

**The Case Study of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009):
An Ethnographic Investigation into the
Systematic Cultivation of a Fan**

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221B

*Here dwell together still two men of note
Who never lived and so can never die;
How very near they seem yet how remote
That age before the world went all awry.*

*But still the game's afoot for those with ears
Attuned to catch the distant view~halloa;
England is England yet, for all our fears ~
Only those things the heart believes are true.*

*A yellow fog swirls past the windowpane
As night descends upon this fabled street;
A lonely hansom splashes through the rain,
The ghostly gas lamps fail at twenty feet.*

*Here, though the world explode, these two survive,
And it is always 1895.*

- Vincent Starrett, *Sir Hugo's Literary Companion: A Compendium of the Writings of Hugo's Companions, Chicago on the Subject of Sherlock Holmes*
(2007)

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

.....
Samantha Coelho, 2011

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Abstract

This study investigates a consumer's relationship with mass media and the cultivation of the consumer's consequent state of fandom. The scope of this study encompasses the commercialisation of storytelling's social functions, the media's ability to manipulate both viewers and scholars, and an examination into the practice of cultivation theory and its relationship with culture. Within this study, the definition and application of the term "fan" is questioned, and both the theoretical and commercial value of studying this particular part of the audience is examined. Both the objective and scope of this study is inspired by Abercrombie and Longhurst's audience continuum (1998) and by Bourdieu's economic class system (as cited in Hills, 2002). Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) place fans along a five-stage continuum, which includes the consumer, the cultist, enthusiast, and petty producer. Bourdieu, from a cultural studies perspective, defines fandom as a working class interaction with a text, and places them last on his own scale after the dominant bourgeoisie, the dominated bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie (as cited in Hills, 2002). The practical objective of this study is to expand upon these theories and to construct a working model of the fan cultivation process. In terms of methodology, this study is an instrumental and collective case study about a consumer's cultivated response to the movie *Sherlock Holmes* (2009). It is designed to be a qualitative humanistic examination of fan cultivation, adopting pure participant observation and variation of observant participation ethnography as its primary method of research. The researcher undertakes the ethnographic position of the cultivated consumer and documents her journey in an ethnographic journal divided into three sections: substantive, analytic and thick description field notes. The researcher, while on her ethnographic journey, engages with various franchise-related products. These products are divided into categories: the primary product, original products, and official secondary and unofficial secondary products. The field notes collected undergo a reflexive examination and a cultivation analysis. As a result, the researcher is subsequently cultivated to the degree of an educated academic-fan, revealing that consumption coupled with consistency cultivates a consumer's investment and loyalty towards a product and ultimately fandom, and that fandom is the emotional consumption of consistent enchantment. In turn, a consumer-to-fan cultivation continuum and model is designed, and a creative component critique is constructed to exemplify the model. This case study therefore answers the question: When does a consumer become a fan, and what happens next?

Introduction

This study uses the state of fandom as an acute example of contemporary media's influence on its viewer and the commercialisation of media products. The journey on which a consumer becomes a fan stems from culture's longstanding relationship with stories. Therefore, I begin my literature review with an examination into Gerbner's (1999) theory of storytelling's three social functions and then expand on each, labelling them as stories of illumination, information and instigation. Storytelling's essential functions are capitalised by the media and industrialised to the point of wielding great manipulative power over their audience. I therefore examine, from a cultural studies perspective and in relation to audience research, the media's manipulation of its viewers and how this affects a consumer's transition towards fandom. While investigating the media's influence I was quickly confronted with the objectivist/relativist debate, particularly Ruddock's (2001) summation of Bernstein's (as cited in Ruddock, 2001) two opposing positions. As a result, I agree with Ruddock (2001) that well-researched and methodologically sound studies can discover the truth about the media's effects. Subsequently, I examined both Ruddock's positivist theory (2001) alongside Brewer's naturalism (2000) and define my study's methodological position as a qualitative and humanistic examination of fan cultivation. By taking a qualitative and humanistic approach, I turn my investigation towards the academic definition of the audience; those who respond, or attend, to a text (Ruddock, 2001) or those for whom the text was designed (Jenkins, 1992). In examining the audience, Ruddock (2001) encourages researchers to question their study's "three points of antagonism" (p. 6). Firstly, the researcher should know why they have chosen to study the audience, secondly, the methodology used should be practically applicable, and thirdly, the researcher must be self-aware and reflexive towards any preconceived results or constructs that they may have prematurely established (Ruddock, 2001). While considering how to fulfil each of these requirements, I was prompted to narrow my field of vision and examine the definition of fans and fandom.

Both Grossberg (as cited in Bailey, 2005) and Hills (2002), use the term "fan" to refer to obsessed and fanatical consumers of a media product. Sandvoss (2005) and Caughey (as cited in Hills, 2002), however, find such stigmatised definitions do not encompass all that the term stands for in modern culture. I therefore expand upon their suggestions and examine Jenkins's (1992) concept of media fandom. As a result, I adopt

Abercrombie and Longhurst's audience continuum (1998) (see Figure 1) as the foundation for my study in fan cultivation. Their continuum suggests the position of a fan is relative to their interaction with a text and comparable to the progression of other positions along a continuum: fan, cultist, enthusiast and petty producer (Abercrombie & Longhurst, as cited in Sandvoss, 2005). Abercrombie and Longhurst's continuum (1998) coincides with Sandvoss's (2005) theory of "difference [by] degree" (p. 30-31) and Bailey's (2005) theory of defining the audience by the degree of media saturation they encounter. Alongside Abercrombie and Longhurst's continuum (1998), I examine Bourdieu's economic class system (as cited in Hills, 2002), in which fans are segregated according to their text interaction and the power derived from the product they consume, and investigate the social power struggle between the fan classes: working class, petit bourgeois, dominated fraction and dominating fraction. I subsequently research cultivation theory, abiding by Shanahan and Morgan's (1999) definition of the process, and media theorist McLuhan's axiom (as cited in Mulder, 2004) that the "medium is the message" (p. 16). I examine an audience's commercial value and its manipulated responses, coinciding with Mulder's (2004) scepticism towards an audience's ability to make authentic and uninfluenced decisions. According to the theories of Shanahan and Morgan (1999), McLuhan (as cited in Mulder, 2004), Mulder (2004), and those of Ruddock (2001), Jones (2003), Gray, Sandvoss and Harrington (2007), and Cavicchi (1998), I discover when a consumer becomes an "ideal consumer" (Cavicchi, as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 29), in other words, a fan.

In the methodology chapter, I examine and outline the boundaries of my case study and the concurrent ethnographic journey I undertook, and explore the practical side of cultivation theory and analysis, alongside planning my model and creative component. My case study focuses on a viewer's response to the movie *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) and the subsequent franchise and fandom it is associated with. Before expanding on my choice of film, I examine and adopt a combination of Stake's (as cited in Brewer, 2000) instrumental and collective case study formats. "Collective cases permit empirical generalisations, while instrumental ones permit theoretical inference (among other things)" (Brewer, 2000, p. 77). I then try to align my case study alongside Babbie's researcher intent theory (as cited in Ruddock, 2001), which encourages researchers to examine the reliability, validity, and generalisability of their methodological planning. The focus of my case study, *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), was chosen because of the various products attached to its related fandom. Considered to be perhaps the "oldest

established fandom” (Pearson, 2007, p. 105) in the world, the Sherlock Holmes franchise offers a wealth of what I define as original products, official secondary products and unofficial secondary products. Official products refer to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s original Holmes novels and short stories, official Secondary products are subsequent products made commercially, and unofficial Secondary products refer to amateur and fan-made endeavours.

Within the methodology chapter, I also investigate the ethnographic requirements of my case study. Having considered Abercrombie and Longhurst’s audience continuum (1998) and my own draft model of the fan, educated fan and enamoured fan stages of fan cultivation, I adopted Brewer’s (2000) ethnographic definition of pure participant observation, in which the researcher adopts a new role, and variation of observant participation, when the researcher utilises an existing role in a new way. I chose these ethnographic positions in order to maintain an academic distance while I experienced a similar journey to that portrayed in Abercrombie and Longhurst’s continuum (1998). Brewer (2000) advises a researcher divides their field notes into substantive and analytic sections while acting as an ethnographic participant. Going one step further, I include in my field notes a thick description column (Brewer, 2000), in which I document all of my bias and fan-inspired opinions to help maintain an independent research perspective. During my ethnographic journey, I read all of Doyle’s Holmes novels: *A Study in Scarlet* (1887/2006a), *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001), *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003) and *The Valley of Fear* (1927/2006b). I also read his short stories: *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes and The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* (1892, 1894/2001a), *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (1905/2005d), *His Last Bow* (1917/2005h) and *The Case-book of Sherlock Holmes* (1927/2005k). In terms of official Secondary products, I viewed Granada Television’s *Sherlock Holmes* (1984-1994), Twentieth Century Fox and Universal Studios’s *The complete collection: Sherlock Holmes* (1939-1946), and read the pastiches, *The Beekeeper’s Apprentice* (1994), *The Veiled Detective* (2009), *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution* (1974) and the biography *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (2008). I also engaged with unofficial Secondary sources found on the internet: *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) interviews, Youtube videos featuring Jeremy Brett, and fan fiction. The field notes collected from my ethnographic interaction with these products were then reflexively scrutinised and subjected to a cultivation analysis. My reflexive investigation adopts Brewer’s (2000) definition of analytical reflexivity, while the cultivation analysis conducted subscribes to Signorielli

and Morgan's (1990) and Shanahan and Morgan's (1999) focus on a fan's cultivation through "patterns of images and ideologies" (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999, p. 5).

Following the cultivation analysis of my ethnographic field notes, I establish my findings and recommend areas within the subject of fan cultivation that require further academic attention. Combining a reflexive approach and the cultivation analysis of my field notes, I expand upon my main series of cultivated positions – general audience, fan, enamoured fan and educated fan – and establish the varying degrees of separation between each stage. From my findings, I reflect upon possible areas in fan studies and ethnographic practice that require further examination. I recommend changes to the academic use of the term "fan" and changes to the rhetoric surrounding the word. I propose that scholars examining fandom, which is more often than not focused on community, disregarding the pre-community cultivation of a viewer's relationship with a product, should concentrate their efforts on the individual viewer and their personal interaction. In addition, from my own experience, I recommend that we consider a hybridisation of the academic and the fan, with the purpose of establishing a new ethnographic role for the researcher.

From my findings, I design a consumer-to-fan cultivation model. The model builds from Abercrombie and Longhurst's audience continuum (1998) and Moorhouse's circular model of American hot-rod enthusiasm (as cited in Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). As a result, I create a continuum similar to Abercrombie and Longhurst's (1998), and a large circular model referencing the various theories contributed by academic theorists. My findings and the model are then practically applied in the writing of a critique, acting as an exemplary creative component, capturing the extent of my cultivation as a fan. Jenkins (1992) believes "fandom's very existence represents a critique of conventional forms of consumer culture" (p. 283). I therefore critique *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) from the position of an educated academic-fan, and examine how Holmes's magical effect depends upon the juxtaposition of scientific and magical imagery and the contradictory ideologies of enchantment and reality.

Literature Review

I began my research by examining the commercialisation of storytelling's three traditional social functions and expanding upon cultural studies theory of the media's manipulation of the audience. This avenue of research led to examine how my research would be positioned within the objectivist/relativist debate, and whether my methodological position was that of positivism or naturalism. As a result, I was prompted to research the cultural studies definition of the audience and my intentions as a researcher towards it. This audience-theory approach evolved into an examination of popular and academic definitions of fans and fandom, which took my research towards an analysis of Abercrombie and Longhurst's continuum (1998) and Bourdieu's economic class system (as cited in Hills, 2002). These two theories form the foundation for my research. Each embodies the idea that fandom is a state relative to a viewer's progression on a continuum. Similarly, the idea of fandom being defined by degrees is supported by McLuhan's media-related proposition that the "medium is the message" (as cited in Mulder, 2004, p. 16); an examination into the audience's commercial value and programmed response.

Cultural studies

The storytelling process

Storytelling is a cultural tool through which social functions are shared and taught. Gerbner (1999) describes three specific kinds of story, which I named stories of illumination, information and instigation. Illumination refers to Gerbner's (1999)

stories of the first kind . . . [their function is to] illuminate the . . . invisible relationships and hidden dynamics of life. Fairytale, novels . . . and other forms of creative imagination and imagery [act as] the basic building blocks of human understanding. (p. ix)

The second social function of a story is information. A story should "give emphasis and credibility to selected parts of each society's fantasies of reality" (Gerbner, 1999, p. x). Today however, technology encourages almost anything, and so does commerce. Consequently, the story's third social function is instigation. Often used as a commercial tool, "these are stories of value and choice. They present things, behaviours or styles of life as desirable (or undesirable) . . . Stories of the third kind clinch the first

two and turn them into action” (Gerbner, 1999, p. x). Gerbner (1999) finds instigation to be commonly used in commercials; the message is used to instigate an active response from the viewer, turning them into a consumer. In hindsight, however, after my own ethnographic journey, instigation does not appear to be a one-way process. Its commercial function is only successful so long as the recipient is willing to accept and embrace the instigation. Gerbner (1999) believes that storytelling, “once hand-crafted, home-made [and] community-inspired . . . is [now] mostly mass-produced and profit-driven” (p. ix). As a result, fandom becomes the modern response to storytelling, one which enables viewers to re-infuse a product with “hand-crafted, home-made, community-inspired” (Gerbner, 1999, p. ix) elements, and in turn, reclaim the product and its narrative. I agree with Gray et al. (2007) that “fan consumption has grown into a taken-for-granted aspect of modern communication and consumption . . . [and that is why] it warrants critical analysis and investigation more than ever” (p. 9).

Methodological position: The objectivist and relativist debate

“[From] the 1920s . . . through to the . . . controversies of the 1980s and 1990s, academics and non-academics alike have remained fascinated by the mass media’s ability to manipulate the public mind” (Ruddock, 2001, p. 4). At the beginning of my journey, I needed to address whether I would even be able to capture the process by which media manipulate their audiences. This led me to consider Ruddock’s (2001) summation of Bernstein’s (as cited in Ruddock, 2001) objectivist and relativist debate theory:

There is a division between those who argue that we can come to know the truth about the effects of the media on society because there *is* a truth that we can discover through the use of the right measuring tools, and those who would argue that our images of the media’s impact on society depend upon the questions we ask and the methods we use to answer them. That is, our understanding of the media’s role in contemporary culture is a product rather than a discovery. (pp. 4-5)

I agree with Ruddock (2001) that truth is often relative to one’s perspective; with our media saturated society a third-person examination of media influence would be almost impossible. However, I find that each perspective over time must surely contribute to a genuine understanding of the media’s effect. Therefore, I believe that our understanding

of the media and its role in society is an ongoing product of discovery, a product formed by the questions we ask and the methods we use, all of which contribute to the discovery of the truth. However, the success of the discovery rests on the methods used to guide the researcher: “The objectivist/relativist split is frequently equated with the distinction made between quantitative and qualitative methods of inquiry” (Ruddock, 2000, p. 5).

Methodological position: Positivism versus naturalism

Hughes (as cited in Brewer, 2000) “outlined two models of social research which were premised on two different methodological positions, the natural science model based on positivism and [the] humanistic model based on naturalism” (Brewer, 2000, p. 29).

Positivism “forms the theoretical basis for the hard sciences” (Ruddock, 2001, p. 5), a position motivated towards quantitative data and rigid qualitative methods. Quantitative methods, in relation to my area of study, would require statistical research primarily represented in audience ratings and box-office takings. Therefore, if I were to follow positivist theory I would be disregarding the emotional investment made by fans.

However, I do wish to achieve, through a qualitative process, legitimate results that are applicable in practice. Brewer (2000) recommends naturalism. “It is signified by attention to what human beings feel, perceive, think and do in natural situations that are not experimentally contrived or controlled” (Brewer, 2000, p. 33). This statement, while referring to research conducted on everyday life, highlights the complexity of researching fandom. By all accounts, this study should be, and primarily is, a qualitative humanistic examination of fan cultivation.

Defining the Audience

Methodologically, studying the audience casts a very wide net. Ruddock (2001) believes “audiences are [already] hard to analyse because . . . they are difficult to define . . . it would be tempting to say that the audience is quite simply those people who attend to a particular text” (p. 8). But the difficulty with analysing attendance is that it is purely quantitative (positivist). For while the action equates to an audience member voting with their feet, it does not reflect or express how the decision to attend was made, or why. The audience of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) is my focus, and while I can examine who the film was aimed at commercially, the film adds to a cumulative fan-base that inspires examination into the various technologies that were involved and evolved from Holmes’ humble serialised beginnings to today’s blockbuster version.

Jenkins (1992), however, would disagree with this approach, as he is prone to reject the “tradition that reads the audience from structures of the text or in terms of the forms of consumption generated by the institutions of production and marketing” (p. 285).

Jenkins (1992) encourages researchers “to challenge [the] theoretical fiction that masks . . . the actual complexities of audience-text relations” (p. 285). While I similarly wish to examine the complexities of audience cultivation, I, unlike Jenkins (1992), cannot disregard the recurring images projected by institutions because fandom itself can be considered an institution.

Defining the Audience: Ruddock’s three points of antagonism

Ruddock (2001) believes that a “comprehensive discussion of audiences and how to research them must . . . be sensitive to three points of antagonism” (p. 6). Firstly, Ruddock (2001) wishes for the researcher to address their “motives for wanting to know about audiences” (p. 6). Simply, I find fandom is an acute example of modern media’s influence on the viewer and the commercialisation of media products. “Secondly, these divergent motives lead to different methodologies” (Ruddock, 2001, p. 6). While the research’s methodology is explored later in a chapter of its own, it is worth noting here that I am approaching the audience qualitatively, placing myself ethnographically in the position of an audience member and charting my personal development as a fan of Sherlock Holmes. “Finally, the motives and methods driving a researcher are likely to influence or even determine the results he or she . . . constructs” (Ruddock, 2001, p. 6). At an early stage of my research, I drafted a three-level model of fan progression, suggesting that a viewer’s progress as a fan results in either an enamoured or educated position. Depending upon a fan’s process of cultivation, driven by the products they encounter, it will result in an enamoured (biased) or educated (critical) position. While this conclusion was indeed a pre-constructed outcome, my results will in fact depend upon my findings that emerge from the research process.

Defining fans

Often the term fan, when explained by scholars, bears both an historical and academic context. Grossberg (as cited in Bailey, 2005), for example, states the word “‘fan’ is derived from ‘fanatic’, a term with heavy connotations of extremism and irrationality” (pp. 48-49). Similarly, ten years later Hills (2002) describes fandom as an overbearing state. He describes a fan as being “somebody who is obsessed with a particular star, celebrity, film, TV programme, band; somebody who can produce reams of information

on their object of fandom, and can quote their favoured lines or lyrics, chapter and verse” (Hills, 2002, p. ix). While Grossberg (as cited in Bailey, 2005) and Hills (2002) define the term fan by its extreme tendencies, Hills (2002) chooses to also incorporate, within his definition, the term’s association with modern popular mediums. Now this is the interesting dynamic of fandom. These mediums are common and accessible by almost any viewer; the only difference is the enthusiastic amount of information retained by the viewer. Sandvoss (as cited in Sandvoss, 2005) claims that even “casual viewers identify themselves as fans” (p. 6), and considering a casual viewer is not necessarily able to “produce reams of information on their object of fandom” (Hills, 2002, p. ix), fandom would therefore appear to be a self-defined state. Caughey (as cited in Hills, 2002) observed that “the term ‘fan’ . . . does not do justice to the variety of attachments to media figures [and media texts]” (p. xi). Therefore, it is the wide gap between general fan and extreme enthusiast which I wish to make sense of.

Defining fandom and Jenkins’s media fandom

Sandvoss (2005) defines fandom as

regular, emotionally involved consumption of a given popular narrative or text in the form of books, television shows, films or music, as well as popular texts in a broader sense such as sports teams and popular icons and stars ranging from athletes and musicians to actors (p. 8).

Sandvoss’s (2005) rhetoric reflects a personal bias, referring to fandom as “regular, emotionally involved consumption” (p. 8). This is a definition which reflects what I experienced in my own ethnographic journey and highlights what is often forgotten in many academically minded accounts of fandom: “In specific institutional contexts, such as academia, ‘fan’ status may be devalued and taken as a sign of ‘inappropriate’ learning and uncritical engagement with the media” (Hills, 2002, p. xii). What Sandvoss (2005) points out, however, is that the “academic study of ‘fandom’ does not necessarily include all fans and their activities, but rather focuses on specific social and cultural interactions, institutions and communities” (2005, p. 5). Therefore, fandom is commonly defined academically by a fan’s involvement with a community, rather than with the product itself. Understandably, the emergence of online communities has provided fan/audience researchers opportunities to focus on fan-based communities. However, I have chosen to stay away from community-based interaction because I find

that to be a secondary phase, a result or consequence, of a fan's initial interaction with the original fan object and its medium/mediums. Jenkins (1992) therefore describes a fan's contemporary-driven focus as media fandom:

This group embraces not a single text or even a single genre but many texts – American and British dramatic series, Hollywood genre films, comic books, Japanese animation, popular fiction (particularly science fiction, fantasy, and mystery) – and at the same time, it constructs boundaries that generally exclude other types of texts (notably soap opera and for the most part, commercial romance. (p. 1)

This more generalised media fandom therefore encourages exploration of today's storytelling process and how modern media is used to cultivate fans. Variations in the viewer's cultivation as a fan is linked directly to the medium that delivers the information; therefore a map or continuum of a fan's progression through fandom should be both traceable and dependent upon their sources of information.

Abercrombie and Longhurst: The audience continuum

Both Sandvoss (2005) and Hill (2002), whose fan definitions I have just examined, draw upon Abercrombie and Longhurst's audience continuum:

Consumer – Fan – Cultist – Enthusiast – Petty Producer
--

Figure 1. Abercrombie and Longhurst audience continuum (1998, p. 141)

This continuum model influenced fellow media and social theorists to identify “fandom in the transitional space between consumption and production” (as cited in Sandvoss, 2005, p. 30) as well as “along a spectrum of identities and experiences, distinguish[ed] between . . . specialisation . . . social organization . . . and material productivity” (Hills, 2002, p. ix).

Abercrombie and Longhurst: Fans

According to Sandvoss (2005), Abercrombie and Longhurst's definition and use of the term fan suggests that viewers who “intensely follow a particular cultural text or icon almost exclusively through the mass media” (p. 31) are the least engaged form of audience within the continuum. I find it rather unusual that the term “fan” does not

encompass the “cultist” and the “enthusiast”, who also “follow a particular cultural text” (Sandvoss, 2005, p. 31) through the mass media. Similarly, Abercrombie and Longhurst’s (1998) placement of the fan (see Figure 1) refers to the idea that fans are solitary viewers, “part of an atomised audience and are not linked with each other on an organisational level (as cited in Sandvoss, 2005, p. 31)”. This statement does not coincide with the community-orientated definition of “fandom”; however, the idea that a fan can be separate from fandom is an interesting contradiction.

Abercrombie and Longhurst: Cultists

Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) place cultist between fans and enthusiasts, due to their specialised use of media and the unique objects of their fandom (Sandvoss, 2005, p. 31). The term “cultist” often refers to extreme religious or fringe activities. However, in this instance Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) refer to *media cultists*, whose extremist tendencies only reach as far as being anti-commercial and boasting a fan product often of rare and minimal distribution (Hills, 2002). Taylor (as cited Hills, 2002) claims that fans “are not true cultists unless they pose their fandom as a resistant activity, one that keeps them one step ahead of those forces which would try to market their resistant taste back to them” (p. 27). Not to mention that the object of a cultist’s interest must harbour anti-commercial elements to cultivate cultists in the first place. Therefore their anti-commercial approach is what defines their status; however, the term “cultist” is not a description that suits intensified fans, as it harkens back to negative academic discourse. I believe cultists would perhaps begin as fans, and then separate themselves from commercial fandom and begin on another continuum, one that exists outside the boundaries of my research.

Abercrombie and Longhurst: Enthusiast and petty producer

For the enthusiast, “it is not so much the original mass-mediated object of fandom . . . as their own activity and textual productivity that constitute the core of their fandom” (Sandvoss, 2005, p. 31). Enthusiasts appear to be those which most community-based fan research is based on. However, it is a term similar to that of “hobbyist” and therefore does not necessarily always relate to a contemporary media product, let alone commercial fans or fandom. Yet I do appreciate how it refines the notion of a fan, even if the term “petty producer” follows on from it. The term “petty”, produces a negative and trite image of a fan’s weak attempt to produce a work within the realm of the original fan product. But Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998), due to the era in which

they designed their continuum, were not able to see how professional petty producers would become. The term itself is actually appalling in terms of Sherlock Holmes fandom, as Holmes fans have been contributing scholarly analysis on their subject since the beginning of the 20th century. Thankfully, it is the multi-dimensional nature of the Holmes franchise that allows me to cover every aspect of fandom, therefore encouraging the idea that fandom is a continuum built on degrees and variation.

Degrees of saturation

Sandvoss (2005) believes that even “the notion of a continuum implies a difference of degree, rather than kind, between different audience groups” (p. 30). This “notion” is supported by Bailey (2005), who finds that the varying degrees of audiences reflect media saturation: “If all audience members are saturated – to use Gergen’s term – by experiences with media, there are differing degrees and inflections to this saturation” (p. 48-49). Bailey (2005) believes that it is the audience’s interaction with the media that cultivates varying degrees and that the relationship between product and viewer should be a scholar’s true focus, not the interactions between fans and their fan communities. Gray et al. (2007) similarly find Abercrombie and Longhurst’s continuum (1998) to be only a starting point from which scholars may begin exploring fandom’s diversity and stages of fan cultivation:

From a contemporary perspective, the first and the second wave of fan studies . . . focused primarily on what we now recognise (in line with Abercrombie and Longhurst’s [1998] typology of fan audiences) to be only one, and possibly the smallest subset of fan groups on a wide spectrum spanning from regular, emotionally uninvolved audience members to petty producers. The immediate, if sometimes implicit intervention of recent work on fan audiences . . . has thus been to change the goalposts of inquiry and to broaden our analytic scope to a wide range of different audiences reflecting fandom’s growing cultural currency. With this empirical shift, the field of fan studies has become increasingly diverse in conceptual, theoretical, and methodological terms, and has broadened the scope of its inquiry on both ends of the spectrum between self and society. (p. 8)

Bourdieu’s economistic approach

“Bourdieu supposes that cultural life can be modelled by taking an ‘economistic’ approach” (Hills, 2002, p. 47). Bourdieu’s economistic theory suggests fandoms are

modern examples of cultural hierarchy and are “reducible to the practices of [four] specific class fractions” (Hills, 2002, p. 47): Dominating, dominated, petit bourgeoisie and working class. “The dominating fraction of the bourgeoisie . . . would never correspond to, or participate in, the cultural activities of fan culture” (Hills, 2002, pp. 47-48). This fraction is made up of owners and producers of the original fan product; they dictate the story that is being told and are immune to instigation. “Bourdieu [therefore] does not attach the label of ‘fandom’ to the dominant bourgeoisie” (Hills, 2002, p. 48). The dominated fraction, while complying with Abercrombie and Longhurst’s definitions of an enthusiast, similarly do not bear the term “fan”. Due to the cultural currency required to maintain a dominated position, this fraction are elite re-interpreters of culture; they strive to “give aesthetic redefinition to object[s] already redefined as art, but in another mode, by other classes or class fractions (e.g. kitsch)” (Bourdieu, as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 48). Therefore, Bourdieu attributes worth to a fraction’s cultural position, implying that “there is something always culturally ‘improper’ about the notion of fandom in his account” (Hills, 2002, p. 48). His “improper” attitude of fandom is demonstrated through his definition of the lesser fractions. According to Hills (2002), Bourdieu portrays the “petit bourgeois lifestyle . . . [as being] caught up in the resolute impropriety of fandom . . . [as they are] able to recognise ‘legitimate culture’, but do not possess sufficient knowledge of it” (p. 48). Bourdieu believes that the petit bourgeoisie’s gap between their recognition of culture compared to their cultural knowledge results in a “perversely misplaced fan knowledge”. Therefore, weakening their legitimacy and position within Bourdieu’s cultural hierarchy (Hills, 2002). Lastly, Bourdieu finds the working class position to be the only fraction in which its members “merit the debasement of the term ‘fan’” (Hills, 2002, p. 48). Bourdieu believes fandom acts as an “illusory compensation” for the working class fan’s “lack of social and cultural power” (Hills, 2002, p. 48). Bourdieu’s disdain for the term “fan” offers researchers the scholarly opportunity to engage with his negativity and transform his economistic cultural hierarchy into a non-judgemental model of a viewer’s systematic journey to fandom. Therefore, while I agree with Bourdieu’s economistic theory, as far as a cultural hierarchy is concerned, Bourdieu has blatantly ignored the influence of mass media. Thornton (as cited in Hills, 2002) finds “Bourdieu does not relate the circulation of cultural capital to the media . . . [T]he media [therefore appears] seemingly neutral or inconsequential within the processes of accumulating different types of capital” (p. 52). I will therefore build upon Bourdieu’s

economistic theory, alongside Abercrombie and Longhurst audience continuum, to establish a unique and generalised understanding of a fan's cultivation.

Cultivation Theory

Definition of cultivation

Shanahan and Morgan's (1999) definition of fan cultivation is the primary theory to which my research subscribes; while they are biased towards this theory, being "teachers and practitioners of the techniques" (p. 3), they consistently defend the "merits of cultivation theory" (p. 3) because they have practically applied it. According to Shanahan and Morgan (1999), cultivation is "the process within which interaction through messages shapes [and] sustains the terms on which the messages are premised" (p. 12). While cultural and audience research focuses on the effect generated, cultivation theory is focused on the influences, which generate the effect. This definition leads one to believe cultivation may be the hidden step before storytelling's process of instigation, that process which generates an active response from the audience. Considering cultivation is "a way to talk about 'influence' without talking about 'effects'" (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999, p. 12), instigation appears to be a result of cultivation. Cultivation's connection with storytelling comes from the theory's original methodological purpose of examining modern storytelling, namely television: "Cultivation' builds on the assumption that the major impacts of television materialise by means of the way it exposes people to the same images and metaphors over and over again" (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999, p. 12). Sherlock Holmes is essentially a serialised narrative that, through its transformation into a franchise over time and media, would respond to cultivation analysis and its emphasis on the repetition of images and metaphors. In terms of examining the degrees of fandom and how media cultivates these degrees, cultivation theory, with its focus on influence, has proved to be the most adequate method of analysis for this research, as it encourages qualitative ethnography and textual analysis.

Cultivation theory and culture

Cultivation theory is entirely appropriate for studying modern storytelling and the mediums used to generate instigation. Cultivation is "what a culture does" (Gerbner, as cited in Shanahan & Morgan, 1999, p. 15). According to Gerbner, culture is a "system of stories and other artefacts – increasingly mass-produced – that mediates between existence and consciousness of existence" (as cited in Shanahan & Morgan, 1999, p.

15). Gerbner suggests that the entire storytelling process, on which our culture relies, has been somewhat outsourced to commercialism, and “since messages reflect social relationships, mass-produced messages bear the assumptions of the organizations . . . that produce them” (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999, p. 15). As a result, fandom is looking increasingly commercialised and inauthentic, something of a modern condition associated with media influence. Sherlock Holmes fandom reflects this theory because it encompasses all forms of mass media throughout the 20th century. However, the longitudinal nature of the Holmes franchise has the possibility to reveal the creation of fandom-as-a-product, and perhaps even the creation of fan-as-a-product. The theory of making a consumer into a product reflects how a fan is commercially cultivated to respond to and embody a particular narrative or cultivated message, similar to the fan product itself. Such systematic control over the audience emphasises the somewhat unnatural and commercialised culture surrounding fandom. Shanahan and Morgan (1999) believe

if cultivation is a critical theory, it is a theory of media’s role in social control. That is, it examines how media are used in social systems to build consensus (if not agreement) on positions through shared terms of discourse and assumptions about priorities and values. (p. 15)

Therefore, if someone is a fan, they have been cultivated as one, and even the product with which they are enamoured, is itself a cultivated message. Therefore, are they fans, or are they products? In other words, did they respond to the message, or to the cultivation?

Media Theory

Medium is the message

McLuhan’s tautology (as cited in Mulder, 2004), “the medium is the message”, means the “knowledge that a medium transmits is greater than the knowledge that people transmit using it” (Mulder, 2004, p. 16). If this is so then the information gathered by a fan is relative to the medium transmitting it. In terms of cultivation theory, the suggestion that “the medium does something more, or something different, than what we intend to use it for” (Mulder, 2004, p. 16), takes power away from the storytelling producers, and similarly, from the fans as well, leaving a somewhat uncontrollable and unpredictable process of cultivation. According to Mulder (2004), “media theory

informs us that we take our communications media so for granted that we fail to see all the tricks they're pulling on us" (p. 11). Is fandom a trick? Can you be an authentic fan? Does it depend on the medium that cultivates you? I would think that an original fan of the Holmes books would be authentic. The dynamics of fandom offer incredible insight into how a viewer engages with the media and various mediums. "Media theory endeavours to discover how our bodies react to media and how they are programmed by media to react in a certain way" (Mulder, 2004, p. 7). Media theory therefore shares a similar focus to cultivation theory, as each theory strives to examine influence and programming.

Programmed authenticity

The term "programming", however, in this theoretical context, refers to the programming of the audience. In other words, a viewer's programmed authenticity. Such a theory implies that not even a scholar's reaction to media influence could achieve an authentic perspective, let alone a fan who is influenced wholeheartedly. Mulder (2004) believes that "both reactions, for and against [media influence], are evoked by the media themselves, and not by any deep internal core of authenticity" (p. 9). Mulder (2004) continues, however, to suggest that the only authentic aspect of a viewer's relationship with the media "is how they deal with [it]" (p. 9). Therefore, I propose that a fan's authenticity can be seen in criticism, the analysis of the product and its messages. Fans are imbued with a critical nature; Bailey (2005) believes that because

fans are almost always more than just affective investors (as Grossberg would put it) in a set of images, stories, icons and so forth. They are also often very intense interpreters and indeed have a profoundly aesthetic view of the objects of their engagement. (p.49)

However, Mulder's theory (2004) reminds us that no viewer can go uncultivated; therefore a fan's authenticity must be a product of cultivation and their criticism an attempt to regain their authenticity.

Programmed commodity: Consumers and fans

Every person has a price, and every viewer has a value. Canadian critic Dallas Smythe (as cited in Ruddock, 2001), defined "television's audience as a commodity waiting to be sold to advertisers" (p. 8). Similarly, Jones (as cited in Sandvoss, 2005) states that

“fandom seems to have become a common and ordinary aspect of . . . the industrialised world that is actively fostered and utilised in industry marketing strategies” (p.3). Gray et al. (2007) describe the fan as a “specialised yet dedicated consumer [who] has become a centrepiece of media industries’ marketing strategies” (p. 4). Cavicchi (as cited in Hills, 2002) calls fans “ideal consumers” (p. 29) as their “consumption habits can be very highly predicted by the culture industry, and are likely to remain stable” (Hills, 2002, p. 29). Economically a fan and a consumer appear to be one in the same. Fans however are valuable because they are more active in the commercial acquisition of their fan object and any surrounding merchandise associated. All of the descriptions above, however, are only applicable to commercially instigated fans; anti-commercialism is obviously bad for business. Hills (2002) points out that “fans also express anti-commercial beliefs (or ‘ideologies’ . . . since these beliefs are not entirely in alignment with the cultural situation in which fans find themselves)” (p. 29). Gray et al. (2007) similarly notice that while “fan audiences are [only] wooed and championed by cultural industries . . . as long as their activities do not divert from principles of capitalist exchange and recognise industries’ legal ownership of the object of fandom” (p. 4). Therefore, with fans and fandom becoming such a commodity in both business and academia, I ask the question: When does a consumer become a fan, and what happens next?

Methodology

This chapter explains the parameters of my research and its limitations, covering my choice of case study, ethnography, cultivation analysis, reflexivity and the model and creative component I will produce to exemplify the theories underpinning this research. My case study is an instrumental/collective case study, focused on the film *Sherlock Holmes* (2009). I explain how this film applies to my research topic and examine the Holmes fandom's historical lineage, media and audience diversity, fan hierarchy (akin to Bourdieu's class system) and its wealth of official and fan-created works. In order to create a thorough account of fan cultivation, my main method for conducting research is ethnography. I discuss and define ethnography, its application to the construction of my fan model, how this method creates qualitative limitations for my actions as a researcher and the media products/objects I examine. In defining my ethnographic inquiry, I have chosen the position of participant observer and variation of observant participant, and will explain the importance of this approach and the limitations in place. Specifically the keeping of an ethnographic journal, in which I take substantive, analytic and thick description field notes. Therefore, I also describe this process and examine ethnographic narratives applicable for the final documentation of my work. Following on from ethnography, I discuss cultivation analysis and how the method of examining cultivated messages and patterns in Holmes products, Holmes audiences (including myself as ethnographic researcher) and Holmes fan products should convey the varying degrees of fandom created by media influence and interaction. After discussing cultivation analysis, I cover my plans to conduct a reflexive investigation on my findings, therefore filtering my research before it is translated into a model, and from that model, into a critique of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009). I will then define that creative component, explaining my choice of the critique, how it coincides with the model, and how it ultimately fulfils the research question.

Case Study

Type of case study: Instrumental and collective

In order to accomplish a comprehensive and reliable outcome from my research, I chose the structure of a case study. Babbie's researcher intent theory (as cited in Ruddock, 2001), following on from Ruddock's (2001) three points of antagonism, encourages a scholar's work to "generate insights that will tell us something about the way in which the media impact upon our lives" (p. 18). A case study on the Sherlock Holmes

franchise offers insight into 123 years of media impact. However, I will elaborate on this fact later. The type of case study I have chosen is defined by Stake (as cited in Brewer, 2000), who originally identified three types of studies:

The intrinsic case is the study of one particular instance . . . the instrumental case is studied because it facilitates understanding of something else . . . and the collective case studies [are of] several instances of the same phenomenon. (pp. 76 -77)

For my research, I have chosen the combination of an instrumental and collective case study; “collective cases permit empirical generalisations, while instrumental ones permit theoretical inference (among other things)” (Brewer, 2000, p. 77). By having a structure that encourages valid generalisation, it follows and fulfils the rest of Babbie’s researcher intent theory (as cited in Ruddock, 2001):

Reliability . . . if the same observational methods were applied to the same research site again, they would yield the same results . . . Validity . . . that the thing we are measuring actually represents the concept we wish to discuss . . . Generalisability . . . the degree to which we can transpose the observations made in a specific research setting on to a wider social context. (Ruddock, 2001, p. 18)

Sherlock Holmes (2009)

The instrumental focus of this case study is the film *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), directed by Guy Ritchie and starring Robert Downey Jr. Collectively, the film offers insight into the development of twentieth century media technology, fan and commercial diversity, social hierarchy (academic and fan duality) mirroring Bourdieu’s class system (as cited in Hills, 2002), and official and fan created works. According to Doyle and Crowder (2010) Holmes’s “public career . . . closely tracks every form of drama and performance over the 20th century” (p. 257). The Holmes franchise, having evolved alongside modern mass media, reflects the rise of technological commercialism and the audience’s relationship with it, for the past 123 years. This is an achievement that, according to Pearson (2007), has “escaped academic scrutiny . . . despite being probably the oldest established fandom” (p. 105) in the world. Hence, the importance in concentrating my case study on *Sherlock Holmes* (2009). Many Sherlockians took notice of what this new addition could mean. Doyle and Crowder (2010) professed,

albeit in *Sherlock Holmes for Dummies* (2010), that “maybe another golden age of Sherlockian cinema is just around the corner. After 21 years, Holmes finally returned to the big screen . . . Director Guy Ritchie brings a fresh interpretation . . . to a new generation of fans” (p. 276).

Similarly, *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) highlights how the Sherlock Holmes franchise offers audience variation and commercial diversity. Jenkins (1992) believes “fans tend to focus their social and cultural activity around programs with the potential of being accepted by sizeable numbers of other fans” (p. 91). Holmes offers products through various mediums and in turn various age groups and commercial audiences. However, and perhaps most importantly, the Holmes franchise reflects a class structure that often divides the commercial fan from the scholarly, offering hierarchy and a representation of Bourdieu’s class theory (as cited in Hills, 2002). Gray et al. (2007) speaking in a historical studies context, find fandom to be a “cultural practice tied to specific forms of social and economic organization” (p. 9). Each of Bourdieu’s classes (as cited in Hills, 2002), from working class to the dominating fraction, are discernible in Holmes fandom and their views of each class are accessible through their own specified work and publishing on the subject. This is yet another avenue that the Holmes franchise offers through an instrumental and collective case study – the fandom’s co-dependence on official and fan created products. According to Jenkins (1992), “fans, like other consumers of popular culture, read intertextually as well as textually and their pleasure comes through the particular juxtapositions that they create between specific program content and other cultural materials” (p. 37). Fans, through their use and understanding of the original product’s narrative, exercise their knowledge of the subject through integrating and reimagining the narrative, and as a result perpetuate the cycle of reinterpretation. Gray et al. (2007) find the examination of a fan’s “object of consumption” to be “one of the most underdeveloped aspects of Bourdieu’s work” (p. 11). They suggest that “the object of consumption . . . due to our emphasis on audience activity [has] hitherto remained largely neglected as a object of study” (Gray et al., 2007, p. 11). I would have thought this an integral part of any audience or fan study, as the objects in question often bear images and ideologies reflected in the viewer:

Whether a given fan object is found in a novel, a television program, or is a popular icon, fan objects are read as texts on the level of the fan/reader. They all constitute a set of signs and symbols that fans encounter in their frames of

representation and mediation, and from which they create meaning in the process of reading. (Sandvoss, 2007, p. 22)

Ethnography

Definition

According to Brewer (2000) there are two definitions of ethnography; “one uses ‘ethnography’ as a synonym for qualitative research as a whole . . . Others define ethnography to mean the same as ‘field research’ or ‘fieldwork’” (pp. 17-18). In this instance, ethnography refers to field research and particularly my participation in it. I have chosen the method of ethnography because it allows me as a researcher to witness and experience the cultivating process as a fan. Brewer (2000), however, does not necessarily label ethnography as a method; rather he interprets ethnography as “a style of research that is distinguished by its objectives, which are to understand the social meanings and activities of people in a given ‘field’ or setting” (p. 11). This places high priority on the importance of the ethnographic approach, “which involves close association with, and often participation in, [the field]” (Brewer, 2000, p. 11).

Ethnographic beginning: Abercrombie and Longhurst continuum and draft model

Before I could begin my ethnographic journey as a fan, I referred back to a model I originally drafted in the early stages of my proposal (see Figure 2). The model’s continuum was rather limited and had only four possible cultivated states; firstly, according to this model one begins as a general viewer and is then cultivated during ongoing interaction with the product towards becoming a fan. From this position, depending upon sources and information, the fan becomes either an educated fan or an enamoured one. Educated fans are enthusiastic about their fan object but retain a critical eye and require in-depth analysis. Enamoured fans, on the other hand, are seeking emotional fulfilment and are therefore not particularly discerning towards their fan object. This model therefore suggested that fandom was a system of degrees based on sources and the knowledge they transmitted. At this early stage, I had not become acquainted with Abercrombie and Longhurst’s continuum (1998), and am purely fortunate if it resembles their theory in anyway. Therefore, my draft model ultimately represented the scholarly perspective I began with and the ethnographic direction I originally predicted I would head in.

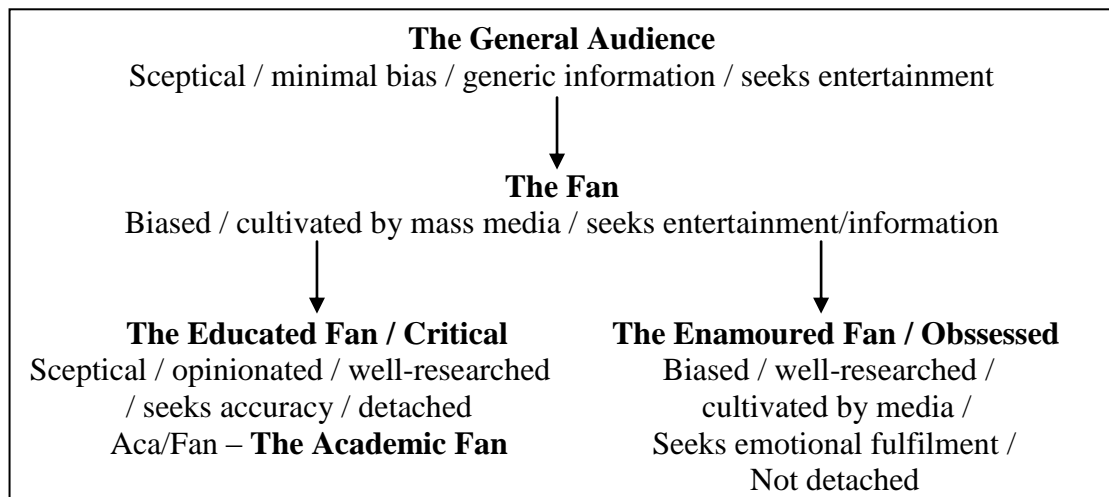


Figure 2. Original model from Masters proposal.

Ethnographic beginning: Products

Abercrombie and Longhurst's continuum (1998) relates every degree of fandom back to what the viewer produces and back to the viewer's usage of media. As stated earlier by Gray et al. (2007), "the object of consumption" (p. 11) is often ignored or not given academic priority. Therefore, I define below the categories of products and their variations used in relation to the fan journey. I do this because the term "product" will be used to describe an ethnographic fan source, keeping them separate from research sources. Likewise, the term "object" is separate to the term "product" because the object of a fan's consumption can be immaterial, like the character of Sherlock Holmes, who is consumed via the product, i.e. novels, short stories, films.

Table 1.	
<i>Product definition table</i>	
Products	Product Definitions
Original products (O)	Canon: All Sherlock Holmes short stories and novels by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle
Primary products (P)	<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> (2009): The primary product is relative to the fan, as it refers to their first exposure, in some form, to the original narrative. Therefore, the primary is the product that begins the process of cultivation and may determine the direction of the fan's journey.
Secondary products	Peripheral merchandise: A secondary product is an official or unofficial by-product of original or primary products, i.e. films, music, books, comics, merchandise.

	Official secondary products (OS)	Unofficial secondary products (US)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canon and non-canon • Authorised contributors to the Holmes franchise. • Can encompass major pastiches and published fan literature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canon and non-canon • Produced by petty producers (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998) and are mainly fan-generated works. • No commercial regulation

Ethnographic journey: Becoming a fan

Before I began the ethnographic process, I needed to set out the parameters of my participation and the method of documentation that I would use in the field. The most important boundary that had to be established was my position as a fan in relation to my academic motives. Tulloch (as cited in Sandvoss, 2005) believes that the “question of whether scholars are fans themselves, or whether they study fandom as something that others do, has profound theoretical and methodological implications” (p. 5). Hills (2002) believes a scholarly balance can be achieved and maintained: “What [researchers] consistently neglect is the possibility that fan and academic identities can be hybridised or brought together not simply in the academy but also outside of it, in the figure of the fan-scholar” (p. 15). While I agree and appreciate his theory, the term ‘fan-scholar’ places the fan before the scholar, and this I believe is what Tulloch (as cited in Sandvoss, 2005) was wary of. Hills (2002) finds that “to claim the identity of a ‘fan’ remains, in some sense, to claim an ‘improper’ identity, a cultural identity based on one’s commitment to something as seemingly unimportant and ‘trivial’ as a film or TV series” (p. xii). While this is partially true, what the fan and the scholar, and incidentally Sherlock Holmes, have in common, the tie that binds, is that they both see the importance in the “trivial”.

Ethnographic journey: Being a participant

In order to hybridise the identities of fan and scholar, my ethnographic position will be a combination of pure participant observation and variation of observant participation. According to Brewer (2000), “pure participant observation [is the] acquisition of a new role to research in an unfamiliar setting” (p. 61). This refers to my progressive role as a fan and the various degrees of fandom that I will inhabit. “Variation of observant participation [refers to the] use of an existing role to research an unfamiliar setting” (Brewer, 2000, p. 61). I already exist as a general viewer and a member of the audience,

and like many, have a stereotypical knowledge of Sherlock Holmes. Therefore, by combining both the position of a participant and an observer I can “maintain the balance between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’” (Brewer, 2000, p. 59), and in turn am able to observe and academically research the contributing factors, such as social context, to my fan experience. For this research, or for any wishing to capture the audience experience, I believe being a participant is crucial. “Scholars failing to display an adequate level of knowledge about the fan cultures and texts they explore raise suspicion amongst their peers and fans alike” (Sandvoss, 2005, p. 5). Similarly, I cannot research fandom solely from an observant position, as fans immerse themselves in the text of their choice. De Certeau (as cited in Jenkins, 1992) describes fans as “poachers” (p. 62): “Poachers do not observe from the distance (be it physical, emotional, or cognitive); they trespass upon others’ property; they grab it and hold onto it; they internalise its meaning and remake these borrowed terms” (Jenkins, 1992, p. 62). However, I must retain my academic distance, and in order to achieve this, my observant participation is to remain outside of the fan community and not engage with other fans. Jenkins (1992) finds that “academic distance has thus allowed scholars either to judge or to instruct but not to converse with the fan community, a process which requires greater proximity and the surrender of certain intellectual pretensions and institutional privileges” (p. 6). Therefore, the integrity of this journey will rest on my documentation and critical introspection.

Ethnographic journal: Field notes

Sandvoss (2005) believes “fandom functions as a mirror [and that] we must not forget that what we see will ultimately depend upon our angle of vision” (p. 10). As mentioned earlier, my position is that of fan and academic, participant and observer. Therefore, I designed an ethnographic journal, in which field notes are divided into three columns: substantive, analytic, and thick description. Brewer (2000) recommends that a researcher should “not confuse observation and interpretation; record what is seen and heard (called ‘substantive field notes’) and keep this separate from one’s interpretation of it (called ‘analytic field notes’)” (p. 88). Thick description, however, privileges the fan perspective; “thick description represents a thorough account taking in the context of the phenomena described, the intentions and meanings that organise them, and their subsequent evolution or processing” (Brewer, 2000, p. 39). Thick description, originally an anthropology term, “enjoined [researchers] to describe phenomena from the natives’ point of view” (Brewer, 2000, p. 39). Bailey (2005), who often researched areas with a

pre-existing fandom of his own, found this provided “a degree of native expertise” (p. 13). Jenkins (1992) similarly finds a personal understanding of the fandom in question allows one to offer up a deeper analysis on the subject:

When I write about fan culture, then, I write *both* as an academic (who has access to certain theories of popular culture, certain bodies of critical and ethnographic literature) and as a fan (who has access to the particular knowledge and traditions of that community). My account exists in a constant movement between these two levels of understanding which are not necessarily in conflict but are also not necessarily in perfect alignment. (p. 5)

By dividing my ethnographic field notes into distinct perspectives, I should be able to evenly represent both my participant and observer positions. The native expertise that Brewer (2000) and Bailey (2005) mentioned, in which the researcher possesses personal insight, can contribute to the research so long as it does not interfere with academic findings. This will be difficult, as an educated fan becomes a scholar in their own right and the line between Holmes products and academic sources blur. My reflexive analysis on this aspect of my research will be expanded upon later. Therefore, the ethnographic journey I have undertaken examines just that, the journey and the cultivation of a fan.

Cultivation analysis

Cultivation theorists Shanahan and Morgan (1999) stress that “cultivation is *not* about whether a new commercial can make people buy a new toothpaste” (p. 5). In other words, cultivation is not necessarily measured by action or outcome, rather “cultivation *is* about the implications of stable, repetitive, pervasive and virtually inescapable patterns of images and ideologies that television (especially dramatic, fictional entertainment) provides (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999, p. 5)”. Cultivation analysis is often applied towards television, due to “the medium’s uniquely repetitive and pervasive message characteristics” (Signorielli & Morgan, 1990, p. 16). Signorielli and Morgan (1990), coinciding with Shanahan and Morgan’s (1999) description, suggests “cultivation analysis . . . begins with identifying and assessing the most recurrent and stable patterns in television content, emphasizing the consistent images, portrayals, and values that cut across most program genres” (p. 16). *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) is a prime example of how cultivation analysis can be academically applied across mediums, as the original stories established the serialised format and embody various genres.

Drawing from Shanahan and Morgan (1999) and Signorielli and Morgan (1990), I apply cultivation analysis to the varying Holmes products according to their designated groups (primary, original, official secondary and unofficial secondary products) and collect my findings in a table of images and ideologies, by which the stable, repetitive and pervasive patterns encountered in my ethnographic journey are listed, ending with an analysis of my fan responses to these patterns.

By conducting the analysis of the products separately and according to their designated groups, the images and ideological patterns are comparable and perhaps even similar. I will begin by examining the primary product, *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), with a cultivation and textual analysis on the film's recurring elements, specifically the stereotype of Holmes's character and the commercial messages embedded. Textual analysis is employed here because it is "particularly critical in providing a strong sense of the semiotic contours of the fan's symbolic world. Recognising that texts are the site of contestation and also of the imposition of socially determined and . . . individuated interpretive structures" (Bailey, 2005, pp. 51-52). After the primary, I will conduct an analysis on the remaining Holmes products, divided into original, official secondary and unofficial secondary products. By examining all the products that I encountered on my ethnographic fan journey, I should be able to fulfil Signorielli and Morgan's (1990) requirements for cultivation analysis and unearth relevant information. The analysis of unofficial Secondary products may prove to be the most important, as they are in many ways the fan's response. Bailey (2005) states the "examination of the secondary discourses produced within the respective fan cultures – fanzines, websites, works of fiction and visual art, critical discussions and other objects . . . offer particular access to the interpretive work central to the fan experience" (p. 50). Therefore I follow the cultivation analysis of these products with an examination into the images and ideologies I responded to and the patterns throughout the Holmes fandom which had cultivated viewers. Sandvoss (2005) believes "the clearest indicator of a particular emotional investment in a given popular text lies in its regular, repeated consumption . . . Many of those who label themselves as fans, when asked what defines their fandom, point to their patterns of consumption" (p. 7). This particular aspect of cultivation analysis will draw on my thick description field notes, revealing any instances whereby I responded to a product's instigation, resulting in a pattern of consumption.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is essential to the validity of my research and outcome. Due to my work relying heavily on ethnography and the balance between participant and observer, “reflexivity on the part of the researcher [will] assist in identifying the contingencies that produced [my] portrayal of it, so [I] should claim no more for the account than what it is, a partial, selective and personal version” (Brewer, 2000, p. 44). In considering my thick description field notes, I will incorporate analytical reflexivity into the analysis of my interpretations:

Analytical reflexivity requires yet more difficult reflection. In this sense ethnographers should ask themselves questions about the theoretical framework and methodology they are working within, the broader values, commitments and preconceptions they bring to their work, [and] the ontological assumptions they have about the nature of society and social reality. (Brewer, 2000, p. 131)

Brewer (2000) establishes loose categories of elements which may bear a bias or influence on the work, suggesting a researcher examines their “broader values, commitment and preconceptions . . . [and] the ontological assumptions [that they may have] towards the nature of society and social reality” (p. 131). In order to cover the various products and their defined groups I adapted Brewer’s categories to incorporate both of my ethnographic positions of participant and observer. I therefore analytically examine my personal and social values, and my academic commitments as separate from my fan commitments. This will be followed by similarly separating the analysis of my academic preconceptions and bias preconceptions, finishing with an analysis into my descriptive reflexivity, making sure I documented any environmental influence that may have occurred while I conducted my research. Analytical reflexivity appears to be a promising reflexive method when applied to fan studies. I find that its attention to the individual’s framework could unearth the important moments of my cultivation, and highlight any instances where my notes are bearing a bias that does not apply. I will therefore be conducting a reflexive examination at two major points in my study; the beginning of my findings chapter and after my cultivation analysis, before I construct the model.

Model

My research advocates the theory that fandom can be defined by degrees and, through the cultivation process, can be mapped and represented through a model. My research uses Abercrombie and Longhurst's audience continuum (1998) as an established foundation which to adapt and build on. While I may similarly draw on Bourdieu's theoretical class system (as cited in Hills, 2002), his definition of a social hierarchy does not suggest any movement or interaction between the classes and therefore, his theory does not coincide with the format of Abercrombie and Longhurst's continuum (1998) (see Figure 1). My proposed model, drafted before my analysis of Abercrombie and Longhurst's continuum (1998), reflects a similar design (see Figure 2). Following the transformation of a general audience viewer, to that of fan and then, due to the influence of products and information, evolves into an educated or enamoured viewer. I therefore, in the form of Figure 3, adapt the basic phases of my theory to replicate Abercrombie and Longhurst's continuum (1998) (see Figure 1):

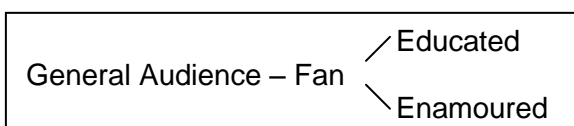


Figure 3. Exemplar continuum of proposed fan states.

In doing so I find such a simplistic continuum does not in any way reflect the possible complexities of cultivation, and if anything, the symbolic placement of an educated fan positioned above an enamoured fan, implies worth. Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) specifically chose the format of a continuum to avoid such judgements:

Lest we be misunderstood, it is important to stress that we are not making judgments about the relative worth of these different positions along the continuum. In our view there is not necessarily more worth in being an enthusiast than a consumer. (p. 141)

In my case, however, the terms used for each degree have the potential to possess hierarchical meaning and I will therefore need to incorporate Bourdieu's theory (as cited in Hills, 2002) into the practical outcome of my final model and try to establish the value of each cultivated phase. Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) also refer to Moorhouse's model of American hot-rod enthusiasm (see Figure 4) in their explanation, as he uses a circular format to achieve a nonjudgmental balance. "[Moorhouse] suggests

that an enthusiasm will consist of a number of layers around a core. The core is made up of two main groups: professionals and amateurs” (as cited in Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998, p. 132). Moorhouse’s circular model attempts to embolden the various layers of public surrounding the central product, while acknowledging the equal positions shared by professionals and amateurs. I therefore similarly adapted his design (see Figure 5) to examine its potential in serving my own research:

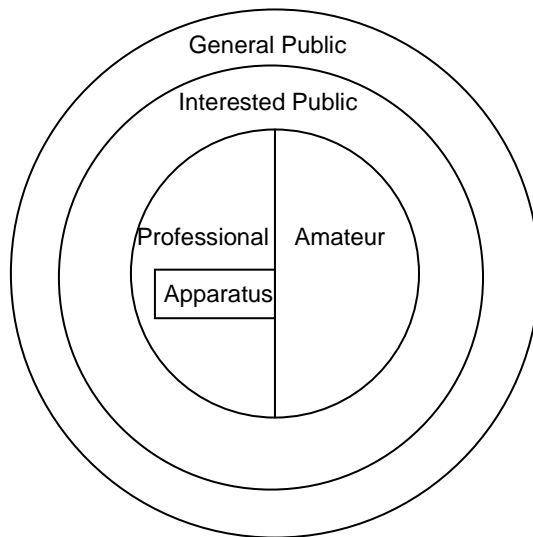


Figure 4

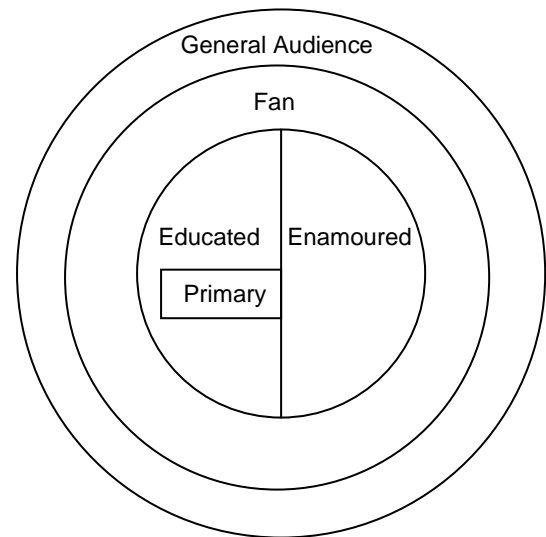


Figure 5

Figure 4. Moorhouse’s model of American hot-rod enthusiasm (as cited in Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998, p. 133).

Figure 5. Exemplar model of my fan states in the adopted style of Moorhouse’s model of American hot-rod enthusiasm (as cited in Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998).

As seen in Figure 4, by incorporating the apparatus into the model, the continuum possesses a direction that, in relation to fandom, implies consumption and cultivation. The fact that the central product is unobtainable and yet remains the core of the model, shows the cyclical effect of production and consumption; the product, like a ripple, cultivates various levels of viewers, who in turn, respond by consuming and petty producing products of their own, all in an effort to obtain the unobtainable.

Creative component

Critiques

Regardless of the cultural or social status assigned to an object, a fan manages to see its worth and find the wealth of knowledge within it. According to Jenkins (1992), “fandom’s very existence represents a critique of conventional forms of consumer culture” (p. 283):

Organised fandom is, perhaps first and foremost, an institution of theory and criticism, a semistructured space where competing interpretations and evaluations of common texts are proposed, debated, and negotiated and where readers speculate about the nature of the mass media and their own relationship to it. (Jenkins, 1992, p. 86)

I will examine the findings of my cultivation analysis and use the patterns generated and the sources relied upon to direct a critique of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) to exemplify the particular fan status I have achieved, while utilising my understanding of fandom. Hills (2002) states “fans are often highly articulate. Fans interpret media texts in a variety of interesting and perhaps unexpected ways” (p. ix). Therefore, I have chosen to apply my findings and my model outcome towards forming of a critique, written from the perspective of an educated fan. The choice of an educated position for this critique is not to promote any particular kind of fan over another, this position simply reveals the extent to which I was cultivated and the critical nature fans possess towards their “object of consumption” (Gray et al., 2007, p. 11). Jenkins (1992) finds that “fans would be the first to acknowledge their flaws and shortcomings” (p. 53). With hindsight, this position coincides with my development as a fan and academic, as Holmes fandom develops into a playful academic exercise, and answers the question: When does a consumer become a fan, and what happens next?

Reflexive examination and cultivation analysis of ethnographic field notes

This chapter will begin with a summary of my ethnographic journey, followed by a reflexive examination of my field notes, after which I begin my cultivation analysis on the products I encountered. The cultivation analysis examines dominating images and ideologies found within different parts of the Holmes franchise and are informed by my substantive, analytic and thick description field notes. I analyse the popular stereotype of Sherlock Holmes, one that we all possess as general viewers, and examine my primary product, *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), followed by various Holmes products I encountered on my journey. For the purposes of this study the products, excluding the primary, have been divided into three categories: original products (those written by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle), official secondary products (peripheral merchandise and part of the commercial franchise), and unofficial secondary products (fan-made products published without authority). After the cultivation analysis and assessment of my findings, I will begin to form my conclusions and present a theoretical model explaining the levels of fandom I have established and, as an exemplar, a critique of the primary product (*Sherlock Holmes*, 2009) written from the perspective of an educated fan

Field notes

For many years [Holmes] adopted a system of docketing all paragraphs concerning men and things, so that it was difficult to name a subject or a person on which he could not at once furnish information.

Dr John H Watson in *A Scandal of Bohemia* (Doyle, 1891/2001b, p. 10)

Ethnographic summary

My own “system of docketing” was based on Brewer’s (2000) recommended division of substantive and analytic field notes. However in order to cater specifically to my research, I added a third division, thick description field notes. In doing so I created a system under which any product I encountered on my ethnographic journey would be documented relative to both my participant and observant positions with appropriate information. Similar to my methodological positions, my ethnographic journey is also divided into separate divisions: pre-proposal products and post-proposal products. I first saw *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) in January 2010; this viewing was done without any academic motives and my position was that of a general viewer. Hence, my

ethnographic position is made on two perspectives, pure participant observation and variation of observant participation (Brewer, 2000).

Ethnographic summary: Pre-proposal

Within the first five minutes of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), I became committed to reading the entire canon. I have never been a regular reader of crime or detective novels, and had never before been interested in the character of Holmes. Before *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) my Holmes knowledge consisted of an image of an old, pipe-smoking, deerstalker-wearing, English senior citizen, and some nineties sitcom references to *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003). Therefore, after the film, having briefly viewed cast interviews and behind-the-scenes footage, I bought *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (2003) with the intention of reading all of Doyle's original Holmes works. While reading I learnt Downey Jr's interpretation was wildly exaggerated, as was my original stereotype. I therefore sought out other visual interpretations. I soon found, via YouTube, Granada's television adaptation of *Sherlock Holmes* (1984-1994). I also began to read *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001), after which, having learnt that the franchise is often read in the order of its original publication; I began to read the short stories, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* and *The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* (1892, 1894/2001a). At this stage, I had prepared my masters proposal and now embarked on my academically minded fan journey.

Ethnographic summary: Post-proposal

Having retraced my steps, I recognised that I was at a crossroads. With above average fan knowledge, any decision I made about what products and sources I would use for information and consumption would shape the direction I took and degree of fan I would become. I had three options: Do I continue reading the entire canon? Do I, now knowing enough of the canon from the shows and the films, turn towards fan-made products and more film adaptations, undoubtedly leading me towards an enamoured state? Or, do I hold off on advancing my state of fandom and only read the stories that I have not seen in the shows, and in turn, forfeit knowing the original. I chose honestly, and chose film adaptations and fan products. However, not wanting to miss any foundational information about Holmes's character, I continued to read the original products as well. Considering Holmes has been portrayed over 200 times, I chose to view, besides the film starring Robert Downey Jr, characterisations featuring Jeremy Brett and Basil Rathbone. Having already seen Granada's adaptation, *Sherlock*

Holmes (1984-1994), I sought out and viewed Basil Rathbone's silver screen series, *The complete collection: Sherlock Holmes* (1939-1946), witnessing why he continues to inspire such loyalty in Holmes viewers to this day. From these products, I soon became fast acquainted with the canon. However, having seen Granada's extensive production, doubled with my own constant reading of the original products, I sought a pastiche. Laurie King's *The Beekeeper's Apprentice* (1994) came highly recommended by Youtube users, and due to its availability at my local library, I acquired the book. I continued reading *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (1905/2005d), the third set of short stories in the canon, and then decided to return to the beginning and read the first Holmes novel, *A Study in Scarlet* (1887/2006a). While consuming original and official secondary product information, I became frustrated with my own images of Holmes and Watson going unfulfilled. Having read and seen so many adaptations one harbours more questions than answers; therefore, I turned towards fan fiction, a literary outlet for the enamoured and occasionally the well-educated fan. While finding myself thoroughly impressed with the variety of fan fiction, I subsequently read another official pastiche, *The Veiled Detective* (2009); appalled, I returned to the official canon and read the last novel, *The Valley of Fear* (1927/2006b), followed in order by *His Last Bow* (1917/2005h) and *The Case-book of Sherlock Holmes* (1927/2005k). Having finished the canon, I acquainted myself with two popular Sherlockian texts, the commercial success, *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution* (1974), and the foundation of Sherlockian scholarship, Vincent Starrett's *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (2008). *Private Life* (2008) was written as a biography of Sherlock Holmes, treating him and his life's work as real. I promptly learned this was The Great Game, a Sherlockian pastime in which educated fans take a good-humoured academic look into Holmes' personality and achievements. However, due to my ethnographic position and methodological boundaries I did not pursue this avenue because it involves community interaction. Therefore, I found this the appropriate time in my journey to stop and reflect.

Table 2.		
<i>Ethnographic order of products</i>		
Pre Proposal		
Product Level	Product	Product Medium
P	<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> (2009)	Film
OS / US	<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> (2009) interviews	Internet (Youtube) / DVD
O	<i>The Hound of the Baskervilles</i> (1902/2003)	Book (novel)
US	Youtube videos featuring Jeremy Brett	Internet (Youtube)
OS	<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> (1984-1994). Granada Television	TV (DVD)
O	<i>The Sign of Four</i> (1890/2001)	Book (novel)
O	<i>The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes and The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes</i> (1892, 1894/2001a)	Book (short stories)
Post Proposal:		
Product Level	Product	Product Medium
OS	<i>The complete collection: Sherlock Holmes</i> (1939-1946). Twentieth Century Fox and Universal Studios	Film (DVD)
OS	<i>The Beekeeper's Apprentice</i> (1994)	Book (pastiche)
O	<i>The Return of Sherlock Holmes</i> (1905/2005d)	Book (short stories)
O	<i>A Study in Scarlet</i> (1887/2006a)	Book (novel)
US	Fan fiction	Internet
OS	<i>The Veiled Detective</i> (2009)	Book (pastiche)
O	<i>The Valley of Fear</i> (1927/2006b)	Book (novel)
O	<i>His Last Bow</i> (1917/2005h)	Book (short stories)
O	<i>The Case-book of Sherlock Holmes</i> (1927/2005k)	Book (short stories)
OS	<i>The Seven-Per-Cent Solution</i> (1974)	Book (pastiche)
OS	<i>The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes</i> (2008)	Book (pastiche/biography)

Reflexive examination of field notes

The difficulty is to detach the framework of fact absolute, undeniable fact – from . . . embellishments.

Sherlock Holmes in *Silver Blaze* (Doyle, 1892/2005c, p. 388)

Before I could begin the cultivation analysis, I needed to remove any intrusive personal values, academic commitments and bias preconceptions from my field notes. In my methodology chapter I explain that I have adopted guidelines set forth by Brewer's (2000) definitions of analytical reflexivity. Having adopted his framework concerning a researcher's value system, commitments, preconceptions and methodological positions as participant and observer, I examine and analyse my field notes by product and category. The products, as mentioned earlier, are ordered according to their primary, original, official secondary and unofficial secondary positions, documented in substantive, analytic and thick description field note categories. By investigating the product field notes within their categories, I am able to better implement Brewer's (2000) analytical reflexivity and unearth any personal and social values, academic commitments, fan commitment, academic preconceptions and bias preconceptions that may interfere with my findings.

Reflexive findings: Substantive notes

According to Brewer (2000), Substantive field notes "record what is seen and heard" (p. 88). The researcher must only provide this category with clear and accurate descriptions, based on visual and auditory information, so that they can best serve the study. This category is therefore easily disturbed by interfering personal and social values carelessly documented by the researcher. In terms of my own interfering personal and social values, my substantive notes sometimes bore a negative opinion better suited to thick description, which by its nature carries observations of a more personal nature. For example, before reading Meyer's *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution* (1974), an official secondary product pastiche, in which Holmes turns to the great psychologist Sigmund Freud to cure his cocaine addiction, I had a stereotypically ignorant preconception of Freud and his theories. Within the text however, Freud was depicted as young man and his more controversial theories were often left as incomplete conversations amongst the characters. The author, speaking through Watson, used The

Good Doctor to placate any qualms the reader may have had by disagreeing with the psychologist and his theories. Substantive field notes bear an academic focus and therefore must not harbour any biased commitments or preconceptions. However, in examining my notes for *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003), an official product, I found my plot description to be rather sparse when compared to my character focus. Similarly, my notes for *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) interviews reflect my preference for Brett's characterisation over Downey Jr's. Twice in recounting *The Beekeeper's Apprentice* (1994), an official secondary product pastiche, my dislike for the text was evident. Many of the quotes I recorded from the text often cast King's characters in a bad light. However many enamoured Holmes fans delight in this series of tales and therefore I cannot impose my fan opinion academically. My fan opinion must remain simply that, a fan's opinion. Therefore, in each of the cases mentioned above, my fan commitment and preconceptions, as mentioned earlier, my desire to discover the real Holmes, interfered, however small, with my Substantive notes.

Reflexive findings: Analytic notes

Brewer (2000) recommends that a researcher's substantive field notes run parallel with their analytic field notes, notes that are, in essence, the researcher's interpretation of their substantive account. Reflexively I found that my academic commitments and bias preconceptions affected my analytic field notes. When reading *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003) I was simultaneously forming my proposal, having to suddenly adjust my position as a participant to that of also an observer, I fear my academic commitments overlapped. In reflecting back to that time I am aware I had ulterior motives when reading the book, in turn I often took quotes with the intention of using them in relation to my own detective-like ethnographic study. Similarly, I found that while I was reading *A Study in Scarlet* (1887/2006a) I found myself constantly thinking towards the critiques I would produce. While this did not necessarily affect my analytic field notes negatively, such opinion belongs in the realms of thick description. In terms of an overlapping bias preconceptions, my analytic field notes examining the casting choices of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) harbours a judgement in which I base the worth of the product on the performance. No judgements are acceptable when they stem from uneducated bias. I therefore scoured my analytic field notes and hopefully purged them of biased commitments as well as bias preconceptions.

Reflexive findings: Thick description notes

Thick description represents a “thorough account taking in the context of the phenomena described, the intentions and meanings that organise them, and their subsequent evolution or processing” (Brewer, 2000, p. 39). As a participant observer, thick description records my direct fan response, unfiltered by academic scrutiny. However, due to the depth of opinion that thick description allows, academic commitments, fan commitments and bias preconceptions appear more consistently. My academic observant position encourages research outside of my role as an ethnographic participant, and on many occasions, I had an extended knowledge of Holmes fandom and fandom in general, before I had ethnographically experienced it. While reading *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003), I distinctly remember recording the quote: “Mr Holmes, they were the footprints of a gigantic hound!” (p. 31). In my research sources, this line is considered a classic. I would have glossed over certain quotes had it not been for my academic interference as to which were important to a Holmes reader or not. Similarly, I was unimpressed with the first pastiche I read, King’s *The Beekeeper’s Apprentice* (1994). Having just learnt of The Great Game, a Sherlockian activity in which readers “take the position that, far from being fictional stories written by Conan Doyle, these accounts [were really] written by Watson . . . depicting real historical events” (Duncan, 2008, p. 42)”, I knew that King had adopted this theory. King uses The Great Game as a literary device, made commercially viable by Meyer’s *The Seven-per-cent solution* (1974), suggesting that her lead character Mary Russell was real and that these are her memoirs. At this stage of my fandom, I probably should not have known of this Sherlockian pastime and perhaps would have accepted it rather as the ingenuity of the writer. In terms of fan commitments, my personal bias towards the character of Holmes and Jeremy Brett’s portrayal of it interfered at times with my consumption of other products. With *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) came an early fan commitment to finding out who the real Sherlock Holmes was. This early fan motivation did at times override my academic commitment. Again, my account of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003) suffered from some inference as I was becoming acquainted with my new academic role at the time. While thick description is a recorded account of my bias and preconceptions, offering an avenue for my cultivated opinions to contribute and be analysed, I have noticed that in some instances my bias or preconception towards a particular product has not decreased but increased. My original preconception towards *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) was that it had become a commercialised action blockbuster, destroying any or all of its original integrity. This

preconception was derived from its advertising and marketing campaign, promoting Holmes as somewhat tough-guy bohemian. The contradiction of this portrayal plagued me then as it does now, however for different reasons. Upon watching the film, I was immediately transfixed. Any preconceptions I had towards the text vanished, until I examined the film further and learnt of the commercial exaggeration that had taken place, returning me to my earlier preconception. Upon reflection, my position as a general audience member remained critical. However when I became a self-confessed fan I began to harbour a biased perspective, only to re-establish a critical perspective once I had achieved a more educated vantage point.

Cultivation analysis of my ethnographic journey

The analysis of cultivated images and ideologies, found in “stable, repetitive, pervasive and virtually inescapable patterns” (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999, p. 5), provides insight into the process of cultivating a consumer into a fan. Below I examine the images and ideologies that the products embody and what I responded to. I implement the process of cultivation analysis in order of primary product, original product, official secondary products, followed by unofficial secondary products (see Table 3). Within each section, I examine the products in ethnographic order, attempting to recreate the process of my cultivation (see Table 2).

Table 3.	
<i>Order of products for cultivation analysis</i>	
Product	Medium
Primary product (P)	
<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> (2009)	Film (Cinema / DVD)
Original products (O)	
<i>A Study in Scarlet</i> (1887/2006a)	Book (novel)
<i>The Sign of Four</i> (1890/2001)	Book (novel)
<i>The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes and The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes</i> (1892, 1894/2001a)	Book (short stories)
<i>The Hound of the Baskervilles</i> (1902/2003)	Book (novel)
<i>The Return of Sherlock Holmes</i> (1905/2005d)	Book (short stories)
<i>The Valley of Fear</i> (1927/2006b)	Book (novel)
<i>His Last Bow</i> (1917/2005h)	Book (short stories)
<i>The Case-book of Sherlock Holmes</i> (1927/2005k)	Book (short stories)

Secondary Products	
Official Secondary products (OS)	
<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> (2009) interviews	Internet (Youtube)/DVD
<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> (1984-1994). Granada Television	TV (DVD)
<i>The complete collection: Sherlock Holmes</i> (1939-1946). Twentieth Century Fox and Universal Studios	Film (DVD)
<i>The Beekeeper's Apprentice</i> (1994)	Book (pastiche)
<i>The Veiled Detective</i> (2009)	Book (pastiche)
<i>The Seven-Per-Cent Solution</i> (1974)	Book (pastiche)
<i>The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes</i> (2008)	Book (Great Game)
Unofficial Secondary products (US)	
<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> (2009) interviews	Internet (Youtube)/DVD
Youtube videos featuring Jeremy Brett	Internet (Youtube)
Fan fiction	Internet

Cultivation analysis: Primary product

According to Signorielli and Morgan (1990) fan cultivation is both “dependent on and a manifestation of the extent of which [a medium’s] imagery dominates viewers’ sources of information” (p. 21). My first source of Holmes information was *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), making it the primary product of my fan experience and that to which all other Holmes products were initially compared. The cultivating images of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), as recorded in my substantive and analytic notes, subscribe to the film’s genre, a buddy action-comedy, and an exaggerated characterisation of the bohemian Holmes. While *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) is not an original Holmes story, it lifts scenes and scenarios from many of the original works; it does chronologically take place just after Doyle’s second Holmes novel, *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001). Therefore, the film begins with Watson trying to sell his rooms in Baker Street, with the hope of moving out and marrying Mary Morstan. Holmes, however, remains in denial over Watson’s impending departure throughout the film while a series of murders occur across London. The film’s villain, Lord Blackwood, played by Mark Strong, is hanged for the murders, only to be seen days later having risen from the grave. Holmes and a reluctant Watson set off to catch Lord Blackwood and destroy his plans. The duo delves into London’s underworld of crime and cult organisations that have infiltrated the government. Irene Adler, a renowned thief and old flame of Holmes’s, joins Holmes

and Watson in defeating Lord Blackwood, only to betray them to a dark figure, whom to anyone knowledgeable of the canon will know to be the elusive Professor Moriarty.

Primary product: Sherlock Holmes (2009) images

According to Duncan (2008), the commercial adaptation of Holmes is often readily remained and tampered with according to consumer trends:

The problem with the Sherlock Holmes stories is that very few of them provide enough material to be suitable for the transformation into feature films. This is no doubt why the film industry has often changed existing stories or created new ones with which to entertain us. (p. 190)

Being a general viewer during my first viewing, I was unsure as to whether *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) was an original Holmes story. However, as with many general viewers, this piece of relatively crucial information, did not actually matter, as I was already responding to the accessible genre images of a buddy action-comedy. The choice of Robert Downey Jr. as Holmes is in itself an indication of Guy Ritchie's reinterpretation. Downey Jr. having just come off the recent success of *Ironman* (2008) brought with him an action audience that had rejuvenated his career and popularity. Downey Jr's popular image, coinciding with Holmes's experience as a boxer, identified in *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001), and Ritchie's history of directing action films, *Lock Stock and Two Smoking Barrels* (1998), *Snatch* (2000) and *Rocknrolla* (2008), results in the portrayal of Holmes as a *literal* fighter of crime. However, while this is a canonical reference, it is highly exaggerated in the film. The result is a Holmes whose intelligence is displayed while fighting. Redmond (2009) finds that this "new image [of] Holmes, [as] portrayed by Robert Downey Jr, is an indication that viewers continue to find his figure fascinating even if they are fuzzy about the details" (p. 304).

Similar to the exaggerated Hollywood image of an action-orientated Holmes, Downey Jr. reinterprets Holmes's Bohemian characteristics as well. Watson first described Sherlock Holmes as "bohemian" in Doyle's first short story, *A Scandal in Bohemia* (1891/2001b): "Holmes, who loathed every form of society with his whole Bohemian soul, remained in our lodgings in Baker Street, buried among his old books, and alternating from week to week between cocaine and ambition" (p. 3-4). If we use this introductory piece as a indication of Holmes's personality and character, we find that

Sherlock Holmes (2009) has commercialised and modernised the character's sensibilities and humour. In the film, Watson, aghast, questions Holmes: "Does your depravity know no bounds?" Holmes promptly responds: "No" (Silver & Ritchie, 2009). This line, used in the film's trailer, represents the moral shift in Holmes's characterisation and reflects how the character was to be marketed: Holmes, the bohemian libertine. Watson originally used the term "bohemian" to describe Holmes's anti-social lifestyle as a detective. Therefore, upon my first viewing, to which I brought a stereotypical view of Holmes as a geriatric Englishman, I was delighted to find that he was far more interesting and unusual. In retrospect, I know now that Holmes would never have let his bohemian qualities show in his appearance or manner. Therefore, when Downey Jr's Holmes is labelled "bohemian", the term has been misconstrued to refer to his outward appearance and exaggerated lack of social graces. Holmes in *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) appears scruffy and unshaven, he smokes from only one pipe, which is small, unrefined and dirty; a negative metaphor one could easily associate with Robert Downey Jr's interpretation of the character. As I grew as a fan, I soon bore a negative assessment toward this Holmes. However, as I slowly attained a well-educated perspective, I looked back and understood that the stereotypical image Guy Ritchie and Robert Downey Jr. were trying to break was visual, not literary. Hence, the film's images succeed in enticing an audience with relatively little knowledge of the original character and canon.

Primary product: Sherlock Holmes (2009) ideologies

It was not so much the ideologies that interested me about this film, but rather its reinterpretation or, depending on your perspective, misinterpretation of the original characters. The ideological changes made to Holmes's character reveal a Holmes who exhibits modern masculinity juxtaposed with a comedic bohemian personality, both of which strive to redefine the image of Sherlock Holmes in order to cultivate a modern audience. Once I had progressed in my Holmes scholarship, I learned quite quickly that one does not shun a product that wishes to take part in the Holmes fandom, but instead one should reflect upon its contribution. A contribution that bears its own objectives and intentions. Therefore, the change in Holmes's characterisation, as mentioned earlier, is not so much a change in the literary creation, but the popular one, the visual stereotype, as Doyle and Crowder (2010) call it, the "common picture" (p. 10):

The common picture of Holmes is of a square-jawed, well-off, middle-aged, stuffy do-gooder who lives with an elderly, slightly befuddled roommate in a quaint London apartment . . . Holmes comes off as a bit of a prig – stern, cold, scientific and humourless. And always running around in an odd cape and funny hat. (Doyle & Crowder, 2010, p. 10)

In terms of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) a “common picture” (Doyle & Crowder, 2010, p. 10) remains. Due to the film’s ideological modernisation, Holmes has been remade into the “common picture” of today’s leading action heroes. Co-producer, Lionel Wigram, in defending Holmes’s action-packed reimagining, stated that he “never agreed with the idea of the fairly stuffy Edwardian-type gentleman” and that his “[reinvention]” was “more modern [and] more bohemian” (as cited in Redmond, 2009, p. 242). *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), in its characterisation of Holmes, features the ideology of the hero and modern masculinity. For modern audiences it appears that brains require brawn; this theory is seen in the transformation of James Bond in the 2006 remake of *Casino Royale* (2006) and the resurgence of the action franchise, seen in both the new additions to the *Die Hard* (1988) and *Rocky* (1976) franchise, *Live Free or Die Hard* (2007) and *Rocky Balboa* (2006). In terms of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), the central friendship of Holmes and Watson is represented through their physical partnership when fighting crime. Similarly, the film’s comedic moments are created through playing off Holmes’s masculinity with madness, domestic banter, and gay innuendos. Also in relation to Holmes’s relationship with Irene Adler, he first sees her while fighting and winning a boxing match. The humour therefore generated later in the film is seen in a role reversal of sorts, whereby she overpowers and intimidates him on occasion. While Holmes’s masculinity is used to generate action and comedy, transforming him into the “common picture” (Doyle & Crowder, 2010, p. 10) of the modern hero, there is actually nothing modern about it. In fact, Holmes as a man of action harkens back to the silent era of cinema (Davies, 2007). Davies (2007) believes silent films “robbed Sherlock Holmes of his greatest attribute – his verbal demonstrations of intellectual superiority and deductive brilliance” (p. 15). However, in the greater scheme of fan cultivation, the ideology behind the modern masculine hero is easily accessible to the general viewer, even if Holmes’s depiction does not stay true to his Edwardian sensibilities, Holmes need only reflect his audience to garner popularity.

At a glance, *Sherlock Holmes*'s (2009) masculine ideology appears to contradict Holmes's bohemian characterisation. This is not so, for his bohemianism is enacted through his contextually risqué romantic relationship with Irene Adler. While such a relationship appears to be a mandatory minimum for cinematic heroes, it never has been for Holmes and therefore does not coincide with Holmes's original characterisation. According to Doyle and Crowder (2010), "if you've only watched Holmes movies, you may think that he had an on-again, off-again affair with a notorious woman named Irene Adler . . . that's all wrong" (p. 95). Similarly, Irene Adler's characterisation loses its Victorian sensibilities. Originally, in *A Scandal in Bohemia* (1891/2001b), Adler was a retired "Prima Donna [of the] Imperial Opera of Warsaw . . . [and was now] living in London" (p. 10). She was originally an accomplished and professional female character. However, her intelligence and independence has been rechanneled, like Holmes, into a physical outlet, making her a queen thief. In nearly every scene with Holmes and Irene together, Holmes is either half dressed or caught in a compromising situation. While the original Adler from *A Scandal in Bohemia* (1891/2001b) outwitted Sherlock Holmes, the ending of this film gives Holmes control over her freedom, and he decides to let her go. Therefore, *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) bears a modern misunderstanding of bohemian ideology, and does not have a Holmes masculine enough to allow Adler's character to retain her independence from Holmes and their intellectual equality. In retrospect, however, I believe the filmmakers would have been more accurate in giving Holmes the ideology of a misogynist over that of a bohemian. However, canonical accuracy does not lend itself to producing a commercially viable product for cultivating a fan-base. What it cultivated in me was interest, interest in the friendship between Holmes and Watson and in hindsight, interest in the duelling themes of Holmes's characterisation. Ritchie's depiction of The Great Detective and The Good Doctor's friendship reflects the tone and pace set by Conan Doyle's short stories. Levity is also crucial in the depiction of these characters, an element distinctly felt when missed. Therefore, Guy Ritchie's construction, and Robert Downey Jr's and Jude Law's portrayals, cultivated early on a rich impression of their friendship. In hindsight, however, the film appears to have missed an interesting opportunity to explore Doyle's themes of science and magic: "In 1920, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle published an article in *The Strand* magazine affirming his belief in the existence of fairies" (Saler, 2003, p. 599). In the *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), the opposing themes of science and magic feature as mere plot points. The film however could have drawn upon canonical examples, and, coincidentally, the audience theory of modern enchantment. According to Saler (2003), enchantment is the

“embrace of fiction” (p. 606) and the product our “ironic imagination” (p. 606):
“Rational adults [can] immerse themselves in imaginary worlds of mass culture without mistaking these worlds for reality” (Saler, 2003, p. 606). I will expand upon enchantment theory later in my research and will integrate this examination into an educated fan critique of Ritchie’s 2009 movie.

Cultivation analysis: Original product

On my ethnographic fan journey, the most influential literary product I encountered was the original short stories: *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes and The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* (1892, 1894/2001a), *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (1905/2005d), *His Last Bow* (1917/2005h) and *The Case-book of Sherlock Holmes* (1927/2005k). Due to the number of stories, 56 in total, I have compiled my cultivation analysis of them not in published or ethnographic order, but grouped together through imagery and ideological themes. As a new reader, I responded to the imagery of the Holmes stereotype as well as his non-stereotypical attributes. Ideologically, Doyle’s construction of friendship and loyalty bridged the historical divide between the reader, the text, and me. In terms of cultivation, these texts represent one of the earliest examples of mass serialisation. Doyle (as cited in Davies, 2007), a surprisingly shrewd marketer, devised that “a single character running through a series, if it only engaged the reader, would bind the reader to that magazine” (p. 9) and so “within six months . . . the main selling point of [*The Strand Magazine*] was the new Sherlock Holmes adventure” (Davies, 2007, p. 9).

Original product: Short story images

Redmond (2009) finds “the image of Holmes that now lives in the public mind is much less subtle and complex than the one that lives in the pages of the Canon” (p. 46). However, I find that the stereotype is not necessarily false either. Doyle and Crowder (2010) described earlier the “common picture” (p. 10) of Sherlock Holmes. This may be something of a stick figure compared to Doyle’s original creation. The “common picture” (Doyle & Crowder, 2010, p. 10) is a common portrait none the less. Holmes, in *The Boscombe Valley Mystery* (1891/2001d), describes himself and Watson as two “middle aged gentlemen” (Doyle, 2001d, 72). Watson however, describing Holmes in *A Scandal of Bohemia* (1891/2001b), prefers “tweed-suited and respectable” (Doyle, 2001b, p. 13) choosing to conjure up the image of a man who “[lights] his pipe and [holds] his slippered feet to the cheerful blaze of the fire” (Doyle, 1904/2005g, p. 1182).

While this “common picture” (Doyle & Crowder, 2010, p. 10) cultivates familiarity and generates a viewer endearment towards Holmes and Watson, this stereotype is merely the surface of a contradictory individual. According to Watson, in *The Musgrave Ritual* (1893/2001e), Holmes, “in his method of thought . . . was the neatest and most methodical of mankind, and although also he affected a certain quiet primness of dress, he was none the less in his personal habits one of the most untidy men” (Doyle, 2001e, p. 358). Watson often found Holmes intolerable:

His incredible untidiness, his addiction to music at strange hours, his occasional revolver practice within doors, his weird and often malodorous scientific experiments, and the atmosphere of violence and danger which hung around him made him the very worst tenant in London. (Doyle, 1913/2005i, p. 1341)

This once un-stereotypical and unruly depiction of Holmes has recently, after Ritchie’s *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) and the BBC’s *Sherlock* (2010), become his new and eccentric stereotype. Again, this stereotype is born of the original canon, but it is unbalanced and misleading, aimed solely at general audience members and early fans.

Original product: Short story cultivated impression of the stereotype

Doyle’s short stories encouraged my further interest in the portrayal of The Great Detective. For it appears that Holmes is seldom portrayed, in a popular context, as he truly was, an uncompromising and passionate detective:

Men who had only known the quiet thinker and logician of Baker Street would have failed to recognise him. His face flushed and darkened. His brows were drawn into two hard, black lines. While his eyes shone out from beneath them with a steely glitter. His face was bent downwards, his shoulders bowed, his lips compressed, and the veins stood out like whipcord in his long, sinewy neck. His nostrils seemed to dilate with a purely animal lust for the chase, and his mind was so absolutely concentrated upon the matter before him, that a question or remark fell unheeded upon his ears, or at the most only provoked a quick, impatient snarl in reply. (Doyle, 2001d, 84)

This is the Sherlock Holmes seldom seen on screen; in Ritchie’s adaptation Holmes’s mental agility was translated into physical action and the character’s cerebral prowess

was lost. Therefore, Doyle's original intention, the serialisation of a character and in turn his readership, cultivated in me a dissatisfaction in nearly all supplemental Holmes products, whether they were official or not.

Original product: Short story ideologies

Doyle's ideological use of friendship and loyalty were perhaps the most reoccurring and accessible themes in the short stories. Seen consistently throughout in Holmes's small compliments to Watson, such as *A Scandal in Bohemia*'s (1891/2001b) classic line: "I am lost without my Boswell" (Doyle, 2001b, p. 7) to those rare occasions, Watson's bullet wound in *The Adventure of the Three Garridebs* (1924/2005m) when circumstance reveals the depth of their friendship:

It was worth a wound – it was worth many wounds – to know the depth of loyalty and love which lay behind that cold mask. The clear, hard eyes were dimmed for a moment, and the firm lips were shaking. For the one and only time I caught a glimpse of a great heart as well as of a great brain. All my years of humble but single-minded service culminated in that moment of revelation. (pp. 1598-1599)

While Doyle cultivated Holmes and Watson's ideological friendship and loyalty, he simultaneously cultivated ours, the readers'. So much so that when the chronological tale ends in *His Last Bow* (1917/2005j), with Holmes asking Watson to "stand with me here upon the terrace, for it may be the last quiet talk that we shall ever have" (Doyle, 1917/2005j, p. 1442), only to exclaim: "Good old Watson! You are the one fixed point in a changing age" (Doyle, 1917/2005j, p. 1443). You wholeheartedly share the sentiment, and their friendship becomes the ideological "fixed point" of your own Holmes fandom; all other mediums and products either succeed or fail in capturing this theme.

While the themes of friendship and loyalty strongly influence the reader and cultivate similar responses over the course of the canon, the contradiction remains. Holmes disliked Watson's stories and thought very little of his readers. Holmes's social detachment, constructed by Doyle to create an intriguing distance between the Detective and his admirers, succeeds as it oddly cultivates a greater sense of loyalty within his readers. Throughout the texts, there is a consistent pattern of Holmes, during the height

of his success, shunning Watson's tales and ignorant audience: "What do the public, the great unobservant public . . . care about the finer shades of analysis and deduction" (Doyle, 1892/2005b, p. 353). In a way, both Holmes and Doyle are questioning our taste:

To the man who loves art for its own sake . . . it is frequently in its least important and lowliest manifestations that the keenest pleasure is to be derived . . . It is pleasant for me to observe, Watson, that you have so far grasped this truth. (Doyle, 1892/2005b, p. 351)

Cultivation analysis: Original product: Novels

After viewing *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), popular opinion directed me towards purchasing *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003). This small investment sparked my commitment to read all of Doyle's original Holmes works. As I read the short stories, I simultaneously worked through *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001), *A Study in Scarlet* (1887/2006a) and *The Valley of Fear* (1927/2006b). These four novels, as mentioned above, were not read in order. Therefore, my cultivation analysis of these works follows suit and is examined in ethnographic order. The consistent imagery portrayed in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003) is centred on the novel's gothic genre, while the novels literary and contextual ideology speaks of modern myths and legends. *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001) bears relatively un-stereotypical images of Holmes's drug abuse and within stark contradiction, bears the ideologies of prevailing justice and logic over emotion. *A Study in Scarlet* (1887/2006a) offers a rare glimpse into Holmes at the beginning of his career, an image defying all stereotypes, and ideologically suggests that man himself is the mystery. Lastly, with *The Valley of Fear* (1927/2006b), the image and ideology of violence, and Holmes's reaction to it, coincide with one another, cultivating controversy and modern commercialism.

Original product: The Hound of the Baskervilles images

Redmond (2009) believes "the best-known case of Sherlock Holmes is certainly *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, which is also the most often mentioned by non-Sherlockian authors" (p. 306). Due to Western culture's widespread acknowledgement of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003) being the classic Holmes story, it was the first book I chose to read from the canon, irrespective of the order in which the canon was published. Reflexively, what also contributed to my choice was the book's accessibility;

this was the only Holmes novel the bookstore Borders had available at the time that I recognised. Incidentally, I chose *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003) over *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001), not knowing that *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001) would actually turn out to be my fan favourite of the four novels. When I began reading, the cultivated impression I had recently had established as to the image of Holmes's character, since *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), was that of an eccentric and uncouth detective. My *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) impression of Holmes was instantly shaken as soon as I read the first line: "Mr Sherlock Holmes, who was usually very late in the mornings, save upon those not infrequent occasions when he stayed up all night, was seated at the breakfast-table" (Doyle, 2003, p. 5). For many this opening line may hold no significance. For me and my fan cultivation, however, it was my literary introduction to The Great Detective and I was astonished to meet Sherlock Holmes sitting across the breakfast table. Ritchie's depiction, while entertaining, appeared increasingly inaccurate. The one image that remained steadfast however, both before the book and after, was the novel's gothic imagery. The classic *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003) consists of a mythical hound, a dark moor, an escaped murderer on the loose, a mysterious woman crying in the night, police officers standing guard throughout the area, the dangerous Grimpen Mire, and Miss Stapleton's hysterical warnings: "Go back to London! . . . Get away from this place at all costs!" (Doyle, 1902/2003, p. 70). Such gothic tones are heightened simply by the juxtaposition of Holmes's presence, his rationalism acting as a stark contradiction to supernatural themes.

Original product: The Hound of the Baskervilles ideologies

Ideologically, Sherlock Holmes is a modern-day myth made legendary by commercialist ventures. In examining the cultivation of such mythology, Doyle's practical and commercial sensibilities had far more to do with engendering fandom, than any attempt at writing a masterpiece. *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003), originally published in 1902, was written during the twelve-year gap between *The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* (1894/2001a), written in 1894, and *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (1905/2005d), published in 1903-1904. Holmes, having selflessly plunged to his death with the evil Professor Moriarty in *The Final Problem* (1893/2001f), makes a long awaited reappearance in *The Hound of Baskervilles* (1902/2003), an old case that he and Watson had once undertaken. During this time of mourning, Holmes was actually still alive, a period now referred to fondly as The Great Hiatus. Holmes's

survival remained unknown to readers, and to Doyle himself, when *The Hound of Baskervilles* (1902/2003) was originally published. Therefore “readers [who] had been lost in the aftermath of Holmes’s death flooded back to read the latest adventure” (Duncan, 2008, p. 106). Doyle, having a loyal and well-established fan base, chose not to publish the book as a complete novel; instead, he released his new Sherlock Holmes tale as he did every other, in instalments. By publishing a few chapters at a time, Doyle replicated the short story format and extended the commitment and cultivation of his readers:

The Hound was first published as a serial in the Strand, between August 1901 and April 1902 (in the American edition, September through May). Chapters I-II appeared together; Chapters III-VI; Chapters V-VI; Chapters VII-VIII; Chapter IX alone; Chapters X-XI; Chapter XII alone; Chapter XIII; and part of XIV; the remainder of XIV with XV. As soon as the final instalment had appeared, book editions were ready. (Redmond, 2009, p. 25)

In addition to *The Hound of the Baskervilles*’ (1902/2003) timely publication, “Holmes’s profile was further raised thanks to William Gillette who was starring as Holmes in *Sherlock Holmes – A Drama in Four Acts*” (Duncan, 2008, p. 106). The fact that these two different mediums coincided, making each other more profitable, provides evidence of early mass media integration. It also implies that the audience wished to experience Holmes through various mediums, and that the different mediums, or the variety of media, contributed towards the experience and cultivation of the fandom.

Original Product: The Sign of Four images

I originally read *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001) after *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003); having not been very impressed with the gothic novel, I sought what was to me at the time a lesser-known text. *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001) is a complete Holmes tale. There is a man murdered in a locked room, a one legged sailor and his pigmy sidekick hunting down a treasure chest, a boat chase along the river Thames, and to top it all off, a damsel in distress whom Watson eventually marries. The novel, following the success of *A Study in Scarlet* (1887/2006a), the first Holmes adventure, was commissioned by “the American based Lippincott’s Magazine . . . in 1890 [whereby Doyle] produced *The Sign of Four* in less than six weeks” (Davies, 2007, p.

9). While the tale and its quick publication may imply that *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001) is a frivolous work, it offers perhaps one of the darkest and more troubling displays of Holmes's character. For me, and likewise for any fan new to the character of Holmes, the image conjured by *The Sign of Four's* (1890/2001) first paragraph cultivates genuine concern for a supposedly infallible fictional character:

Sherlock Holmes took his bottle from the corner of the mantelpiece, and his hypodermic syringe from its neat morocco case. With his long, white, nervous fingers he adjusted the delicate needle and rolled back his left shirtcuff. For some little time his eyes rested thoughtfully upon the sinewy forearm and wrist, all dotted and scarred with innumerable puncture-marks. Finally, he thrust the sharp point home, pressed down the tiny piston, and sank back into the velvet-lined arm-chair with a long sigh of satisfaction. (Doyle, 1890/2001, p. 5)

Watson viewed this display "three times a day for many months . . . [and] custom had not reconciled [his] mind to it" (Doyle, 2001, p. 5). Doyle's depiction of Holmes's drug use surprised me; having only recently finished the mythical *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003), I had not expected such a severe and realistic depiction of Holmes's cocaine addiction. In turn, I, like Watson, could not reconcile the Sherlock Holmes, who features on a student's required reading list, and the three dimensional dark detective before me. Similarly, while Holmes transformed, so did Watson; often the equality of their friendship suffers when commercially reproduced. However, Watson's response to Holmes's drug abuse reminds us of the medical knowledge and experience he brings to the partnership: "Why should you, for a mere passing pleasure, risk the loss of those great powers with which you have been endowed?" (Doyle, 1890/2001, p. 6). Initially the image of Holmes indulging in cocaine was difficult to reconcile. However, in retrospect, the ideological contradiction that that image represents is responsible for cultivating an insatiable fandom.

Original product: The Sign of Four ideologies

Ideologically, Holmes is a character who embodies justice and logic over emotion; however, as mentioned earlier, some of his actions contradict these principles. While purchasing a seven-per-cent solution of cocaine was legal at the turn of 20th Century, Holmes avoided opium dens for leisure and would deny any addiction to such a substance. Therefore his pursuit of justice and his own role in enacting it, contradicts

the common image of a cocaine user. Holmes states in *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001) that he is “the last and highest court of appeal in detection” (Doyle, 1890/2001, p. 6). He prides himself on his clinical profession and in turn carries the mantle of justice. Similarly, his consistent logical detachment contradicts the stereotypical image of a man who indulges in cocaine. Holmes in *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001) believes that “whatever is emotional is opposed to that true cold reason which [he] place[s] above all things” (Doyle, 1890/2001, p. 117). While rejecting emotions, Holmes remains representative of society’s most idealistic tenets and through *The Sign of Four*’s (1890/2001) imagery and ideology, audiences are cultivated, and contradictions are reconciled, by his enchantment:

Because Holmes represented the values of modernity in ways that addressed the criticisms of the cultural pessimists, he spoke to the dissatisfactions and hopes of adults as well as to the imaginations of children. Like many of his readers, Holmes yearned for enchantment. (Saler, 2003, p. 603)

Original product: Study in Scarlet images and ideology

A Study in Scarlet (1887/2006a) is the first Holmes novel and first Holmes story in the canon. When originally published in 1887, “detective stories [had not] been fully invented [and] this first Sherlock Holmes novel [did] not follow what [are now] the conventions” (Redmond, 2009, p. 13). It was however my third Holmes novel and was read when I was well into my ethnographic journey as a fan. At that stage, having become acquainted with various television and film adaptations, I sought to go back to the original canon and fill in the gaps of my Holmes knowledge. However, *A Study in Scarlet* (1887/2006a) generates more questions than answers. Doyle, through the character of Stamford, an old medical colleague of Watson’s, warns The Good Doctor and his readers: “You don’t know Sherlock Holmes yet . . . [and] perhaps you would not care for him as a constant companion” (Doyle, 1887/2006a, p. 18). Stamford continues to describe Holmes as being “too scientific . . . it approaches to cold-bloodedness” (Doyle, 1887/2006a, p. 19). However when Watson finally meets the man in question, Holmes contradicts his cultivated image and defies any reference to Doyle and Crowder’s (2010) “common picture” (p. 10):

There was only one student in the room, who was bending over a distant table absorbed in his work. At the sound of our steps he glanced round and sprang to

his feet with a cry of pleasure. “I’ve found it! I’ve found it,” he shouted to my companion, running towards us with a test-tube in his hand. “I have found a re-agent which is precipitated by haemoglobin, and by nothing else.” Had he discovered a gold mine, greater delight could not have shone upon his features. (Doyle, 1887/2006a, p. 20)

The first time the world meets Sherlock Holmes he is exuberant and enthusiastic, accepting immediately, after a short line of questioning, that Watson is to be his flatmate. Watson however, after shortly living with Holmes, discovers that his companion is intensely private, excluding Watson from his personal and professional life. In response, both Watson and his readers take to studying the reclusive flatmate:

As the weeks went by, my interest in him and my curiosity as to his aims in life, gradually deepened and increased. His very person and appearance were such as to strike the attention of the most casual observer. (Doyle, 1887/2006a, p. 29-30)

Doyle cultivates, through Holmes’s mysterious image, the ideological foundation of the entire canon. Consider the original introduction of the character. Holmes’s cold-blooded reputation may precede him, but it never truly supersedes him, his mysterious and constantly changing image ideologically represents that man is the real mystery in question. In *A Study of Scarlet*, we learn of the mysterious Mr Holmes long before the case is even presented. Therefore we, as Watson did, “eagerly hailed the little mystery which hung around [our] companion, and spent much of [our] time in endeavouring to unravel it” (Doyle, 1887/2006a, p. 32).

Original product: The Valley of Fear images and ideologies

“Of the four novels, *The Valley of Fear* has always been ranked last . . . the sheer shock of [its] change in tone has come at a cost to its popularity” (Doyle & Crowder, 2010, p. 186). The imagery and ideology of *The Valley of Fear* (1927/2006b) are about violence. It is the last of the novels and the first Holmes story written after World War I. “The three volumes of the canon that fall into this time period are *The Valley of Fear*, *His Last Bow*, and *The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes*” (Doyle & Crowder, 2010, p. 179). *The Valley of Fear* (1927/2006b) was published out of order. It reverts to a time in the canon before Holmes’s “hiatus” and the subsequent death of Professor Moriarty. *The Valley of Fear* (1927/2006b) features a locked-room scenario, where the room in which

the victim lies has been locked from the inside. Doyle's description of the dead man is relatively graphic in terms of what his readership were used to:

Lying across his chest was a curious weapon, a shotgun with the barrel sawed off a foot in front of the triggers. It was clear that this had been fired at close range and that he had received the whole charge in the face, blowing his head almost to pieces. The triggers had been wired together, so as to make the simultaneous discharge more destructive. (Doyle, 1927/2006b, p. 664)

The Valley of Fear (1927/2006b) "has more violent crime per volume than any other book in the canon" (Doyle & Crowder, 2010, p. 186). Despite *Valley's* unpopularity, Doyle cultivated his audience by reflecting back to them their own wartime experiences and allowing them to share their memories with Holmes. Doyle and Crowder (2010) found that "these 'modern' Holmes stories bear the imprint of being written in a world coping with the great disillusionment that followed that devastating conflict" (p. 179). In retrospect, it becomes apparent that Doyle cultivated Holmes into an unflinching example of the audience's disillusionment. While Holmes's engagement with violence onscreen is often dramatic, especially in Ritchie's *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), *The Valley of Fear* (1927/2006b) portrays Holmes as being rather aloof. As the plot progresses Holmes discovers that Mr Douglas, a crucial character in his investigation, is killed. Watson is left to decipher Holmes's response, or lack of it:

It was one of those dramatic moments for which my friend existed. It would be an over-statement to say that he was shocked or even excited by the amazing announcement. Without having a tinge of cruelty in his singular composition, he was undoubtedly callous from long over-stimulation. (Doyle, 1927/2006b, p. 647)

While bleak, the violence is juxtaposed with cultivated enchantment, making many of the situations adventurous and entertaining:

When I have detailed those distant events and you have solved this mystery of the past, we shall meet once more in those rooms on Baker Street, where this, like so many other wonderful happenings, will find its end. (Doyle, 1927/2006b, p. 730)

Cultivation analysis: Official secondary products

Official Secondary products are the subsequent memorabilia of the Original products. They are responsible for cultivating a fan long after the primary or original product has cultivated their founding interest. In covering an array of mediums, the majority of my ethnographic fan journey was in viewing and reading secondary products; therefore, through a cultivation analysis of these products I should be able to reveal specific instances where the imagery and ideology cultivated my fandom. I began with viewing digitally published behind-the-scenes interviews with Robert Downey Jr. and Jude Law for *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), the imagery they attributed to their characters reflect the ideology that “manners maketh the man” and so too does his flaws. The next product was Granada television’s *Sherlock Holmes* (1984-1994); a series that prided itself on loyalty to Doyle’s original works and to Sidney Paget’s original illustrations, this resulted in the ideological loyalty of the consumer. Following on from Granada’s classical Holmes I examined the classic Basil Rathbone series of silver-screen Holmes adaptations, *The complete collection: Sherlock Holmes* (1939-1946). Rathbone’s characterisation of Holmes acts as an ideological example of British wartime values during World War II, an ideology that suggests “morals maketh the man”. At this stage of my ethnographic journey, I began reading pastiches – texts written in the style of the original works. *The Beekeeper’s Apprentice* (1994) was the first pastiche I read, bearing images of an author’s professional agenda and the ideology of female equality. This was followed by the pastiche *The Veiled Detective* (2009) and the ideology that reality is darker than fiction. This was followed soon after by the commercially popular, *The Seven-per-cent Solution* (1974). This pastiche, with its ideological stance that reality is relative, fused together fact and fiction by fulfilling fan theories and presenting Holmes with an intellectual equal, Dr Sigmund Freud. Lastly, I read Vincent Starrett’s classic biography *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (2008). While not a conventional pastiche, it provided both my participant and observer positions a satisfying chance to reminisce with a fellow Sherlockian. *Private Life* (2008) cultivates the image of a Holmes reader and similarly proposes the ideology that reality is relative.

Official secondary products: Sherlock Holmes (2009) interviews images

After my initial viewing of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), I viewed, via the internet, interviews with the cast and crew. While casual users uploaded many of the interviews I saw on YouTube, they were originally commercial footage generated by various television shows and entertainment websites. I turned to these interviews to discover

how the actors approached their characters. The answers, given by Robert Downey Jr., Jude Law and Guy Ritchie, began to shape my perspective of Holmes and Watson, and I soon believed that *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) was a relatively accurate representation of the original works. In an interview with TributeMovies (2009), Downey Jr stated that “reinterpreting [the characters] for us was actually more of a return to their original descriptions” (TributeMovies, 2009). While the term “reinterpreting” and the phrase “return to their original description” is something of a contradiction, I thought their Holmes was the way he should be: bohemian, energetic, and an effortless genius. Many of the statements in these interviews were released on the *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) DVD special features section, *Reinvented* (2009). Director Guy Ritchie claims that they “take him back to his origin . . . [as] a visceral character, more of an adventurer” (Warner Bros Entertainment, 2009). At this early stage in my ethnographic journey, such rhetoric began to cultivate support for Holmes’s potential as an un-stereotypical object of consumption. Notice the word potential. A viewer must seek out further information to maintain an active process of cultivation. Downey Jr said, “in recreating Sherlock Holmes, you see that he was even stranger than could be imagined” (Warner Bros Entertainment, 2009). I believed that due to popular stereotype I had perhaps taken for granted a truly intriguing character. Therefore, from these interviews, my cultivated impression was one of great interest, as I was now expecting the literary Holmes to be more modern than traditionally portrayed.

Official secondary products: Sherlock Holmes (2009) interviews ideologies

At the time of viewing, I was unable to recognise the ideological insight that these interviews were providing about the film, *Sherlock Holmes* (2009). However, in hindsight, and with relatively more knowledge on the subject, I find that the Edwardian ideology that “manners maketh the man” appears to have vanished. Robert Downey Jr claimed, in the film’s behind-the-scenes footage, and similarly in another interview, that “Holmes is a weirdo” (CharmedTwins, 2010). The reason why Holmes appears to be a weirdo is seen in the film’s commercial adaptation of his value system, a system that could be considered to uphold the ideology that “manners maketh the man”. Instead of exploring and recreating Holmes’s sense of justice, the film has chosen to cultivate modern audiences through exaggerating his flaws and his newly acquired “depravity that knows no bounds”. However, while misrepresenting both Holmes and Watson, both Downey Jr. and Law sought to humanise their characters by exposing their failings. Jude Law in an interview with TributeMovies (2009) claimed, “It’s their humanities,

their flaws and their frailties, in a way, that make their brilliance all the more extraordinary” (TributeMovies, 2009). From these interviews, *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) is an example of how a commercially orientated Secondary product can only cultivate a viewer so far. For while Holmes and Watson’s frailties were exposed, their humanity was never explored, simply exploited.

Official secondary products:

Granada Television’s Sherlock Holmes (1984-1994) images

By the time I viewed Granada television’s *Sherlock Holmes* (1984-1994) I was confused by previous products as to who Mr Sherlock Holmes really was. While *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) redefined my popular stereotype of the character and the original products defied it, I, as a visually orientated consumer, sought to find a definitive product with which to establish my fandom. Obviously, at the time, I understood that only the depiction set forth by the original works could be considered the definitive Holmes. However, in terms of fandom, the definitive is simply one’s favourite. The image of Sherlock Holmes, as crafted by Granada and Jeremy Brett, is unabashedly my fan favourite; he had the height, the grey eyes, the nose, the “strident” voice, the right age and composure. Commercially, canonically and controversially, Brett was textbook:

What Brett offers is a combination of fidelity and audacity. Everything he does can ultimately be justified by chapter and line from Conan Doyle’s stories, but he has taken liberties with the myth so confidently that he has . . . taken possession of it and displaced the literary Holmes. (Jackson, as cited in Davies, 2007, p. 126)

The image of Holmes cultivated by Granada and actor Jeremy Brett was restrained and traditional, a man who physically gave nothing of himself away, and yet still harboured unbridled enthusiasm and compassion. Granada drew heavily upon the illustrations that traditionally accompanied the stories in *The Strand Magazine*. According to Davies (2007), “[producer Michael Cox and Jeremy Brett] . . . use[d] the Sidney Paget drawings as ‘their image’” (p. 124), making sure that “in the early shows at least one shot” (Davies, 2007, p. 124) in every episode matched Paget’s corresponding illustration. Barnes (2004) believes “[Granada’s] fastidiousness [did] not go unnoticed, [as] the series immediately established itself as a fan’s dream” (p. 26).

Official secondary products:

Granada Television's Sherlock Holmes (1984-1994) ideologies

Economically, fandom can be considered a form of customer loyalty. While not always advocating quality, the consumer has a cultivated endearment towards a product, similar to that of a fan. An actor in many ways can become the product for which the loyalty is generated. Their life or personal struggle, depending on the character they embody, can contribute to a viewer's investment and want of association with that actor and their portrayal. "The enthusiasm with which Sherlockians greeted Brett's interpretation of Holmes, and the impetus his work gave to the growth of the Sherlockian cult in the 1980s, can hardly be exaggerated" (Redmond, 2009, p. 250). Due to the repetitive medium of television, Granada's depiction of Holmes was gradual and serialised. Therefore, Doyle's tales, while not filmed in canonical order, cultivated the viewer over time. As a fan, I soon became personally attached to Granada's depiction, and as a result, aspects of the show provoked expanded research of the actors. In hindsight, I am aware that I have infused Jeremy Brett's own personal struggles with that of Holmes. On many occasions, his performance was affected by his manic depression and heart condition, and through television's habitual cultivation, one witnesses his deterioration of health. According to Redmond (2009), "devotees agonised with Brett when he suffered a mental collapse in 1987, [and] rejoiced when he returned to work" (p. 250). My own loyalty to the Holmes franchise is now tied to Brett's performance and dedication to the role. In retrospect, this added emotional element cultivated a loyalty devoid of consumerist intentions. However, does this change my position as a consumer? No, it simply makes me a more invested one.

Official secondary products: Sherlock Holmes (1939-1946) images and ideologies

Rathbone's series of fourteen Sherlock Holmes films, predominantly filmed and set in the 1940s, draws on imagery and ideological themes from World War II. Rathbone's career as Holmes became a cultural staple for the West; in something of an early multimedia campaign "Rathbone was introduced to both moviegoers and radio listeners as Sherlock Holmes" (Davies, 2007, p. 40). To this day, various forms of media still carry Rathbone's portrayal, cultivating longevity and his legendary status: "It is difficult to find a week when one of them is not being shown on some television station's late movie, and video rental has given them a whole new audience" (Redmond, 2009, p. 234-235). In an effort to condense Rathbone's Holmes catalogue I examined the imagery and ideologies of *Sherlock Holmes and the Secret Weapon* (1943). As its title

may suggest, this film is not a direct adaptation from one of Doyle's works. Instead, it is an infusion of original and newly created Holmesian scenarios. The imagery of the film reflects its context. Set during the forties, the film begins in Switzerland; Holmes appears disguised as a bookseller to avoid Nazi detection, partaking in a secret meeting. In the film Holmes lives and functions amongst telephones and cars, while Watson, portrayed ten to twenty years older than Holmes, provides comic relief as the bumbling sidekick. 221B Baker Street is surrounded by sandbags in the event of a blitz, and Professor Moriarty remains Holmes's arch-nemesis alongside Nazi scientists and spies. While living in a relatively altered universe, Holmes's moral stature, cultivated during World War I, remained applicable to a forties audience. Richardson (as cited Davies, 2007) believes that these films were "updated from their Victorian settings to incorporate patriotic and anti-fascist messages" (p. 7). Holmes's cultivation of an audience often relies on the social melding of image and ideology. By the end of *Sherlock Holmes and the Secret Weapon* (1943) Holmes, having just commanded the British army, speaks the words "this blessed plot . . . this England", at the end of a patriotic monologue imbued with English sentiment and Christian themes. Holmes remains ideologically steadfast and perhaps it is this consistency of character that helps cultivate a consumer into a fan.

Official secondary products: The Beekeeper's Apprentice (1994) images:

Such is the enduring popularity of Holmes that many authors have written their own Holmes stories in the wake of Conan Doyle's death. In fact there are now far more of these in existence than the original sixty stories. However, these pastiches are but one aspect of the huge industry that has sprung from the creation of this most famous of detectives. (Duncan, 2008, p. 5)

An industry it most certainly is. In Laurie King's case, Holmes is merely a springboard for her own amateur detective, Mary Russell, who now stars in her own series of detective mysteries. The first novel of the series is *The Beekeeper's Apprentice* (1994), in which we follow a fifteen-year-old Russell under the tutelage of her reclusive neighbour, the retired Mr Sherlock Holmes. Russell herself tells the pastiche in first person. In the tradition of many pastiches, the author provides a prelude explaining how they came to be in possession of a long-lost Holmes story. However, in this instance, King claims that this is Mary Russell's tale, written to reveal an image of a real and

aged Mr Holmes. The image that overwhelmed my reading of this story, however, was of the author; King's influence on the characters and how she channelled her perspective through her lead character, Mary Russell, became overbearing. Holmes, and especially Watson, disappeared.

I must assert that the following pages recount the early days and years of my true-life association with Sherlock Holmes. To the reader who comes upon my story with no previous knowledge of the habits and personality of the man, there may be some references that pass unseen. At the other end of the spectrum are the readers who have committed whole sections of the Conan Doyle corpus (a particularly appropriate word here) to memory. These readers may find places at which my account differs from the words of Holmes's previous biographer, Dr Watson, and will very probably take offense at my presentation of the man as being someone totally different from the "real" Holmes of Watson's writings. (King, 1994, p. xx)

At times, it is difficult to discern a pastiche author's intentions towards their subject. In my opinion, Laurie King has found it difficult to disguise her works' commercial purpose. King (1994), through Mary Russell, takes a self-deprecating stance, excusing the literary liberties she has taken with Doyle's original characters: "Men and women are writing actual novels about Holmes, plucking him up and setting him down in bizarre situations, putting impossible words into his mouth, and obscuring the legend still further" (p. xx).

Official secondary products: The Beekeeper's Apprentice (1994) ideologies
The Beekeeper's Apprentice's (1994) most prevalent ideology was one of female equality. The sheer fact that the author speaks through her female lead, Mary Russell, and not through Watson, as tradition dictates, supports this theory. Similarly, even Holmes, like Watson, is relegated to a supporting role, which at some stage requires him to become somewhat indebted to Russell. King (1994) publishes, at the end of the book, a question-and-answer section in which she explains what I consider to be the book's ideological premise: "What would Sherlock Holmes look like if he were a woman?" (p. 355). Despite Doyle having answered that question himself with the creation of Irene Adler in *A Scandal in Bohemia* (1891/2001b), King created Mary Russell. In making Russell into Holmes's equal, King (1994) "did not try to write Holmes stories, but put

Holmes in the role of supporting actor” (p. 356). Similarly, King (1994), to cultivate our loyalty away from Holmes and towards Russell, orchestrated for her maths professor to be the vengeful daughter of Holmes’s nemesis, Professor Moriarty.

Holmes and I were a match from the beginning. He towered over me in experience, but never did his abilities at observation and analyses awe me as they did Watson. My own eyes and mind functioned in precisely the same way. It was familiar territory. (King, 1994, p. xx)

I found that Russell’s overt assumptions about her talents soured the author’s ideological theme of female equality. However, while this series did not cultivate a positive interest for me, it evidently appealed to many young female fans, who no doubt responded to the marriage between Holmes and Mary Russell in the second book of the series, *A Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1997). They are fans who have, “despite the improbability of the romance, or perhaps because of it . . . [taken to writing] their own pastiches of the series” (Doyle & Crowder, 2010, p. 246) and in turn, perpetuate the cycle of production.

Official secondary products: The Veiled Detective (2009) image and ideology

I learnt of *The Veiled Detective* (2009) from a fan-made music video uploaded on Youtube. The user who uploaded the video recommended the book and used Youtube as a platform to urge fellow fans to read it. While I refrained from community interaction, I found fan opinions to be a strong cultivating influence in areas I knew little about, such as Holmes pastiches. Therefore, it became clear that it is possible that solitary fandom could limit one’s knowledge and interaction with the text. *The Veiled Detective* (2009), by David Stuart Davies, is based upon reinterpretation of *The Sussex Vampire* line: “I never get your limits, Watson. There are unexplored possibilities about you” (as cited in Davies, 2009, p. 7). This offhand compliment is used by Davies to imply that The Good Doctor has secrets and that reality is stranger than fiction. *The Veiled Detective* (2009) begins with John Walker, a disgraced army surgeon, returning to England. On his return voyage, Walker meets Alexander Reed, an unusual man who insists on calling Walker, “my dear Watson” (Davies, 2009, p. 62). Once in London, Walker is ordered by Professor Moriarty to infiltrate the life of Mr Sherlock Holmes: “You are to be my spy in his camp. You are to befriend him . . . and then report on his dealings to me” (Davies, 2009, p. 61). Davies’s knowledge of the original canon allows

him to manipulate its context; the reader similarly must possess a certain amount of Holmes knowledge in order to understand the novel's ideological twists. While *The Veiled Detective* (2009) is an entertaining product, like *The Beekeeper's Apprentice* (1994), it is either loved or loathed for its depiction of Holmes. While my primary product is *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), my "object of consumption" (Gray et al., 2007, p. 11) is Holmes himself, and what I have learnt from *The Veiled Detective* (2009) is that I am specifically consuming the object's ideology, irrespective of the product's quality. In this pastiche, Holmes cannot control his anger, so much so that he takes the law into his own hands and murders someone in the process. Davies (2009) described Holmes's eyes in that furious moment to be "flamed with a wild, righteous madness" (p. 148). Holmes possessing a dual nature and symptoms of insanity is not a new theme amongst Holmes pastiches. Therefore, I pursued such imagery, curious of its ideological ramifications and sought out Meyer's popular and controversial, *The Seven-per-cent Solution* (1974).

Official secondary products: The Seven-per-cent Solution (1974) images

What a noble mind was here overthrown! (Meyer, 1974, p. 32)

According to Doyle and Crowder (2010), "no Sherlockian pastiche is more important, and more influential, than Nicholas Meyer's 1974 novel, *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution*" (p. 245), which they believe "resuscitated the popularity of Sherlock Holmes" (p. 246). *The Seven-per-cent Solution* (1974) canonically replaces Watson's account of *The Final Problem* (1893/2001f) and addresses Holmes's fictional three-year Great Hiatus. The novel, unearthed as a long-lost original of Watson's works, follows Holmes's interaction with legendary psychologist Sigmund Freud, as The Great Detective struggles with drug addiction and the truth behind his obsession with Professor Moriarty. The image that I as a fan took away from *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution* (1974) was that the character of Sherlock Holmes is a collage of sorts, a patchwork quilt of various Sherlockian theories:

Readers who are not Sherlock Holmes aficionados are doubtless unaware of the tremendous bibliography of Holmesian criticism . . . These light-hearted speculations on the part of some brilliant writers were for putting the idea of this book into my head in the first place, and some of their imaginative theories I

have endeavoured to intertwine and incorporate into the book's plot. (Meyer, 1974, p. 223)

Besides Holmes's treatment by Freud, Meyer channelled three distinct Holmes theories. The main theory on which the entire plot rests is that Holmes, due to years of cocaine use, suffers from manic depression and severe bouts of paranoia. Meyer goes on to depict Holmes with unsettling examples of his insanity. We, the reader, along with Watson, watch on helplessly as Holmes is "babbling with fear" (Meyer, 1974, p. 25) and witness Holmes in the grips of his depression "hurtling downward inside his soul" (Meyer, 1974, p. 84). We soon discover that Holmes's manic fixation is canonical nemesis Professor Moriarty. Watson, when meeting with the Professor, finds, instead of the "Napoleon of crime" (Doyle, 1893/2001f, p. 491), an elderly man of "shy personage in his sixties with his hat in his hand and a startled expression on his face that quickly subside[s] into a timid smile" (Meyer, 1974, p. 35). As the theory goes, Moriarty was once young Master Holmes's mathematics tutor who, in this tale, turns out to be terrified of his old pupil and his dark family secret. By the end of the novel, Holmes trusts Freud enough to allow him to hypnotise him and we learn that Holmes's mother had an affair with Moriarty. Upon learning about this, Holmes's father killed his wife and committed suicide, incidentally allowing Moriarty to flee. *The Seven-per-cent Solution* (1974) was an intriguing read. While the plot at times ran through a list of popular Sherlockian theories, the novel reveals what a general reader wished to know about Holmes through the answers it gives to those theories. Therefore, the cycle is perpetuated; stories inspire interpretation, interpretation inspires production.

Official secondary products: The Seven-per-cent Solution (1974) ideologies

All is as the faithful Watson set it down (Meyer, 1974, p. 12)

Doyle and Crowder (2010) believe that *The Seven-per-cent Solution* (1974) "was the first major pastiche to wholeheartedly indulge in revisionism" (p. 245). Meyer's revisions, influencing pastiches that followed, apply the ideology that reality is relative. Both King, with *The Beekeeper's Apprentice* (1994), and Davies, with *The Veiled Detective* (2009), position their stories as non-fictional accounts of Holmes and Watson, written by The Good Doctor himself. In constructing this pretence, Meyer has created an illusion of humility; "The discovery of an unpublished manuscript by John H Watson

may well engender the world of letters [with] as much scepticism as surprise” (Meyer, 1974, p. 9). While admitting to scepticism does not necessarily remove it, Meyer’s (1974) cultivates my interest by addressing my negative preconceived notions: “Certainly there has been a surfeit of forgeries – some of them admittedly well done and others merely preposterous” (p. 9). Such a stance enables his pastiche to avoid an outcry from Holmes traditionalists and provides a loophole for any discrepancies. Meyer (1974) also achieves this through aging Watson and his talents as a writer:

If the narrative which follows occasionally fails to bear the impress of my usual style, age must partly share the blame, along with the fact that years have elapsed since last I wrote. Similarly, a narrative which is not based on my usually copious notes is bound to differ significantly from previous works, however perfect my memory. (p. 18)

Meyer contextualises the ideology that reality is relative, by introducing historical figures into the narrative. The usage of Freud not only fulfils Sherlockian theory, but also grounds the text in plausibility and encourages the reader towards embracing the text’s enchantment. More often than not pastiches tend to create an intellectual equal for Holmes. Therefore, just as King in *The Beekeeper’s Apprentice* (1994) constructed Mary Russell, Meyer (1974) uses Freud to realistically challenge Holmes’s superiority:

You disappoint me, sir. Is this the Holmes I have read about? The man whom I have come to admire not only for his brain but for his chivalry, his passion for justice, his compassion for sufferer? (p. 99)

By the end of the novel, Watson reveres Freud’s psychological deductions and promptly proclaims: “You are the greatest detective of all” (Meyer, 1974, p. 218). Now the plausibility of this statement could only be achieved through the reader allowing a comparison to be made between the world of fiction and the world of non-fiction. Such results make me wonder whether the cultivation of a consumer into a fan may just be the cultivation of enchantment. Surely, whether one is an educated fan or an enamoured fan, they are in essence simply enchanted by their “object of consumption” (Gray et al., 2007, p. 11).

Official secondary products: The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes (2008) images

The last official secondary product of my journey was Vincent Starrett's classic, *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (2008). *Private Life* (2008) was originally published in 1934 and was "admired not only because it was so good but because it was so unusual" (Redmond, 2009, p. 285). Starrett's book was unlike any other of its time because it was a biography. At the turn of the century Holmes parodies made way for more serious endeavours – pastiches. Therefore by the end of Doyle's last volume of short stories, *The Case-book of Sherlock Holmes* (1927/2005k), "Sherlockians were treating Holmes and Watson as real people, the Canon as history, and Doyle as 'The Literary Agent'" (Redmond, 2009, p. 263). While the image of Holmes portrayed in this book is that of a real person, I was far more interested in Starrett's (2008) depiction of the reader, of me. Starrett's (2008) image of the Sherlockian reader cultivates an impression of how one should react to Doyle's stories. During the "death" of Sherlock Holmes, Starrett (2008) describes "the stain of tears among the thumbprints in the margins" (p. 38) and how we "suffer[ed] with poor Watson" (p. 34). Similarly, Starrett (2008) imagines the feelings of joy that the reader shares with Watson upon Holmes's return: "Moriarty has fallen to his doom! 'O frabjous day! Callooh! Callay!'" (p. 47). Assuring us that while he "is not quoting Watson literally . . . it is all there between the lines – his joy, his affection, and his satisfaction" (Starrett, 2008, p. 47).

Official secondary products: The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes (2008) ideologies

Ideologically, all Holmes pastiches are alike. They each, through constructed enchantment, imply that reality is relative; "modern enchantments are enjoyed as constructs in which one can become immersed but not submerged" (Saler, 2003, p. 607). With Sherlockian fandom, this form of constructed enchantment is practised as The Great Game, in which fans often gather to examine the canon as if it were a historical document. Often such activities inspire much of the Sherlockian scholarship published today. The tone of such work, as established by Starrett in *Private Life* (2008), is often that of mock seriousness and enthusiasm over the most trivial:

The Sherlockian "game" made it a faux pas to acknowledge Doyle as anything more than "The Literary Agent." A narrow circle of enthusiasts wrote with passion on questions about which only a Sherlockian could be truly passionate, and maintained the pretence that Holmes and Watson and their associates were historical characters. (Redmond, 2009, p. 286)

To inspire such a reaction from a modern audience may be more difficult to achieve due to Holmes's popular stereotype. But if Holmes had existed, which the original products clearly state, consider for a moment the dramatic shift it would cause in a reader's perspective, for the possibility that The Great Detective was alive while you read about him transforms the text's ability to cultivate and casts a spell of enchantment near impossible to break. This was Starrett's (2008) original audience. Today, however, no amount of advertising and marketing could cultivate that kind of intrigue:

[For] there can be no grave for Sherlock Holmes or Watson . . . Shall they not always live in Baker Street? Are they not there this instant, as one writes? . . . So they still live for all that love them well: in a romantic chamber of the heart: in a nostalgic country of the mind: where it is always 1895. (Starrett, 2008, p. 93)

Cultivation analysis: Unofficial secondary products

Unofficial secondary products are produced by fans for fans. Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) would classify this category as petty producers. However, due to the expansion of technology since the creation of that term, a petty producer is now a far more accessible position. Unofficial products are often published online, in either video or text format, and are accompanied with a copyright disclaimer. Due to the number of unofficial products, I chose only to interact those works published on Youtube, an online video sharing platform, and Fanfiction.com, an extensive community based website in which amateur authors upload pastiches, a term used rather loosely in this instance, for entertainment and criticism.

Unofficial secondary products: Youtube images

After my initial viewing of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) and before I began reading the original products, I turned to Youtube for information. Having soon become acquainted with cast interviews for *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), which qualify as official secondary products because they are produced by media outlets only uploaded by fans, I decided to expand my search and ventured towards previous Holmes adaptations. While browsing corresponding playlists would offer various videos featuring related material, it was here that I first viewed a clip of Granada's *Sherlock Holmes* (1984-1994). This was a pivotal point in my cultivation process. Before *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), Granada's "Jeremy Brett . . . was quickly transformed from a Shakespearean actor . . . into the best-known Sherlock Holmes of the electronic era by far" (Redmond, 2009, p.

245). Redmond's (2009) statement, made shortly before *Sherlock Holmes's* (2009) release, is now void. Since Robert Downey Jr's portrayal, the amount of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) fan-made music videos has swamped Brett's and due to technological advances, many of them are of a high and semi-professional standard. However, in my case, the video clips *Couch Jumper* (2006) and *Late Night Stake Out* (2010) transformed my fandom. The titles, while self-explanatory, have no association with Holmes other than featuring in a similar playlist. The clips are uploaded out of context and canon; only the context of fandom exists. Therefore, these scenes were posted for like-minded individuals, who also saw certain qualities in them. These scenes are without context and canonical reference because the characters, who embody the ideological elements of the scene, are what is being shared and it is that which I responded to. So when does a consumer become a fan?

Unofficial secondary products: Youtube ideologies

Late Night Stake Out (2010), a scene from *The Speckled Band* (1984), has Holmes and Watson spying from a darkened shed. Holmes suddenly speaks: "I really have some scruples, taking you tonight, there is a distinct element of danger" (Cox & Bruce, 1984). To which Watson replies: "If I can be of assistance" (Cox & Bruce, 1984). At this early stage of my fandom, and now with a well-educated hindsight, my cultivated impression that Holmes, knowing of Watson's blind loyalty, feels responsible for Watson's safety, remains intact even after all I have seen and read. I believe this is because I have sought to only engage with products that match this early impression of mine, and therefore my ongoing cultivation may simply be a result of my trying to replicate such a response. I therefore responded strongly to likeminded recommendations made by other fans. The ideology behind sharing one's fandom is based on association. One is able to associate with one's "object of consumption" (Gray et al., 2007, p. 11) when responsible for its promotion to another viewer. On Youtube, a user often writes a caption alongside their video, often recommending the product in question or one similarly related. These "fan recommendations" influenced me greatly, directing me towards lesser-known Holmes products, and surprisingly, in the direction of other fandoms. From this I was directed to pastiches, *The Veiled Detective* (2009) and amateur Holmes fan fiction, I was introduced, through fan made music videos to the band The Divine Comedy (1999) and violinist Ed Alleyne-Johnson and his album, *Purple electric violin concerto* (2006), while similarly responding to products of similar genre to Sherlock Holmes, the television series *Poirot* (1989-2001) and series one of *Inspector Morse* (1987).

Unofficial secondary products: Fan fiction images and ideologies

Good, bad, or indifferent, one wishes that there were stories yet to come.
And why not one hope? (Starrett, 2008, p. 55)

While reading the original products and viewing Granada's television adaptation, I realised early on that there were some aspects of Holmes's character that I was never going to be allowed to see. Official secondary products serve a wide audience and commercial popularity dictates that authors, producers and actors provide their audience with genre based images and ideologies, as seen in *Sherlock Holmes* (2009). Moments of quiet domesticity and everyday life, as portrayed in the original stories, fall by the wayside. I was positive, however, that I could not be the only fan experiencing this kind of dissatisfaction; I therefore turned to Sherlock Holmes fan fiction.

The Sherlock Holmes pastiche and parody works pioneered the modern phenomenon known as "fan fiction," which, in the 21st century, is a thriving genre most commonly associated with (but certainly not limited to) science fiction and fantasy. Even with this broader genre, Holmes is one of the most popular characters. (Doyle & Crowder, 2010, p. 236)

Fan fiction is an umbrella term for any piece of literary work produced by a fan for the fandom of their choice; whether it be a short story, a novel, a poem, or the lyrics to a song. Fan fiction often bears the enamoured traces of both the writer and their readers. The images and ideologies that I encountered when reading Sherlock Holmes fan fiction often reflected the relevant theme, namely angst and hurt/comfort. In narrowing my search to those written in collaboration by authors KCS (2010a) and Protector of the Gray Fortress (2010b), fan fiction authors often recommended on Youtube, I read, amongst others, *Sick Day* (2008a), *Broken and Buried* (2008) and *Vows Made in Storms* (2008b). In each story, the choice of genre enabled the author to place Holmes and Watson in an uncharacteristic scenario. By focusing on hurt or angst-ridden situations, Holmes and Watson's friendship is constantly tested and therefore the characters are open to examination and exploration. Fan fiction often expands on the canon. This allows the author to feign legitimacy and attempt to direct a reader's original cultivation towards their story. *Vows Made in Storms* (2008b) was based on a lost Holmes tale, the

“shocking affair of the Dutch steamship Friesland” (Doyle, 1903/2005e, p. 831), which was mentioned offhandedly by Watson in the canon. *Broken and Buried* (2008) was inspired by Granada’s interpretation of *The Devil’s Foot* (1988). In hindsight, fan fiction has not contributed to my knowledge of Holmes. In its defence, academic cultivation is not its primary function. However, fan fiction cultivated in me a sense of community, an outcome I strived to resist and yet could not.

Findings and Recommendations

By combining the process of reflexivity and the theoretical analysis of my ethnographic journey and cultivation as a fan, I now establish my findings and form a model that can be applied to such fandom analysis. Through the process of conducting an instrumental and collective case study (Brewer, 2000) of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) fandom, from the ethnographic perspective of pure participant observation and variation of observant participation (Brewer, 2000), I traced the process of cultivating a consumer into a fan. An early model, involving the four principle stages of general audience, fan, enamoured fan and educated fan, was now supported by coinciding theories and my own personal cultivation as a fan. From my ethnographic journey, I found that the general audience, which is coincident with the consumer, also coincides with Grossberg's indifferent viewer (as cited in Jenkins, 1992, p. 57), and is followed by Tulloch and Jenkin's follower (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. x) and Hill's (2002) proto-fan. This way the viewer soon evolves into a fan, the term and state broadly defined by Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) and Bourdieu's working class theory (as cited in Hills, 2002). I soon found, however, that their definitions of a fan were rather limiting and only examine the beginning of a fan's interaction with a cultural product. I adopt Hills's (2002) theory and terminology of fan-as-consumer and fan-as-anti-commercial, followed by Bourdieu's petit bourgeois (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 48) and De Certeau's poachers (as cited in Jenkins, 1992, p. 32). By this stage in a fan's cultivation, they should begin to evolve into one of two positions, enamoured or educated, according to my proposed model (see Figure 2). Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) combined these positions in the term enthusiast, a term coinciding with Bourdieu's social theory of the dominated bourgeois (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 48). I found, however, that their theories could be expanded upon and I therefore incorporate McLaughlin's definition of an elite fan (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 17) and Hills's theory (2002) of the powerless elite. The enamoured state is then explained in detail, followed by an explanation of the educated fan. The educated fan position, while not holding any superiority over an enamoured fan, or any other fan state, does continue to expand and cultivate further degrees: Hills's (2002) definition of a fan-academic and academic-fan, followed by Tulloch and Jenkins's executive fan (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 57). In designing a model of the cultivation process, I learnt early on that the process never really ends. However, for the purposes of an academic study, I integrated the limitations imposed by Bourdieu's dominant bourgeoisie (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 47-48) and De Certeau's landowner (as

cited in Jenkins, 1992, p. 32). In this instance, the term “limitations” refer to the hierarchical position that the dominant bourgeoisie and the landowner holds, a position that the process of cultivation on its own cannot achieve. However, their influence and creative authority over the various sectors of fandom make their inclusion irreproachable, as they, along with the products they produce, are the pebble in the centre of the ripples.

Findings

General Audience

A General Audience member is a consumer who engages with media from a commercially-driven distance; they are sceptical, unbiased and desire nothing more from the product they consume than entertainment. I began my ethnographic journey when I first viewed *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), making it my primary product. My ethnographic notes and cultivation analysis show I was initially cultivated by the medium, film, and taken in by the medium’s ability to serve the original social function of storytelling, illumination. Through Ritchie’s depiction of the late 1800s, combined with Hans Zimmer’s eccentric film score, I responded on a very basic level to the spectacle, to the fantasy of film and to the notion of being told a “good old story”. In my literature review I examined McLuhan’s media theory (as cited in Mulder, 2004) that “the medium is the message” (p. 16); I now see from my own journey the medium’s power of cultivation, which is in addition to the cultivation by the message. While the movies may be the modern commercial form of storytelling, the message the medium transmits is indulgence and fantasy, its movie magic, and I, like so many general audience members, am very much under its spell. However, my initial interest was informed by a stereotypical knowledge of The Great Detective and an understanding of cinema’s ability to enchant you. Therefore, by already being a loyal consumer to the medium, I embraced *Sherlock Holmes* (2009). However, general audience consumers who do not respond in such a way remain indifferent viewers (Grossberg, as cited in Jenkins, 1992, p. 57), uncommitted to further perusal of the text. This is an example of when the ideologies and imagery portrayed does not resonate with the consumer, beyond their monetary exchange for entertainment. Considering I did pursue the text further, however, I became a follower (Tulloch and Jenkins, as cited in Hills, 2002, p. x). A follower has yet to connect the product to their identity in any meaningful way (Tulloch and Jenkins, as cited in Hills, 2002); after watching *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) I did not immediately define myself as a fan. However, my popular knowledge of the

subject had the potential to be cultivated further. Hence, I embodied Tulloch and Jenkin's definition of a follower (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. x). The product I engaged with that helped cultivate my fandom to this state was the cast and crew interviews of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009). Found on YouTube, these unofficial secondary products contained traces of the film's enchantment. Interviews with actors, directors, producers and even the authors of a media product are an interesting aspect of fandom. According to Saler's (2003) theory of enchantment, each viewer, whether a fan or not, possesses an "ironic imagination" (p. 606) and the ability to embrace both fiction and reality. Interestingly, it follows that a follower and a fan often seek out interviews and behind-the-scenes footage. I obviously did, for I found the real-world aspects of the film's production to be equally as enchanting as the final product. I believe this is because, without knowledgeable discernment, I associated all forms of memorabilia with the enchantment of the primary product, *Sherlock Holmes* (2009). I soon progressed from Tulloch and Jenkins follower (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. x) to Hills (2002) proto-fan. According to Hill's (2002), proto-fans are "fans in the making" (p.55). They have yet to claim the status of a fan but they show signs of lasting commitment. At this stage of my fandom, general audience knowledge still guided my choices in products, so, in an attempt to engage with the original Holmes products, I read *The Hounds of the Baskervilles* (1902/2003). When I encountered the original character, all previous commercial enchantment conjured by *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) was replaced with genuine intrigue; I soon became enchanted by the contradiction of characterisations that I witnessed. Between viewing *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) and reading *The Hound of Baskervilles* (1902/2003), I was similarly enchanted by my own inability to understand what I thought was a seemingly straightforward character. I therefore returned to YouTube with the hope of finding a visual adaptation that would define the character for me, for while the internet is one medium in itself, it is also a platform for many others, making the internet an extremely powerful tool in the cultivation of a fan. The messages this medium transmits draws upon the combined efforts of all the mediums that precedes it. Through it the consumer can not only relive their fandom but revive it as well. YouTube often influenced the direction of my fandom by displaying television, film and literary products alongside each other. There I soon found Granada's *Sherlock Holmes* (1984-1994).

The fan

Sandvoss (2005) believes that “casual viewers identify themselves as fans” (p. 6). While Sandvoss notes the triviality of the term, I consider this statement to imply fandom is a self-ascribed state. When I began viewing Granada’s *Sherlock Holmes* (1984-1994) television series, I was certainly not a casual viewer; I already identified myself as a fan. In my final model, the cultivated state of the fan relies upon the theories propagated by Abercrombie and Longhurst’s audience continuum (1998) and Bourdieu’s working class description (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 48). As mentioned in my literature review, Abercrombie and Longhurst (as cited in Sandvoss, 2005) define fans by their relationship with a product. Sandvoss (2005), expanding on their theory, similarly identifies a fan as a viewer who “intensely follows a particular cultural text or icon almost exclusively through the mass media” (as cited in Sandvoss, 2005, p. 30-31). Bourdieu (as cited in Hills, 2002) on the other hand, defines fans as working class viewers and believes that their fandom is an “‘illusory compensation’ for [their] lack of social and cultural power” (p. 48). Bourdieu speaks in a relatively derogatory manner of a fan’s consumerist nature, a nature I soon embraced, as I became, according to Hills (2002), a fan-as-consumer, or a consumer-orientated fan, embracing their object’s commercialisation. When first introduced to Granada’s *Sherlock Holmes* (1984-1994), I obsessively consumed the product at an alarming rate, buying all seven seasons on DVD from a variety of stores. The fan I became was as an “ideal consumer” (Cavicchi, as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 29). I embodied the emotional symptoms of a cultivated fan as set forth by Sandvoss (2005): “The clearest indicator of a particular emotional investment in a given popular text lies in its regular, repeated consumption ... [T]hose who label themselves as fans, when asked what defines their fandom, point to their patterns of consumption” (p. 7). My fandom at this stage mirrored consumer loyalty, an interesting development considering one of the questions I asked myself during my literature review was whether a viewer’s loyalty to a product changed their position as a consumer. I had answered “no, it simply makes them more invested”. While this answer still stands, I feel it is now more important to ask whether a consumer’s loyalty to a product changes the position of them as a fan. For while I remained a consumer of the product, I had simultaneously begun consuming enchantment. My position was that of a consumer and that of a fan. Therefore, I consider the term “fan” an enchanted term for the “consumer”; a theory that incidentally coincides with Sandvoss’s (2005) opinion that “the state of being a fan is part of our schemes of perception” (p. 3). Near the end of Granada’s series, I began to consume Doyle’s original works; in ethnographic order, I

read *The Sign of Four* (1890/2001), *The Adventure of Sherlock Holmes* and *The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* (1892, 1894/2001a). I returned to the original products because I did not believe my fandom would be as legitimate if I did not follow what I assumed was the correct literary process. While I did not read Doyle's serialised short stories with the consistency of an original *Strand Magazine* consumer, or simultaneously with legions of other fans, as one would a television show, I was cultivated nonetheless. I read them with consistency and from this, I warmed to the familiarity of the subject matter, the formulae Doyle employed and most of all, the knowledge that there was so many more, and so I embraced "regular, emotionally involved consumption" (Sandvoss, 2005, p. 8) of the canon. Consumption coupled with consistency cultivates a consumer's investment and loyalty towards a product; I therefore, from my own experience, find that fandom is the emotional consumption of consistent enchantment. In other words, viewers are cultivated towards embracing and investing in the commercial imitation of a relationship. Those, however, who rail against commercial products, do not escape cultivation either. Hill's (2002) labels this category of viewer as the fan-as-anti-commercial, in other words, a commercially rebellious fan. Such a definition coincides with Abercrombie and Longhurst's (1998) cultist and Hill's (2002) definition of the cult fan; this form of fandom however is cultivated independently from the media and is community based. Therefore, I was unable to incorporate it into my model as I focused on non-community based fan cultivation. In acquainting myself with the original Holmes products and my position as a Holmes fan, I found myself cultivated to a state similar to that of Bourdieu's petit bourgeoisie (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 48). I consider the petit bourgeois as social climbers; they have the ability "to recognise 'legitimate culture', but do no[t] possess sufficient knowledge of it [and that] this gap between recognition and knowledge results in . . . misplaced fan knowledge" (Hills, 2002, p. 48). I, at this stage of my cultivation, was the perfect example of the petit bourgeois' "gap between recognition and knowledge" and "misplaced fan knowledge", for I was solely interested in the character of Holmes and his visual characterisations. At this stage, I was enamoured by Granada's *Sherlock Holmes* (1984-1994), and in an attempt to legitimise my opinion with comparisons and community-approved products, I sought out and bought the collectors edition box set of Basil Rathbone's Great Detective, *The complete collection: Sherlock Holmes* (1939-1946). In my venture away from original products and towards official secondary products, I witnessed "poaching" (De Certeau, as cited in Jenkins, 1992, p. 33). A poacher is a fan who does "not observe from [a] distance (be it physical,

emotional, or cognitive); they trespass upon others' property; they grab it and hold onto it; they internalise its meaning and remake these borrowed terms" (Jenkins, 1992, p. 62). I did not engage in poaching myself, an enamoured exercise in producing amateur fan fiction and online products. I sought out published fan-works instead, specifically pastiches. When reading the pastiches, *The Beekeeper's Apprentice* (1994) and *The Veiled Detective* (2009), I responded like a consumer; sceptical and economically aware of the products entertainment value. As a result, I never took to the novels and was constantly critical of their portrayal. Having been cultivated in such a way, I returned to the enchantment of the original products.

Enamoured fan and educated fan

From my ethnographic experience, I surmised that the group commonly described as enthusiasts embodies two separate avenues of cultivation: enamoured and educated. Sandvoss (2005), commenting on Abercrombie and Longhurst's audience continuum (1998), defined enthusiasts as fans who have ceased consuming "the original mass-mediated object of [their] fandom" (p. 31); instead, they are now defined by "their own activity and textual productivity" (Sandvoss, 2005, p. 31). In relation to Bourdieu's social hierarchy (as cited in Hills, 2002), the knowledge and involvement of enthusiasts aligns them within the category of dominated bourgeois: "The dominated fraction of the bourgeoisie relies on (and seeks to increase) its highly developed cultural capital" (Hills, 2002, p. 48). According to Hills (2002), this elite group of fans consists of "bohemians, scholars, [and] intellectuals" (p. 47). However, in using the term "elite", I imply that cultivation and division still exists. McLaughlin (as cited in Hills, 2002) believes that there is the cultivated state of an elite fan, while Hills (2002), coinciding with Bourdieu's theory (as cited in Hills, 2002) of hierarchical dominance, believes in the powerless elite. The enamoured fan is often a fan driven by emotion and favouritism. I am not saying that they are any less of an enthusiast than an educated fan; however, they remain emotionally enchanted consumers. The enamoured fan has the potential to remain powerless unless they seek a higher educated or professional position within their fandom. I, at this stage, became committed to finishing the canon. However, while I returned to the original products with a newfound appreciation for the texts, having read pastiches and seeing various adaptations, I still harboured enamoured tendencies and therefore returned to the original product wanting to relive the enchantment of Granada's adaption. Under the influence of Granada's imagery, I read *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (1905/2005d) and the first novel of the canon, *A Study*

in Scarlet (1887/2006a). In retrospect, I now see that cultivation is a rather subversive process. *A Study in Scarlet* (1887/2006a) was a novel Granada was never able to film, and therefore I, with the hope of answering the many fan questions I had, transferred my enchantment of one product and medium to another. In doing so, I allowed both the print and television medium to cultivate me in unison. The medium of print however, as opposed to cinema, is a powerful cultivating medium for it closes the physical distance between the audience and their object of consumption. One is able to hold the object in question. In this regard, Holmes products are even deadlier, for Doyle's formula of using Watson as his narrator closes the distance between reality and fiction; by removing the reality of the situation, that you are reading a published text by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the reader can embrace the enchanting entries of Dr John H Watson. As I become quite well acquainted with the canon, I returned to the internet and began devouring fan fiction's limitless alternatives to the canon. Now why did I respond so positively to fan fiction but not the earlier pastiches? On reflection I can now see that pastiches, being official secondary products, are supposed to add to my enchantment, those I had encountered so far did not, fan fiction on the other hand, being unofficial, needs only to reflect the enchantment I already process. However, in being an unofficial secondary product, fan fiction undergoes no quality control and therefore, like YouTube, offers a variety of fanciful reinterpretations for any degree of fan. Interestingly, a growing partnership between fan fiction and YouTube has formed; users of both websites have begun to use YouTube as a means to advertise or visually publish their stories. I soon grew frustrated with some of the more enamoured tales, and therefore turned to Official Secondary pastiches once again, specifically Davies's pastiche, *The Veiled Detective* (2009). Davies tells the untold story of Watson's supposed allegiance to Moriarty and betrayal of Holmes; while I found it entertaining I realised I no longer wanted, or needed I should say, to be entertained. I wanted to be educated.

The educated fan, as opposed to earlier fan states, is a fan who possesses an academic interest in their object of consumption. According to Hills (2002) the correct term for this degree of fan cultivation is fan-academic; the participant position of the fan precedes that of the academic because of their enchanted motivation and personal interest (Hills, 2002). However, if a viewer's academic position draws on their personal enamoured or educated fan knowledge then they subscribe to Hills (2002) definition of an academic-fan. Hence, I do not fall into the category of a lurker; "extremely

knowledgeable fans [who] may . . . ‘lurk’ or refuse to participate in organised fandom” (Hills, 2002, p. 57). Therefore, in relation to my ethnographic journey, I would be classified as a cultivated academic-fan and part of the academic community. For while my ethnographic positions are pure participant observation and variation of observant participation (Brewer, 2000), my research ultimately serves academic scholarship. Alongside my ethnographic journey, I read a variety of Sherlockian scholarship to aid my academic examination into the subject. I researched Holmes on film with Barnes’s *Sherlock Holmes on screen: The complete film and TV history* (2004) and Davies’s *Starring Sherlock Holmes: A century of the master detective on screen* (2007). I also sought out general Sherlockian scholarship and criticism with Duncan’s *Eliminate the impossible: An examination of the world of Sherlock Holmes on page and screen*, Redmond’s *Sherlock Holmes handbook* (2009) and Humphrey’s compilation of essays in *Hugo’s literary companion: A compendium of the writings of Hugo’s Companions, Chicago on the subject of Sherlock Holmes* (2007). Therefore, I would consider myself cultivated to the degree of an educated academic-fan. I must stress, however, this does not make me a Sherlockian. A Sherlockian is a Holmes enthusiast who often engages in community related activities, an area beyond the boundaries of my research methodology. Smedegaard (2007), a rather formidable Sherlockian, states: “Sherlockians are individuals . . . with a common bond in Sherlock Holmes. Each has multitudinous interests with a central focus of dedication in . . . the writings of Dr John H Watson . . . [B]ut [this is still only] a superficial description (p. 137). According to Redmond (2009), “to be a “Sherlockian” (in England, a ‘Holmesian’) is to do more than read Sherlock Holmes with delight; it is to enter a world of . . . interlocking societies . . . [for] much Sherlockian activity is still conducted face-to-face” (p. 256). Considering I have yet to involve myself in a community and have no connection with other readers, I remain labelled a “fan”, instead of a “Sherlockian”. While “most Sherlockian activity is carried on alone” (Redmond, 2009, p. 269), I find that the term “fan” equates to a solitary enthusiast without/or outside of a community. Once within a community however, and having established relationships, I believe the fan soon loses their amateurish title of “fan” and adopts their community’s chosen/preferred title: Sherlockian/Holmesian, Trekkie/Trekker, etc. This change implies that the fan belongs to a collective community, a state beyond the fan product, where fandom is replaced with fellowship. Therefore, I remain an educated academic-fan. Finally, at this stage of my cultivation, I read the rest of Doyle’s original works in canonical order: *The Valley of Fear* (1927/2006b), *His Last Bow* (1917/2005h) and *The Case-book of Sherlock*

Holmes (1927/2005k). After which I read the groundbreaking pastiche, *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution* (1974) and Vincent's Starrett's *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (2008). Starrett's *Private Life* (2008) is both a fictional biography on The Great Detective and insight examination into Holmes's history and role in society. This work is a foundational piece of Sherlockian scholarship; upon reading it, I felt a great sense of pride. Such a response coincides with the hierarchical influence of scholars; those poised in a position of power within a fandom. Tulloch and Jenkins (as cited in Hills, 2002) label this group "executive fans" (p. 57); they are heads of clubs, magazines, journals, and their words carry the weight of legitimacy (Hills, 2002, p. 57). For me Starrett's (2008) did, and still does. However, Tulloch's (as cited in Hills, 2002) description of an executive fan implies further dominance of higher states, states unachievable by knowledge alone. Bourdieu's dominant bourgeoisie (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 47-48) is therefore the limit of cultivation. Identified by De Certeau as landowners, the original creators and legal owners of the product (as cited in Jenkins, 1992, p. 32), the dominant bourgeoisie "never correspond to, or participate in, the cultural activities of fan culture" (Hills, 2002, p. 47-48). They are therefore immune to a product's forces of cultivation and enchantment. The landowners, like Holmes, are the practical forces behind the Sherlock Holmes fandom. However, while their role is a professionally calculating one, it is they who infuse the products with the ideologies and the imagery that enchant us all.

Recommendations

From my findings, I became aware of three areas within audience and fan studies that would benefit from further examination. Firstly, the term "fan" itself requires greater academic attention; secondly, distinctions between solitary fans and community-based fans need to be established and accurately defined. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the role of an academic-fan needs greater examination so that a hybridisation between the roles of academic and fan can be acknowledged as a legitimate ethnographic position. Hills (2002) states earlier "the term 'fan' . . . does not do justice to the variety of attachments [viewers have with] media figures [and media texts]" (p. xi). While I have discovered a veritable spectrum of cultivated positions referring to the term "fan", the term itself remains associated in a general sense with the fanatical. The meaning behind the terms "fan" and "fandom" remains rather underdeveloped for a constantly evolving societal state and activity. In order for scholars to accurately depict fans and their fandom, the term "fan" must lose all

negative connotation, for it no longer applies to a viewer with an obsessive disposition. Sandvoss (2005), as stated earlier, finds “casual viewers identify themselves as fans” (p. 6), suggesting that the term refers to a self-defined state. Negative academic rhetoric, however, continues to define the term “fan”, now a generic position within modern popular culture, with historical disdain. Unless that is the scholar’s focus, the term “fan” should be academically updated to embody the casual and commercial meaning of the word.

Similarly, more distinction needs to be made between community integrated fans and solitary fans. Community fandom is often the example of fandom chosen by scholars for examination; it functions as a sub-culture and provides ethnographers with a variety of resources. The solitary fan, however, the position that I adopted, offers greater academic insight into a viewer’s personal relationship with a product. The independent choices of a single fan, separate from their product’s community and the cultivation of others, offers up the opportunity to examine fandom pre-community and even post-community, an opportunity that examines the core of a person’s relationship with a media text, not with other people. Examination into the solitary fan will also affect the term itself. Currently, the term “fan” refers to an individual who is one of many; as my research has proven, not everyone’s cultivation resulting in their fandom is the same. Academia must examine the solitary fan if it wishes to understand fandom as a whole.

Lastly, I find more time and energy should be dedicated to hybridising the role of academic and fan. Hills’s (2002) version of the academic-fan has the potential to evolve into a legitimate ethnographic position, enabling researchers who possess a “native expertise” (Bailey, 2005, p. 13) an opportunity to apply their fan knowledge without that knowledge becoming an ethnographic hindrance. The practice of ethnography remains incomplete if a research is unable to incorporate their pre-academic involvement with a subject. Not only would this contribute to academia’s overall understanding of fans and fandom, but it would also push the boundaries of ethnographic research and academic participation. Similarly, Saler’s (2003) theory of enchantment and the “ironic imagination” (p. 606), encourages the possibility of balancing logic with enchantment, and if properly applied to ethnography, the hybridisation of the academic and the fan. While it is our academic duty to conduct an unbiased observation of society, we cannot continue to ignore the aspects of our society that have the power to enchant even the most sceptical of academics.

Model

From my findings, I have discovered the cultivation process of my fandom, and by the examination of my ethnographic journey, I am able to design both a continuum and a model of my cultivation as a fan by the media. My proposed model was originally limited to four distinct degrees of audience-to-fan cultivation: general audience, fan, enamoured fan and educated fan. The enamoured and educated section was presented as parallel to each other, implying that both states were equal in their position. Figure 1, however, Abercrombie and Longhurst's audience continuum (1998), encouraged my simple theory to encompass the varying degrees of cultivation *between* those proposed five states of cultivation. Figure 1, while crucial to the development of my theory is, in itself, over-simplified and impersonal. In designing a continuum to accompany this study, I wished to combine my own theories and those of other theorists to expand upon the often-limited representation of fandom. I, therefore, developed a consumer-to-fan cultivation continuum:

General Audience – Follower – Proto-Fan – Fan – Working Class Fan – Fan-As-Consumer –Petit Bourgeois – Poacher – Enthusiast – Educated Fan and Enamoured Fan – Dominated Bourgeois – Elite Fan – Fan-Academic and Academic-Fan – Executive Fan
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Figure 6. Consumer-to-fan cultivation continuum.

Figure 6 expands upon my initial model and encompasses the theories of Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998), Grossberg (as cited in Jenkins, 1992), Tulloch and Jenkins (as cited in Hills, 2002), Hills (2002), Bourdieu (as cited in Hills, 2002), De Certeau (as cited in Jenkins, 1992), McLaughlin (as cited in Hills, 2002), and Gray et al. (2007). By incorporating the various ideas and definitions of kinds of fans from these scholars, I am able to produce a continuum that draws upon the research and examination of those before me, and hopefully contribute to the progression of research dedicated to this area of fan studies. What I was unable to capture, however, was the limits of cultivation; in other words, when the cultivation process ends. Abercrombie and Longhurst's continuum (1998) proposes that the position of petty producer is the most advanced which an audience member can achieve. I, however, have found it difficult to assign a state of limitation to cultivation, for I am aware that I have yet to experience community fandom and this avenue would develop, or even alter, the entire model altogether.

Figure 6, the consumer-to-fan cultivation continuum, finishes with the position of an executive fan, suggested by Tulloch and Jenkins (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 57). While this state can be achieved independently, it would soon come to rely on community interaction, but the executive fan, like Abercrombie and Longhurst's (1998) petty producer, is able to bypass community hierarchy and establish their own publication or group on account of their own expert knowledge on the subject. I did, however, want to portray those states that are relatively unattainable to a fan through cultivation: Bourdieu's dominant bourgeois (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 47-48) and De Certeau's landowner (as cited in Jenkins, 1992, p. 32). Like the pebble causing the ripple, their professional decisions consequently create the various states of fandom I have discovered; however, while being in a position of superiority over the fan, they cannot escape being a part of fandom's hierarchical structure. Both the dominant bourgeoisie and landowners are the creators and producers of the original and official secondary products. Therefore, while they are left off the continuum, I chose to represent them in the final model, along with Gray et al. (2007) "object of consumption" (p. 11) representing the core of a person's fandom.

In order to portray the cultivation process of a fan as purposeful, intricate and varying, I adopt the format of Figure 4. Originally used to depict American hot-rod enthusiasm, Moorhouse's model (as cited in Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998, p. 133) "suggests that an enthusiasm will consist of a number of layers around a core" (as cited in Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998, p. 132). The circular design of Figure 4 allows for an unbiased representation of facts; each layer provides its own information as well as contributing to the progression of the whole model. This format expands upon the basic structure of Figure 6, the consumer-to-fan cultivation continuum, offering a balanced and all-encompassing model of when a consumer becomes a fan, and what happens next.

Consumer-to-fan cultivation model



Figure 7. Consumer-to-fan cultivation model

Creative Component

Introduction

Fandom originates, at least in part, as a response to the relative powerlessness of the consumer in relation to powerful institutions of cultural production and circulation. (Jenkins, 1992, p. 278-279)

Through writing this critique, I hope to capture and represent all that I could not express academically. Fandom, as Jenkins (1992) mentioned, fights institutional constraints, and therefore, when fandom is examined, it is limited by academia's impersonal analysis. As a fan, one possesses an unbridled enthusiasm for one's "object of consumption" (Gray et al., 2007, p. 11). According to Sandvoss (2005), such "emotional intensity . . . cannot be measured quantitatively. [So] for the purpose of empirical investigation and academic analysis, we therefore need to turn to observable aspects as defining marks of fandom" (p. 6). Therefore, through this critique, I will trace my fandom and provide observable evidence of my cultivation as a fan. By the end of my ethnographic journey, I was cultivated to the degree of an educated academic-fan; however, I remained outside of the Sherlockian community. Jenkins (1992) believes "fan reception cannot and does not exist in isolation, but is always . . . motivated, at least partially, by a desire for further interaction with a larger social and cultural community" (p. 76)". I, therefore, will treat this critique as an introduction into the realm of Sherlockian scholarship. Considering my case study was *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), a critique enables me to examine, from the perspective of a fan, aspects of the film that cultivated my interest. I will therefore critique the film's effort to capture the contradictory canonical themes of magic and science, and incorporate my academic-fan findings by integrating my ethnographic experience with enchantment and the relativity of reality. Overall, however, I wish to capture "the original purpose of Sherlockian activity . . . enjoyment – an exaggeration, not an abandonment, of the childish excitement with which the original readers, and succeeding generations, read the Sherlock Holmes tales" (Redmond, 2009, p. 316).

Critique

Sherrinford Holmes (2009)

“‘Mr. Sherlock Holmes-’ I began; but the words had a most magical effect, for the window instantly slammed down, and within a minute the door was unbarred and open.”

Dr John H Watson in *The Sign of Four*

Guy Ritchie’s *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), starring Robert Downey Jr. and Jude Law, attempts, through the invention of a new tale featuring the legendary detective, to capture and capitalise on the magical effect of Mr Sherlock Holmes. In turn, Ritchie’s *Sherlock Holmes* bears two rather generalised cinematic themes: magic and science. In relation to the original canon, the 2009 film’s themes go undeveloped and thus stifle any possible relation to the canon’s conflicting theories of enchantment and reality. Therefore, by simply entertaining us, the film forgoes enchanting us, and what we are left with is a Holmes devoid of magical effect, in short, Sherrinford Holmes. For those of you who have not heard of Sherrinford, he is not, as many have made him out to be, another brother of the Great Detective. If anything, he is the idea that fell short. The legend goes, according to Sherlockian Jack M. Siegel, in his 1947 article *The First Citizen of Baker Street*, that Doyle, or Watson’s literary agent if you wish, originally “referred to the famous duo as ‘Sherrinford Holmes’ and ‘Ormond Sacker’” in his early drafts. You can see it now:

“‘Mr. Sherrinford Holmes-’ I began; but the words had a most uninspiring effect, for the window instantly slammed down, and within a minute the door was bolted from the inside.”

Ormond Sacker in the unpublished *The Sign of Four*

Very uninspiring indeed, so much so, that I find myself bound to that first name when referring to Robert Downey Jr’s characterisation of The Great Detective. The plot of *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) suffers in a similar way. A series of murders have taken place throughout London, each connected through ritualistic symbolism and sacrificial executions. The film begins with Holmes and Watson finding and capturing the villain

responsible, Lord Blackwood, played rather effectively by Mark Strong. Blackwood is quickly hanged, only to be seen days later having risen from the dead. Now, the original Sherlock Holmes of the 1927 short story, *The Adventure of the Sussex Vampire*, would have replied:

“Rubbish, Watson, rubbish! What have we to do with walking corpses who can only be held in their grave by stakes driven through their hearts? It’s pure lunacy.”

But dear Sherrinford did not. Instead, he found this plot “most engaging” and in asking for the facts, he and Watson began hunting down the now-immortal Lord Blackwood. Ritchie’s *Sherlock Holmes* has evidentially taken more than a few pages from the popular classic of 1902, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, which enchants and entices its audience through themes of the supernatural, only to astound them with a scientifically sinister reality. When we are first introduced to Blackwood, he is conducting a séance in a crypt, surrounded by hooded followers and standing over a sacrificial victim. Besides rising from the dead, he uses his mystical powers to set a man on fire and to boil his own father in a copper bathtub. Each scenario, designed to enchant us with tried and tested dark magical imagery, takes its canonical cue from *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. At the beginning of that novel, Dr Mortimer originally presents the case to Holmes as a supernatural mystery involving a dark family curse. He also warns the sceptical consultant that “there is a realm in which the most acute and most experienced of detectives [are] helpless”. The realm he speaks of is of course the paranormal, and at the heart of this classic gothic tale is the mythical hound that inhabits it, stalking the moors at night emitting a “long, low moan [that is] indescribably sad”. The moor itself also hides an escaped prisoner, mysterious inhabitants, ancient ruins and the grim Grimpen Mire, a large marshland that has been known to consume a horse whole. Such imagery however, we read, turns out to be the reality of mad men and the illusion of science. For we forget that *The Hound of the Baskervilles* is a case brought to Holmes’s attention by “Dr James Mortimer, the man of science”. His presence foreshadows the scientific and highly rational explanation that Holmes would eventually discover. We learn that the demonic hound is simply a large ravenous dog covered in phosphorous. Likewise, Blackwood is no immortal sorcerer, for his dependence on scientific illusion is evident in the “Ginger midget’s experiments”; incidentally solving the mystery halfway through the film. Holmes and Watson discover the abandoned laboratory of

Blackwood's redheaded assistant, and, to the observant, each of its workstations begins to reveal a part of the mystery. The combustible victim was drenched with gasoline instead of rain, reacting to the backfire of his weapon, the copper bathtub instigated a chemical reaction from the bath salts and while a hook suspended the noose that hanged Lord Blackwood, the villain was under the influence of a strong narcotic, making his pulse undetectable. Upon observing the laboratory's smorgasbord of clues, Sherlock Holmes would have surely solved the mystery instantly; Sherrinford, as you might imagine our hero is actually called, however, took a little longer. Nevertheless, by the end of the film he got his man. Coincidentally, or perhaps not, the death of Lord Blackwood in *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) mirrors that of Stapleton's in *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. Both Blackwood and Stapleton meet rather ironic ends, for both of their deaths, in some way, reflect the supernatural tale that they told. Stapleton presumably dies upon the moor, sinking into the Grimpen Mire and Blackwood is hanged, rather dramatically, from the middle of a half built London Bridge. Therefore, in each narrative, magic is used to entertain and science is used to explain. However, Ritchie's *Sherlock Holmes*, unlike *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, overlooked Sherrinford's potential as both the consultant and the conjurer of Baker Street. The contradiction that is, in essence, the magical effect of Mr Sherlock Holmes.

The magical effect that Watson spoke of in *The Sign of Four*, published in 1890, stems from Holmes's logical distaste of all things associated with such a fanciful notion. Sherlock Holmes, as we know from the 1891 short story, *The Adventure of the Red-Headed League* (1891/2001c), is a man who lives by Gustav Flaubert's old axiom: "l'homme c'est rien – l'oeuvre c'est tout", "man is nothing, his work is everything". *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) attempted to capture the socially disconnected machinations of Holmes's mind through having him spout loosely adapted canonical phrases such as: "There is nothing of interest, for me, out there, on earth, at all", and upon seeing the film's femme fatale, Irene Adler: "This mustn't register on an emotional level." Watson similarly takes part: "You're not human." All instances go undeveloped and simply leave poor Sherrinford looking oddly eccentric rather than logically detached. The film disregards the depth in which Holmes's profession has become his person. In the canon, Holmes is depicted as a machine. Considering he is his work and, according to Watson in first novel, *A Study in Scarlet*, published in 1887, has "brought detection as near an exact science as it ever will be brought in this world", Holmes must be the physical embodiment of scientific reason for which all others, in this instance Blackwood, fall

short and are exposed as fraudulent. In *The Sign of Four* Holmes could be inadvertently talking about himself: “Detection is, or ought to be, an exact science and should be treated in the same cold unemotional manner.” Watson, at times astonished by Holmes’s cold and detached observance, would exclaim: “You really are an automaton – a calculating machine . . . There is something positively inhuman in you at times.” Some Sherlockians, Siegel for example, even believe that “Sherlock Holmes was completely devoid of emotion . . . [and that] in this lay his success”. I disagree and so too does Sherlockian Alistair Duncan, author of *Eliminate the impossible: An examination of the world of Sherlock Holmes on page and screen*, published in 2008. He believes “Holmes regards emotion as an obstacle to true logic but at the same time he is susceptible to very human feelings”. Holmes has the potential to overwhelm his audience with his investigative passion; in *The Adventure of the Norwood Builder*, published in 1903, he literally performs his science with the “air of a conjurer who is performing a trick”. Legendary Sherlockian Vincent Starrett, author of *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (2008), originally published in 1933, believes such theatricality reveals Holmes’s “most human failing – his appreciation of applause”. Failing or not, Holmes’s emotional afflictions spark contradiction and, according to Lord Holdernessee, in the 1903 short story, *The Adventure of the Priory School*, endow Holmes with “powers that are hardly human”. In Sherrinford’s performance in *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), there are some traces of magic to be found; Holmes, when following Adler, creates an impromptu disguise from a nearby circus, when captured and blindfolded by Blackwood’s father Holmes could sense where he was taken and finally, when cornered by Blackwood’s right-hand man, Holmes disappears out the window in a cloud of smoke. Sherrinford, to his credit, performs a magic trick trifecta: The Master of Disguise, The Psychic and The Disappearing act. Such a performance harkens back to the canonical Great Detective, who on several occasions, came shy of being compared to Merlin himself. From the moment Watson moved into 221B Baker Street, “[he] eagerly hailed the little mystery which hung around [his] companion, and spent much of [his] time in endeavouring to unravel it”. Holmes, by the end of *A Study in Scarlet*, was well aware of Watson’s curiosity towards his abilities, and so to explain them, he compares himself to a conjurer:

“You know a conjurer gets no credit when once he has explained his trick, and if I show you too much of my method of working, you will come to the conclusion that I am a very ordinary individual after all.”

While one does not wish to disagree with Mr Holmes, an ordinary individual he most certainly is not. Watson, in *The Adventure of the Abbey Grange*, published in 1904, quoted Inspector Stanley as stating: “I believe that you are wizard, Mr Holmes.” Similarly, Watson also documented Mrs Holder, present during *The Adventure of the Beryl Coronet*, released in 1892, as exclaiming: “Why, you are like a magician (Mr Holmes).” Now compare such imagery with what poor Sherrinford had to work with; some face putty for a nose and Robert Downey Jr’s old tramp costume from *Chaplin* (1992). The fact that anyone came to see him at all is testimony to the magical effect of his predecessor, Mr Sherlock Holmes.

In hindsight, Sherrinford, with his copycat criminal and bag full of tricks, never really stood a chance. But why was that? In search of an answer, one must turn one’s criticism toward *Sherlock Holmes*’s Watson, played by Jude Law. Watson, in this instance, did not write nor have any literary control over the script before filming commenced and therefore that which should have been filtered through the romanticised eyes of Dr John H Watson was poorly scripted by none other than Ormond Sacker. Sacker, whose slovenly-commercialised eye has chosen to depict Sherrinford as a Bohemian savant/drifter undermines the worth and position he could have had. However, Sacker, like Watson with his *Strand Magazine* patrons, knew how to entertain us, and therefore any element of criticism placed upon Sacker could easily be laid on us and our acceptance of such dribble. You see, for the past century, Ormond Sacker has never been out of work; *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) is the mere tip of the ashtray for all the imposters and forgeries that have come to pass. Yet is that not the magical effect of Sherlock Holmes: the persistent amateur who dared to fail, only to succeed. An accurate depiction of such a character will forever remain an illusive achievement, one that keeps persistent producers and fans alike daring to fail, while allowing adaptations and Sherrinford to thrive. However, in order to succeed we must first liberate The Good Doctor, for without Dr John H Watson’s admiration and wonder for his friend’s talents, Holmes’s scientific methods lose their command and his magic fails to enchant and inspire the imaginations of his readers. Holmes, and Holmes’s magical effect, is “lost without [his] Boswell”.

Sorry Sherrinford, close, but no cigar. And certainly no Meerschaum pipe.

Conclusion

We take our communications media so for granted that we fail to see all the tricks they're pulling on us. (Mulder, 2004, p. 11)

Earlier, I asked: Is fandom a trick? Now, at the end of this study, it saddens me to say that in many ways it is. A consumer becomes a fan when they fall for that trick, and that trick is the emotional enchantment by a product. Enchantment within this study is based on Saler's (2003) theory of the "ironic imagination", whereby "rational adults [can] immerse themselves in imaginary worlds of mass culture without mistaking [those] worlds for reality" (p. 606). The difference with an enchanted consumer, however, is that while they are aware of a product's forces on the imagination, they respond with very real emotions. Their investment in the product is no longer measured by time and money, but by the emotions invested and the emotions inspired in them. Therefore, a consumer becomes a fan when their consumption is motivated by emotional enchantment. What happens next is the systematic cultivation of various fan states, this process is motivated by a fan's constant consumption of enchantment, provided by the products they encounter. In the literature review, I examined storytelling's three social functions (Gerbner, 1999): illumination, information and instigation. Stories of illumination inspire an audience's "creative imagination" and work to "illuminate the . . . invisible relationships and hidden dynamics of life" (Gerbner, 1999, ix). In other words, stories of illumination enchant us to teach us something. They target our imagination first, before applying information and instigation, because without our cultivated enchantment, we will not respond favourably, or according to the author's designs. Hence, the commercialisation of storytelling. By cultivating our enchantment, the media cultivates our response and our need to consume. The fan, however, takes this one step further. As mentioned in my findings, the term "fan" is in itself an enchanted term for the "consumer"; when one believes oneself beyond commercialisation and a true "fan" of the media product in question, one has simply been tricked by the commercialisation of enchantment. I too was tricked; I was cultivated to the degree of an educated academic-fan. I found that my consistent consumption of a particular product cultivated a strong sense of consumer loyalty. This pattern of behaviour, instigated by the media and my willingness to be a consumer, became fandom once I began to emotionally consume the enchantment of the product. Even as an educated academic-fan I still harbour enamoured tendencies but these are directed towards

scholarship and a text's cultural value. Either way, stories of Illumination enchant to teach. However even if I am now enchanted by the scholarly and in-depth products that cultivate by educated fandom, I am no less a consumer. Consumerism seeks us regardless of what we perceive our standards to be. We remain enchanted, and therefore we remain susceptible.

Academically, however, I remain focused and unbiased, in Saler's (2003) words "ironic" (p. 606). By engaging with *Sherlock Holmes* (2009) from a pure participant observation and variation of observant participant position, I was able to indulge in the enchantment of the text, while maintaining an academic distance supported by my documented substantive and analytic field notes. Abercrombie and Longhurst's audience continuum (1998) inspired the direction of this study, and their continuum's lack of intermediary cultivation encouraged further examination into the area. Similarly, Bourdieu's economic class system (as cited in Hills, 2002), while thorough and generalised, harboured negative implications, highlighting the problems and reality facing fandom and the difficulty in capturing the fan. Both, in balancing each other out, proved to be invaluable building blocks for this study. However, their impersonal nature towards the fan and their lack of variable degrees, hinder the academic representation of fandom. I therefore hope to have captured the *intricate* development of a fan, as well as their sense of enchantment. Figure 6, the consumer-to-fan cultivation continuum, and Figure 7, the consumer-to-fan cultivation model, draw heavily on Abercrombie and Longhurst's audience continuum (1998), representing a continuation of their theory and an evolved depiction of fan cultivation. This model proves that cultivation is measurable and that fandom is an intricate and complex part of our society. The critique produced, *Sherrinford Holmes* (2009), a critical account of the primary product, *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), is written from the perspective of an educated academic-fan. The critique exemplifies my journey and practically demonstrates the enchantment I encountered on the way. I therefore hope to have communicated the enchanted enthusiasm a consumer can come to feel for their object of consumption, and hopefully offered insight into why Sherlock Holmes will never die. "He is, in point of fact, one of the few personalities who make living still a joy, who make it possible to make a sort of game of life" (Starrett, as cited in Betzner, 2008, p. xxiii-xxiv). For like us, "Holmes yearned for enchantment" (Saler, 2003, p. 603).

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