other words, a seemingly single self that possesses multiple bodies and visages can be transformed when desire of the self affects the body's behaviour and appearance (Grodal 2009: 114).
In these divisions, the ego (as the mediator) should manage and control demands between the superego and id (Fig. 6). In this sense, Freud (1917: 143) insisted that the subject or individual is always at odds with itself in the unconscious struggles between desire and demand. For him, the issue of the self-restraint lies in repressed desires and fears (Freud 1915a: 146-153) and it is notable that repressed desires and fears characterise Jekyll’s battle with Hyde.

Freud discusses the uncovered and deepest desires regarding the evil of irrationality, similar to the nature of Hyde, and describes them as generated by the human unconscious mind. This goes against the conception of an independent and completed self-consciousness from the framework of the Victorian era (Veeder 1998: 108). Moreover, his theory is intent on the interpretation and understanding of the self in terms of decentralisation between the socialised and uncontrolled beings of the emotional realm, but is also at pains to connect 'the unconscious' and the process of repression (Elliott 2004: 22-24). This concept reveals many ‘real’ aspects of public and personal lives filled with fear, anxiety, and conflict (Freud 1917b: 141). Accordingly, the Oedipus complex that results from experiences of intense frustration, conflict and restriction of the individual is essential to understanding how we develop an ego and superego through repression whilst retaining a sense of who we are (Freud 1924: 172-179).

Freud (1900: 567) explained that when desires and wishes conflict with reality,
there occurs an unpardonable or unacceptable feeling that is eliminated by
the workings of repression. Thus, the action of repression, being forbidden
and forgetting, represents a sort of functional wall or severance between the
realm of the unconscious and the conscious, even if they are not in control of
the gratification of desires (Freud 1901). In this sense, according to Freud
(1900: 37; 1901; 1917: 141-144), when repression fails to control what has
been repressed, there is a conflict in the mind between two different realms,
which may ultimately be revealed in slips of the tongue, jokes or dreams.
Although the images and ideas in dreams are hard to explain logically in
relation to reality, they do not mean what they may immediately seem to
mean; dreams may be the way people tell themselves something, such as

Nonetheless, Freud (1900: 107) explained that what the content of dreams
indicates is not likely to become obvious, as desires are often expressed in
symbols. Lawler (2008: 87) also stated that such an obvious revealing of
dream content might be too much for our ego to bear. However, Elliott (1995:
45-49) emphasised that dreams, fantasies and desires produce our
characters and our identities, so they are, from this perspective, not open to
conscious reflection. Hence, for Freud, most of what makes up self-identity is
unconscious and non-rational (1915a: 148; 1915b: 177). This is the aspect of
psychoanalysis which offers us the opportunity to look into an association
between ‘personal’ and ‘social’ (Lawler 2008: 100). Hence, it enables us to
break down our ignorance of the inner world and access aspects of identity
through unconscious reflection in which we are not fully in control of our own
lives.

Like Freud with his development of psychoanalytic analysis, another theorist,
Jacques Lacan (1977) attempted to account for unconscious self-identity and
its conflict with language systems (signification), which for him consist of
'signifier and signified'. He gave priority to the 'signifier' and created the term
'signifying chain' to mean that which independently decides the course of the
subject and direction of the subject's desire. The identity has been affected by
this logic or the effect of the signifier, which explains that unconscious conflict
is produced by the influence of the symbolic phase (which has the priority of
language and symbolic order). This does not mean, however, that the unconscious is equal with signification in itself. Lacan's theory is apparently based on three different systems: Imaginary, Symbolic and Real. These play a crucial role as the central axis of his theory – specifically in coming to understand how identity is constructed in relation to the influence of signifiers, self-split or division, and fantasy. Lacan believes the unified subjectivity of humans has a tendency to be located in a mythical area, suggesting that in early infancy the individual is subjected to a mixture of fantasy and illusion regarding coherent identity, in relation to the mirror stage. This mirror stage involves 'the identification process' in which the socialisation of the infant involves the acquisition of a shared system – the Symbolic phase or order. It is not pure imagination or an illusionary virtual aspect, but the world of objects which is relied upon and carried by the reflected image (of the subject) as the production or result of the physical real (social) world. In this sense, Lacan (1977) contends, the infant starts to form identity in the mirror stage through carried and reflected images, in order to identify the relationship between the self or subject and the world of objects, including the mother or mother's body, as it too is separate and distinct from the self. He explains that the mirror stage, in which the structure of the subject is subordinated to the reflected image, is regarded as the first step towards the imaginary phase where, he argues, subjectivity is 'othered or split and illusory' (e.g. narcissism of the self). This means the reflected image in the mirror is not identified with the physical or real, but only projects an idealised image of the self into the illusionary or fantastic realm which identity desires and demands for unity. Yet, due to this first separation between a fragmented or incomplete physical body and its idealised reflected image, the subject feels self-division or double identity – anxiety – longing to be united with a coherent identity – a complete, illusionary figure of conformity which can be acknowledged by others. Inevitably, self-identity involves a sense of doubling or disintegration in relation to anxiety and this comforting illusion. Lacan used this idea to criticise the conscious notion of the subject derived from the Cartesian cogito notion (1637) and revealed that it is impossible to attain obvious or axiomatic self-awareness through an absolutely unified identity via transcendental cognition, stressing instead that self-awareness develops through the mirror stage in the imaginary realm, with
focus on the idea of narcissism.

Anxieties, and comforting illusions about the divided self in relation to shared social rules, involve the Symbolic Order and language in relation to the symbolic phase. It is necessary here to understand the Oedipal complex, which contains three steps. Firstly, in the child’s fantasy world, the child believes that his or her very existence takes the place of the object of his or her mother's desire or longing as the (illusory) phallus, in the process reinforcing their imaginary notion of oneness or union between the child and mother. Secondly, once the father joins this relationship as the third party, the child recognises that the mother's desire is directed towards the father, symbolised by the phallus. The child's desire for the mother's imaginary phallus is strongly prohibited and repressed into the unconscious under the law of the father. At this point, the unconscious self is created as the child accepts the law of the father and enters the symbolic order or phase (involving many titles and classifications of social positions, name, the law, etc.) within language, which offers linguistic hooks on which to hang one's identity. Eventually, the child attempts to place the phallus in the position of the first signifier in language – not to be the phallus, but to identify with the law of the father, which represents the unconscious subject's desire and alienation, driven by their lack of being. In this sense, Lacan (1977) contends that the unconscious as the discourse of the big Other is the starting point of desire, which becomes symbolised in objects, inspiring exchange with visible items, goods and productions, and using the symbolic universe of language as a system of signification. Otherwise, the unconscious self in the Symbolic phase becomes the desiring subject, which attempts to be continuously acknowledged and seen by others.

My primary research during the fieldwork, found that most Korean people in the real world want to be acknowledged by others and make money. This is similar in games where they can earn money for game items and level ups. Issues of identity in cyberspace are suddenly no different from issues in the real world. The identities of Koreans in the material world are extended and expanded in online worlds (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 022-023).
In real Korean society, men, women and children have highly defined roles in a hierarchical culture based on traditional Confucian values, which emphasises certain rules (e.g. those pertaining to fathers or men), collectivism and harmonisation between all social members, and an advanced (chaebol style) capitalist infrastructure (see Appendix E, middle section: part 1 scene 001-008). Financial collapse in South Korea in 1997 compromised these roles and resulted in major psychological, emotional and material trauma in families, schools and workplaces (see Appendix E, middle section: part 1 scene 009-010). This kind of trauma leads to anxiety and repression in relation to issues of economic power and material and social class. To attain social and economic power, and material possessions, it is very necessary to join in real Korean society's extremely competitive system for admission to better universities and companies (in terms of the Symbolic order) to be acknowledged by the big Other (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 050). However, this kind of desire is not an actual one produced by self-reflexive subjectivity, or produced and decided by individuals themselves. Their unconscious desires are influenced and created by the big Other.

Thus, under the domination of symbolic order, the unconscious self consistently pursues only the desires of others, divorced from its own subjectivity, and alienation deepens as a result. This is because not being a Subject and at this point lacking 'being' involves the 'Real phase' – the actual world, or actuality – which cannot be reduced to the language of the Symbolic order or phase. It resists a system of signification in the Symbolic phase as it forms 'the effect or logic of signifier' block.

Slavoj Zizek (2002) contends that the Symbolic and the Real are closely connected. The Real, which cannot properly describe the thing, will inevitably depend on the use of language as a system of signification, from the Symbolic rule. The Symbolic phase, meanwhile, cannot be relied upon to cut and divide the Real realm into linguistic terms correctly. For example, before categorising the meaning of 'human being' into classifications by a word, such as 'anthropoid' and 'mammal' for animals, we already recognise and feel a sense of the self – of humans as real beings – which involves our own subjectivity. The subject realises that the Real phase, represented through the Symbolic
system and regulation, is actually senseless and meaningless when trying to distinguish the thing by using a word. Thus, before this process of language (as symbolic system), the thing or being is categorised and termed. We already access the Symbolic phase, regardless of the will of the subject. On the other hand, even after dividing the thing or being with a word, through the Symbolic dimension of language, surplus material remains as the rest of such a division, which resists the Symbolic order, does not reduce to language. At this point, the self feels the lack of the subject, and the emptiness and alienation which the symbolic order cannot support.

This means that both before and after such division of the Real phase by language, the Real phase is incompletely and imperfectly represented by the Symbolic phase or order. Zizek (2002) explains that the self feels its own subjectivity in each edged boundary between two different phases as it is interactively working, and that the subject is always located in such a relationship. He points out two different aspects of subjectivisation. Even though from birth we are already dominated by the big Other, for instance by a given family name and certain social levels or positions and religion, we can integrate or reject the factors of the Symbolic order to narrate and depict our own subjectivity and life as opposed to becoming automatic living dolls. This is because the Symbolic order is incomplete: ‘becoming’ constituted by the lack of the subject. For this reason, it seeks to create personal myths or narratives and constructs an imagined version of identity in terms of self-renewability or reproduction through fantasy (e.g. gothic fiction and animated MMORPGs) and the creative psyche (e.g. animated online Hydes or antisocial characters) in order to supply or replace absence or lack of the subject. In this case, Zizek (1989: 127) asserts that the self is always fragmented, and fails to form this imagined version of identity, due to the fundamental antagonism between the Symbolic and Real phase in the self. The intrusion of fantasy aims to cover or hide this lack (of the subject) at the centre of everyday life.

In respect of this contention, young Korean people are continuously renewed by filling up this emptiness, projecting themselves into the individual unconscious (desire), whether through conflict, ambivalence or obscurity. The
tensions of their selves are projected onto the (hated) figure or space of the other – in the case, the ‘(Korean) animated online Hyde’, through their game addiction or immersion, targeting other users in competition, online game companies and the Korean institutional system based on vertical relationships, with the fantasy screen blocking the internal contradiction of these social issues.

In terms of Lacan and Zizek's theories about the mutual interaction among the Imaginary, Symbolic and Real phase, my interpretation is that due to the 1997 IMF economic crisis and the Korean social rule or domestic system, based on extreme competition as the Symbolic order, young Korean people's psychological repression and anxieties or fears provoke self-disintegration. This is caused by a sort of emptiness of the subject or subjectivity (e.g. the Real phase). The subject attempts to fill in or cover up this lack or limit by creating an imagined ideal figure as projected by the young Koreans – themselves made into animated, virtual avatar representations (e.g. the Imagery phase) (see Appendix E, middle section: part 1 scene 019-021 and part 2 scene 039).

Thus, this emptiness or lack of the subject causes a fiction of unconscious desire within self-identity and it creates antisocial characters and fantasies in Korean virtual worlds in order to release extreme tensions, such as competition and pressure from the real Korean social system (e.g. the Symbolic order) (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 018-020). When young Korean people lose or fail at the competition in the real Korean world's system, this unconscious desire is shifted or moved to the virtual world. The main consequence of this movement influences Korean gaming culture and online identity, in which high level users kill low level users, in terms of the fundamental antagonism (in Zizek's sense of the term). This starts to reflect and exacerbate divisions and tensions in the material world. One example is 'the Bartz Liberation War' which took place within the Korean MMORPG Lineage2, in 2004. This was like a real historical event, though it actually occurred in the virtual world (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 026-038). High level users, who have power and advanced weapons, exploited low level, less experienced players by taking real money in
exchange for useful items which help players to level up quicker. This resulted in real world conflict, and preserved established social hierarchies (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 049 and part 4 scene 013).

Interestingly, Korean avatars commonly confessed to having an inferiority complex about the low level of their avatar (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 039). This indicates they compare their own avatar level and items with others in terms of materialistic elements, and often feel inferior even if it is not a ‘real’ situation. In respect of this, Korean society encourages people to ‘level up’ socially and this is clearly used by game-playing strategies in MMORPGs (Fig. 7). This is because the rules of MMORPGs match up well with this concept of trying to improve social status (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 041-048). This means that Korean online games help to cover the emptiness or lack of the subject among young Korean game users. In this sense, this incomplete desire brought about by lack of the subject in real Korean worlds (as the Symbolic phase) is renewed by a fiction of the unconscious self. It is inflected into and represented by animated avatars in MMORPGs. They continuously chase material items and social class to fill their own emptiness (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 022-023). At this point, this desire is not actually one of self or subjectivity, but rather one produced by the Korean social order or system as the big Other (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 051-053).
Accordingly, Zizek contends that the unconscious is inevitably in conflict and contradiction, experiencing loss and frustration within the self. For this reason, the self allows individuals to ratify different aspects of subjectivity and finally seeks to adopt different lives or forms of identity in order continuously to conceal and renew fragmented and incomplete psychic identifications (e.g. the mirror stage). Significantly, when this continuously works, it leads to a kind of compulsion (Fig. 8) in relation to 'gaming addiction or immersion' as struggles of young Korean people (see Appendix E, middle section: part 3 scene 001-002). Self-identity struggles may be creatively dramatised and represented through self-reproduction, filling gaps with an animated fantasy, an ideal figure, against ambivalence and obscurity.
2.4 The Bio-Cultural Perspective

As stated above, the idea of the double in terms of self-reproduction is connected to a cultural evolution in the human mind, with the notion of the ideal spirit and body as the source of the idea of Jekyll and Hyde. In this case, the fragmented and incomplete self of the young Korean provokes psychological repression and anxieties. These are reflected within an internalised world or a world of individual transgression and projected onto fictional texts ranging from gothic fiction to contemporary science fiction to animated MMORPGs, as audio-visual fiction media. Accordingly, these fictional texts have culturally (re)produced the expression of human knowledge as non-physical or invisible matter (e.g. the depression of the self) with imaginative freedom, representing created (antisocial) characters and fantasies. In respect of this, the book by Torben Grodal, *Embodied Visions* (2009) allowed me a new way of seeing how we have represented ourselves from the past to the present under different cultural conditions, through the evolutionary process and bio-culturalism (Grodal 2009: 4-5).

It is quite difficult to explain human nature due to the divide and interplay between the scientific view, relating to evolutionary change in the brain and body, and that of the humanities, relating to the internal state and external world as subjective self-awareness (Crook 1980, quoted in Massimini, F. and Fave, A., 2000: 25). This is because objective physical factors influence interactions between mind and culture and these interactions also impact the shape of brains and bodies (Grodal 2009: 4-5). It has also been emphasised that human behaviour is influenced by biological inheritance (Durham 1990: 193), and according to this perspective, humanity has evolved both physically and socially to survive and reproduce in given environments (Symons 1990: 429).

Massimini and Fave (2000: 25), however, argue that culture should be regarded as the evolving pool of ideas, values and knowledge, based on social learning throughout human history. This has effects on human behaviour in terms of how the individual adapts to it and transmits it into the production of artefacts such as stories and symbols. Laland (2003: 3) states
that the information-based property of transmission allows cultures to propagate novel human behaviour from the growth of brain structures and biological features. The bio-cultural embodied approach is explained by Grodal (2009: 5), in whose view the embodied mind is related to environmental fitness and the embodied brain can be described as the primal drive, which has evolved and adapted to solve practical problems. According to Grodal (ibid: 110), mental capacities in human beings have been selected for, and ultimately evolved in order to ensure survival and reproduction. This idea may be useful in relation to the creation of the avatar, or the construction of virtual identities in gothic and science fiction, in terms of self-reproduction for survival reasons.

Wells (2000: 9) explains that the doppelganger or double identity is relevant to this reproduction, creating another self as alter ego and soul, or constructing an identity to protect itself in defence of fundamental fears and anxieties about the relationship between the self and the external world. In this sense, the Korean fantasy boom may be one self-preservative reaction by a young generation of Koreans who are threatened by a broken society in the IMF era. They are reproducing themselves in fantasy fiction as an act of doubling for survival. Unconsciously, they are depressed and concerned about broken beliefs and the deconstruction of cultural conventions. Importantly, since the mid-1990s, Korean fantasy novels, such as Young-Do Lee's *Dragon Raza* (1997), have begun to boom amongst the young generation and, later, have influenced the creation of a unique Korean online game genre, MMORPGs (massively multiplayer online role-playing games), based on this fantasy fiction (Park 2011).

Grodal (ibid: 101) states that the mental equipment humans had already developed long before cultural explosion occurred is still pertinent. Its expression is often a representation or simulation in a media product such as language or drawings on a cave wall. In his view, films are able to access our core emotional and cognitive elements in relation to the development of the embodiment of brains, and reveal primal identities such as the hunter-gatherer. The instinct for survival is often played out in literary or visual fiction when stimulated in the real world, and cultural invention from agriculture, to industry,
to the digital information community has been influenced and modified as a result of such an innate emotional disposition (ibid: 7, 99, 106-107). It may be that this evolution is not only relevant to visual fiction like films or video games, but also to new media like Second Life or MMORPGs as three-dimensional online games with SNS, based on various stories and situations. An evolutionary view seems necessary as a way to transmit and develop new culture-based systems for human survival in the contemporary environment as suggested by Boellstorff (2008: 87).

Further, Massimini and Fave (2000: 25) state that humans have manipulated the environment and built up social norms through symbolic representations of the external world, and that individuals themselves were formally developed by means of descriptions stored in the individual central nervous system translated into cultural artefacts as a means of transmission, to become cultural information-based property. For example, the scenario in films and games of hide-and-seek, and the chasing structure, are one of the key features explained in cultural activity in relation to hunting practices in the past, and this has evolved into the formula of modern 'detective genre' fictions, including my film practice, which are based on the interaction of cultural constructions and innate dispositions such as hunting, hiding from dangerous things and interpreting and following signs and tracks (Grodal 2009: 7-9, 106-107). At this point I wonder, from this perspective, how the construction of identities and the creation of avatars may be explained by cultural reproductions, such as those inspired by Jekyll and Hyde, and the innate specification of embodied brains. The biological process has developed in order to understand the double or dualism between the spirit and the body as well as the dichotomy between various conceptions of good and evil (ibid: 109-111).

Grodal (2009: 10) addresses dualism in the mind. He suggests that the idea of the mind being based on a non-material spirit existing in material brains is untenable, and that it is an empirical task to investigate how flexible our brains are in relation to cultural change. For instance, Turkle (1995: 179-180) explains the process of cycling through different identities or masks in the evolutionary process, from possession by gods and spirits in tribal societies to
the split personality of Jekyll and Hyde in the modern era. Furthermore, she notes that this is caused and advanced by multiple identities prompted by daily experiences in the postmodern age (ibid: 258-262). At this point, Grodal (2009: 26) explains that there are three main ways to explicate cultural resemblances. They are produced by human biology interacting with the same or similar environment, and also by cultural transmission through a common ideology or tradition, or they are generated by a disembodied human spirit with religious inspiration, in which the body is described as the source of evil instincts (ibid). It can therefore be argued that the avatar may be a naturalised cultural product or form in relation to the idea of the body and spirit as the double, or in opposition (ibid: 110).

Sperber (1996) states that this particular cultural product is reproduced in the same way as epidemics, as cultural items are generated through the needs of biological dispositions in the brain, although it is very hard to explain clearly how this works in a bio-cultural approach. Grodal (2009: 10) explains that our embodied minds have gained flexibility and complexity by a long process of evolution in our biology as well as in our culture, and survive despite facing increasingly complicated problems. The complexity of one’s mental state is pragmatic, in the sense that the embodied brain has various modules and functions for solving problems, each of which can be applied singularly or in conjunction with others in different situations (ibid: 10, 147).

According to Durham (1991), culture evolves as an autonomous system in which 'memes' (from Richard Dawkins’ theory described in *The Selfish Gene*, which was published in 1976) are subject to differential replication under the pressures of biology, culture or both, and these processes lead to selection and evolution in and of culture. Likewise, memes’ differential replication and transmission by means of oral communication and artefacts’ reproduction through competition or imposition from one culture to another is a frequent and common event in human history (Blackmore 1999: 24-25, 40-41, 50-51; Brodie 1996: 11-12, 36-37).

Thus, new memes can be introduced into this evolving cultural system by means of cultural inventions from other social groups (Grodal 2009: 32-33).
Cultural memes’ fitness is based on the development of new environments and factors such as light, space and so on (Massimini and Fave 2000: 27). Grodal (2009: 31-32), however, points out that the most important thing is the creation of cultural products such as stories or narratives through this evolving system, which is not just making tools like knives and forks but may be one of several very effective ways to represent the mental-emotional experiences of humans by themselves. Hence, from this perspective, it may be that identity can be developed and reproduced continuously through various unlimited contents of stories as cultural artefacts by the interaction of both the cultural transfer of knowledge and innate mental dispositions (ibid: 215-216). This allows individuals to construct fictional concepts such as monsters, fairies and spirits and manage death rituals in burial ceremonies, etc., to preserve the ability to advance identity and imagine simple hypotheses and future scenarios (ibid: 98-100). This is because the ability to imagine leads to insight into cause and effect, and this belief in causal relations among supernatural events is vital to ensure survival and reproduction (Massimini and Fave 2000: 25-27).

For instance, concerning self-reproduction for survival, once more, I argue that young Koreans’ self-repressions and anxieties are parallels with escapism and resistance in Stevenson’s textual fiction. Both relate to sudden socioeconomic change and a lack of cohesive subjectivity. In this case, with reference to Botting (1996: 19-20), I consider that Korean fantasy texts based on Table-based Role-Playing Games support the release of repressed energies and tensions of young Korean users through imaginative self-created characters and worlds. Accordingly, the animated online Hyde in visually based MMORPG fictions has been culturally reproduced or is involved in constructing and contesting the distinction between self and other (as is apparent in Jekyll and Hyde), and between reason and desire (or the conscious and the unconscious), and repression and release of the self. These situations can be compared with antisocial characters or fantasies in gothic fiction.
2.5 Further Developing Ideas on My Film Practice

Ultimately, my film practice focuses on the collected primary data, which explain how the Korean came to rely on and utilise visually based animated fictions, and I develop this through secondary research into the overall view of theories of identities seen from the perspective of three different disciplines: sociology, psychoanalysis and bio-culturalism.

In terms of the formation of Korean gaming culture and online identity such as the animated online Hyde, I present several research findings that are visually represented in my film practice (see Appendix E, middle section). Hence, several key themes are discussed as below:

- Many Korean people regard social class as a vertical structure and rising up the structure as more important than the individual. This is also reflected in Korean virtual worlds when players construct social relations and identity between home and working places or schools.

- Due to the 1997 IMF crisis, young Korean people feel depressed and anxious. There is intense pressure generated by mass dismissals and high unemployment as well as extreme competition. This leads to mental health issues and escapism amongst young Korean people. They start to create and use PC communication-based fantasy novels and an initial version of Role-playing games. This develops to form current animated MMORPGs online.

- Korean gamers, especially youth game users, construct their own identities online through animated games composed of virtual worlds, using avatars and developing social guilds or parties as online communities.

- Many Korean game users confess that the low social level of their own avatars causes a sort of shame or complex before others. When they achieve a high social level in game culture, they start to kill other low level avatars to prove themselves. They want to be acknowledged by other users, to obtain proxy satisfaction, through player-on-player fighting and killing. This very often occurs in Korean MMORPGs.
In Korea, players may have their avatars killed and feel that this is a highly inflammatory social issue in relation to social class/level and the power of their own avatars. Due to this, avatar violence sometimes provokes actual meetings and revenge attacks in the real world. Even though many Korean gamers wish to form positive relationships with other gamers through their avatars, they are at the same time challenged by the competition and tensions arise.

This competition causes players to spend a lot of time playing online games. There are major concerns about the personal and social effects of being addicted to or immersed in games. However, game developers believe that they are not responsible for this, and remain committed to making more advanced games. Politicians, educators and cultural commentators are very critical of this position.

The creation of avatars as virtual online identities, game culture and the use of online games enable young Koreans to understand themselves as Koreans, compared with their real lives in offline Korean society.
Chapter 3: Theorising Visual Ethnography

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will explore the theory of visual ethnography and explain how it was applied to my visual practices. For this, it is important to determine whether or not visual practices such as films can be used to articulate a specific culture and other people (e.g. the Korean identity in a Korean socio-cultural context). Firstly, I will briefly introduce ethnographic films as visual practices in ethnography, from the early feature to the contemporary approach. Secondly, I will identify the concept of 'documentary fiction' (e.g. the drama documentary proposed by Roscoe and Hight, 2001: 56) in ethnographic film practices and how it influences my animated practices in terms of drama, or dramatisation documentary, in a post-positivist approach. Thirdly, I will seek other research examples of avatar-based interviews and participant observation in relation to visual ethnography and virtual worlds. Further, this will explain how these online practices can be engaged with animation in visual ethnography in virtual and real worlds. Finally, I will suggest that animated visual practice in a documentary can represent ethnographic knowledge and findings (e.g. subjective experiences), and eventually produce a new meaning of these for better understanding of other cultures and people in a subjectively-reflexive way.

When considering ethnographic research as a practice-researcher, it is necessary to define how anthropology or study of human culture/cultural behavior is related to filmed ethnography in anthropology. Tim Ingold (2013: 3-4) explains that,

anthropology is studying with and learning from [culture]; it is carried forward in a process of life, and effects transformations within that process. But, ethnography is a study of and learning about [people and cultures], its enduring products are recollective accounts which serve a documentary purpose.
In this sense, it can been seen that ethnography is different from anthropology for the purposes of doing (visual) ethnographic research in anthropology, even though it shares some ideas or principles within broader anthropological theory.

Pink (2013[2001]: 34) contends that ethnography is not a simple or particular research method or set of methods, as it is defined by Martin Hammersley and Paul Atkinson (2007[1995]: 1-3). Instead, she redefines ethnographic methodology as 'an approach to experiencing, interpreting and representing experience, culture, society and material and sensory environments that informs and is informed by sets of different disciplinary agendas and theoretical principles' (Pink 2013[2001]: 34).

Ethnography is, therefore, engaged with cultural studies and humanities to describe other cultures and people in the context of everyday life. It allows researchers to translate the heterogeneous experience of fieldwork or note-taking into written memos and visual materials and then shift those data into other words and visual information through analytic methods. From these observations regarding ethnographic purpose, it is obvious that ethnography has a documentary purpose, in terms of 'records and description of the event and people' (Ingold 2013: 2-3). When ethnography combines or involves the visual, it offers visual methods of research and representation and eventually plays an important role in visual ethnography as a solid visual research tool, through the collection of visual documentary information as a research process (Banks 2001; Pink 2012: 2013 [2001]).

### 3.2 Visual Ethnography and Documentary Films

Even though ethnographic films have no clear definition, the term generally assumes that they are a documentation of exotic people and events in other cultures. MacDougall (1998: 84) states, however, that ethnographic films have adopted a variety of documentary forms, ranging from didactic to observational to interview-based (e.g. talking heads). At the same time, ethnographic film has played an important role in developing a form of
Historically, under a positivist approach, early ethnographic film was primarily regarded as a qualitative field research tool in the visual area (anthropological study) to observe and describe what actually happened to ethnographers by capturing or filming an objective reality. The films emphasized the assumption that culture is objectively constructed around natural environments (e.g. Félix-Louis Regnault in 1895). In other words, early filmed ethnography was a form of evidence which visualised written field notes. It was a powerful scientific tool for documenting reality with a descriptive aim and was used in social science and cultural studies (e.g. Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson in the 1930s).

However, since the 1930s, filmed ethnography has also started to express the personal/subjective 'artistic' visions of visual anthropologists or ethnographers. Importantly, this has attempted to blend the science of anthropological ethnographic knowledge with the aesthetics of film or cinema, artistic expression and the artist's view through the audio-visual medium. This fusion has influenced anthropological theory, and it has contributed to ambiguous definitions of aspects of filmed ethnography in visual ethnography.

In the 1950-60s Jean Rouch proved that filmed visual ethnography can refine the capacity of the camera to record data objectively and also manipulate or interpret a factual moment by implicit or subjective reflexivity and improvised participation in respect of science fiction in a documentary film, created by Rouch’s term (e.g. Jaguar in 1967). Film can inject the dramatic intervention/input and performance of ethnographers into unscripted scenes and rehearsals (e.g. Chronique d'un été / Chronicle of a Summer by Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin, 1961). In this sense, improvised and creative documents are used by Rouch practically to invent a genre of cinéma-vérité, by rediscovering the fact provoked by the camera and performed by the protagonists, including ethnographers or filmmakers. This achieves the 'truth' by the representation of people’s own lives and memories, using unreal elements or fictional situations in narrative (e.g. docu-fiction or psycho-drama: Les maîtres fous / The Mad Masters, 1955). In this sense, Rouch pursues a
creative and subjective approach to ethnographic film, in order to intensify reality through reenactment by using artistic or improvised dramatic expression, as opposed to the dominant idea of conventional academic positivist approaches in the past (e.g. Margaret Mead).

In the 1970s, David MacDougall explained the role of making a documentary into film, using as an observational film style the gaze or perspective of actual observers from hidden or unseen positions, and the participant observation approach, from anonymity to a more personal and authored documentary cinema. Even though it also requires editing, like other fictional films, this does not recreate collapsed space and time, but it does radically select and edit the appropriate sequence-shots along with the ethnographer's subjective viewpoint through the observational eye of the camera and its movement, according to anthropological principles (MacDougall 1998: 86). Accordingly, the aim of making ethnographic documentary films is not to emphasise neutral, transparent and objective views of reality, but rather the reflexivity of filmed ethnography as an encounter between filmmakers and the subject in order to show, but not tell, a partial truth about specific people, through ethnographers' or film-makers' camera viewfinder (MacDougall 2006: 7).

When using this aspect of the reflexive ethnographic film, it is important to represent the presence of the researchers or filmmakers who control the action or meditation between themselves and interviewees or informants reacting to the camera, in order to reveal that a film cannot be absolutely objective (MacDougall 1998: 86). This means it does not prove the final truth or produce an objective conclusion about event and people. It describes the historical ground and phenomenon in the social and cultural context, by presenting the research process of actualisation (ibid: 87).

MacDougall (1997: 292) contends that in ethnographic fieldwork contexts, visual research practice operates as a means of communicating understandings of something hidden or invisible, which are accessible only by non-verbal means to develop alternative or non-conventional ethnographic practice and representation in a critical and reflexive perspective. MacDougall (2006:28) also argues that 'the bodies of the subject, the filmmaker, and the
viewer become interconnected and in some ways undifferentiated'.

Very importantly, with respect to reflexivity, he alludes to the integration of the boundary between ethnographic documentary and filmic/cinematic, scientific and aesthetic knowledge, objectivity and subjectivity, fact and fiction, and art and science. MacDougall (2006) quotes Alfred Gell (1992: 1998), insisting that 'art can be seen as more a matter of agency and power than of aesthetics and meaning'. In this way, art and science can be merged and clear distinctions are blurred. The subject can be seen as the source of objective knowledge as well as assessed by feeling subjectively.

### 3.3 Documentary Fiction on Ethnographic Film Practices

With regard to the use of artistic or fictional expression, inspired by Rouch's legacy of filmic or subjective narration, the author of *Writing Culture*, James Clifford (1986: 6) argued the meaning of constructedness and fiction in ethnographic practices which contain recorded observation or filmed knowledge produced by selective editing or exclusion.

In addition to fiction in ethnographic films, Clifford's idea is juxtaposed with MacDougall's notion in relation to 'documentary fiction', which suggests or gives different strategies or alternative ways to communicate with the viewers by situating them in fictional circumstances, by the use of a dramatic-reality narrative system or structure, when representing the lived experience of people in a documentary.

Thus, this kind of dramatisation in documentary representation can be seen as an extension of Clifford's sense of a fiction about simple selectivity and arrangement in shooting scenes, when producing ethnographic films. Geertz (1983: 19) states that dramatisation in documentary representation is the process of an integration between science and the arts or non-fiction (documentary) and fiction, creating a blurring of genres. This allows ethnographers to offer an insight into subjective experience or voices in a non-conventional documentary representation by creating a fiction for a non-fiction purpose, unlike any other in commercial fictional cinema (Nichols 1991: 186).
Concerning documentary fiction by dramatisation of contents (as not only selective editing or elimination), MacDougall (1998:103-112) elucidates the different aspects of dramatisation: exterior, interior, descriptive and psychodrama for cinematic/filmic stories and narration in documentary representation. Even though he originally introduces 9 different dramatizations in his book, I mention only 4 parts of them, which are linked to my own film practices. It is an approach to subjective identification, in terms of a content-based conceptual fictionalisation, based on ethnographic research findings.

For instance, Jean Epstein's film *Finis Terrae* (1929) uses interior dramatisation. Epstein employs cinematic expression, linking between interior objects and young antagonists' faces in an interior place through the third-person point of view. This means, his ethnographic film focuses on expressing humans' evocative experiences, such as concerns, illness, delirium and friction, around the young antagonists in a natural environment. MacDougall (1998: 106) explains that this type of interior dramatization is manifested in order to make the viewers feel a strong synaesthetic effect through objects being presented as if they are empathised with, to evoke the same feeling as that towards antagonists in the film. In my documentary film, I used a door, a letter and a Korean traditional mask in dark interior places (e.g. a dead boy's flat and my office) inspired by gothic fiction to stand for the double or doppelganger, emphasising a dead boy's mental issues or inner processes (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 012-017).

Further, with regard to a form of psycho-drama in dramatisation, Jean Rouch in *Jaguar* (1967) presents a real journey story of three young people as participants using their dramatic aural performance. He also uses fictionalisation, such as improvised dialogue, narrated story and subjective narration (e.g. dramatic voices role-playing sound effects) amongst three participants. These fictional elements emphasise the aspect of emotion or feeling in the subjective experience of three young men. This dramatic device immerses the viewer in the young men's adventure narrative by blending fiction and non-fiction in an ethnographic documentary film. In my
documentary's beginning and end sections, I used this kind of dramatisation through the creation of my 3D figure character. He performs as a researcher or presenter (including my subjective or filmic narration) and a masked man, in order to empathise with and identify a dead boy's experience in a documentary, when intercutting two scenes between the masked man's running (as myself) and a murder in a detective-thriller style of narrative (see Appendix E, beginning scene 001-009). Hence, in terms of a fiction and dramatisation in documentary representation, the ideas of Clifford and MacDougall are useful for creating my documentary film. It is constituted of different fragmented facts (e.g. animated interviews with game experts and users) and by suturing and conflating recreated time and space in a fictional or dramatic narrative structure (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 022-029). It involves an ethnographer's presence, intervention and creative treatment of actuality (e.g. a boy's murder of his mother and suicide).

Eventually, in terms of documentary fiction and my ethnographic film, it allows me to represent/reenact a boy's real murder and use dramatisation (e.g. a masked man, a letter by Jekyll, gothic style dark spaces and horrific sound) in the beginning and end and selective editing (e.g. different interview materials) in the middle section. According to Clifford and MacDougall, these tactics can be seen as an ethnographic subjective interpretation of documentary film practices in order to communicate better with the audience about a boy's inward trouble generated by a real Korean social issue.

An understanding of documentary film as an ethnographic research method is important for my research project as it enables me to use fiction or drama documentary, which is combined or mixed with my subjective interpretive commentary and observations about the everyday life of young Korean people in online games, compared with their real lives in a Korean society.

3.4 **Visual Ethnography in a Post-Positivist Approach**

Collier and Collier (1986: 162) assert that the approach to observed reality via video and film is distinguishable from fiction based on the fixed shooting script,
due to the systematic selectivity of observational guides. They also contend that visual ethnography can offer recording as an alternative method to observation of reality as a means of achieving the whole ethnographic truth.

However, Clifford (1986: 6) raises a question about this point and reconsiders the meaning of ethnography which is associated with contracted narrative or fictional shooting scripts. Rather than setting the complete and whole truth in opposition to falsehood, Clifford (1986: 7) acknowledges the incomplete or partial truth of ethnographic (constructed) knowledge or meaning, in terms of telling parts of stories as fiction. By rethinking the whole view of a situation as observation and records of reality, Clifford asserts the contractedness of the narrative, which is based on systematic elimination in the process of research data editing or selectivity.

In this sense, Clifford recognises specific experience or partial truth, emphasising the commonalities between the constructed and the fictional, in Clifford's sense of the term, aspects of ethnographic film achieved by selective editing or exclusions. This contributes to making a new meaning and producing a different context as a form of visually represented ethnographic knowledge, engaging with film practices (Ruby 1982: 130; Henley 1998: 51).

Pink (2013[2001]: 21-22) explains that it is consistent with the shift towards postmodernism to develop from Clifford's ideas in the 1980s a visually based way of doing ethnography or visual representation of ethnography. Ethnographic film is a representational medium which allows for subjective expression or interpretation (art practices) based on objective participant observation (visual ethnography), balancing aesthetic and scientific research, and illuminating specific and complex experience.

This new approach to visual ethnography and ethnographic research generated a more flexible research methodology and it significantly influences ethnography, anthropology, sociology and art. It becomes an inter-disciplinary method involving visual practice and form, including photography, film and hand-drawn observation (see Banks 2001; Harper 1998, 2012; Pink et. al. 2004).
With respect to the future of visual anthropology, Pink (2006: 121) mentions that visual research practice in a contemporary context attempts to use new media creatively (e.g. audio-visual based media on the web) in relation to sound and image in digital media. The process of exploring the complex experiences and environments of other individuals facilitates understanding of the unknown or hidden issues of lived experience in the context of everyday life (Pink 2013[2001]: 38-39).

A visually based ethnography in a contemporary context suggests new research directions. The use of visual art practices with digital technologies has evolved from conventional ethnographic documentary films and photographs (Pink 2006: 16-20; Pink 2013[2001]: 22-23). New forms of digital ethnographic documentary video (using digital editing software on laptop computers and digital portable camcorders or cameras), and experimental art, drawing, and film or the combination of these different content forms as applied visual practices in multi-media allow more freedom of action and imaginative interpretation in film practices (e.g. self-created animation) (see Banks and Ruby 2011; Ingold 2010; Pink 2006: 2012: 2013[2001]). This freedom of action offered me ways of representing my ethnographic research knowledge and findings on animated documentary films as visual practices, using recorded animated avatars, when dealing with my virtual interviews with Korean avatars/online gamers and participant observation in Korean MMORPGs as new media by digital technologies which are available to individuals in the present (see Appendix C and F).

Due to its use of new media and digital technologies, including a combination of digital forms (such as drawings and written notes, recorded audio, still images, animation and video), a visual approach to ethnography allows contemporary visual practice-researchers, including me, to interact with informants or interviewees (see Appendix C, in relation to online and offline practices). We engage with issues beyond the boundary between the real and the virtual as a means of communicating ethnographic knowledge in both online and offline worlds (Miller and Slater 2000: 1; Curtis 1997[1992]: 125). New technology influences visual research methods and employing digital audio-visual based ethnography is becoming more acceptable. The
technology of the contemporary era (used in Second Life and World of Warcraft as MMORPGs) can be used as a research method to reflect the daily life of individuals and the construction of identity and teenagers’ online culture, connecting a real social world and a cultural context.

3.5 Ethnography and Virtual Worlds

Coming of age in Second Life (2008) by Boellstorff and Ethnography and Virtual World (Boellstorff and Pearce et. al, 2012) introduce ethnographic research methods and their main features. These texts explain ethnographic research methods in virtual worlds through creating avatars in Second Life (as virtual worlds), and using participant observation and interviews with other avatars.

In these books, however, visual practices and related research methods such as visual ethnography are not explained. However, in Coming of Age in Second Life (2008) Boellstorff offers the theoretical idea of virtual humans and initially suggests his own ethnographic methods in online animated worlds, using avatar-based practices in Second Life.

The main focus is on 'participant observations' with the point of view of natives as an essential anthropological tool in virtual worlds (e.g. Second Life), holding/adapting Geertz's 'holistic approach' rather than emphasising a specific point of view about cultural particularities. Boellstorff (2008: 249) argues that 'through culture, humans are always already virtual; ethnography has always been a kind of virtual investigation of the human, and can therefore play an important role in understanding cyber-sociality'. He stresses the importance of classical participant observation, which allows the researcher to develop new aspects of human sociality and to involve or interact in virtual worlds. This also allows for interaction with other people (avatars) and what happens to them there.

He introduces the Second Life culture and explains how he understands and studies a virtual world through text-based fieldwork research in virtual worlds. This is compared with his other, offline research into Indonesian gay culture,
based on the conventional or classical anthropological methods inspired by Margaret Mead’s work (e.g. *Coming Age in Samoa* in 1928). Boellstorff explores in what ways ethnography is distinguishable from virtual anthropology and whether it can explain virtual worlds through participating in Second Life (as virtual worlds by Linden Lab) and studying himself through his own created avatar.

He argues that Second Life is a unique world which is not directly connected with the real world. It is not a recreation or simulation (as secondary role) of the real world, contrary to the assumption that online worlds are embedded in actual worlds as argued by Miller and Slater (2000: 1). Boellstorff (2008: 63) insists that ‘actual world sociality cannot explain virtual world sociality’. Avatars' selfhoods and communities only exist online because they are only created online. This means that only online cultures are recreated in Second Life cultures, and not subcultures. Accordingly, Boellstorff’s methodological approach needs an appropriate online context, being only in a virtual world, which is conducted only online. This approach is in agreement with the idea that the virtual and real worlds are disconnected, and it assumes that the virtual world is not a subculture of the actual world. Instead, the virtual world is seen as being composed of highly particular discrete cultures or realms out of real ones, which are not ultimately predicated upon cultures of the actual world. Therefore, Boellstorff states, online culture is unique to that online context, without engaging with the real life matter (ibid: 64).

For this reason, Boellstorff (2008: 57, 68) emphasises the role of 'participant observation' for ethnography, re-emphasising that it is itself 'a form of techne or practice' (in Boellstorff's sense of the term, for instance, humans' creative ability to use or conduct something as meaningful tools in a new environment). This allows the ethnographer to become involved in crafting human actions and events as they occur. It tends to see and understand the aspects of culture in terms of unconscious reflection, not knowledge.

However, there are two main issues that I will argue with reference to what Boellstorff repeatedly states throughout his books. Firstly, a distinction between the ‘virtual’ and the ‘actual’ to describe the unique aspect of virtual
worlds may be problematic in understanding different online games or new media content such as MMORPGs in a specific culture or society. In South Korea, there is a similarity between two realms in terms of social actions (e.g. an obsession with social levels of both avatars and real people). Therefore, it is not likely that virtual worlds are unique realms in terms of social action or practice and they are not predicated on the actual world. This means Boellstorff’s approach does not consider or concentrate on a single phenomenon in relation to practices or actions related to sociology or cultural studies. Holding a traditionally holistic approach to society and culture, he does not give any consideration to situated and partial or specific cases.

By using the term ‘homo cyber’ and ‘virtually human’, Boellstorff makes general statements about the human ethnographic condition and what it can tell us about Second Life as virtual worlds, statements which do not address cultural particularities. Further, a cultural approach to MMORPGs as virtual worlds (e.g. *Linage 2* and *World of Warcraft* based on the contents of given game quests or tasks) may be exactly opposite to the Second Life virtual world, in which game quests are not given. For instance, in my ethnographic practice, I found that, as opposed to other users in the USA or other Western societies, most Korean people did not use Second Life, due to a lack of game content. This raises the issue of a lack of specific cultural understanding and social meaning, in terms of the different view or aspect of natives and human activity in MMORPGs. Depending on the virtual worlds, research methods may be different in ethnography and may influence interpretation or definition of how humans utilise technologies.

In my practice, I conduct different interviews with groups of gamers online (keeping anonymity) and offline (revealing real identity), to understand the concerns and interests of each game group and what differences and similarities there are between the Korean virtual and real worlds when Koreans construct their own self-identities or an animated online Hyde (see Appendix A). Korean online and offline gamers commonly state that they suffer from similar pressures and competition about social levels. Both groups even confess that their attempts to achieve a social level-up of their own avatars and receive political and economical power, acknowledgement or
envy from other avatars in online games are comparable with their lives in real Korean society (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 048-052). This means that ethnographic research methods, including interviews and participant observation, are different depending on (ethnographic) research subjects or issues and context, in terms of consideration of socio-cultural particularities.

Secondly, as Boellstorff explains the idea of Techne and its possibilities in Second Life, practice-researchers are able to create their own ethnographic research methods, using visually-based, artistic practices and research performance or actions (in visual ethnography). If their use or expression and constructedness does not damage the original research purpose and data, they can strengthen a specific cultural or social phenomenon in a documentary. In this sense, it is possible for both informants and researchers to produce their own ethnographic images which are linked to a self-reflexivity and subjective expression, making the informants or interviewees, as other or avatars, create their own recorded game footage, containing their individuality in a specific cultural and social context (see Appendix C).

This offers a better understanding of different or discrete cultural particularities than holistic approaches which make general statements about cultures embedded in situated time and place. Unlike Boellstorff's approach of drawing on classical or conventional ethnography, where he attempts to discover virtual worlds for generations of Second Life users, I directly record participant observation and interviews with related avatars as visual practices. Subsequently, I use this recorded animated footage to make ethnographic animated documentaries. Very importantly, when the footage in online games is recorded, it becomes a documentary (as it is animated), which presents virtual life in a piece of animation (e.g. virtual films or Machinima by Phylis Johnson and Donald Pettit 2012: 4). In respect of visual ethnography, it is visually animated, moving images as ethnographies documenting the avatars' interviews and their gaming in MMORPGs (see Appendix E, middle section: part 1 scene 010-017). It presents the pieces of animation which we are watching in online real time, as auto-created animation.
My animation contains a very distinctive, visual description of people and their experience of a certain ethno-identity, such as the young Korean (the online Edward Hyde) and Korean MMORPGs. It offers the audience a sense or understanding of why young Korean users utilise online games as new media technologies and how they construct their own identities (e.g. the animated Jekyll transforming into Hyde) to express their selves through these animated visual practices to (re)validate relevance in virtual worlds (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 001-023).

Boellstorff (2008: 75) comments on the records of audio or video as truthful narrative forms when conducting ethnography in virtual worlds. He notes that such visual practices assist the practice-researcher to capture real life in a particular situation, even though it occurs in virtual worlds. Capturing or recording this research process or findings as animated/moving images produced by both informants and ethnographers allows the collection of animated data as well as the merging of data into one piece of animation in order to understand certain avatars or people's everyday lives in virtual worlds (e.g. young Korean people in *Linage 2*, using technologies which are familiar to everyone in daily life).

Associated with Boellstorff's research, there is another example of auto-ethnography and virtual worlds in Douglas Gayeton’s ethnographic documentary film, *Molotov Alva and His Search for the Creator: A Second Life Odyssey* (2007). Gayeton also immerses and presents his created avatar (Molotov Alva) in the virtual world (Second Life) and articulates his avatar's Second Life journey through a recording of his everyday virtual life, as it is an automatically animated documentary in itself. Thus, it can be seen as an ethnographic virtual film, although it has taken place in the virtual world.

However, Gayeton did not conduct and use avatar-based, in-depth interviews or focus group interviews to deliver avatars' real voices, reflect their actual problems or engage with real society. While Boellstorff did not use or apply visual practices in ethnography, Gayeton gave simply one discipline-based, self-oriented perspective in auto-ethnography. Even though he used visual
practices from an ethnographic stance, he only took the individualist approach for self-learning, when investigating human experiences in the virtual world.

In contrast to this, my animated ethnographic research provides two different aspects of interview materials from 10 online gamers, 4 offline gamers, and 10 game experts, discussed in detail below. I recorded all of their research practices and they allowed me to use the recorded visual data for research purposes (see Appendix E, middle section: part 1 scene 004-005). For this research, I created 6 avatars, logging into Korean MMORPGs to have in-depth formal interviews with the real avatars in virtual worlds (see Appendix C). Also, I asked them to record interviews as well as create their own game-playing footage. This footage, in turn, reveals specific patterns and rules of games or interactions among Korean gamers. Some gamers gave their own recorded game footage, which they had directly experienced and which I needed explicitly to reveal Korean online game culture, such as the ‘guild war’ event for the communities. Eventually, I selected 6 out of 10 gamers (Fig. 9) and used their recorded avatar interview materials and game footage for my animated visual research data. This meant I could use these recorded visual materials from virtual avatar interviews to player killing (PK) due to avatar level issues. In addition, I conducted interviews with offline game users who confessed their own game immersion and addiction (see Appendix E, middle section: scene 060). I also received information that was useful for understanding the case of a dead boy's tragic incident, connecting this to a Korean socio-cultural context during the physical interviews with 10 game experts (see Appendix A).

Figure 9. 6 Selected online interviewees as avatars in MMORPGs
I asked questions of the gamers, recording their statements on the veracity of the situation as they recognised it (see Appendix B). The questions were flexible and in response to interviewees’ interaction and experience, focusing on Korean online ethnic culture or cultural particularities concerning the constructed visual images of the avatar. Interviews also addressed guilds or communities in everyday life on how Koreans perceive their own identity. This allowed me an insight into how they are able to communicate freely with others without time restrictions and demands. This is a vital method for understanding escapism from ‘real’ life styles and social pressures, and why gamers rely on the PC bangs and suffer from game addiction or immersion.

By recording virtual daily lives of avatars as research, objects engage with a new ethnographic approach in a contemporary context, and it directly involves visual (ethnographic) research data. This allows me to describe, document and record online footage, including participant observation and in-depth interviews, utilising digital media. When recording these ethnographic practices between me and avatar-participants in virtual worlds, this auto-animated footage can be seen as animated ethnographies or ethnographic virtual films, which visually articulate young Korean people’s identity in the context of everyday life.

3.6 Visual Ethnography and Animation in Virtual Worlds

Unlike work by Boellstorff and Gayeton, my animated ethnography can be regarded or seen as a new, techne form of practice (in Boellstorff's sense of the term) as it is animated (based on the frame by frame principle) in a documentary. This is because each frame-image inhabits practised and obtained ethnographic knowledge from my fieldwork research. It is a description of animated images on the soundtrack (e.g. recordings of oral conversations amongst animated avatars in virtual spaces), in terms of ‘auto-animated ethnographies in virtual worlds’.

My visual practice involves the creation of auto-animated ethnographic
(virtual) films such as gaming footage and avatar-interviews in the middle section (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 010-017). This is a result of recording virtual interviews and further documenting virtual exotic people as interviewees (Korean avatars in *Linage2*, as Korean MMORPGs) and virtual events in gaming (avatar-killing or player-killing as PK and competition for social levelling-up) to understand specifically Korean online culture. Thus, this virtual film can be seen as an ethnographic documentary, compared with the conventional ethnographic documentary film or with filmmaking in the real world.

In this respect, compared with conventional live-action, ethnographic documentary films in the real world, auto-animated sequences recording real avatars and events in virtual worlds also consist of three main elements: ethnographic knowledge, documented interviews and participant observation, and subjective interpretation or expression such as filmic fiction or art drama.

At this point, the question is raised of how this recorded animated footage, including virtual participant observation and in-depth interviews, can operate as recollected accounts, evidence and witnessing. It is linked to the question of how ethnographers or practice-researchers use animated footage to perform/serve a documentary purpose. In this case, I consider the ontology of recorded auto-animation in virtual worlds and how recorded animated footage can be interpreted via semiotics (Honess-Roe 2013: 30-31). Concerning the causality and analogy between photographic images and the live-action film, it is easy to believe that film reflects objective reality or truth by documenting or capturing real historical events and people existing in front of the camera in the real world. We can easily compare depicted images or pictures taken with a camera with real objects/things in the real world, relying on the nature of indexical and iconic signs to produce meaning.

In this respect, auto-animated ethnographies in virtual spaces (e.g. *Second Life*) engage mainly with indexical rather than iconic signs. Perhaps this enables a practice-researcher to be involved in the construction of interview and participant observation by a real-time recording of the sounds and images of virtual worlds, where virtual avatars and events by real gamers are
presented in real time in a virtual environment with a soundtrack.

3.7 Visual Ethnography and Animation in the Real World

Self-created, animated substitution by rotoscoping technique and photorealistic 3D CGI in animation can easily imitate and represent real objects, focusing on analogical qualities between animated images and reality. In my practices, this kind of realistic approach needs to represent real-world materials or settings, such as a real murder incident location (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 023-027). This realistic setting is based on pre-produced images such as photography in newspapers, and produced images such as films and photographs by ethnographers. This mimetic or analogical substitution helps to document/re-enact historical events and people through animated iconic representation.

Honess Roe (2013: 27-40) comments that an iconic sign is not necessary to represent invisible or unobservable ethnographic knowledge and findings in animation. Instead, Honess Roe (2013: 27-40) emphasises that understanding or interpreting images in phenomenological, not semiotic, contexts, is important when considering ‘a camera-less animated representation (in the real world)’. This camera-less expressive form allows the production of self-created representation by an artist's eyes and hands from the mimetic to non-mimetic or figural to abstract in animation (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 029-033). Further, Ward (2005: 89) states that we are not able explicitly to explain and express emotion, feeling and thoughts, as these are abstract and invisible or unobservable, through traditional visual practices: photographs and live-action documentary films.

Honess Roe (2013: 30-31) questions the assumption that when phenomenological, not semantic thinking about animated representation or drawn, moving images as visual practices is employed, the most important factor is whether or not they contribute to documenting personal and collective memories in a real life and world as a recollected function, in terms of ethnographic methods.
She contends that animation can visualise the present witnessing of past events in an expressive way (Hendrickson 2008: 122; Honess Roe quoted in Rodowick, 2007: 137). This is very important to my animated practices. This is because my self-created animated ethnographic practice should present the research process of actualisation, including interviews and participant observation in the real world or what happened to ethnographers in the past, and represent it as if the audience were watching them in the present by conflating recreated time and space, even though it is an animated camera-less documentary.

I have argued for the importance of visual ethnography for film practice and have discussed how I acknowledge and/or take issue with different ethnographic theorists. In chapter 4, I explore how animation can be used to represent real/historical people and events in ethnographic film practices, using re-enactments dramatically as visual fiction and content-based dramatisation. I also consider whether or not this animated representation sustains authenticity in a documentary, through my practices.
Chapter 4: Theorising Animated Drama-Documentary

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces animation and its relationship to documentary, using visual fiction and content-dramatization as a form of animated drama-documentary. It justifies my practice in animated documentary to represent and interpret visually the concept of the double and the online 'Hyde' by young Korean online gamers as animated virtual avatars.

I argue that animation can be engaged with non-fiction and will explain how it visually represents the observation of things or objects as well as subjective experiences. I also discuss how it conceptually delivers ethnographic knowledge and findings through content-based, dramatic fiction in a creative expressive way. Finally, through my animated practice, I identify how animation can be a new research tool that plays an important role in ethnography and can reflect the research process of actualisation and interpret it in the ethnographic research context.

4.2 Animation and Reality

Warner (2002: 165) contends that the theme of the double is intertwined with new technologies of reproduction, firstly optical devices then, increasingly, biological. Further, she mentions that 'representation itself acts as a form of doubling; representation exists in magical relation to the apprehensible world' (ibid). Thus it can be understood that 'the representation of this content or theme is juxtaposed with a form of doubling structure mechanism' (ibid: 166) as the optical method is initially understood in terms of ‘the spirit medium or magical lantern' (ibid: 175), then ultimately in terms of advanced new technologies. Accordingly, it can be seen that the nature of what is represented is also bound up with the apparatus that represents it. Crafton (1993: 32) emphasised that the first trick films, for example, were in essence about the development of science and technology, but they were still used to
strengthen gothic and science fiction subjects because they could seemingly
demonstrate the magical and transformative powers at the heart of the
narratives. Emile Cohl's animated films, Fantasmagorie (1908) and En Route
(1910), were experimental works, but crucially utilised metamorphosis to show
transition between two different but related things/images, transforming them
into a completely new thing/image. This seemed to imply the presence of the
unconscious and a method by which the potential incoherence of the
contemporary psyche could be reconciled and represented by the free flow of
line drawing, which operates as a model of construction, deconstruction and

Most significantly, Wells (1998: 16) mentions that Winsor McCay's early works
‘aspire to the condition of an interior state rationalised by external
mechanisms constructing narratives which reveal some of humankind's deep-
rooted fears in the Modernist era. These are chiefly anxieties about
relationships, the status of body, and the advance of technology all of which
evoke threat and disorder’ (ibid). It may be clearly seen then that the issues
explored in Jekyll and Hyde had already found purchase in the medium of
animation, even in its earliest years. Hence, the theme of the double or
doppelganger drawn from the concept of Jekyll and Hyde was present in both
the apparatus and its applications, drawing attention to the ways in which
these ‘new’ technologies reflected the notion of ‘identity’ as it started self-
consciously to characterise people in the new world. At the same time, self-
duplications and spirit-doubling have an impact on mechanical duplication as
a technical matter, and made a connection with 'new or improved
technologies' of modernisation, moving from medicine (i.e. Jekyll's drugs) to
magic lanterns and trick spectacles, to animated fiction in films, based on the
visual-aural automata (the self or the spirit's duplication in the artificial body-
machine). It was possible to construct another concrete self or alter-ego and
release its hidden fear or anxiety through this expressive animated medium. I
argue that this principle still informs the use of online games (new media)
today, operating as a double replication device to construct a character and
narrative in order to address the invisible and unconscious phenomena
relating to contemporary reality, in this instance in South Korea.
This representation of the body in animation is important as it enables the maximum degree of interpretation of Jekyll as a character and the ‘online Hyde’ I wish to represent. The animated film is an art form that, in moving seamlessly from the mimetic/configured to the non-mimetic/abstract, can best represent the movement of mind as well as character or events. This is important in order to propose and represent the unlimited and invisible movement that exists within the ideological and conscious interpretation of the visible realm. This is because all images in animation are subjectively interpreted by the animator’s experimental view and a technique that is subject to controlling time and space respectively (Wells 1998: 11).

Accordingly, these times and spaces allow for the creation of form and empower movement in online games, offering a virtual world in real time. This means, by the conflation of time and space in animation, the creator as well as the viewers are enabled to attend and join in the place of now and then. Animation can also represent seemingly unrealistic illusion or fantasy in a realistic way (Honess Roe 2013: 33). This representation constructs an animated ‘world’, based on the use of different materials and media techniques in computer graphic animation, such as two-dimensional hand-drawn and three-dimensional imagery. This contributes to creating a continuity from the impossible animated world of the online virtual environment to the possible or perceptual non-animated real world. This offers the audience a different aspect of reality and a new experience in a certain story or narrative, mediating ‘identity’ through animated characters, simultaneously constructing an alter-ego and a new body.

Thus, animated representation, including characters, narratives and the world, plays a crucial role as a visual text to convey the mimetic desire of the author and achieve an animated reality to express the individual's state of mind about ‘the world in here’ rather than the observed historical event in ‘the world out there’ (see Honess Roe 2013).
As Wells (1998: 16) points out, McCay's animated film *Gertie the Dinosaur* (1914) creatively attempts to explore this possibility of animated realism or the limitation of such representation (Fig. 10a). McCay's later creation, *The Sinking of the Lusitania* (1918), further testifies to the possibility of animated reality in a documentary, when material has not been filmed (Fig. 10b). This camera-less representation utilises animation to form a realistic animated recreation of, or substitution for, the real event.

This mimetic animated substitution foregrounds its authenticity through clear claims to an interpretation of real events, ironically conflating the element of the surreal with the conditions of the real world (Honess Roe 2013: 53). Even though this animated documentary partially offers the narrative of surrealistic illusion and a fantasy element in a realistic or mimetic way, this creative, imaginative attempt intrinsically operates to express the invisible or hidden actuality of the real world in a non-conventional way (Wells 1998: 122). Finally, it works as a visual text with the specific purpose of didactic education or propaganda intentionally to facilitate understanding of a certain situation and directly reflect its related social message or motivation (Honess Roe 2013: 7).

### 4.3 Animated Drama-Documentary

I will identify how animated representation provides a revelatory tool to delineate subjective experience and how it accesses the individual's state of mind, translating it into a socio-cultural/political discourse, proving the pertinence of using animation in research to achieve a visual ethnographic
Ward (2005) suggests that in order to understand the meaning of a documentary today, there is a need to examine the relationship between non-fictional contexts and documentaries. While the fictional mode offers completely invented characters in fabricated time and space, non-fictional modes are based on the actuality of ‘the world out there’, where real events and people occur in the real realm. Nevertheless, there is an argument that we cannot easily recognise fictional fact and factual fiction, in the staging of material or in regard to the intention of a visual and conceptual approach, when this is seen by the viewer. Ward (2005: 8) explains that there is a general common assumption by the audience about one aspect of the documentary, which is that if it has any intentionally staged material, it is not a valid ‘objective’ documentary. However, as he asserts, staging in the process of filmmaking is as inevitable as cinematography, editing, narrating and using sound. Ward contends that it is necessary to change such a fixed notion of what documentary is and what it should be (for example, a mode of naturalism) and to claim the variable real and scientific ground which, although based on empirical and rational measures, can be represented in a creative and ‘non-realist’ way.

In this sense, the format of the documentary can be utilised to access ‘actuality’ as a proper revelatory medium, through flexible and diverse applications. Drama-documentary can stage material as a non-fictional device to reconstruct and re-enact a real event and real people which do not have direct indexical connection with reality, and can represent historical information through the use of conceptually driven fiction (Roscoe and Hight 2001: 54; Ward 2005: 32, 2008: 192). Further, in animated documentary, even though animated representation also does not have a direct indexical relation, it can readily substitute for reality, representing ‘the imaginary’ through eyewitness and aural testimony, to assert something about the truth (Ward 2005: 87). Therefore, I use conceptual and visual staging to reconstruct a dead boy’s tragic real event in my animated documentary practice, particularly in the opening section with the use of intercutting between close-up camera shots.
I am using John Grierson's (1933: 8) definition of the documentary as 'the creative treatment of actuality' and Bill Nichols's comments in 'Reenactment and the Fantasmatic Subject' (2008: 74) to look at how the use of visual and conceptual fictional devices in animated representation and dramatic performance can inform the idea of 'reconstruction and re-enactment' and help to construct the documentary as a form, keeping the status of documentary in a non-fiction context. As is apparent from Appendix E (middle section: part 4 scene 042-048 and end section: scene 001-016), this helps to re-enact a dead boy's murder as a factual occurrence with fictional or dramatic elements (narrative concept and visual gothic imagery), adapted from *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, using the conventions of the detective thriller genre.

Firstly, in terms of using staged intervention for dramatically delivering the content, Grierson's definition of 'the creative treatment of actuality' has had a huge impact on the various interpretations of documentary. Macdonald and Cousins (1996: 85-90, 129-134) point out the aspect of the documentary text between fiction and faction as the concurrent 'faction continuum', taking the cases of staged or manipulated reality in documentary films like Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph des Willens* (1934) and Luis Buñuel's *Las Hurdes* (1932). This is related to drama-documentary and mock-documentary and constructs narrative in the post-modern era to convey actuality in alternative or non-conventional ways (Roscoe and Hight 2001: 48-53; Ward 2005: 31, 2008: 192). Nevertheless, Roscoe and Hight (2001: 56) emphasise two different conceptual uses and purposes of the drama-documentary and mock-documentary form, which may be influenced by the approach of experimental and avant-garde films in promoting the relativity of 'realism' as a mode of truth-telling, rather than the truth itself. Hight (2008: 205) explained that mock-documentary is for parody, irony and satire, using completely faked or purely fictional content in a realistic but imitative documentary format, from the beginning to the end, while the drama-documentary does not give up on conveying factuality, using established classical fictional or dramatic codes in order to construct a seamless dramatic style of narrative to simulate coherent naturalist content, based on real interviews and material to authenticate the
approach. In the middle section of my film, I use animated re-enactments which help visually to dramatise what interviewees said in order better to interpret aural testimony or oral statements into a documentary. Compared with this, the beginning and end sections in my film are conceptually dramatised to reconstruct a dead boy's reality based on visual testimony adapted from photographs and articles in newspapers.

Thus, the use of drama for documentary represents reality in relatively truthful or accurate ways actually to suggest and show what happens in the real social world (Hight 2008: 207). This approach validates reconstruction based on a real event to recover the experience of people in an affecting dramatic narrative, but most importantly in order to provide evidence for invisible or hidden actuality and penetrate the area of psychological reality (Nichols 2008: 78-80; Wells 1998: 122).

In addition to this, Bruzzi (2006: 9) points out that this perpetual negotiation between the real event and its representation is not meant necessarily to reveal or distinguish fact or non-fiction from fiction, but to place this distinction in an interactive relationship. Carroll (1996: 287) contends that it is useless to see this distinction as an inharmonic extreme of two poles, but rather that it should rather be seen as a distinction between the commitments of the texts, not between the ostensible surface structures of the texts filtered through a generalised or fixed set of expected criteria and conventions in all documentaries. Ward (2005: 87-88) emphasises, most importantly, that any form of documentary should be assessed by what it says about that real world, rather than judged on the basis of conventional form or a generalised set of criteria.

Accordingly, Bill Nichols explains in 'Reenactment and the Fantasmatic Subject' (2008: 74) that 're-enactment' can be termed the reasonable replacement for the lack of actual events. In this context, the practice of staging materials recreates the experience of temporality, based on actual time and space which often may not be able to be filmed due to practical and technical reasons. The viewer for the most part considers that the use of re-enactment in documentary is acceptable, and recognises its status as a
fictionalised repetition of something that has already occurred. In this sense, it is not necessary to distinguish fiction from fact. But, most importantly, it stresses the specific representation or reconstruction of the actual event through an active fictional reflection, and in terms of proximity, it speaks to a sense of authenticity through its accuracy and sensitivity about the collective and personal historical context (Ward 2005: 51-52). This means that the use of reenactment for representing prior events is accepted as one of the crucial features in the documentary convention or code, even though the documentary film is originally recognised as authentic footage of the actual event or person.

Nichols (2008: 84-87) describes five types of such re-enactments:

1) The realist dramatisation: This conventionally pursues a fictional representation of a past or historical event to form the documentary drama based on the true story. Due to this, it is the most problematic type of reenactment, as it may be hard to distinguish between fiction and non-fiction.

2) Typification: This is seen in many early documentaries, including Nanook of the North (1922) by Robert Joseph Flaherty, as the reenactment of specific events and particular people's activities, following ethnographic immersion. John Grierson adopted this technique to deliver the propaganda aspect of educational information through the fictional reenactment of specific situations and actions.

3) Brechtian Distantiation: This is utilised to increase the separation between the non-fiction event and its recreation, with fantasmatic effect, to immerse the viewer in the play via a realistic illusion.

4) Stylisation: This is to interpret the documentary subject by visually recreating interviewees' feelings and thoughts in a non-conventional way to encourage empathy and identification with their condition or situation through a perceptually based dramatic storytelling concept.

5) Parody and Irony: This is used to criticise and rephrase the real event or incident for the purpose of a social and political allegory.
Animation as an intrinsically rhetorical form can speak to all these strategies. It can be used as a form of reconstruction and reenactment in documentaries, even though it has no direct indexical link between the real event and people and the image. In terms of visual fiction and content-based dramatisation, animated re-enactments may be mainly related to 2) Typification and 4) Stylisation. In the case of 'Stylisation', the middle section in my film practice uses animated interviews by visually interpreting what interviewees such as game experts and game users online and offline said to identify their feelings and thoughts. However, my beginning and end sections use 'Typification' to focus on reconstructing a dead boy's real murder through the dramatic treatment of the boy's specific circumstances and actions.

As Nichols (2008: 85-86) points out, reconstruction and reenactment are becoming compulsory elements to render the inherent content and meaning of film through what would otherwise be impossible to see or understand. Thus, an animated reconstruction is engaged with visual interpretation based, for example, on a sound track of interviews concerning a real event, or using a non-fiction based script.

Nichols (2008: 85-86) implies that animated representation prevents confusion about whether or not actual footage is used. This is because even the highly mimetic substitutions in animation do not or cannot pretend to be reality. However, animation proposes an iteration of actuality by interpreting reality, self-reflexively foregrounding its apparent intention and purpose. Its main aim is not to merge imperceptibly with actual archival footage in a live-action film and provide hyper-photo-realistic substitution, but to offer a visual interpretation of what the interviewees said, based on the verbal testimony in a documentary, pursuing the representation of realism and a reflexive viewing position (Wells 1998: 25, 2002: 11).

In this sense, Wells (1997: 44-45) states that a postmodern approach results in 'challenging any notion of perceived existence as real but somehow retaining a fascinating plausibility even in its overt negation of any objective
stance’. This implies an aspect of arbitrariness or relativity in the depiction of reality, but mainly points to the intrinsic subjectivity of any perspective. Nichols (2008) and Wells (1997) allude to this apparent contradiction as an ironic distinction between fiction and fact in visualising non-fiction subject matter and in constructing a structure of storytelling or narrative that is engaged with understanding reflexive, subjective representation. Thus, this adoption is relevant to the relativist dimension of postmodernism and is accompanied by acknowledging blurred boundaries (Nichols 1994) and the open concept (Plantinga 1997), as well as the inevitable hybridisation of form.

The formal and authentic aspects of animation tend to mean that the subjectivity and creativity of the creator-researcher or practice-researcher are considerably more obvious than is often the case with live-action work; nevertheless, the claims made about the real world of actuality by animated documentaries must be evaluated according to what they say about that real world, and not on the basis of such formal or aesthetic criteria (Ward 2005: 89). Pink (2013[2001]: 19) contends, though, that with regard to the constructedness of visual ethnographic knowledge, there must be a high degree of empathy and ‘reflexivity’ in representational strategies. It remains important to acknowledge the centrality of the practice-researcher's subjectivity to the production and representation of ethnographic knowledge incorporated in visual practices and technologies. This approach allows the integration of objects, text, images, sounds and new media technologies etc. in the representation of individual identity and everyday life. Pink's ideas on constructed-ness and the central subjectivity of the practice-researcher contributed to my decisions to construct ethnographic knowledge about young Koreans' online identity in everyday virtual life through visual practices, using the dramatic narrative concept and gothic visual imageries in animation.

In what follows, I will explain how I used creative, animated representation as visual practice within documentary as a contribution to my ethnographic research. I aimed to visualise my ethnographic research process, reflexivity, and knowledge or findings to interpret double Korean-ness.
4.4 Recorded Auto-Animated Documentary in Virtual Worlds

My research activity requires specific understanding of Korean online game culture and the features of online games as new media, especially the genre of MMORPGs. For this reason, I participated in my research as my own avatars, and joined in the party or communities. My fieldwork and the methods employed are outlined in detail in Appendix C. It was necessary to document and record what I witnessed and experienced with young Korean gamers. All the avatars and situations were already animated and I explored how this game-playing material could be used as animated ‘footage’ and work as part of my proposed documentary.

Although an online avatar’s mouth does not exactly lip-synch with what real people say, viewers can nevertheless notice these avatars' animated body gestures engaging with real conversation and the mood between real people/game users. My avatar as a ‘practice-researcher’ was able directly to participate within online games to apprehend the experience of young Korean gamers, to view how they interact socially with their communities and eventually to conduct interviews with each avatar (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 004-005). Accordingly, all of these things are pieces of animated documentary that we watch in real time, and each constitutes pertinent virtual actuality, especially as it is non-scripted and non-rehearsed. The avatar role-playing of the researcher can be seen as a reflexive, virtual practitioner performing in the research activity (Honess Roe 2013: 34; Ward 2010: 297).

This ethnographic research activity portrayed the role of the participant and the act of witnessing, showing the shared time/space and image/sound at that moment. My still images from the technical production process are located in Appendix F. The research also defined the terms of the 'indexical link' between the virtual events (including my own participant avatar) and the online real-time recording (into footage) of those events, as it shows that something really happened between the avatars. With regard to the issue of causality, avatars' performance/action and their real voice or dialogue are captured in front of a virtual camera, even if they occurred in the online virtual
world (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 012-014). These virtual events corroborate the actuality of real Korean people as they use game characters/avatars in anterior virtual realities. However, my own participant avatar in online game worlds is not exactly analogous with my original figure in the physical world, though this online real-time recording footage can prove that I was there in person – I undertook my research performance/action with other avatars (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 004-005). There is, of course, not a direct photo-realistic analogical link between the recorded game image/footage and the original or reality. Also, it is not a direct record of what passes before a camera’s lens in the physical world.

Nevertheless, this imperfect analogical indexical basis can be recognised as a mental/perceptual connection between the virtual in real time online and the real, and can be overcome by the use of iconic identification of symbols in graphic images, which conflate animation and reality (Honess Roe 2013: 29-30; McCloud 1994: 26-31). Arguably, these animated graphic images make a researcher perceive each animated event and situation differently, but these research activities yield authentic digital archival data from which to choose in the same way as from extensive live action footage that will ultimately be shaped in an edit.

Most of the MMORPGs commonly offer a record function and virtual realistic camera lens mode, controlling the free view to look at the self and objects for complete role-playing immersion. However, when recording online game footage, the camera lens was mainly positioned as a fixed third person view to capture the avatar interviews objectively and observe their online daily lives (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 015-017). Events such as the castle battle and players’ fights can be seen as reflexive participation in a unique life style and shows the investment pattern of real Korean game users. The online game camera is always attached to the game characters' bodies. This includes my own avatar and others as objects of observation and interview. Also, this online game camera follows me, most often providing the anterior virtual reality from the first person, or a view of the rear of the avatar as a third-person view point, or even a view of the whole landscape. Although all avatars/puppets and the space/sets are offered by the game company
system and its recorded material is not being created by animators' eyes and hands, it is automatically 'animated' by the computer.

This auto-animated documentary material retains the notion of research-performance by a practice-researcher as it records my patience and effort, not only from the creation of the avatar to its control/manipulation, but also, from constructing close rapport with others, while observing and conducting interviews via the game character or online avatar. Also eventually, it requires validating all of these performances in relation to the research question and the visual ethnographic approach, without a fixed script and rehearsal (Nichols 1994: 72, 2008:72). This empathetic and reflexive participation in online games plays a vital role in the capacity to reflect upon embodied reality in the footage as 'the evidence', by visualising what I see, hear and experience in the way my own 'participant' avatar sees or acts, as 'the witness' (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 054-058). Hence, this becomes animated archival material of virtual, animated performances offering a legitimate source of the truth, where a researcher can shift and connect different animated entities, addressing the virtual, the impossible and mimetic world to access the real world.

4.5 Self-created Animated Documentary in the Real World

The second reason to use animated documentary for my film is that it allows myself as a researcher not only to join in and capture an animated world (working as documentary footage in itself), but also places me in the middle of a self-created animated world, where I can create my own 3D figure presenter and represent real subjective experience by visualizing what has actually taken place offline during the fieldwork period. The previously recorded game footage and avatar interviews in the online game are created by a virtual research performance, but this offline and theatrical performance is in the self-created, impossible or plastic animated world I have written and created (see Appendix F). It is to represent real people and events including the real murder and, ultimately, game experts and users. I insert my alter ego, a presenter performing offline practice, using the theatrical convention of the
This self-created animated documentary is also defined by the use of primary data, such as researchers’ field notes, photographs, surveys, statistics, relevant charts or graphs, audio-recorded interviews, interview videos, real murder incident photographs, related TV news sources and so on (Fig. 11).

![Figure 11](image.png)

This self-created animation is used primarily in the middle section to represent interviewees as real people, in terms of how they look in a mimetic way, and what interviewees talk about, in terms of visualising what they said in a figurative way, using an iconic sign, through different modes of animated representation. These can be divided into categories representing different kinds of animated substitution between the 'configured and abstract' or the 'mimetic and non-mimetic', in terms of visual representation strategies (see Honess Roe 2013; Wells 1998).

Even though the framing of animation allows for condensation and expansion of time and space beyond boundaries, in this practice research it is only used to deliver factual period-based information and revisit the material world that people actually live in, rather than an imaginary one without historical events and actuality. Further, it enables a practice researcher to create animated
characters for the research performance to present real people, including a presenter (myself), a dead boy, his mother, etc. as 3D figures in a projected virtual reality. Animated representation between mimetic and non-mimetic substitution can be divided into three different modes and media techniques:

1. A three-dimensional computer graphic image (3D CGI) of a 'presenter figure' for self-re-enactment, similar to myself as an investigator in the research performance (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 044-048). It also presents 'mimetic spatial reconstitution' of different physical places in real events, based on a self-created photograph, the report photographs from newspapers and other mass media, and field notes/memos (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 023-027). It focuses on visual verisimilitude in terms of digital realities. Even though it is not photorealistic representation, it attempts to offer the audience the visual and aural indexical indication between animation and reality, in terms of the relativity of realism, in order to promote documentary veracity (Fig. 12).

![Figure 12. Still image, the introduction of Seoul, South Korea, in the beginning section of Jekyll's Letter (2014)](image)

2. Two-dimensional (2D) hand-drawn 'animated interviewees' are created to depict 8 different game experts (the in-depth formal interviews), each showing a talking head based on the original visual-aural recording as live-action material (see Appendix F). This indicates animated embodiment of game experts as real people in animation. It allows for the presence of a physical face or body of the interviewees onscreen, substituted by a 2D hand drawn 'rotoscoping', to validate the documentary status of the animation. However, this direct visual and aural relationship is accurately reinterpreted from the original video footage, and recreated into the shaky lip-synching animated
reality by a sort of 'rotoscoping' animation technique (Fig. 13), consisting of the imperfect framing of 2D hand drawn illustration images, using soundtracks of documentary interviews (Honess Roe 2013: 63; Ward 2006a: 116). Even though its analogical quality is not highly photorealistic, the audience can recognize its indexical bond with reality through the original sound quality.

Figure 13. The IMF finance crisis and South Korean society from Jekyll's Letter (2014)

3. The 'non-mimetic 3D CGI visualisation' of information, based on interviewees' real voices (from oral recording of informal interviews and video footage of formal interviews) and the re-enactment of a dead boy and his mother (in 3D CGI) as blurred black silhouette figures (Fig. 14) to guarantee anonymity (an ethical issue). This 'non-mimetic animated reconstruction' via 3D CGI is used to visualise statistics, surveys and graphic data (Fig. 14) as any type of information from the interview conversation or dialogue (see Appendix E, middle section: part 3 scene 012-027). In other words, it is visually interpreting what the interviewees state and testify from the internal story, or the inside perspective (such as game addiction) to the external witness based on shared experience (the issue of avatar killing and the Bartz Liberal War in Lineage 2, 2004). Ultimately, this non-mimetic animated representation is based on the interviews and authenticates what has taken place in the virtual online games as it is linked to the real Korean social world (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 026-038). Due to limited access to the real murder incident site, the requirement of anonymity for some of the physical interviewees and the ethical consideration for the rest of the family of the dead boy, this offline practice is mainly made up of animated sequences, detailed in Appendix E, beginning and end sections.
4.6 The Animated Documentary as Mixed Recorded Auto-animation with Self-Created Animation by Ethnographers

Animation (visual representation) and documentary (ethnographic reality or truth) can be combined as a viable means to engage in the relationship between 'visual practice and ethnographic research', exploring a specific socio-cultural issue in relation to other people's ethno-identity, gender, race, ethnicity, generation, etc. in the context of everyday life (Wells 1997: 42-44, 1998: 30-31). This means the animated documentary is related to visual ethnography, involving a reflexive approach to how I access, collect and treat my visual research materials, engaging with other secondary practices or written works.

At this point, my two different animated practices (recorded auto-animation and self-created animation) can reflect two different ethnographic realities in animation to be analysed and represented in ethnographic research knowledge or findings.

By merging these two ethnographic realities as the mixed media between auto-created and self-created animation (using two different aspects of animated representations, such as the representation of game experts by 2D
hand-drawn rotoscoping and game users by 3D CGI robots), I create a final version of animated ethnographic film in a documentary. This mixed final animated documentary can be seen as a sort of complex of ethnographic research data archives as audio-visual texts, established by an inter-subjective or collaborative relationship between creative practice researchers, or ethnographers and informants in the ethnographic approach.

In the role of animated ethnographers, it is important to achieve empathy with the research subject via the primary practice indicated in Appendix C, and to represent the process of actualisation in a non-fiction context, shifting or connecting between different animated realities or accounts, detailed in Appendix E and F. I constructed the format of the documentary in order to address the case of Korean youth's alternative online identity and eventually show that there is an outlet for their expression in permission for more liberal sensibilities.

My final animated documentary allows me to have different roles in the research context, occupying the central position in my own research activities and questions. This is because this final version of the animation represents:

1) the researcher's re-enactment or performance on-screen (the embodied narrator),

2) the more formal non-diegetic authorial voice (the disembodied narrator),

3) the filmmaker, who brings all of these concepts and devices to the final documentary film from an external point of view.

Eventually, this mixed final animation allows ethnographers or practice-researchers to express research ideas and issues, and to represent the reality of subjective experiences which are often impermissible to address or articulate in language or a conventional live-action method. Even though it is 'a (physical) camera-less documentary' (Honess Roe 2013: 37), animation aids the practice-researcher to position those who may not find representation – such as the online gamer in South Korea – as part of an extended discourse that explores their experience and the social context they live within. This can be seen as a research performance conducted by an avatar researcher in
auto-created animation, a 3D mimetic figure-presenter in a self-created animation, re-enacting a real event, such as the boy's murder of his mother, echoing the generic fictional conventions of *Jekyll and Hyde*, while still using the self-evidently documentary form outlined in Appendix E. The piece – essentially a piece of creative practice in the service of answering a research question – constantly indicates the first person perspective of the practice-researcher, and the third person intervention of practitioner/film-maker.

4.7 The Final Animated Documentary as a Practice-Research-Tool in Visual Ethnography

*Jekyll’s Letter* is based on a central ethnographic methodology. Pink (2013[2001]: 18) explains that ethnography cannot be defined as a specific term, as a single point or as a discipline. Though it is likely to include participant observation and interviewing, it is essentially a number of research strategies pertinent to experiencing, interpreting and representing a culture and society in an interdisciplinary way, securing knowledge in relation to ethno-identity, gender, class, age and so on.

Pink (2006: 29; 2012; 2013[2001]) and O'Keily (2011: 10-11) suggest that visual ethnography is based on the interdisciplinary assessment of the relationship between ethnography in anthropology and visual practice in cultural studies and the arts, to understand a certain social life as the outcome of the interaction of the agency of individuals and institutional structures through the practice of everyday life. This approach concentrates on looking at and visualising the thoughts and feelings of individuals or agents within wider structures, within the context of daily life and in relation to individual action, and is an ideal approach to researching the external practice of social life (Lave and Wenger: 1991).

My animated film is a visual representation of ethnographic research and evidence of the use of visual research methods, such as participant observation and primary interview, conducted, for example, among the animated Korean avatars in MMORPGs, to solicit ‘actuality’. Appendices A, B
and C, containing my research process, indicate the actualisation of my ethnographic activities including the fieldwork research. This means it is not just a realist visual recording, but a self-critical approach engaged with subjectivity, reflexivity and the notion of the visual as ethnographic knowledge and a critical embodied voice. This approach allows for the hybridisation of different disciplinary or theoretical principles, offering a way of seeing the real world subject in non-conventional ways.

Accordingly, *Jeykll’s Letter* produces ethnographic meaning or interpretation of knowledge through the dialectical relationship between the participants and the animated contexts, as suggested by Ward (2006b: 231). In this process, individual lives are actually engaged in different points of view or their own subjective realities (e.g. game experts in real Korean society and online game users or avatars in Korean virtual worlds). Equally, it is crucial to focus on producing a shared version of ethnographic reality in the way animation can apprehend memory and the collected conscious experience of everyday life, rather than in the literal depiction of ‘real’ events outlined in Appendix E (middle section; part 2 scene 026-038). By reconciling other individuals or informants and using the subjectivities of researchers to create intersubjectivity, the work can interpenetrate the socio-cultural or historical context in order to understand the actual world subject afresh through an ethnographic approach (Honess Roe 2013: 169; Pink 2013[2001]: 20).

Thus, the animated documentary is an enabling research tool which allows ethnographers to access information, archive it through participant observation and interviews, share gaming footage with informants, organise or categorise and interpret ‘visual research materials’ (recorded virtual/real films, photographs and audio-recordings, etc.) and produce new knowledge or meaning in ethnography (Pink 2011: 189; 2013[2001] : 36).
Chapter 5: A Film Practice as Animated Drama-Documentary in Visual Ethnography

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explains my film practice. Three sections represent my ethnographic research data as they are shown in my animated-drama documentary. Each section is described and analysed to explain my ethnographic knowledge and findings on visual film practices. Finally, my research questions are addressed in a self-reflective way. In the opening section, I describe my intention to use a visual fiction and content-based dramatisation in animation, in order to reconstruct or re-enact a dead boy's murder incident as a real/factual event with fictional or dramatic elements (narrative, character, gothic style or surreal tone of light and music), adapted from Stevenson's gothic novel, *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, following the conventions of the detective thriller genre. The middle section introduces my self-reflexive performance as a 3D figure presenter/investigator in the self-created animation where I am a virtual avatar – an online ethnographic researcher in a recorded auto-animation. I also identify the role of animated embodiment of interviewees as talking heads of game experts (a 2D hand drawn 'rotoscoping' animation) and animated interviews as the disembodied voice (in a 3D non-mimetic animated substitution, based on the interviewee's soundtrack or voice-over, using metaphorical symbols and icons in motion graphic style animation). In this respect, my film practice visualises two different aspects of ethnographic information: as qualitative, non-number-based information and as quantitative data using animated info-graphics based on iconic signs.

The last section explains how my animated dramatisation plays a role in a documentary to facilitate viewer understanding and promote empathy with the documentary participants. I aim to prove how my visual practice can be an ethnographic research tool which not only produces new knowledge and meaning, but eventually represents and penetrates an unfamiliar subjective
experience or unobservable reality in a specific context, in order to find the ethnographic partial truth.

5.2 Section One

In the beginning of my film, the date of a murder is indicated: 17th November 2010. Even though it actually happened on 16th November 2010 (Korean standard time), this tragic incident was seen by me on the following day in UK time (see Appendix E). I inserted this date as an intertitle to make the viewer wonder whether or not it is a context for fiction or non-fiction. By using the real date of a real murder, I implied that my 'documentary' may be based on real events (Fig. 15), and I used a filmic narrative to make the audience curious about this film's authenticity.

The intercut between two different close-up shots is shown in what follows the date (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 001-009). One scene in the intercut is of an unknown masked man urgently running on the stairs in a grey building. The other scene in the intercut is of a black silhouetted character's throat (a woman) being gripped by a boy in a dark room. By showing this intercut between two scenes with a fast sound tempo, the intention was to imply that two different scenes are mutually connected (Fig. 15). The scenes exude the thriller's cinematic narrative style in a fictional filmmaking way, using a diegetic scene and music. This intercut with dramatic narrative and sound involves viewers in the surreal tone and suggests that this may be a fictional film. It induces curiosity about the situation/scene of things to come.

Figure 15. The intercut in the beginning section of Jekyll's Letter (2014)

My film opens and ends with a visual and content-based dramatisation based on a boy's real murder of his mother and his suicide, but throughout this entire
film, the actual events are explained by mixing unrecorded and fragmented facts, including the boy's inner state of mind, based on witness statements by the rest of the dead boy's family and his school teacher. This dramatisation can be simply seen as a sort of conjecture based on these accounts – the newspaper reports (Appendix F). It allows me to make an imaginative interpretation of what is read and heard from the new media in a creatively-expressive way. This imaginative interpretation allows me creatively to reenact or represent the tragic deaths of two people for a documentary purpose, through a visually and conceptually animated fiction.

After the intercutting scene, dramatically shown in concert with fast tempo music, the film shows a running masked man approaching a dark flat and then attempting to calm down and get his breath back in front of the door of the flat (Appendix E, beginning section: scene 010). As he slowly breathes, the motion of the film and the tempo of the sound get slower. During this period of showing tempo and motion, the viewer identifies the man as the one who was urgently running. He puts on a sort of mask. If the masked man opens a door and enters the flat, then a new story will be deployed. This story-transition was inspired by the chapter on a story about a door (in Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde). It is adapted into my film narrative (see Appendix D), using a concept of multiple narratives, a detective style and a gothic fiction tone (comprising light, colour and music).

Before the masked man opens a door, I show another intercut of two different scenes, depicting me as this film presenter, performing as a real researcher in this investigation in an office, a dark laboratory, and a masked man in front of a door of a flat (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 010-021). At this point, the audience is immersed in this new scene. There is a door between me, the researcher, and the masked man as bilateral symmetry, referring to the idea of the double or doppelganger. Therefore, there are apparently three different scenes which have been shown to viewers so far and they may question what will happen if either the researcher or the masked man opens a door and meets the other.

As the masked man opens a door, the tension of the cinematic narrative
reaches a peak. The climax of this scene is to show not the situation in which the two characters meet in one space, but a completely new place relevant to what actually happened to a boy and his mother in South Korea. Accordingly, the boy's dead mother, the black silhouette character on the bed and a boy who has died by suicide, also a black silhouette, are found as the camera scans around dark rooms, from a living room to the mother's room to a boiler room, through a masked man's point of view. At this point, a letter is found near the place of the boy's suicide and this letter develops a new phase (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 023-028).

Through opening a door, the two different initial scenes are combined and then this is followed by the scene of a curious letter (Fig. 16). Later, the title of this film is shown by naming Jekyll's letter. Accordingly, the audience, if they are familiar with the story of *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, will recognise that the letter in the previous scene is a metaphor or symbol of Jekyll and Hyde as the dramatic or fictional elements in the film. In this sense, the title scene presents double or dual identity through a visual style of gothic fiction, presenting a ray of light in the sinister and dark atmosphere and its black shadow, accompanied by thriller music. Even though the title indicates Jekyll's letter, its shadow presents it as Hyde's letter (in Stevenson's text, the letter containing Jekyll's last will and testament is delivered to Mr Utterson. He becomes an investigator of Hyde's murder crime and real identity), using the effect of a light and a shadow. The viewers may be convinced that this film's story or content is definitely fiction. This title is quickly shifted to a new scene in which a similar letter is found in front of the door of my office.

![Figure 16. A boy's suicide and one letter to Mr Park from *Jekyll's Letter* (2014)](image)

Eventually, this other letter is found by me as a researcher, in front of the
office door. As a result, these three different multiple narratives – a masked man on the stair, a boy and his mother in a flat, and a researcher, me, in an office, are merged into one narrative: a new scene in which someone asks me who wrote a letter. At this point, the letter operates as a medium to combine three discontinuous or different scenes into a one new story (see Appendix D). This is a sort of adaptation, using a letter as a starting point to develop a new story or phase. Robert Louise Stevenson developed his main plot by merging the multiple subplots in his novel. Also, the emergence of a letter makes the viewer curious about how it is related to two people’s deaths.

The 3D figure of a researcher, myself, reads a letter in which a South Korean boy’s virtual friend, Jekyll, briefly introduces the murder the boy committed, which was seen in the beginning section. Jekyll asks me to investigate this incident by visiting South Korea. Jekyll wonders whether or not it is related to the emergence of the online Edward Hyde. This is because the boy was addicted to online games and this might be a clue when investigating this incident. I show a real news article on the Korean web news media to emphasise that this incident actually happened. Revealing a still image of real events on a presenter’s computer screen (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 041) is a hint to prove authenticity to the viewer. At this point, the audience may still doubt its authenticity and wonder why dramatic or fictional elements, such as a masked man and a letter by Jekyll, are used to explain this non-fiction context.

I, as the 3D figure of a presenter, explain what I, in a detective mode, am going to do to investigate this murder and I explain how I will identify the Korean online game culture and game addiction related to this murder incident. When explaining my plans to the audience, I talk directly to the camera, unlike in the previous scenes. I am thus adapting the camera technique or self-reflexive method of documentary film-making by Nick Broomfield, which emphasises the self-subjectivity and reflexivity of documentary films in order to reduce the distance between the audience and the screen. In this way, my film practice focuses on representing the research process and actualising it self-reflexively. Now the audience may start to feel that this film deals with a real event and people in a non-conventional way.
After my narration to the audience in the office, the city of Seoul, the capital of South Korea, is seen. It is divided into two areas, North and South, the result of a dual city created by fast modernisation (see Appendix E, beginning section: scene 049-050). It is inspired by Stevenson's novel's background: Edinburgh is divided into West and East as a result of modernisation and industrialisation in the Victoria era. Following the scene of this city, two-dimensional, 2D rotoscoping, hand-drawn animated interviewees as talking heads game experts appear and explain the construction of identity in real Korean society.

This is a very important moment in which this film genre is changed or shifted from a fictional mode to a non-fictional one. Middleton (2014: 1) states that this moment is called 'Awkwardness or Awkward Turn', created by unexpected shifts in representational systems. In this case, my practice intentionally brings about this confused or awkward moment between reality-based dramatisation and a documentary by creating content-based staging with a visual fiction. Middleton (2014: 2) contends that 'this includes deliberate rhetorical strategies, inadvertent but revealing ruptures, and radical efforts at destabilising existing documentary conventions and producing new aesthetic forms'. He (2014: 5-6) essentially implies that a drama-documentary involves aesthetic and rhetorical strategies that reconstruct new forms of authority using modes of 'ironic authenticity'. Thus, my drama-documentary in animation plays a crucial role in intentionally making the viewer rethink the meaning of conventional documentaries. Through animated expression I offer my different perceptions on aesthetic or artistic filmmakers and rhetorical or scientific ethnographers when dealing with fragmented or unobservable facts collected from the fieldwork research.

On the one hand, this film opens with fictional film-making's dramatisation or dramatic mise-en-scène as narrative strategies (Roscoe and Hight 2001: 49), adopting a scripted voiceover narration (of Jekyll), in order to re-enact a fact-based event and people – a South Korean boy's real murder. On the other hand, the middle section of this film begins a conventional mode of interviews (2D self-created animated game experts), based on live-action interview footage in the real world, in order to induce the viewer to perceive this film as
The audience realises that this film's visual dimension is an animation to represent both a fiction in the beginning and end sections, and non-fiction content in the middle section. This shows animation's omnipotent (re)creational ability (Wells 1998: 22-23) and it means that animation can be used to display any form. This allows me to use two different versions of dramatisation: content-based staging and visual fiction (see Appendix D and E) for re-enactments. These dramatic devices make the viewer remember this conflicting moment between fiction and fact, or ironic authenticity, as arousing a sort of curiosity or expectation about this documentary's purpose and argument until it plays out the ending. This is structured to foster the viewer identification with the masked man and a letter, to depict unknown truth or questions about a boy's murder and his suicide. This awkwardness represents the inter-subjective experiences of everyday life, by visually dramatising my ethnographic knowledge or research findings as the invisible and partial truth in an expressive way.

5.3 The Middle Section

The middle section offers a very different visual concept, content and sound, out of a fabricated recreation of a content-based dramatisation based on a real murder in the opening of this film. In respect of this, in the middle section, there are two different representational modes.

Firstly, with regard to animated embodiment of interviewees, the film directly represents interviewees as real people in animation, such as offline gamer experts (2D hand-drawn animated talking heads), online gamers (as recorded avatar interviews in MMORPGs as virtual worlds) and offline gamers (as 3D non-mimetic robots at PC bangs or the Internet Addiction Centre) in terms of what they look like. But, online and offline game users' real faces are replaced by a non-mimetic substitution to protect their real identities (except for game experts). In this case, animated interviewees mean the presence of a physical face or body of interviewees onscreen can be substituted by a 2D hand-drawn
'rotoscoping' or 3D non-mimetic representation, helping to authenticate the status of the animated documentary (Fig. 17).

Secondly, with regard to animated interviews as disembodied voices, when one of those three different interviewees talks about their own subject or experience as real events, what they said is visually represented, as this is a documentary, through a non-mimetic 3D animated representation using a 3D cartoon style to show the characters' pantomime. The animated interviews with the disembodied voice enable the illustration of when the interviewee's oral statement describes a certain situation and memory, what they call to mind, and when they recall personal and collective history. This is animated via 3D non-mimetic expression between the recognised or re-constituted animated images and reality (Wells 1997: 43).

![Figure 17. After the IMF crisis and PC bang from *Jekyll's Letter* (2014)](image)

This mimics a certain situation or phenomenon with a link to the elements of the story in a different time and space. Sometimes the information is presented as a subjective mode of documentary, based on a serious voice-over and using metaphorical symbols and icons in motion graphic style animation (McCloud 1994: 31; Wells 1997: 44). with regard to the non-realistic or mimetic visual metaphor, McCloud (1994: 39) contends that humans recognise themselves as simplified conceptualised images. At this point, the viewer can easily identify less configured and more abstract iconographic
figures. I use this visual device to add more information and clarify concepts.

Accordingly, in my film practice, when both gamers (online and offline) and game experts (offline) are saying something as animated interviewees, their statements are visualisation of what is heard (on the recorded soundtrack), illustrating them in a 3D non-mimetic, but figural, icon-based, graphic in animation (see Appendix E, middle section: part 1 scene 001-013). This can be seen as animated info-graphics, using an iconic sign or iconography, based on real objects. This is like a motion graphic style animation to visualise two different aspects of ethnographic aural and visual information: qualitative, non-number based information, and a quantitative number-based version of data. All these ethnographic data are collected as audio-visual recordings during my fieldwork-research.

1) visualising qualitative data: most of the cases are involved in this version of data as it is a record of aural statements. Thus, it is a representation of what was said, based on the oral soundtrack, through a iconic sign: 3D figural animated substitution (see Appendix E, middle section: part 1 scene 007).

2) visualising quantitative data: this is visual research data collected from other text-based research in social science from the Internet Addiction Protect Centre under the Korean government. This information consists of number-based data on different kinds of visual diagrams, graphs and charts (see Appendix E, middle section: part 3 scene 012-019).

Therefore, in the middle section, the animated info-graphic versions are always juxtaposed with each of the animated interviewees (see Appendix E, middle section: part 1 scene 014-020). Also, when recorded gaming footage is played, animated info-graphics help to explain (Korean) online game cultures to an audience with little knowledge of online games (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 039). This animated info-graphic can be seen as a 3D non-mimetic, cartoon style of character-based pantomime. Thus, 3D animated interviews play an important role as a visual interpretation of what each animated interviewee said, using 3D robot-pantomime (see Appendix E, middle section: part 1 scene 031-033). Eventually, this represents the research process of actualisation and findings in animated visual
ethnographies. When representing this ethnographic knowledge in animation, based on what is heard and seen, ethnographic animators visually interpret what they hear and see, using a visual fiction or constructedness. This compares with the content-based dramatisation in the opening. Further, recorded virtual avatar interviews and gaming footage, which I involved in the virtual everyday life, are used to support what animated interviewees explained for my ethnographic research (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 010-014).

Hence, by mixing/merging and editing/-selecting these different self-created animations and recorded auto-animations, I represent in this middle section my ethnographic research knowledge to address the research subject or question in an alternative way. The middle section deploys animated interviews depicting what animated interviewees said, as it is a documentary. These contrast with the opening and ending section, with their fictional filmic narrative strategies presented through a content-based dramatisation. This middle section consists of four different parts used to introduce related research subjects based on my narration and interviewees’ oral statements, corresponding to Jekyll's investigation request.

5.3.1 PART 1: The IMF, Real Korean Society and the Emergence of Online Games

After revealing my investigation to the audience, the middle section begins with game experts' 2D hand-drawn animated interviews as talking heads. They provide the viewer with specific information about Korean society and how it is related to the emergence of online games in a descriptive documentary mode, without any dramatic elements such as music. Thus, when animated game experts explain some issue, what they said is visualized through a 3D character-based pantomime.

In part 1 of the middle section several main points inform the audience about the narrowness of Korean identity, reliance on online games and their specific online culture. This is based on my real ethnographic research (my online and
offline practice during a fieldwork research period, Appendix C).

Firstly, I show non-mimetic 3D toys to explain a typical Korean social relationship between home and companies or schools. It is linked to stereotypical family members and Korean social roles. In this case, a father is a workaholic earning money, a mother is housewife supporting her child and husband, and a child is a student studying hard to achieve social level-up.

Secondly, I present how this Korean social system contributes to Korea's rapid economic growth. This system has been based on the two wheels of Capitalism and Confucianism. For this, I construct a non-mimetic 3D toy world of 3D cartoon style of character animation to visualise metaphorically the abstract concepts of the Korean social system under the capital environment and Confucianism. This is based on game experts' real voice recordings, using the symbolic image as a visual fiction, not a content-dramatisation like fiction films. Through this symbolic image, I show the viewer how these two wheels work and influence Korean family members and the IMF economic crisis. As two game experts explain Korean society and IMF crisis, I anthropomorphise the IMF economic crisis as red devils, because ordinary Korean people think of it negatively. The devils spin the handle of two wheels very quickly, making a father character fall down; this symbolises unemployment.

I then show how they start the PC bang online game business, supported by the Korean government's IT policy, and how it is connected with an online game boom among young Korean people. I symbolise this IMF crisis as the sun on the field of PC bang, which influences the growing PC bang business during the IMF crisis period.

Figure 18. Online game users in PC bang from Jekyll's Letter (2014)
I represent many robots as real world game users whom I met at PC bangs and later the Korean Internet Protection Centre. The animated robot is, of course, a visual metaphor, in that such an image implicitly critiques the players as automata. The viewer may be confused about this scene if they wonder whether or not the robot is a fiction. However, I have only used the symbolic image as a visual fiction to convey my imaginative interpretation of real events and people as I actually experienced them in PC bangs. Thus, I express my participant observation of game users in PC bangs, in which they look like or behave like living dolls or robots, moving only their own eyes and hands in front of a computer screen (Fig. 18). In this sense, using the concept of ‘penetration’ (Wells 1998: 122) – the visual interpretation of seemingly unimaginable psychological, technical and organic interiors – it is possible to say that this image represents their experience and condition as well, mediating some difficult or impossible abstract issues, such as social pressure or the hidden condition of the real Korean social system (Pilling 2012: 3-4).

Lastly, my animated representation of MMORPGs focuses on their meaning by using animated info-graphics. It shows the definition of MMORPGs, using the cube animation effect. Also, it displays one dish which has three different partitions to indicate three aspects of MMORPGs (Fig. 19). Later these three elements, animation, game quest and communication, are mixed or merged into the main feature of MMORPGs to allow users to share game content as it is animated, communicating with other users or avatars in a real time online. At this point, I question the reason why many young Korean people, including
the dead boy, play this new media for many hours.

5.3.2 PART 2: PC Bangs and MMORPGs

Part 2 of the middle section presents MMORPGs as virtual worlds from PC bangs in the real world, based on my real-world ethnographic practice (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 001). By showing my real-world logging into the 6 most popular Korean MMORPGs, I confirm to the viewer that my 6 created avatars are doing ethnographic research, as they are presented having interviews with other avatars (Fig. 20). At this time, my real name is revealed as it was shown on Jekyll's letter in the opening section when Jekyll reads his request. This attempts to demonstrate the authenticity of my research process of actualisation in ethnography. This is linked to my ethnographic research practice online. For this, I selected 6 avatars from 10, due to the practical reason of presenting recorded in-depth interviews in virtual worlds (see Appendix C). I used the real game footage to briefly introduce Lineage 1 (1998) and Lineage 2 (2004), compared with Western MMORPGs, such as World of Warcraft (2004).

![Figure 20. Access to online games for avatar interviews from Jekyll's Letter (2014)](image)

My visualisation used the traditional Korean chess game, made up of white and black stones, to emphasize this conventional game's role as interactive or communicative. My visual explanation connects this game role with the current Korean MMORPGs' features of autonomous content creation and user interaction by game users, not game developers. This visual display symbolises Korean MMORPGs' distinctive features and Korean online game cultures, taking a visual example of a castle battle, based on the avatar party
or guild community (in Lineage 1 and 2), compared with the content of Western games, such as World of Warcraft (Fig. 21).

Figure 21. Autonomous content creation and user-interaction from Jekyll's Letter (2014)

However, as the game experts explain, I also present the negative influence of a guild-based game culture as it initially plays a role as a virtual utopia or agora. For this, I used recoded real gaming footages to offer the viewer visual evidence, presenting many avatars that individually fight or kill other avatars (PK) and collectively attack other avatar-groups (PVP) (Fig. 22). Viewers see real people fighting in live-action footage produced by the real Korean news media. This is intended to give them a visual shock as well as to present an authentic recording.

Figure 22. Avatars fighting or killing in relation to PK or PVP from Jekyll's Letter (2014)
Most importantly, I re-construct or re-enact the Bartz Liberation War (Fig. 23) as a virtual event of what actually happened in Korean representative online games, *Lineage 2* in 2004, conflating recreated time and space with fabricated toy-actors in a 3D non-mimetic animation (see Appendix E, middle section: part 2 scene 026-038). In this case, only animation can visually represent this virtual event that a live-action camera cannot record or document. This re-enacted virtual event provokes discussion about unfair treatment or discrimination between high-level avatars and low-level ones (see Appendix D). Concerning the competition for avatar items, such as armour, weapons and clothes and the game’s cash, I insert recorded real gaming footage as visual research data produced by informants from 6 different virtual avatars. For this, I used 3D fabricated toys to re-enact discrimination by avatar social level, corresponding with what virtual avatars said in interviews (Fig. 24).
I attempted to reflect a common feeling of young Korean people about discrimination by avatar social levels, compared with their real lives in real Korean society (see Appendix E, middle section: part 3 scene 049-050). I show each 3D robot character on each step to represent achieving goals from places at schools and good universities to jobs at large companies: a better, richer life. I emphasize differences between the Korean virtual and real worlds by creating the stairs, ladder, up and down arrows, low level cat and high level knight. Further, I visually express a link between real Korean society and Korean MMORPGs, showing a 3D toy cat's sad gesture on the lowest step. This is linked to forthcoming scenes, presenting a social class system or pyramid structure and a conflict between white and black avatars, and explains the distorted role of MMORPGs among Korean users (see Appendix E, middle section: part 3 scene 053-058). This competition leads to another issue in terms of online game addiction or immersion and I present red-eyed robots to symbolise online game users who are addicted to or immersed in playing games. Using different camera views, I show these 3D robots in PC bangs, moving their hands very quickly to press computer keyboards and click the mouse.

5.3.3 PART 3: Online Game Addiction or Immersion

Part 3 of the middle section focuses on visualising the issue of online game addiction or immersion, offering 4 different interviewees' oral statements. The 4 different interviewees consist of current online gamers, offline game users who suffered from game addiction or immersion in the past, a psychologist or counsellor from the Korean Internet Addiction Protection Centre and lastly a real game developer from a large Korean online game company (Fig. 25 and Fig. 26).

1) current online gamers: one of my virtual avatar-interviewees asserts that it is not easy to stop playing games at once, due to the endless game reward system. The more people spend time playing games, the more they achieve avatars' levelling up. Through earning game items, their avatars' social level
becomes higher.

2) a psychologist or counsellor from Korean Internet Addiction Protection Centre (under the Korean Government): she stresses that game companies intend to make strong game contents and reward systems to discourage players from stopping playing games at once.

3) online game companies' game developer: he mentions that game immersion or addiction should be blamed on the game users as it is an individual issue.

4) offline game users who suffered from game addiction or immersion in the past: they confess how they started to play online games and how they become addicted or immersed in games. They explain why gaming was very attractive and become important in their daily lives. This part mainly focuses on in-depth animated interviews with game users about their memories of game addiction or immersion, and why it was hard to give up PC bangs or gaming at home. Their personal memories become animated memories and illuminate the personal history of a game user and the reality of subjective experience from an 'inside-out' perspective (Lingford 2012: 110).

Figure 25. Two different game experts with conflicting views from Jekyll's Letter (2014)

Figure 26. Interviewees as current online gamers (left) and as offline game users (right) from Jekyll's Letter (2014)
I represent my real visit to the Internet Addiction Protection Centre during my fieldwork research period and a non-mimetic, eye-speaking robot in 3D animation to symbolise real game users who were addicted to online games in the past. This non-mimetic substitution in 3D animation is an effective representational way to keep the anonymity of offline interviewees. These robots are animated embodiments of the interviewees, and the robot eye light is synchronised with the real voices of interviewees. This means that whenever the robots are talking, the light of the robot eye is flickering, so it could be called 'eye-synching'.

In the real meeting, one of the real game users (offline) confesses that the meaning of playing games is becoming bigger in his daily life. Another addicted gamer spends more than 6 hours gaming after coming back from school. I visualise his personal memory or experience in which, as he points out, his game addiction or immersion makes his daily life only focus on seeing the computer screen due to an unlimited connection with other users. This is represented by unlimited robots, playing games without end, like the Mobius strip. The sitting robot's head becomes a square desk on which to place other sitting robots' computer screens as they are endlessly connecting.

Following this, I attach a game critic's animated talking head expatiating on a 3D robot's statement. He emphasizes that plenty of Korean users construct new social relationships through online games. To support this comment, I portray real game users' experiences as ethnographic visual data, in which a 3D robot is alone at school and home, isolated from others in the real world. He plays online games to communicate with online friends, connecting in a virtual world. I show a robot in a cage to symbolize his detachment from the real world as well as his obsession with online worlds. Interestingly, even though I use this non-mimetic 3D robot's animated interview, its accompanying visual interpretation facilitates 'the confessional expression' – the hidden condition of Korean game users and their online game culture (see Appendix E, middle section: part 3 scene 052-053).

I also used mimetic animation in other ways to re-enact real events in the
It is linked to my imaginative interpretation of what actually happened to a boy and his mother, using a visual fiction and content dramatisation to reconstruct the boy's game addiction and conflict with his mother before the murder. This recreation is based on photographs and articles in Korean newspapers in my ethnographic research (Appendix F). Through this animated re-enactment, I set flashbacks in a fictional code to re-tell this murder incident. This re-enactment in a subjective approach is historically related to previous ethnographic film-making approaches, using docu-fiction or science-fiction as articulated by Jean Rouch. Thus, through this different style of re-enactment in animation, I induce the viewer to rethink and review the issue of online game addiction in a Korean social aspect.

With regard to game addiction, a game critic contends that even though online game content is engaged with violence, this does not directly influence a boy to murder his mother and himself. Critics also argue that violent experiences in games are nullified by the positive social relationships of the players. There is also no direct evidence that the games themselves are harmful. However, Korean society judges that this incident results from game addiction caused by the individual's mental issues. Critics explain that it may be linked to the lack of communication between a boy and his single parent, a social concern.

I present quantitative research data from the Korean Government to prove that game addiction may be a social and not simply an individual issue, through visualising the given data in Appendix E, middle section: part 3 scene 012-023. To visualise the quantitative data, I recreated this information, using a simple icon image and number to explain graphically explain the rate of online game addiction or immersion, depending on age, school year, single-parent or two-parent household, parents' economic situation and a living area, amongst online gamers (Fig. 27). I used animated info-graphics to represent several key points as my research findings. Firstly, male high school students aged between 16 and 19 seem more prone to addiction.
Secondly, the highest levels of addiction are recorded by children of single parents, and are more than double than those in conventional two-parent families (Fig. 28).

Thirdly, the rate of online game access depends upon the parents’ economic situation – whether they live in a wealthy or poor area, for example. In Seoul, the south part is relatively richer than the northern part, and therefore where a child lives will reflect the parents’ social and economic position (Fig. 29).

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Figure 27. Data visualisation: high school student addicts from Jekyll’s Letter (2014)

Figure 28. Data visualisation: the highest levels of addiction are seen in children of single-parents from Jekyll's Letter (2014)

Figure 29. Data visualisation: the higher rate of internet access corresponding with the parents' economic situation from Jekyll's Letter (2014)
Lastly, 70% of games are played at home and 30% at PC bangs (Fig. 30). This proves most users play at home and confirms that many young people who have a single parent or working parents can easily play online games at home without any limitations. Thus, the high online game access rate of young teenagers is found to be connected to the parents' roles and the home environment. In contrast to this, in terms of visualising the qualitative data, I visually dramatise the difficulties of children and their single parents or working parents, through the climb scene of parent robots carrying their child on their back (Appendix E, middle section: part 3 scene 009-011).

Eventually, my animation focuses on a lack of communication between ordinary Korean parents and their children. To emphasize this, I represent Korean teenagers' ordinary life from public schools to the private institutes for obtaining high grades and marks or rank in studies. In this case, I depict child robots racing with others to win competitions for achieving acceptance at well-known universities and large companies; parent robots put books into their child's head for good marks; child robots are forced to attend extra lessons and are treated as study-machines. I directly used a text, *Management of Academic Performance*, to show the improper closeness between parent-robots and children-robots, symbolising young Korean people's narrow social relationships and identity. In this way, I symbolise many young Korean people as student-robots, later becoming robots who are insanely playing online games in a cage or microwave. Consequently, I express their situation as robots floating on the sea to escape from huge pressure in the real Korean world.
5.3.4 PART 4: Online Games for Communication

Many Korean users commonly state that the use of online games is not a simple reaction against pressure created by the extreme competitiveness and rank-based level system in real Korean society. They emphasise the positive role of Korean MMORPGs and their influence in fertilising or extending social relationships by giving players the opportunity to attend online game guilds or parties in virtual worlds. Thus, part 4 of the middle section identifies how and why many young Korean students use an animated online game, and compare this with their real lives in Korean society. This helps us to understand the reason why the dead boy was addicted to game media based on the Internet and animated films. In part 4 my animation attempts to represent three main points, based on my ethnographic research findings.

Firstly, I represent a Korean guild system, constituted by many 3D robots as online gamers on small engaged wheels which operate a big wheel, symbolising online communities or groups (Fig. 31). In the next scene, a camera quickly zooms out from the engaged wheels to a masked man's face to the guild circle, in order to symbolize Korean gamers as the online Edward Hyde. This accentuates their distinctive culture. Even though the principle use of online games such as MMORPGs is to playing the games themselves, there is mounting evidence that they are primarily used by those who talk with other users online, sharing similar hobbies and outlooks. In South Korea, there is not much variety of inexpensive leisure activity. Gaming seems a cheap way to develop social relationships and to construct a social identity.

Figure 31. The role of online games for Korean youth from Jekyll's Letter (2014)
I introduce two different cases in relation to the online Hyde and the online culture connected to the real Korean world (Appendix E, middle section: part 4 scene 007-009).

1) one online game user explains his unbelievable story: his online friend, who joins in the same online game guild in virtual worlds, attended his mother's funeral, even though they have never met each other in the real world (Fig. 32). I used non-mimetic toys to make virtual avatar characters meet real world 3D robots.

2) one game user living in Seoul allows his online friend living in a rural area to come to his city home and sleep for one night. They have never met in the real world before. I deliver this real story in animation, constructed by 5 different cuts - short omnibus style, using a 3D robot pantomime in 5 different sets (Fig. 33).

Figure 32. Extraordinary experiences in online games from *Jekyll's Letter* (2014)
These two cases suggest that many young Korean people including the dead boy concentrate on playing online games, which enable them to construct a more flexible identity and broaden social relations in the animated online world (Fig. 34). In contrast to this, real Korean society only allows for the construction of narrow social relationships and stereotyped identities.

In this sense, online games play an important role as a sort of alternative place to young Korean people. Gamers believe gaming encourages intimate communication and relationships, and affords the possibility of a more progressive personal identity set against the narrow identity or the lack of identity in Korean society. It is clear that there is a limited range of social relationships in Korean society, so it is advantageous deliberately to construct
an identity if possible. In order to fill a deficiency in real world relationships, people are spending a part of every day playing online games.

Secondly, I represent the real and virtual worlds in a top and bottom symmetrical relation. If real worlds are increased like a rubber ball, virtual worlds are decreased (Appendix E, middle section: part 4 scene 011). For this structure, one train is coming down and moving on a railway line shaped like a phrase, 'social relation'. This literally indicates its original meaning of social relation.

Part 4 of the middle section represents the relationship between an animated online world and inanimate real Korean society. In terms of strong desires for socially levelling up, the real and virtual Korean worlds are very similar. Korean online avatars' virtual practices (including PK and PVP) are influenced by the non-virtual and material existence in the real Korean world. The only difference between the two realms is that virtual avatars can achieve their goals if they make an effort, as opposed what happens in the real world. In real Korean society, it is hard to be rewarded despite striving for one's own goal of social levelling-up and economic success.

Surprisingly, in regard to this reward in Korean MMORPGs, activities for social level-up and reward (game item or cash) provoke endless fighting and conflict among avatars or their guilds in virtual worlds. A sort of pyramid class or level society, based on avatar hierarchy and ranking, is formed where a few avatar rulers on a high grade control or govern many of the low avatars (Fig. 35). In contrast to this, a Western game, such as World of Warcraft (WOW), offers
strong game contents whereby all avatars must undergo the given game quests which deliver rewards. This allows relatively anyone to become a high level user in a short time. Due to this different game system, WOW game users do not often have reasons to fight each other when attending rich game quests.

With reference to Korean MMORPGs, I show a pyramid shape of social class or level, as each world presents as a triangular structure. Hence, in regard to the relationship between the Korean virtual world and real world, two triangle hierarchy shapes are vertically laid in the position of up and down, parallel to each other (Appendix E, middle section: part 4 scene 013). In contrast to this relationship, in Western online games, two different triangle shapes as the hierarchy pyramid structure are laid in reverse position, as they are vertically symmetrical to each other.

Therefore, my visual practice presents an inanimate real Korean society offering a narrow social relationship and an identity stereotype. Korean MMORPGs (e.g. Lineage 2) allow a more active and creative world to overcome the limitations of real world issues, constructing various social relations as animated. The most important finding is that the more limited and narrow the current social world, the more online games enable people to make various social relationships and have multiple identities. It can be seen that games help people to overcome a lack of real relationships. Paradoxically, although online gaming is negatively regarded in the real world, it is merely an alternative way for social relationships to develop and form in South Korean society. The inanimate social environment in Korea is replaced by an animate virtual society which Korean young people need more than older generations.

Playing online games allows young gamers to join in their own game guild and communities not just to play the game, but to communicate with others. I cannot find clear evidence that game users' economic situation in the real world obviously influences their attendance at game guilds or communities in virtual worlds. At the Internet Addiction Protection Centre, I met different young Korean students from rich to poor in the same game guilds. Their chosen game communities' style and concept are not directly related to their
economic situation or background in the real world. They state that they need a sense of belonging against narrow real society. It is likely that they urgently need any kind of connection and communication with others who have similar concerns and interests, regardless of individuals' economic issues or social class in the real world. A lack of communication can be seen as a social issue and I symbolise it as a real Korean world issue. Thus, the tragedy of the dead boy and his mother is not simply about violent game content or the strategies of online game companies to encourage greater investment in games, but rather about the boy's lack of social relationships, and his inability to communicate with his parents.

Thirdly, in part 4, I contend that the dead boy may be a victim, created by the inanimate real Korean society. Thus, with regard to online game addiction or immersion, my practice implies that the boy incident can be linked to Korean society. I attempt to represent the dead boy's everyday life (caged or isolated in a room) as the outcome of the interaction of the agency of individuals and social structures. In other words, my practice depicts the boy as being isolated by the limitations of communication in real Korean society. I contend that this lack of communication may have influenced the boy's inward state and eventually resulted in the murder, because his mother cut the internet line. A family photo depicting as a fragmented family is an animated re-enactment.

My practice asserts that the emergence of online Edward Hydes in South Korea may be created by real Korean social issues, which require invisible obedience, competition and the pressures of the Korean social structure, based on a class- or rank-based capital environment and Confucianism.

For Korean game users in a Korean social system, only animated online games allow them to establish new kinds of social channels for constructing various relationships and expressing self-identities or creating new life styles against their very narrow experience in real Korean society. Online games offer them new opportunities to express themselves and make decisions. My practice emphasises that the animated online Hyde signifies the embodiment of liberal decisions for self-expression for young Korean people.

In the last scene of part 4, I review my actual research process from grey
buildings (the site of the boy's incident) and PC bangs symbolising fast moderation and social change, to logging into MMORPGs on a computer screen to online game guilds and communities (see Appendix E, middle section: part 4 scene 021-026). After this review, I present the masked man, symbolising one of the online Korean Hydes, in a dark corridor, walking to enter a door, which indicates opening a door to another world. This door allows the masked man to access his animated online games.

5.4 The End Section

In the end section, the audience recognises the masked man's real identity and relationship with the dead boy, as it was shown at the beginning. The final section starts with the real murder date – the 16th November 2010, which operated as an intertitle to indicate what actually happened to the South Korean boy and his mother. The events that led up to the murder were shown in a series of flashbacks. A slow tempo intercut between a masked man and a boy and dramatic, gloomy tone music with gothic style colour and mood is used during the end scene. This section is juxtaposed with the opening one, in which animation is only used to re-enact the boy's incident as a factual occurrence, using a recreated boy and mother, and content-based dramatisation, a fabricated character – a masked man as the boy's online friend in dramatic narratives.

Through this fictional visual representation, my animated re-enactments are a creative adaptation of both a boy's real murder/suicide incident and Robert Louis Stevenson's strange case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, which generated my research about double identity in terms of Jekyll's animated, online Hyde in South Korea. This attempts to connect fragmented facts about an unobservable murder. It combines an animated drama as a visually fictional narrative with a documentary as a factual/real-event referent, in order to facilitate understanding of a specific situation around a dead boy in a Korean socio-cultural context.

Accordingly, my film practice is an animated dramatisation of what actually
occurred, adapted from newspaper articles, mainly produced by indirect statement or witnessing by the rest of the dead boy's family. Here I rely on the everyday-based ethnographic research from Korean news media reports about the boy's murder and newspaper photographs and articles in transcription. Animation allows me to represent transcription, recreating time and space by playing with them and contracting and expanding these recreated events to connect or conflate fragmented events or facts of the past (then) and the present (now). Through this docu-fiction form, the audience can understand the meaning of the date as an intertitle to indicate that it is the date of a real murder in Korea on 16th November 2010, which I read about in Britain on 17 November. Thus, the audience can understand my intended (fictional) narrative and eventually, recognise my dramatisation as one of imaginative interpretation of what actually occurred between a boy and his mother.

Hence, this dramatisation in my film practice is adapted from the concept of Jekyll and Hyde and a real event's transcriptions reported in newspapers. This is eventually interpreted through ethnographic knowledge about young Korean people's animated online 'Hyde' as Korean-ness by using animated drama-documentary and a non-fiction context.

My animated re-enactments, using dramatic elements and based on a historical/real event and people are a creative, subjective interpretation of actuality in a documentary, inspired by John Grierson's term (1933: 8). My ethnographic film practice is also related to animation and docu-fiction (in Rouch and MacDougall's sense of the term, 1998: 103) or drama-documentary (Roscoe and Hight's sense of the term, 2001: 58), using a visual fiction and dramatic narrative.

My ethnographic research allows me to investigate and find a partial truth and finally to represent ethnographic findings to the viewer. When representing them in animation, I do not give an objective/positivist answer in relation to the completed truth about this research. However, my practice attempts to offer the viewer an understanding of a specific culture – contemporary South Korea. Accordingly, this final section provides my ethnographic knowledge or findings
through an animated interpretation of a dead boy's real daily life. I attempt to show his obsession, not addiction or immersion, with playing online games to communicate with others who can share his concerns and interests (Fig. 36). However, his mother regarded her son's game activity as means of avoiding his duty as a student. She strongly believed that it was a sort of anti-social or abnormal, addictive behavior which would damage her son's studies and block ways of improving his real social life.

For this reason, I show the scene where the mother cuts the Internet line using scissors. Even though this is dramatised by my imagination and based on the newspaper articles, she actually considered that her son was a game addict. According to an interview with the boy's young sister, many conflicts had occurred between her brother and mother at night time and this supports my dramatic re-enactment. The mother ignored her son's relationship with his online friends, treating her son as an abnormal person unable to distinguish between virtual and real worlds. I dramatise the boy's obsession and I visually suggest that this tragic incident may be related to the boy's mother's divorce, or his home environment, and I use scissors to signify cutting, and a fragmented family photo (Fig. 37). I also represent the boy's guilt and panic about his behaviour. According to the Korean newspaper, he actually wrote a last letter to the rest of his family before he killed himself.
My film practice uses a fabricated recreation or dramatisation based on a boy's real actions to achieve two things: firstly, I represent this fragmented or invisible reality through animated drama-documentaries by connecting and combining documentary content with a fictional animated form, and secondly, animated audio-visual text can be a visual research tool in order to represent ethnographic memories or recollection as well as identify and convey invisible or hidden lived experiences that a live-action film cannot record or document.

Finally, the masked man, apparently a fabricated character, helps to sustain audience curiosity about his real identity, as a metaphor of Jekyll's animated online Hyde. In the film narrative, the masked man is an online game friend of the dead boy, and later his real status is revealed as me, the incident's investigator, through a mirrored image in final scene. Thus, this fictional character has two purposes:

1) symbolising double or dual identity as a metaphor of the dead boy's animated online Hyde, and

2) my presence or involvement as a practice-researcher in my film narrative, through a transformed or metamorphic falsified character, to represent the dead boy's subjective reality, based on my ethnographic research findings situated in a Korean social context.

The final scene conveys my research findings that there is no clear evidence
about the distinctively different aspects of game communities or guilds, depending on online gamers' educational background and economic or social class, for instance, between the rich and poor or single and two parent-families. The last scene shows this issue through my dramatic portrayal of a relationship between a 16-year-old boy (living in single-parent household) and his online friend as a 33-year-old masked man or real researcher. This suggests that there is only a relative difference of internet addiction between single- and two-parent families. It does not reflect on the ways their economic situation or social status influence attendance at different game guilds or communities. I actually found many interviewees (e.g. the university professor and a cleaning man) who emphasise the role of MMORPGs in offering a utopian agora as an alternative space beyond the material amongst virtual online game users.
Conclusion

This practice-led research investigates the notion of Korean-ness. It examines how the construction of identity based on concepts drawn from Robert Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* can be identified in a Korean contemporary context through the utilisation of virtual media – animated online games such as MMORPGs. It addresses a research question which asks – In what ways can the construction of 'identity' (based on concepts drawn from *Jekyll and Hyde*) be identified in contemporary 'virtual' media (i.e. 'MMORPGs' / the 'animated' documentary), and how does this facilitate an address of the specific case of 'Korea' and 'Korean-ness'? 

The process of inquiry is informed by the integration of animated practice and theoretical material to produce a methodology which engages with online and offline Korean identities. I employ a visual ethnographic methodology which uses participation, observation, interviewing of Korean MMORPG users and animation. The contextual work of related perspectives and studies informs the literary review which is developed throughout discussion in five chapters. The primary and secondary source research investigates the meaning of Korean-ness for contemporary youth culture.

The creation of an animated documentary film as the final practice output is a result of visualised theorisation using the construction of identity in relation to the 'double' (developed by Stevenson’s Jekyll and Hyde); the creative language of animation, both orthodox and experimental; the new possibilities animation provides in representing visual ethnography; the meaning and role of avatars or the 'online Hyde'; the new composition of animated documentary through the practice of virtual worlds and impossible worlds; and the evaluation of the final practical art-work and its conceptual construction.

The research idea, explored in Chapter 1, is based on concepts drawn from the ‘idea’ of *Jekyll and Hyde* and the concepts of double identity; metamorphosis; nature and technology; and modernisation. I argue that Korean youth are denied 'identity' by fast social change and modernisation, and that they strive for liberal expression (an 'offline Jekyll') with the help of an
Chapter 2 examines the theorisation of identity from sociological, psychoanalytical, and bio-cultural perspectives and finds that Korean identity has changed. Korean gamers, particularly young Koreans, suffer from a discontinuity or division of identity in the real world, which requires extreme competition and social achievement to enter good universities and large well-known companies. For most Koreans, it is important to be recognised by other members of society through solid, visible results or social achievements, rather than through a self-created or subjective identity. It is understood that some Korean MMORPG users attempt to fill this hole resulting from pressure, failure and inequality that has occurred in real society or life. For them the virtual world is a sort of compensation, in which they create their own high-level avatars and play PVP or PK, and also communicate with other users through MMORPGs or other new media.

Chapters 3 introduces theories of visual ethnography and provides an explanation of how my visual practice, *Jeykll’s Letter*, can be positioned as visual ethnography by using interviews and participant observation in Korean MMORPGs, and 6 different avatars which were created to join in Korea’s most popular MMORPGs as animated online games. Thus, this visual animated practice in MMORPGs articulates ethnographic knowledge in relation to a specific Korean gaming culture and animated online identity in a Korean socio-cultural context.

Chapter 4 briefly discusses the theories of animation so that I can position my work as a mode of performative documentary, in which I participate as ethnographer and filmmaker. My animated visual practice employs dramatisation inspired by concepts of 'docu-fiction' or 'drama-documentary'. This helps to make a sort of adaptation from fragmented, fact-based occurrences in an expressive way, symbolising the Jekyll and Hyde concept with gothic imagery and narrative, content-based fiction. *Jeykll’s Letter* identifies ethnographic meaning in relation to an animated online Hyde in a Korean context. This means that the final visual practice produces a new ethnographic means of better understanding Korean culture and Korean-ness.
Chapter 5 explains my film practice as an animated drama-documentary in visual ethnography. I offer a detailed analysis of all stages of making the film in order to demonstrate the complex relationship between the narrative content and its realisation in animated form. I end the chapter with a discussion of online game addiction and offer some conclusions about this behaviour, Korean society and Korean-ness. This is central to the aim of my research on Korean youth culture and identity and my research findings can now be summarised in relation to my research question: In what ways can the construction of 'identity' (based on concepts drawn from 'Jekyll and Hyde') be identified in contemporary 'virtual' media (i.e. 'MMORPGs' / the 'animated' documentary), and how does this facilitate an address of the specific case of 'Korea' and 'Korean-ness'?

To sum up, the issues contributing to the Korean-ness of contemporary young Koreans can be categorised and identified as:

(1) Identity, social relations, urbanisation, industrialisation: the doubling effect of the shift between modernisation and anti-modern forces

(2) Industrialisation, tradition and post-tradition, Confucianism, Capitalism, the IMF: modernisation and the risk-taking society in South Korea

(3) The IMF, the online game industry, PC bangs, MMORPGs, animated, communicated, internet, utopia, avatar: the psyche through the avatar (body-machine) in an online animated world

(4) Avatar, PK, PvP, levelling up, competition, addiction or immersion, online communities: an interactive animated world, as against the inanimate or risk-based society in South Korea

(5) Online guilds, the lack of communication: the lack of communication and the limitation of identity as compared with online animated game worlds such as MMORPGs
Reflecting on the issues above, my research shows that many South Korean MMORPG users do construct identity within contemporary ‘virtual’ media and that this contributes to a very complex Korean-ness amongst Korean youth. Online game playing manifests many of the social concerns of the real world, in which rapid modernisation and tensions between Capitalism and Confucianism have created social rupture and a conflicted ‘doubleness’ in personal and social identities.

Amongst young Koreans online gaming has both positive and negative consequences. Immersion in the virtual world can lead to addiction and to the violence which is at the core of my film narrative. However, I discovered that it can also result in a close friendship with members of the same guild or party membership, even though the friends never seen each other in the real world. This means that online gaming often affords a kinship not available in many broken families, or families inhibited in their communication by social roles and expectations, or the effects of economic failure and loss. Perhaps ironically, Korean gaming culture is also part of the economic rejuvenation in South Korea based on a progressive IT strategy.

Through their online activities based on game guilds and communities, gamers construct social relations which fertilise their self-identity, expanding their social life in virtual worlds. This means many young Korean students use online games not only for gaming, but also for communicating in a real time online, not solely focusing on creating expensive or high social level new avatars. It also indicates that they need someone who can understand their concerns, fears and interests in the extremely competitive and pressured real-world Korean society. South Korean society does not offer enough leisure, culture or activities where young people can develop themselves and have varied social relationships. This point clearly contradicts the view that online gaming inhibits communication amongst Korean youth; indeed it seems to encourage it, even though people do not necessarily meet in the real world. In respect of this, my practice criticises young Korean people’s narrow and limited social environment and proves that they desire liberal expression and decision-making for themselves, expanding typical or fixed social roles, through the embodiment of animated avatars in MMORPGs. Hence, the
‘online Hyde’, though assumed to be a negative or destructive force, is actually a vehicle for varied and numerous social identities for youth culture preferable to those available in real Korean society.

Horkheimer and Adorno (1944) criticize the uniformity and standardisation of identity in which human beings are subordinated or dominated by society, community and administration within the post-Enlightenment and capitalist environments. Human labour is treated as a part of production and a commodity in materialism and for this reason, Korean youth have to improve upon and prove their labour value through extreme competition and demanding entrance examination systems in the market or work environment, utilising better educational backgrounds and academic achievements based on rank, number and quality.

This is why most Korean parents strongly emphasise numerical scores or grades and push their children towards higher education to enable them to survive the Korean social and cultural system, where pressure starts to manifest itself from middle or high school (primary or secondary school). Many students are naturally constrained, but the real problem is that the more Korean youth feel such social or external pressure, the more they become addicted or immersed in online games. The huge parental pressure they feel produces a desire for release through complete immersion into games, particularly those which involve communication with other people. This results ultimately in a desire to relate to a certain movement, leading to the propensity of young students to access online games to communicate with anyone at any time. Even if MMORPG worlds have significant problems, they potentially offer a spiritual utopia. Korean users play a role in order to communicate with others more easily through animated online games.

The research questions posed by this project have been answered in the self-reflexive conditions of the animated documentary, which uses animation to document the ways in which Korean youth, despite all the social conditions that appear to inhibit and constrain them, have re-animated their lives through virtual culture and the freedoms afforded by animation as a form of social and creative expression. The ‘online Hyde’ dramatises identity and resists the
social and symbolic order. The 'double' becomes the vehicle for liberal
decision-making and new social experiences to achieve a true meaning of
liberty and autonomy. My practice shows how game characters created by
players in endless animated narratives influence the construction of the
player’s own identity in the real world, and serves to demonstrate the lack of
communicable identity in the context of daily life.

While my research used an ethnographic methodology to investigate the
nature of Korean-ness, and focused on analysing youth culture and identity, it
developed a practice component which tested the viability of animation, in the
form of a drama-documentary, as a research tool and research outcome for
visual ethnographers. My analysis of Jekyll’s Letter supports my contention
that animation is a form of moving image that not only crosses disciplinary
boundaries but, in its use of re-enactment and dramatisation, can make visible
those aspects of human behaviour which are both actual and imagined and,
like Jekyll and Hyde, function as a doubled concept. Hence, this research
seeks to contribute original knowledge and mounts a critique of the meaning
of the ‘online Hyde’, not as a misrepresentative and negative representation of
Korean-ness, but as a revelation of its true contemporary meaning, which can
be articulated through animation.
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The Strange Case of the Animated Jekyll

and the ‘Online Hyde’:

A Documentary Study of Korean Youth Culture and Identity

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Appendix A: Avatar / Game users as interviewees information (snowball sampling)

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<td>Anonymity</td>
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<td>Online Game Manager</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Prof. Chang-Ho Park</td>
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All sum of 10
Appendix B: The interview questionnaire

- Game experts' questionnaire for the offline interview

1. Why do many Koreans prefer to play MMORPGs and what are they?

2. What is the favourite MMORPG in South Korea and what distinctive features does it have, compared to other games?

3. How do Korean gamers utilise online games?

4. If Korean online game culture has unique or original characteristics, can they be connected with Korean social and cultural issues in a contemporary context?

5. Do you think the story, content and visual design of Korean online games can be affected by other cultures?

6. Do you think that the style and culture of online game playing can be different depending on the region, wealth and educational background of game users? Or that it can be affected by the ways in which they construct their avatars or game characters and start to play online games?

7. Do you think that there are original or unique features which only Korean game users have that can be commonly found and identified both in Western games such as Second Life and World of Warcraft and Korean ones such as Lineage 2 and Mabinogi?

8. Can you compare Western with Korean game content? How do both types of content appeal, or not appeal, to Korean users? Can this be defined as Korean-ness?

9. Can you recall or have you heard of any special episodes or experiences in relation to online games which you have not shared with or spoken of to others?

- Game users' questionnaire for the online interview

1. What is your main avatar, nickname or ID?

2. Where are you living now?

3. What is your age and job?

4. What are your favourite online games? And why do you prefer to play them?
5. What kind of avatar or game characters do you have and like? And how do you utilise your avatar and online games (environment aspect)?

6. Is it important for you to create your own unique avatar or game character when playing online games? If it is, what is the most crucial factor?

7. Do you think the avatar or game characters can influence any aspect of how you play games?

8. Do you feel there is any difference in relation to the appearance of avatars and game background?

9. What can you gain or achieve through playing avatars in games? Have you felt something special through playing avatars in games?

10. Have you found yourself thinking in a different way compared with your ordinary patterns of thought, similar to the relationship of Jekyll and Hyde, after playing avatars in games?

Have you experienced a special meaning in avatars or game characters (as the construction of identity) in online games (as the environment)?

11. What is the most important difference between offline and online self-identity? Have you projected yourself onto your avatar or game character, projecting what you wish to be and to be seen as?

12. Have you experienced that your avatar or game character is intruding into the reality of your daily life?

13. Can you recall any special episodes or experiences in relation to online games which you have not shared with or spoken about to others?
Appendix C: The Fieldwork Research Online and Offline

During my fieldwork research period, I sometimes gained limited information as online games and game users have been seen in a very negative light and tend to be treated as anti-social beings or odd groups in conservative Korean society. Online games-related deaths and violent incidents happen regularly and are constantly reported on the main Korean TV news, but this is gradually changing since the emergence of a more formalised online game industry, such as the PC bang business boom encouraged by the Korean government's IT policy. Still, some online game users are found dead in front of computer screens because of playing online games without any rest for 2-3 days.

With this prejudice about online games, people are fairly afraid of revealing that they play in a PC bang or even at home, as they may be called a geek or loser in the real-world social environment. Furthermore, I noticed most ordinary Korean people consider online gaming anti-social and, surprisingly, they believe that it can cause serious violence and anti-social behaviour and influence teenage delinquency. Thus, it was very difficult to have in-depth interviews with real online game users in PC bangs and it was impossible to approach a high-ranking manager or creator in online game companies. Though some of them were allowed to give an interview, they required 'anonymity' to protect their own status and identity. However, I was able to get considerable support from many Korean game users (online and offline) and game experts, and I could collect and document their own lived experiences in the context of everyday life through (semi-structured) interviews and participant ethnographic observation. In what follows, I will introduce and explain my ethnographic (research) practices online and offline during my fieldwork research period (a 1-year period from November 2010 to December 2011).
(1) Online Practice

a) The Pilot Study

Over three months during 2011, I was able to test the in-depth formal online interview with users of Second Life and MMORPGs such as Mabinogi. I found several challenges in the case of MMORPGs, which can be identified as:

1. Unlike with Second Life, it took a long time to join in cyber communities and gain ‘rapport’.

2. Difficulties or distraction in the in-depth formal interview, because of MMORPGs' features, specifically the endless game quests (given tasks and wars) and rules (different game levels, the group or party activities).

3. Plausibility, credibility and authenticity of interviewees, as well as ethical issues when recording private information online.

It is challenging to conduct an in-depth online interview with the game users in MMORPGs, and there is limitation in accessing their personal stories. However, it is necessary to join in with, observe and interview MMORPG users in their own communities or parties as online practice. Even if it is difficult to assess them for in-depth interviews, combining offline and online practice is vital to investigate the reason why users actually need avatars outside the real world (or against Korean society), and how they construct new identities in an animated environment, compared with their offline everyday-real life in a socio-cultural context.

At the same time, in-depth formal interviews with game users and experts in offline contexts are inevitable and necessary, due to the limitations encountered in regularly interacting with online avatars, especially when revealing my own identity as a researcher or the purpose of the research. It requires seeing and hearing some real world gamers out of their role as online world avatars as compared to each real world life. This goes further in directly understanding individual values, attitudes and perspectives on the issue of the construction of identity in a Korean contemporary context. Also, it is useful to obtain more coherent personal narratives and authentic information from a
principled and systematic investigation. However, the most important thing is to make meaning and construct interpretations or re-interpretations from interviewees’ personal contexts, circumstances and everyday knowledge of social structure, rather than finding out truth or falsehood or whether or not authentic experiences or emotions should generate responses. For this, as indicated by Silverman (2006: 110-137), semi-structured interviews should be used, in which a mix of in-depth questioning and open-ended conversation is flexibly formulated to address different descriptive levels and find out what interviewees actually mean and produce in specifically situated contexts.

b) Online Formal Interview With 10 Gamers (between 1hour - 1hour and 30mins) in MMORPGs

I created 6 avatars as game characters in the genre of MMORPGs – popular online games – logging into each game to have interviews with the real avatars or gamers in the MMORPG. I was looking for avatars and volunteers who meet in online games together in order to observe and participate in each game, and in conversation, before later trying to identify possible interviewees. As a result of such participation and establishing rapport with interviewees, I was allowed to have in-depth formal interviews (after revealing and explaining my research purpose) and record them for my research. Also, some interviewees offered their own recorded game footage, which they had directly experienced and which I needed in order explicitly to reveal Korean online game culture, such as the ‘guild war’ event for the communities.

Eventually, I selected 6 out of 10 gamers and edited their recordings of avatar and game footage for sequences in my documentary. This meant I could get material in relation to player killing (PK), avatar item acquisition and level issues, which was also pertinent for the documentary. Furthermore, some of those people, in their real world personas, talked about game immersion and addiction during physical meetings and interviews, within the setting of the real world.
c) Recording Online Game Footage (PK, PVP, Level Up and Game Playing) by Researcher and Research Participants

Pink (2013[2001]: 121-123) proposed the importance of interrogating the realistic and reflexive approach to analysing the content and context representing the visual actuality, event or process that has sequentially occurred, as well as considering the subjectively selected and edited set of materials constituting a real event. Accordingly, this enables the ethnographer's own materials to be organised by informants offering local and ethnographic meanings. For this, I asked several online gamers to record and create their own game-playing footage, and this footage in turn revealed the distinct patterns and rules of their game or interactions. It also contained their performance and verbal dialogues as personal narratives, and interviews between the ethnographers and gamers.

In this way the avatar is used to explicate the main subject or pattern in non-material phenomena where the informant produces and interprets for later further analysis. It is significant to understand how the ‘online’ users define identity to gain an understanding of the issue of the particular construction of identity in their local culture or world (Pink 2013[2001]: 124-125). For this, it is necessary to use the authentic (visual and written) narrative by informants or interviewees as it represents their own chosen experience and performance (Pink 2013[2001]: 130). Of course, this is still subject to the thematic and specific categories that will be utilised by the ethnographers or researchers.
intending to organise and edit these video recordings and interview transcripts into a scenario for an animated documentary film, employing the subjective and interactive modes of representation.

(2) Offline Practice

Offline ethnographic fieldwork was also required to gather and analyse stable interviews and authentic information. A comparison can be made between game users’ personal everyday life stories (in game communities) and socio-cultural factors in South Korea.

a) PC Bang Investigation: Informal Interview with 22 Gamers (less than 30 mins)

It was with fieldwork through a short period of participant observation and personal interview (offline) in a PC bang (personal computer game room) that further material was gathered. Interestingly, Seoul (the capital of South Korea) is divided into two areas: Gang-nam (south) and Gang-buk (north). The research aimed to investigate these two areas, because they are geographically distinguished by the Han River, creating a division of wealth and educational background, and separating social level and class.

Figure 2. Map, Seoul in South Korea
Of interest is that Seoul is clearly divided into the south (orange zone: relatively rich) and north (blue zone: relatively poor) like the two Koreas (North and South Korea). The reason I wished to assess them separately was to consider the impact of ‘the dual urban city’ based on Robert Louis Stevenson’s background city, Edinburgh (west and east), with different social and economic levels or class in different living areas. Thus, it is helpful to observe and encounter real issues that could link to unstated desires within social and cultural phenomena. This fieldwork determines what forces South Korean users unconsciously or consciously to create their own avatars like Hyde in relation to a real-world Jekyll and gather in PC bangs to meet up in fictional virtual worlds, and what makes them participate each day. It was hoped that this could provide insight into how current Korean identity has been forming under the swift social and cultural change in Confucianism and capitalism.

Figure 3. The main towns in south and north in Seoul City centre for the field research plan

The investigation route in Figure 3 depicts the rich town compared to the poor areas where film footage will document each PC bang and player in these section’s numbers (section 1 → 10), which allow access to individuals and groups, capturing their short footage, and playing out games that could visually reflect and mirror their desire to present double or multiple identities. Thus, it offers insights into game players’ motivations when they are engaged with the cyber guilds or communities related to the different regions and generations.
b) Two Groups for the Formal In-Depth Interviews (1 - 1:30 hour)

: 4 online gamers (who suffered from game addiction and had played in the past, aged from 10 to 30 / requested anonymity)

: 10 experts in online games (who had or have played online games as game critics, professors of Digital Contents, Internet Information, Art and Animation, psychologists, staff and managers in online game companies)

I constructed two groups that consisted of gamers and experts, each chosen of different reasons. I interviewed them individually, sometimes through their published books, online data and information from the South Korean Internet Protection Centre run by the government. Also, I utilised the main Korean newspapers and television programmes to contact various critics in the field of online games, the internet and digital culture, sociology, psychology and animation.

I asked questions, recording their statements on the veracity of the situation as they recognised it. The questions were flexible and in response to interviewees' interaction and experience, focusing on online ethnic culture concerning the constructed visual images of the avatar. Also, interviews addressed guilds or communities in everyday life on various aspects of how Koreans perceive their own identity. This allowed me an insight into how they are able to communicate freely with others without time restrictions and demands. It is a vital method to understand escapism from ‘real' life styles and social pressures, and why they rely on the PC bangs and suffer from game addiction or immersion.

c) Statistical Data from Game Experts and the South Korean Government

Through interviews with gamer experts and researchers in the Korean Government during a field work period, I attended a conference in relation to internet addiction and gained statistical data based on social science research. Internet addiction was surveyed in general, but also in relation to the specifics
of age, sex, region, wealth and social status. However, these were not in-depth studies, nor specifically related to the issues of game addiction or immersion, and, crucially, not related to age, sex, region, wealth and social status, all so significant to this issue. Moreover, it is not enough either to find out how Korean gamers engage with playing avatars in MMORPGs, in terms of personal narratives, motivation, background and socio-economical connection. This is because within the context of daily lives and individual action, as the agents, these may influence the rate of online game addiction or immersion as the outcome of interaction with less acknowledged social structures and forces.

With the help of the psychologist Dr Geun-Young Chang, I referred to his PhD publication (2003), which introduces the type and features of the Korean online life style in Lineage 1 (Korean MMORPG), comparing it with Japanese Lineage gamers using quantitative research. This social research consists of describing three different gamer types: single (individual-oriented), communal (community-oriented) and anti-social. One very interesting thing is that the number of Korean anti-social gamers is more than double that of the Japanese, and they are mainly composed of young people, especially male high school students and graduates who are aged between 16 and 19. It seems that Korean anti-social gamers have their own unique culture and features which may be connected with the concept of ‘Hyde’ as the representative or embodiment of being aggressive (illegal player killing), selfish, addicted and materialistic (illegal game items or cash transactions). Also, they are not legally acknowledged by game companies and the public, hiding in social shadows and blind spots which have no strong rules or surveillance, even if they are very active online game members and game community participants. This means they are not viewed positively by Korean society. However, my view is that this can be seen as an issue of the construction of self-identity, using a new media environment (MMORPGs) and the avatar or game characters as new identities. Also, such material may be linked to the first statistical data on game addiction or immersion provided by the Korean Internet Protection Center run by the Korean government. Thus, they can be regarded as the online ‘Hyde’, embodying the patterns of
community-oriented and anti-social behavioural tendencies. This needs to be investigated through interactive visual art research, not relying only on the statistical data, but translated into a form of art practice as the final social outcome.

d) Image Sources, Visual Data from (Researcher’s) Photography and Drawing as Visual Text

Settings: PC bangs, game companies, a real murder incident location, Korean youth contexts such as public schools (primary and secondary) and private educational institutes, Seoul City.

The film also uses dramatic settings. It uses mimetic substitution as part of an animated documentary, based on non-fictional visual data and a real murder incident, using iconic imagery to achieve a realistic approach (i.e. the murderer’s flat, the PC bang, the use of the real ethnographer as a presenter). This is to assist the audience in understanding the motivation and background of the ethnographer, and why they are examining a certain issue (a specific ethnic identity such as Korean-ness) through a dramatised documentary device (Wells 1997: 44-45).
Appendix D: The Script of *Jekyll's Letter*

#01 A Letter By Jekyll

INT-DAY- A STAIRWELL IN AN OLD BUILDING

(the 3rd person view)

A man wearing a mask is urgently jumping up the stairs in the dark. It has a threatening and claustrophobic atmosphere inside the building. The spiral stairs look like an infinite staircase.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- ROOM INTERIOR

(the 3rd person view)

The scene of the masked man running is intercut with shots from the following scene where a boy is killed.

While the masked man is running on the stair, he is viewed from various angles.

Cut To:

A boy is strangling his mother’s throat.

Cut To:

Masked Man ascending stairs.

Cut To:
Eventually, the mother falls down to the floor with a dead weight. The boy’s hands are still trembling. In the dark room, by a dim light, there can be seen two silhouettes. One of them lies on the bed, not budging an inch. The other one is standing up, near to the bed, trembling with fear.

Cut To:

The Masked man reaches the front door of a flat

The masked man stops, but he is breathing very deeply. The beads of sweat drip from his brow onto the ground.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- Manki Park’s Office.

Manki Park, the researcher, sits at his desk working.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-Outside Manki Park’s Office Door

A figure appears at Park’s office door. He notices it for a short time.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-Park’s Office

Park becomes aware of a small noise at the door, gets up, and puts his ear to the door for a while. Park hesitates to open his office.
INT-DAY-THE SCENE OF THE MOTHER’S MURDER

At the moment that the mask man opens Park's office door coincides with the a cut to a shot in which it seems as if he is opening a door on the flat where the murder has taken place.

(the 1st person view)

With a vivid and heavy sound, the flat is explored from the point of view of the camera, like the First-Person Shooting game interface. The flat where the mother has been killed is untidy. Boxes and clothes are scattered everywhere. It looks through boxes etc as if looking for evidence in the aftermath of the strangling.

The 1st person view of the camera is accompanied with the mask man as he moves. The mask man is walking to the Mother's murdered room. He finds a dead body (boy's mother) on the bed. Afterward, he is walking to the boy's room. But, the boy is not there. There is, what appears to be the computer with two big screens and an office chair. Then, he moves to the boiler room and finally finds the boy. It seems that he has committed suicide. The mask man sees feet of a dead boy, hanging on the ceiling, at the boiler room. The feet are shaking a bit from side to side. The Mask man stares the bottom of a dead boy. He finds a suicide note under a boy. It is closes up for a second.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-OUTSIDE Manki Park’s Office Door

Park silently stands up in front of the office door as seeing the letter on the bottom. He stares it for a while.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- INSIDE Manki Park’s Office

Park is carefully reading the letter delivered by his old friend, Jekyll. The letter is close up on with voiceover.

01: Me (V.O)

I received this letter from a colleague in Korea, Dr Jekyll. He is aware of my research. He thought I could help.
02: Me (V.O)

The letter:

Dear Mr Park

(Jekyll reads the letter)

The killings continue. Another boy has killed his mother. The newspapers say it is because he was addicted to online games. I have heard you speak. You must come and investigate. Come to Korea as soon as you can.

Stop this before anyone else dies….

Yours,

Jekyll

Cut To:

Park is googling ‘Korean gaming related killing’; a news article comes up on the screen confirming the killing.

03: Me (V.O)

Unfortunately, this is a real incident. The boy left a suicide note.

His mother tried to stop him playing online games.
Park turns to camera and explains his investigation to the audience.

04: Me (Direct to Camera)
I have come to South Korea because it is my home, and I know that young people are troubled. I know, too, that they love computer games. What follows is my investigation. It is based on real interviews with online gamers and offline game experts. The gamers are represented by their avatars in online games. First, though, the view of Game critic, Mr Sang-Woo Park and Min-Kyu Kim:

Cut To:

EXT- THE CITY OF SEOUL
(After Manki Park's narration, camera goes into the Seoul city poster on the wall in his office),
There are a lot of neon signs in the forest of buildings that make-up the city of Seoul. Many buildings are surrounded by high mountains under the divided two sky: the moon on the dark sky and the sun on the bright one, as the dual-nature.

#02 Interviews offline and online
(Part 1: IMF, Korean Society and the Emergence of Online Games)

Cut To:

INT-DAY-SANG WOO PARK’s OFFICE
Sang-Woo Park is an academic critic of online gaming practices. He is presented here in a conventional live action interview. Throughout, his interview material will be accompanied by visual icons and animated interpretations of some of the things he says. This is a convention used throughout the film in relation to recorded interviews.
Sang-Woo-Park is held in a still image as his screen credit is created in the shot. The action then starts once this credit is on screen. This is also a convention used throughout the film.

(001) Game critic, Sang-Woo Park

[INSERT: animated interpretations to explain IMF and South Korea Society]

In the case of South Korea, before the International Monetary Fund collapsed, it was a nation of rapid economic growth, so we need to understand how South Korean people construct their identity in those circumstances.

Korean people worked very hard to achieve economic success. The role of a mother and a father is clear. The mother concentrates on household duties, while the father works up to sixteen hour days in business. Further, their children are encouraged to study hard to achieve the highest level. These roles seem to fit with the commitment to Confucianism and the fast growing capitalist environment. It is very simple model of identity – family and company! It is a very simple structure of identity and relationships.

But, sadly, large numbers of people were sacked from their Companies, and this severely affected identity and family life.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-MIN KYU KIM’s OFFICE

Min-Kyu Kim is also an academic critic of online gaming practices and industries. He is presented here in a conventional live action interview. Throughout, however, his interview material will be accompanied by visual icons, and animated interpretations of some of the things he says. This is a convention used throughout the film in relation to recorded interviews.

Min-Kyu Kim is held in a still image as his screen credit is created in the shot. The action then starts once this credit is on screen. This is also a convention used throughout the film.

(002) Game critic, Min-Kyu Kim

[INSERT the animated representation: IMF, the emergence of online games industry on new IT policy and PC bang]
After the IMF (International Monetary Fund) collapsed, the unemployment rate significantly increased. Unemployed people aged between 40 and 50 did not have any relevant skills in the marketplace. So, it became convenient for them to join ‘PC bang’ – the PC Game Room businesses - without requiring special knowledge and skills. This was compatible with the government’s IT policy, and was fully funded by the government.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-SANG WOO PARK’s OFFICE

(003) Game Critic, Sang-Woo Park

[INSERT the animated representation: IMF, the emergence of online games industry on new IT policy and PC bang]

Since 1998, the IMF period, the Korean Online market has significantly improved.

The IMF collapse contributed enormously to the industry of online games. Frankly, ‘PC bang’ enabled unemployed people to find something to do and somewhere to go to pass their time.

Some of them had fun, and a significant number of people aged 20-30s, who never played online games before started to play ‘Lineage’. Even now there are dedicated players and these people are the main participants in the Korean Online game market.

(Part 2: PC Bang and MMORPG)

Cut To:

INT-NIGHT-THE CITY OF SEOUL (INSIDE PC BANG BUILDING)
PC bang is primarily a place to play online games. For many Koreans it is regarded as an Internet Cafe and is the most popular leisure place.

Cut To:

INT-NIGHT-PC BANG

As Manki gazes up towards the building he opens the door to enter into PC bang. It is his first visit to PC bang. He is very surprised at this unbelievable space. There are rows of computers on tables and chairs lined up side by side for playing games. Also, there are many robot-like gamers fixated to their computer screens.

06: Me (V.O)

[INSERT inside PC bang scenery and Robot's game playing on the computer screen]

There are a lot of gamers (robots), who are intensely focusing on playing online games in front of a computer screen. It seems that many of them (robots) come along with groups of friends. Sometimes they are noisy, sometimes silent. It seems that the majority of them put their heart and soul into playing online games such as (MMORPG).

Cut To:

MMORPG neon sign

(the Top of camera view) In PC Bang, the top of a lot of gamers’ the light bulb on the head, sparkling like neon signs viewed to mean and indicate the word, MMORPG.

Cut To:

INT-NIGHT-PC BANG

Manki is still sitting and facing the computer screen at PC bang for the online interview with gamers inside MMORPG. Manki is surprised at his comment.


10: Me (V.O)

‘M, M, O, R, P, G’ is an abbreviation of ‘massively multiplayer online role-playing game’. This allows gamers to engage in game quest, based on animated film and communicate with other users, playing together within the Internet phenomena. I still wish to understand this more what Korean online game features are and how Koreans utilize the game world.

Cut To:

From Manki's back view, he is sitting and seeing the computer screen like other PC bang users. He is typing on the keyboard as he glances at the computer screen, amongst the robots who playing online games. He is trying to access the online games to meet real avatars and interview them to understand how most of Koreans including the dead boy utilize online games at PC bang. Manki believes it is the second step to investigate this murder incident's background.

08: Me (V.O)

[INSERT the recorded footage which shows 'creating my different avatars' and 'logging in various MMORPGs' such as World of Warcraft, Mabinogi, Tierra Americana Online, The Kingdom of The Wind and Lineage2, and INSERT the recorded game footage including various avatars interview in different games]

I need to interview real MMORPG game users.

For this, I create various online avatars to directly participate in popular online games in South Korea...

Cut To:

INT-DAY-INSIDE ‘MMORPG WORLD’

The avatars that Manki met and interviewed within the online games are true MMORPG gamers, who have never met before. Most of them are anonymous interviewees. Their real identity, including name and age is hidden to protect their private information. Instead, their game nickname will be introduced. Most of them have played online games at least for 2 years in a daily routine or in the past.

They are presented here in an online interview. Throughout, however, their interview material
will be placed by recorded online games in a real time and animated interpretations of some of the things they say. This is a convention used throughout the film in relation to recorded online interviews. All of their comments in online interviews will prove and support the offline interview in relation to the gamer critics and experts. Therefore, their comments will be mainly located after offline interviewees. All of avatars are introduced as their screen credit is created in the screen. This is also a convention used throughout the film.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-INSIDE ‘World of Warcraft’

After preparing to meet and interview avatars within online games, Manki’s avatar firstly access the Blizzard game, World of Warcraft (WoW). In the game, Manki meets the warrior and tries to interview him.

Manki’s avatars asks the question to the warrior avatar.

09: Me (Avatar Voice Over)

How did you begin to play MMORPG?

The warrior avatar’ hesitates in speaking, but soon he starts to answer.

(004) (Former Lineage Users)

Game ID: Sword than Light (World of Warcraft)

Before this I only played games I could imagine, but now MMORG means I can move and communicate in the game. I can wage war and battle and I am totally absorbed in playing the game

Cut To:
INT-NIGHT-PC BANG

Manki is still sitting and facing the computer screen at PC bang for the online interview with gamers inside MMORPG. Manki is surprised at his comment.

10: Me (V.O)

[INSERT Lineage game footages until the V.O finishes]

Animated...and Communicated?

(showing my surprised face)

Lineage is a good representation of Korean MMORPG, released in 1998.

Cut to:

INT-DAY-SANG WOO PARK’s OFFICE

Mr Sang-Woo Park explains the feature of Korean MMORPG, Lineage, comparing it with the Western MMORPG, World of Warcraft (WoW).

(005) Game Critic, Sang-Woo Park

Korean games like ‘Lineage’ are based on ‘siege warfare’, and there is a battle to take ‘the hunting ground’. The game is basically created by the player.

Western games such as ‘World of Warcraft’, though, is authored by the game developer creating content with very strong storytelling.

Lineage players make their own content through playing. It is self-content creation and user-interaction.

Its storytelling is not stronger than that of ‘World of Warcraft’ (WOW) but it is appealing.

So, in Lineage, users can do whatever they want, like castle battles.
Manki supplements Sang-Woo Park’s explanation about User-interaction and User-self-created-content system in the Korean online game, Lineage.

11: Me (V.O)

[INSERT the game footage for the V.O to commentate on]

User-interaction and User-self-created-content? This is attributed to lack of game content. So, to cover up this content shortage the game company offers users a free environment. Therefore, they can freely create and join in their own party and guilds. Also, gamers can make their own game narratives such as the described Siege Castle Battle. It is unconstrained by playing style and rules. In the Lineage game world, users are able to make their own utopias. But, ironically this utopian world relies on the relationships between other users. Unfortunately, these relationships create unexpected problem.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-GEUN YOUNG CHANG’s OFFICE

Dr Geun Young Chang is a psychologist and researcher of online gaming. He is currently working at National Youth Policy Institute. He is presented here in a conventional live action interview. Throughout, however, his interview material will be accompanied by visual icons and animated interpretations of some of the things he says. This is a convention used throughout the film in relation to recorded interviews.

Dr Geun Young Chang is held in a still image as his screen credit is created in the shot. The action then starts once this credit is on screen. This is also a convention used throughout the film.

He comments this unexpected relationship amongst users in online games.

(006)

Dr Geun-Young Chang, National Youth Policy Institute
Korean gamers wish to form relationships, but at the same time, they feel challenged by that.

Cut to:

INT-DAY-INSIDE ‘ONLINE GAMES’

The ELF avatar explain the meaningless fight between avatars.

(007) Game ID: Elf (Lineage2)

People fight over nothing, they are so competitive.

12: Me (V.O)

[INSERT the fight avatar footage in online games]

As a result of the ambiguous competition, in MMORPG, fighting and killing happens between game players. They call it PK or ‘player killing’, and PvP ‘player versus player.’ But, the most surprising thing is that...

Cut To:

INT-DAY-MIN KYU KIM’s OFFICE

As the news footage begins to play out in the shot, Min-Kyu Kim also starts to commentate on.

(008) Min-Kyu Kim
They actually met and attacked each other in the real world as a result of P.K 'player or avatar killing' within the online game.

Cut To:

**INT-DAY-INSIDE DIFFERENT ONLINE GAMES**

MMORPG interviewees in different online games commentate on each experience about 'avatar killing'.

---

**Game ID: Marishua (Mabinogi)**

[INSERT the PvP game footage_Mabinogi for the avatar to commentate on]

You know, there is a special guild for PvP (Players vs Players Killing). Suddenly they came to our area and massacred everyone...

---

**Game ID: TTeKi (The Kingdom of the Wind)**

[INSERT the battle game footage_TTeKi for the avatar to commentate on]

So, I fought back, killing many avatars because I wanted to show I was the strongest. I just had to do it.

---

**(Former Lineage gamers)**

**Game ID: Sword than light**

There are many gamers trampling on others to show themselves to be
Dr Geun-Young Chang supplements avatars’ each experience of why they attack or kill others in online games.

**(010) Dr Geun-Young Chang, National Youth Policy Institute**

They want to show their alternative selves to others. Both PK and PvP are the best way to demonstrate their existence. There is a new audience for them available through games.

Manki complements Dr Geun-Young Chang’s explanation about PK and PvP (avatar killing) in online games.

**13: Me (Direct to Camera)**

[INSERT the game footage from PK scene_ 'High level users kill the low' into an animated representation, showing the avatar division between the high level and the low one in Lineage2]

Ultimately, they achieve their satisfaction by proxy and validate their real life identity through Player Killing (PK) in online games. But the extreme competition between avatars causes another problem. It is related to ‘the Bartz Liberation War’ in Lineage 2.

The ELF avatar explain the Bartz Liberation War’ in Lineage 2.
‘The Bartz Liberation War’... It is a real historical event, like a novel, but it took place within Korean MMORPG, Lineage2, (in 2004). You know the battle between people who have political power and those who do not have political power or obedience.

There is the fight between high level users, having power and low ones. The high-level behave unfairly to the more inexperienced users. Gamers need money to buy avatar items to level up faster so cash transactions frequently take place.

Manki complements the Bartz Liberation War in the Lineage 2, as following the online gamer's comment.

**new 14: Me (V.O)**

During the Bartz Liberation War, low level users revolted against unfair dealing and divisiveness. Low level avatars pursued justice, equality and liberty, wanting a more democratic virtual world. They wanted utopia. The revolution failed though. High level users triumphed and maintained their hierarchy. Low level users spent a lot of money trying to increase their power and become stronger, but failed.

Cut To:

**INT-DAY-GEUN YOUNGCHANG ‘s OFFICE**

Dr Geun-Young Chang explains avatars items as material issues.
I suppose most Korean users play online games to be stronger. To become stronger online, gamers must purchase strong items, strong guilds and strong armors.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-INSIDE DIFFERENT ONLINE GAMES

Three MMORPG interviewees in different online games commentate on each experience in turn, about 'the avatar items'.

(013)

Game ID: TTeki (The Kingdom of the Wind)

[INSERT the game footage for the interviewee to show different treatment as to avatar items]

When my avatar possesses a lot of items and it appears to be rich, other users gave me attention and respect. I felt satisfaction by proxy.

Game ID: Marishua (Mabinogi)

[INSERT the same game footage for the previous interviewee to show different treatment as to avatar items]

The avatar is treated differently depending on what costume they are wearing. I think most Korean players want to feel superior. Only after over spending on items, will their avatar become stronger though.

Game ID: Kile Narkhir Clover (Tierra Americana Online)

[INSERT the game footage in relation to avatar items]

Well, I thought of what the avatar actually is and why people are enthusiastic about it.
It is very simple. It is about social status and self-satisfaction! Another way of seeing it is that I'm superior, and different from others.

Manki complements the meaning of level up and items in online games.

15: Me (V.O)

[INSERT the different interview scenes, having conversation with avatars]

Many avatars commonly confessed to having an inferiority complex. They compare their own avatar level and items with others and often feel inferior even if it is not a 'real' situation.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-SUZANNA OH's OFFICE

Suzanna Oh is a leader of game for Change(G4C) in Korea office, Seoul.

She is presented here in a conventional live action interview. Throughout, however, her interview material will be accompanied by visual icons and animated interpretations of some of the things he says. This is a convention used throughout the film in relation to recorded interviews.

She is held in a still image as his screen credit is created in the shot. The action then starts once this credit is on screen. This is also a convention used throughout the film.

She explains South Korean's general idea in terms of social level up, comparing with the game concept in MMORPG.

(014) Suzanna Oh, Leader of Games for Change

I think the Korean society encourages people to socially level up. Koreans usually attempt to ‘level up’ in some ways during their lives. So, the rules of MMORPG matches up well with this concept of trying to improve social status.
Dr Geun Young Chang points out that the Korean feature online is very similar to offline one.

(015)

Dr Geun-Young Chang, National Youth Policy Institute

I suppose that the features of Korean people in online games is very similar to real Koreans offline.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-INSIDE DIFFERENT ONLINE GAMES

Two MMORPG interviewees in different online games commentate on each experience in relation to 'the similarity between the real and virtual world in South Korea'.

(016) Game ID: Lally (World of Warcraft)

[INSERT the two different footages in online and offline Korean feature to explain the Korean identity]

The game is like real Korean society.

People want to be acknowledged by others and make money in society and it is similar in games where you can earn money etc. You want to attend a better university, work for better companies, and to be socially acknowledged by others. This allows people to earn money and meet good partners for a better marriage. Like in online games, the higher your position and status, the higher your income.
(017)

Game ID: Kile Narkhir Clover (Tierra Americana Online)

[INSERT the same footages as the previous interviewee commentates]

This is not only mirrors current Korean society, but also it extends to Korean society.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-CHUL-GYUN LYOU’s OFFICE

Professor, In-Wha Lee (real name: Chul-Gyun Ryu) is also an academic critic of online gaming practices. He is presented here in a conventional live action interview. Throughout, however, her interview material will be accompanied by visual icons, and animated interpretations of some of the things he says. This is a convention used throughout the film in relation to recorded interviews.

He is held in a still image as his screen credit is created in the shot. The action then starts once this credit is on screen. This is also a convention used throughout the film.

(018) Professor, In-Wha Lee (Chul-Gyun Ryu)

Issues of identity in Cyberspace are not suddenly different from issues in the real world. It is similar. The identities of Koreans in the material world is extended and expanded into online worlds.

new16: Me (V.O)

[INSERT the game footage]

An MMROPG virtual world, Agora, was used by online players as an alternative place in which they longed for Utopia. But it is now getting distorted and reflects real Korean identity and society. They chose to access the online game in order to level up or keep a certain status, attaining colorful items as a game reward.
At this point, a new issue starts to arise. Game users spend too much time aspiring to this. Some people think it is a game addiction, but others describe it is a game immersion. But I wonder it is simply the gamers individual problem?

Cut To:

INT-DAY-INSIDE ONLINE GAMES, WORLD OF WARCRAFT (WOW)

There are two avatars, surrounded by the red mountains in the game, world of warcraft. One is Manki as the presenter and the other is the warrior as the interviewee. Manki is wondering why many gamers cannot stop playing it. Manki asks this to the warrior avatar.

Do you think there is a reason why many people are attracted to games, and don’t seem to be able to stop playing them?

The most important thing is to continuously achieve the game’s goals. You can achieve a measureable reward. So, depending on how often such reward can be systemically or regularly and irregularly given to users, they may easily become addicted to trying to get it.
Has temptation been deliberately built within the game content?

I questioned two different game experts with conflicting views about game addiction or immersion.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-BO KYOUNG SEO’s OFFICE

Dr Bo-Kyung Seo is also a psychologist who counsels addicted online gamers. She is presented here in a conventional live action interview. Throughout, however, her interview material will be accompanied by visual icons, and animated interpretations of some of the things he says. This is a convention used throughout the film in relation to recorded interviews.

She is held in a still image as his screen credit is created in the shot. The action then starts once this credit is on screen. This is also a convention used throughout the film.

(020)

Dr Bo-Kyung Seo, National Information Society Agency

Yes, game developers design and insert temptation factors as part of the game narrative, so that users are playing longer.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-HYUNG SOO KIM’s OFFICE

Mr Hyung-Soo Kim is a manager in the online game company, JCE. He is presented here in a conventional live action interview. Throughout, however, his interview material will be accompanied by visual icons and animated interpretations of some of the things he says. This is a convention used throughout the film in relation to recorded interviews. He is held in a still image as his screen credit is created in the shot. The action then starts once this credit is on screen. This is also a convention used throughout the film.

Unlike Dr Bo-kyung Seo, he gives different and ambiguous comment.
It is inevitable that users will be immersed in game content. But this might have positive as well as negative outcomes.

[INSERT the animated footage]

Negative or positive...depending on users? But, for some, it is truly an addiction.

Cut To:

**EXT-DAY-KOREA INTERNET ADDICTION CENTER**

Manki is interviewing with several Robots at the counseling room.

[INSERT the animated footage at the counseling center]

I need to visit the counseling center, managed under the Korean government for protecting Internet addicts. Also, I made contact with some gamers in MMORPG, who suffered from online game addiction or immersion in the past.
(Part 3: The Online Game Addiction or Immersion)

Cut To:

INT-DAY- INSIDE MMORPG

There are the interviewee who experienced game addiction before. And

(021) No Name(Anonymity)

[INSERT the animated representation of the interviewee]

At first I just started to play games to have fun. But as times went by it became a huge part of my daily life. Once I get back home from school, I spend 6 - 7 hours playing games.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- SANG WOO PARK's OFFICE

(022) Game Critic, Sang-Woo Park

For example, when we talk about online game immersion or addiction, it does not mean which identity might be chosen, but which social activities will occupy my daily routine. Only later does the matter of real or virtual identity matter when thinking about social relationships.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- INSIDE MMORPG

(023) No Name(Anonymity)
At school, one of my friends is ignored by people who do not care about or play with him. In the online world they cannot see him and how he feels, and he continuously communicates with others.

21: Me (Direct to Camera)

The further I proceed with interview, the more I think that gamers and game companies can’t be blamed for people becoming addicted or immersed. The essential issues may be hidden.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- SANG WOO PARK’s OFFICE

(024) Game Critic, Sang-Woo Park

The game obviously has a violent element. It is competitive and the goal is to continuously beat the enemy. The content has in-built conflict. However, the violent experiences in games are able to be nullified by the positive social relationships of the players. So, it is very hard to conclude that the game provokes violence. It cannot be definitely concluded that game addiction definitely influences violent behavior in users, especially young students. Game addiction and violence needs to be more analyzed by looking at the available statistics. The real problem is that teenagers, with a single parent or who do not have parents seem to have a higher rate of Internet addiction.

Cut to:

INT-DAY- INSIDE MMORPG
(025) No Name(Anonymity)

[INSERT the animated representation of the interviewee]

One of my school mates lost their mother at an early age and his father must work all day so he has been at home alone. This is why he has nothing to do at home except for using a computer. It is inevitable that he became easily obsessed with computer games.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-BO K Young SEO's OFFICE

(026)

Dr Bo Kyung Seo, National Information Society Agency

[INSERT the animated representation of the interviewee]

There is a certain type of addict. There was a boy from a single parent family. The problem is that his mother has to work even at night time. What he can easily do at home is play games.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-Min Kyu Kim's OFFICE

(026) Professor, Min-Kyu Kim

In South Korea, playing online games breaks down as 70% playing at home and 30% at PC bang. Many users play at home.
Though one might guess that this is mainly composed of student gamers, my research reveals that the group in greatest danger of addiction are juniors between 9 and 19 years old. Further, the number of High School student addicts is relatively higher than other groups. But the highest levels of addiction are recorded by children of single parents, and more than double than those in conventional two parent families.

[INSERT the related animated representation using the graph and diagram]

So then,...What about the difference in parents’ economy?

That means the rate of online game access or usage might be different, depending on the region where can be distinctively divided into wealth and poor area in a certain city such as Seoul. This is because children’s residence will reflect parents’ social and economical position.

[INSERT the animated footage at the game company]

It is clear that the rate of online game access is different, depending upon whether it is a wealthy and poor area, for example, in such a city as Seoul. This is because where a child lives will reflect the parents’ social and economical position.

For this, very luckily, I was able to meet and interview a manager (as Anonymity) in one of biggest online game companies...And I get a great information.
(027)

No Name (Anonymity): the online Game company staff

[INSERT the animation representation regarding a map graphic to show the access rate to online games, depending on different areas]

Um...hahahahahahaha...there is nothing to conclude in such data about the access rate to games depending upon the region. Our team distributed vouchers for game items to all of the elementary schools in Seoul. Can you guess which area was the highest to access our game? Geumcheon-gu (area title) was the highest and also Nowon-gu (area title) and Eunpyeong-gu (area title) was also higher. However, the relatively rich town in the South of Seoul, Gang-nam was much lower.

26: Me (D.C)

[INSERT the animated footage]

This means that the online game access rate of young teenagers seems to be affected by parental issues, such as background or divorce or low income. In other words such problems are found to be connected to the parents' role and the home environment.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- MIN KYU KIM's OFFICE

(028_01) Professor, Min-Kyu Kim

[INSERT the animated representation of the interviewee]

According to research, the most common concern for parents about their children is their school grades. When they enter senior year, it becomes even more important. This means that parents have little time to talk to their children and listen to their ideas or values.
27: Me (V.O)

[INSERT the animated representation of my V.O]

I realize the gulf between rich and poor is not the simple reason why young students spend much time accessing the animated online game. It seems its access rate is influenced by a mix of various elements, including the closeness between parents and their children. This means, if they lack one of them, many Korean students might be more easily addicted to online animated games. However, I need to know how their actual lives are in everyday. This is because it is related to the reason of why a dead boy should rely on online animated games.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- MIN KYU KIM’s OFFICE

(028_02) Professor, Min-Kyu Kim

[INSERT the animated representation of the interviewee]

In Korean society, students should achieve good marks at school to enter a well known university and eventually, to get a good job. It is common for all of Korean people to pursue such a goal.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- INSIDE ONLINE GAMES

(029) Game ID: Lally

[INSERT the animated representation of the interviewee]

You know, the thing that our parents’ generation have in common? They strongly wish to educate their children to a high level and demand many things. Many students are constrained and put off by that.
Many Korean students are forced to attend their study at private institutes after school finishes. They have no emotional autonomy. If they feel such parental pressure, they probably go insane. The children can't bear it and have no method by which to deal with it. So, such pressure starts to manifest itself from middle or high school (primary or secondary school).

I am a Korean high school student. It is only allowed to go to school and study all day in the classroom. I can meet only 30 or 40 classmates.
a kind of being fanatic in online games?
Because I feel huge pressure and I am sick of being nagged too much. Completely being immersed into games is a sort of obsession and release.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- JOON YANG KIM’s OFFICE

Joon-Yang Kim is also an animated film critic in academic. Also he is an active researcher and lecture teaching animation studies in the university. He is presented here in a conventional live action interview. Throughout, however, his interview material will be accompanied by visual icons and animated interpretations of some of the things he says. This is a convention used throughout the film in relation to recorded interviews.

Joon-Yang Kim is held in a still image as his screen credit is created in the shot. The action then starts once this credit is on screen. This is also a convention used throughout the film.

(034) Joon-Yang Kim, Animated films critic

A desire relating to a certain movement of young students is eventually, to access online games when they are back home for a while or meet up with someone through online media on the tube.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- SANG WOO PARK’s OFFICE

(035) Game Critic, Sang-Woo Park

Fundamentally, humans want social relationships. The social relationships they wish to have can be facilitated not with physical relationships, but with virtual ones in
virtual worlds.

28: Me (V.O)

[INSERT the recorded game footage]

Even if MMORPG worlds have significant problems, they potentially offer a spiritual utopia. Korean users have sought the Agora and play a role in order to communicate with others more easily through animated online games.

(Part 4: The Online Games for Communication)

Cut To:

INT-DAY- INSIDE ONLINE GAMES

(036) Game ID: Kile Narkhir Clover

[INSERT the animated representation of the interviewee]

In the beginning playing online games is fun. But as time goes on, any kind of game gets boring. Then users rely on the guild, which is composed of game communities. So people become connected with each other and can’t suddenly quit and not see each other as they would miss having that connection. That is why users continuously access online games.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- INSIDE PC BANG
So, when playing games, it is really funny to talk with other users having a similar hobby and outlook. South Korean society is laughable I think there is not enough leisure culture or activity for young people.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- SANG WOO PARK's OFFICE

(038) Game Critic, Sang-Woo Park

[INSERT the animated representation of the interviewee]

In other countries, there is a lot of leisure activity and hobbies therefore online gaming is just one of the channels to be enjoyed in down time, and in helping to develop various social relationships. However, the emergence of online games in South Korea appears to have inhibited the development of social relationships as it is has a more powerful and rapid effect.

30: Me (V.O)

[INSERT the above same animated representation of the previous interviewee]

There is a contradiction here. It is suggested by scholars that online gaming inhibits communication, but among gamers themselves, they believe it encourages it.

Cut To:
A man living in a rural area had become friendly with someone in Seoul city through an online game. One day, he needed to visit Seoul on business but had no place to sleep for one night. Through playing online games the other gamer from Seoul knew this and allowed him to stay at his home. He actually visited there. The fascinating thing is that they never meet each other before. They have simply known each other online.

For me, this online game has more humanity. I had a special experience. A few years ago, when my mother passed away, my online game mates joined in her funeral ceremony.

I could not believe such a thing would happen. This is not just a fun or interesting experience; it is what others would think of as an extraordinary experience.

There is a limited range of social relationships in Korean society, so it is very typical to deliberately construct an identity if possible. The more limited and narrower the current social world, the more online games enables people to have multiple
identities. In other words, although online gaming is negatively regarded here, it is merely an alternative way for social relationships to develop and form.

31: Me (V.O)

[INSERT the animated footage to explain the limitation of identity in offline worlds]

Many young people feel that they don’t have an identity in the social world so find it in online worlds. The inanimate social environment in Korea is replaced by an animate virtual society. Young people need such a place more than older generations.

So, what do this incident tell us? Is it just simple violence and tragic event, derived from online games?

Cut To:

INT-DAY- INSIDE PC BANG

(042)

Game ID: Kile Narkhir Clover

[INSERT the animated footage to represent a dead boy's life and his environment in the Korea society]

Is this murder incident only caused by the impact of online games?

I think, ironically, online games might actually be helpful in delaying such a tragedy. The boy might have no connection with the outside world. So, he probably could relieve his anxiety about that through online games. But, due to that, of course, he might become obsessed with it, because he can only properly speak with someone online. For him, online mates would be mostly worthwhile. If this connection is cut off, then that could be that… I think it is not entirely caused by gaming in itself, though, but it is related to our social issues, and the lack of communication in general.
Strictly speaking, that is why the issue of Jekyll and Hyde behavior is so hard to explain. Behaviors which can't easily occur under the social rules of a real society are often happening in games. Games provide an opportunity to create new life styles and establish new kinds of social relationships. ‘Hyde’ does not mean only human brutality or instinct, but as the embodiment of liberal decision. Korean society provides very narrow experience. So, other kinds of experience are permitted by online games.

#03 The Mask in Park's Office

Cut To:

INT-DAY-THE SCENE OF THE BOY’S AVATAR CHATTING

The boy's avatar has the following nickname: ‘Sword than light’. The avatar, by the name of 'Sword than light' is logging into the online games. He meets his friend another avatar named 'wow_Hyde' in the online game.

Sword than light

Hey, how are you doing?...that sounds good.

I look forward to meeting you.

I know a great place for hunting...And

I have something to speak with you...you know...
Suddenly, unexpectedly, one boy's mother cuts the internet connection line stopping the internet access, putting an end to his online gaming habits. The boy stares at his mother without words.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-THE SCENE OF THE MASKED MAN'S ROOM

wow_Hyde

Are you there?...

The boy's avatar, 'Sword than light' is logged out as he has been disconnected.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-THE SCENE OF THE BOY'S ROOM

The boy hangs his head low, and puts it onto the desk.

Cut To:

INT-DAY-THE SCENE OF THE MASKED MAN'S ROOM

The masked man urgently leaves his room to the boy's flat.

Cut To:

INT-DAY- A STAIRWELL IN AN OLD BUILDING
The masked man is urgently jumping up the stairs to go to the boy's flat.

Cut To:

**INT-DAY-THE SCENE OF THE MOTHER’S MURDER**

The boy runs to his mother room and he grips his mother's throat.

Cut To:

**INT-DAY- A STAIRWELL IN AN OLD BUILDING**

The scene of the masked man running is intercut with shots from the following scene where the boy is killing his mother.

Cut To:

**INT-DAY-THE SCENE OF THE BOY’S SUICIDE**

Afterwards the boy writes his final letter and leaves for someone to read. The masked man arrives at the boy's flat and finds that a boy's mother has been killed and is lying on top of the bed. Furthermore, the masked man finds the dead body of a young boy. After killing his mother, the boy hangs himself by the neck from the boiler gas pipe on the chair. The masked man is extremely shocked at the sight of this. He leaves the room urgently. The masked man feels pain and sadness, in front of a mirror. The reflected image of the masked man can be identified as being Mr Park.

Fade out:

Fade in:

One letter, which is written by Mr Park, to Jekyll reads:
Dear Jekyll

in South Korea, many online Hydes are still animating for 24 hours a day.
In the real world, some people have been found dead,
in front of their computer screens.
This is no longer shocking news, it has become part of everyday of life,
embedded within South Korean society.

My friend, Jekyll,

But I believe they will achieve liberty,
even though they are masked behind online games
They may already be halfway there,
in freely and enthusiastically animating their own world.
I have seen, I heard and can feel it now.

Ever yours,

Park
# Appendix E: The Storyboard of Jekyll's Letter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="" /></td>
<td><strong>17 Nov 2010</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning</td>
<td>001</td>
<td>![image2.png]</td>
<td><strong>Subtitle:</strong> The day of murder accident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>002</td>
<td>![image3.png]</td>
<td><strong>Middle Shot:</strong> The mask man is running on the stair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>003</td>
<td>![image4.png]</td>
<td><strong>Big Close up:</strong> A boy is strangling his mother’s throat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>004</td>
<td>![image5.png]</td>
<td><strong>Full shot:</strong> camera views stairs from the top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>![image6.png]</td>
<td><strong>Close up:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Scene</td>
<td>Image</td>
<td>Description</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning</td>
<td>005</td>
<td><img src="B_SC_005" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Close up: Masked Man ascending stairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>006</td>
<td><img src="B_SC_006" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Close up;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>007</td>
<td><img src="B_SC_007" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Middle shot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>008</td>
<td><img src="B_SC_008" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Full shot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>009</td>
<td><img src="B_SC_009" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Full shot; The mother falls down, with a dead weight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Scene</td>
<td>Image</td>
<td>Description</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning</td>
<td>010</td>
<td><img src="image1.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Full shot; The Masked man reaches the front door of a flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>011</td>
<td><img src="image2.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Middle shot; The beads of sweat drip from his brow onto the ground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>012</td>
<td><img src="image3.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Middle shot; He is breathing very deeply.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>013</td>
<td><img src="image4.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Close up; Manki Park, the researcher, sits at his desk working.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>014</td>
<td><img src="image5.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Middle shot; A figure appears at Park’s office door. He notices it for a short time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Scene</td>
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<td>015</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Middle shot;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>016</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Full shot; Park becomes aware of a small noise at the door, gets up, and puts his ear to the door for a while.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>017</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Middle shot; Park hesitates to open his office.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>018</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Middle shot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>019</td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Middle shot; The mask man is trying to open the door.</td>
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<td>Beginning</td>
<td>020</td>
<td>Middle shot;</td>
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<td>021</td>
<td>Close up; The mask man opens Park's office door coincides with the a cut to a shot</td>
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<td>022</td>
<td>POV; He is opening a door on the flat where the murder has taken place.</td>
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<td>023</td>
<td>POV; The flat is explored from the point of view of the camera.</td>
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<td>024</td>
<td>POV; Boxes and clothes are scattered everywhere.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beginning</td>
<td>025</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>POV:</strong> The mask man is walking to the Mother's murdered room</td>
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<td>026</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>POV:</strong> He is walking to the boy’s room. But, the boy is not there</td>
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<td>027</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Middle shot:</strong> The mask man sees feet of a dead boy, hanging on the ceiling, at the boiler room.</td>
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<td>028</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Big close up:</strong> The Mask man stares the bottom of a dead boy.</td>
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<td>029</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Full shot:</strong> Park's Office; He is seeing the letter on the bottom. He stares it for a while.</td>
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<td>031</td>
<td>Close up</td>
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<td>032</td>
<td>Full shot; Manki Park is carefully reading the letter delivered by his old friend, Jekyll.</td>
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<td>033</td>
<td>Middle Shut;</td>
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<td>034</td>
<td>Full shot; The letter is close up on with voiceover.</td>
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<td>035</td>
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<td>Middle shot;</td>
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<td>036</td>
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<td>Close up; Jekyll's letter</td>
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<td>037</td>
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<td>Full shot; Top view</td>
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<td>038</td>
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<td>Close up;</td>
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<td>039</td>
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<td>Middle shut; Manki is googling 'Korean gaming related killing';</td>
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<td>Beginning</td>
<td>040</td>
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<td>Middle shot; He is very surprised.</td>
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<td>041</td>
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<td>Middle shot; A news article comes up on the screen confirming the killing.</td>
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<td>042</td>
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<td>Big close up</td>
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<td>043</td>
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<td>Middle shot</td>
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<td>044</td>
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<td>Full shot; Manki turns to camera</td>
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<td>Full shot; Manki Park’s narration</td>
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<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Front middle shot / Zoom in</td>
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<td>047</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Side middle shot</td>
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<td>Front close up</td>
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<td>049-050</td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Full shot; Camera goes into the Seoul city poster on the wall in Manki’s office.</td>
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<td>when they are back home for a while</td>
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<td>Even if MMORPG worlds have significant problems, they potentially offer a spiritual utopia.</td>
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<td>One gamer needed to visit Seoul on business but had no place to sleep for one night</td>
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<td>Through playing online games the other gamer from Seoul allowed him to stay at his home.</td>
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<td>Big close up;</td>
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Appendix F: Technical Processes for Film Production

Aim

The aim of the practice was to produce a mixed media, computer animation using 3D CGI, 2D hand drawn imagery and recorded online game footage. In representing the research findings generated by theoretical research, interviews and so on, this technical work process consists of three different steps, using computer graphic software such as Maya for 3D CGI, Photoshop for 2D CGI and Final cut Pro X for editing mixed media.

Main Tasks

- Combining and organising the primary and secondary data – selecting recorded material and editing oral soundtracks.

- Making the script and storyboard; designing characters and sets in 3D CGI and 2D hand drawn imagery based on the primary and secondary data relevant to offline and online practices.

- Dubbing my narration in the expository mode in accordance with the script.

- Creating an animatic storyboard on the recorded soundtrack.

- Modelling 3D characters and sets in Maya and hand drawing in Photoshop.

- Texturing, rigging, animating, and rendering (including shading and lighting) these 3D characters and sets in Maya.
• Composing 3D CGI in After Effect and editing 3D CGI and 2D hand
drawn animated footage in Final Cut pro X with the recorded oral
soundtrack.

• Sound effects and colour correction.

Production Processes

There were 3 different production processes:

1. the pre-production organised selected audio-visual information to make the
script for dubbing narration and the storyboard for creating animatics.

2. main-production work focused on creating characters (2D hand drawn
images and 3D CGI), props and environmental set corresponding to the
animatics based on the script and storyboard.

3. post-production comprised composing and editing different pieces of
animated footage (such as 2D talking heads – game experts, 3D images of
the black-silhouetted boy and his mother, robots and my two characters, the
masked man and the investigators/presenter – and recorded gaming footage
including avatar interviews.

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<thead>
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<th>1. Pre-production works</th>
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<td>- Making the script</td>
<td>- Dubbing my</td>
<td>- Creating an animatic</td>
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<td>organising the</td>
<td>and storyboard, while</td>
<td>narration in the</td>
<td>storyboard on recorded</td>
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<td>primary and</td>
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<td>secondary data</td>
<td>and sets in 3D CGI</td>
<td>along with the</td>
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<td>-&gt; Selecting recorded</td>
<td>and 2D hand drawing,</td>
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<td>and secondary data in</td>
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<td>soundtrack in a</td>
<td>relevant to offline</td>
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<tr>
<td>documentary</td>
<td>and online practices</td>
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2. Main-production works

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<th>6</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Modelling 3D characters and sets in Maya and hand-drawing in Photoshop</td>
<td>- Texturing, rigging and animating</td>
<td>- Rendering (including shading and lighting) 3D characters and sets in Maya</td>
<td>- Drawing 2D characters by hand</td>
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3. Post-production works

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<th>9</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Composing 3D CGI in After Effect</td>
<td>- Editing 3D CGI and 2D hand-drawn animated footage in Final Cut Pro X with the recorded oral soundtrack</td>
<td>- Sound effects and colour correction</td>
<td>- Presentation</td>
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</table>

Table 3. Technical Production Process for Visual Practice

**Pre-production works**

Step 1: to select recorded visual and aural material from the offline and online practice; organise resources such as interviews, photographs, drawings, written texts, and fieldwork notes; and edit the oral soundtrack in Final Cut Pro X along with the story structure and conceptual ideas, making sure these present the research findings. This lays the corner stone towards making the script and storyboard envision the narrative, characters, props and environments. Making the script requires dubbing my narration in the expository mode. The script connects the different interviewees' comments and explains subject matter. It is then necessary to create animatics along with the scripts, using storyboard sequences and provisionally mixed dubbing of my narration and the recording of what interviewees said online and offline. This leads to provisional editorial decisions and running time.
- making the primary data by recording material in a documentary

PC bang or game bang in Seoul (see Appendix C)

The interviews with avatars in MMORPGs (see Appendix A, B and C)
The Interviews with game experts (see Appendix A, B and C)

- Making the script and storyboard by designing characters and sets into 3D CGI and 2D hand drawn images based on the primary and secondary data relevant to offline and online practices

The script (see Appendix D)
The storyboard (see Appendix E)

- Dubbing my narration in the expository mode along with the script

The sound effects studio and dubbing room

- Creating an animatic storyboard on the recorded soundtrack

The animatic storyboard
Main-production work

The main-production work focuses on visualising the designed characters, props, environmental set or background from the animatics, by modelling, texturing, rigging, animating, lighting and rendering in Autodesk Maya 3D software. Most of the time was spent working on the rigging and animating of the two main characters (the masked man and the investigator or presenter, representing myself). There are also 7 secondary characters including the dead boy, his mother, comic book or cartoon-styled toy figures (cat and knight avatars, working father, cleaning mother and studying son in the green box house). The rendering work (including shading and lighting) focuses on the sensation of fabric to produce a feeling of plasticine or plastic. Accordingly, the MentalCore render plug-in is set to produce the real form of plastic characters, props, buildings and castles, implying animated body machines, such as
puppets or avatars. The 2D hand-drawn characters, representing offline game experts as 8 talking heads, are created using a vivid caricature illustration style. There is an emphasis on a feeling of warmth in natural hand drawing compared with the artificial, cold sense and colourful plastic form of 3D CGI. The 2D imagery is hand-drawn frame by frame, using a 'rotoscoping' animation technique. It also requires physically hard work in drawing each frame (over 7000 drawings), along with synchronising the soundtrack accurately. Finally the hand-drawn images and oral soundtrack are composed and rendered in the After Effect software, in order to create the animated footage.

- Modelling 3D characters and sets in Maya
- Set design for 3D representation in Maya, based on real photograph

The real murder site (left) and its 3D representation (right)

Seoul city (left) and its 3D representation (right)

Korean Online game industry areas (left) and their 3D representation (right)

The Internet Addiction Centre of the Korean Government (left) and its 3D representation (right)
- Initial designing 2D characters by hand-drawing in Photoshop

- Texturing, rigging, animating, and rendering (including shading and lighting)
  3D character and sets in Maya
- Set design for 2D characters by hand-drawn images in Photoshop

Post-production works

Making 3D CGI animated footage requires a complicated process to create at least 4 different rendering images, such as EXR and SGI image files, which can be divided into a character, set, shadow and motion vector as a shader image. It should be shifted to each layer from the bottom to top in the After Effect software. Mixing and conflating each rendered image continues, until it produces the intended colour, light and shadow effect and a sense of the material in question by changing and moving each rendered layer. After completing this compositional work between differently rendered image layers, one can combine these visual rendered images with the original soundtrack, such as the dubbed narration and recorded interviews, in order to create the final 3D CGI animated footage.

The final stage is editing between self-created sequences, such as 3D CGI, 2D hand drawn animated footage, already having its own sound track, and recorded online game sequences in Final Cut Pro X. For this editing of the sequence, I refer to Pudovkin's realistic narrative montage (e.g. Mother, 1926)
when I need to expound the chronological and logical understanding of a sequence in a series of related scenes and Eisenstein's expressive montage (e.g. *Battleship Potemkin*, 1925) to use the emotional collision of the juxtaposition of two different unrelated shots, such as shot of the masked man running and a boy's stranglehold in the beginning and ending sections. The technique of metric and rhythmic montage is only used in the beginning and ending sections to make the audience immerse themselves into the fictional code of the Jekyll and Hyde concept to convey the intended symbols or metaphors, such as the murder, the masked and hidden or invisible double or doppelgangers, and the story of the door and the letter. Through the reference to Griffith’s dramatic editing technique in *Broken Blossoms* (1919), in the beginning and end sections, the symmetry of black and white or masked and unmasked are intentionally used to manipulate the atmosphere of conflict, expressing the dramatic tension. There is also reference to Griffith's close-ups, cutaways and first person perspective to articulate a specific character's urgent situation and to appeal emotionally to the audience.

Throughout the middle section, the editing sequence is based on the narrative montage technique, to explicate the real historical event and specifically convey the consistent animated version of information, along with what the main narrator or interviewee said. For the documentary aspect of editing, such a narration is very important to blend and harmonise the animated sequences for the purpose of creating a persuasive voice. The soundtrack consists of four different sounds: narration or words, background music, sound effects and ambient or environmental sounds. This elevates the animated sequence, and the shot by shot images to achieve the unifying message from part 1 to part 4 in the middle section. Sound editing helps to create the dimensions of area that the visual image cannot convey. Sound is important in terms of the psychological process of association that can be achieved by composing and blending four different sound elements.

Lastly, the colour effects and correction in Final Cut Pro X reduce a certain strength or intensity of brightness amongst cyan, magenta and yellow throughout all of the sections. Colour can intentionally create a specific time and place, such as unconscious dreams and past memories, and is useful to
inform the narrative direction, mood and atmosphere (cold, warm, cynical, tragic, happy and so on) and correspond with the filmmaker’s visual interpretation of certain real events and people, deliberately to represent dramatic emotion to the audience. In this case, while the beginning and end sections are mainly dark greyish and blurred to allude to the tragic story, the middle section is relatively bright and vivid to illuminate the plastic material of 3D figure puppets and toys, along with the colourful animated avatars in the online games. Ultimately, the colour correction plays an important role in fixing 3D CGI rendering mistakes, as well as foreshadowing the coming story beforehand as the abstract or non-figurative flash-forward.

- Composing 3D CGI in After Effect and Editing 3D CGI and 2D hand-drawn animated footage in Final Cut Pro X with the recorded oral soundtrack
- Colour Correction in 3D computer graphic images
- Colour Correction in 2D hand-drawn images

- Editing 3D CGI and 2D hand-drawn animated footage in Final Cut Pro X with the recorded oral soundtrack