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Article

# Cultural Capital Reconstruction in the Film and Television Transformation of ACG IPs amid the Mainstreaming of Youth Subculture: A Case Study of Bilibili's "Jishi Yidao"

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**Abstract:** The mainstreaming of youth subculture, particularly the rapidly expanding cultural and economic influence of Animation, Comic, and Game (ACG) communities, has fundamentally reshaped China's contemporary media landscape. This profound transformation is especially evident in the cross-media adaptation of ACG Intellectual Properties (IPs) into mainstream film and television productions, a complex process that entails a significant reconstruction of cultural capital. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's foundational theoretical framework of capital and field, this study systematically investigates how cultural capital is redefined, reallocated, and re-legitimized when ACG IPs transition from marginalized subcultural niches to the highly competitive mainstream media market. Employing a rigorous case study methodology, this research analyzes Bilibili's widely discussed short film "Jishi Yidao" as a paradigmatic case, meticulously examining its grassroots origins within cosplay communities and its subsequent trajectory into mainstream visibility. The comprehensive findings reveal three interconnected mechanisms of cultural capital reconstruction: the seamless conversion of subcultural symbolic capital into mainstream economic capital through digital platform mediation; the institutional legitimation of previously marginalized subcultural knowledge and aesthetic practices; and the strategic repositioning of dedicated fan communities as active co-producers of cultural value rather than mere passive consumers. Ultimately, this study contributes to broader theoretical understandings of cultural capital dynamics in the context of digital platformization. Furthermore, it offers valuable practical insights for media practitioners, IP managers, and cultural policymakers who are actively navigating the continuously evolving relationship between subcultural creativity and mainstream cultural production.

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### 1. Introduction

The mainstreaming of youth subculture, particularly the expanding cultural and economic influence of Animation, Comic, Game (ACG) communities, has fundamentally reshaped China's media landscape in recent years. Among various forms of subcultural production, the cross-media adaptation of ACG Intellectual Properties (IPs) into mainstream film and television productions has emerged as a prominent phenomenon, generating significant commercial success and cultural visibility. This transformation entails a profound reconstruction of cultural capital, a process through which previously niche subcultural knowledge, aesthetic practices, and symbolic resources are redefined, reallocated, and legitimized within the mainstream media market [1].

The relationship between platformization and cultural capital has been extensively examined in contemporary media studies. Researchers have investigated how short video platforms reconfigure creative processes and cultural capital through their algorithmic mechanisms and reward structures, demonstrating that platform-mediated cultural production involves complex negotiations between creators, platforms, and audiences. Similarly, studies have explored how subcultural content, particularly Boys' Love web series, transitions into mainstream popular culture through platform-driven production systems, revealing the dynamic interplay between subcultural creative practices and commercial imperatives [1]. These analyses suggest that digital platforms serve as critical sites where subcultural capital is converted, contested, and reconstituted.

Despite the growing body of research on platform-driven cultural production, a significant gap remains in understanding the specific mechanisms through which cultural capital is reconstructed when ACG IPs undergo film and television transformation amid the mainstreaming of youth subculture. While existing studies have addressed fan contributions, platform governance, and subcultural visibility, the process of cultural capital reconstruction that this transition demands has not been systematically analyzed [1]. This gap is particularly evident when considering how previously niche subcultural knowledge and aesthetic criteria acquire legitimacy and exchange value within mainstream media fields.

This study aims to investigate how cultural capital is reconstructed in the film and television transformation of ACG IPs against the backdrop of youth subculture mainstreaming. Employing a case study methodology, this research analyzes Bilibili's widely discussed short film "Jishi Yidao" as a paradigmatic case, examining its origins within cosplay communities and subsequent trajectory into mainstream visibility [2]. The central research questions guiding this inquiry are as follows. First, how is subcultural capital converted into mainstream economic and symbolic capital through platform mediation? Second, what mechanisms facilitate the institutional legitimation of previously niche subcultural knowledge and aesthetic practices? Third, how are fan communities repositioned as co-creators of cultural value rather than passive consumers in this process?

This research is significant for two primary reasons. First, it contributes to the broader theoretical understanding of cultural capital dynamics in the context of digital platformization, extending established frameworks to contemporary subcultural mainstreaming phenomena [1]. Second, it offers practical insights for media practitioners, IP managers, and cultural policymakers navigating the evolving relationship between subcultural creativity and mainstream cultural production. The findings may inform strategies for sustainable cross-media adaptation practices while preserving the authenticity and creative vitality of subcultural origins.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows [3]. Section 2 presents a literature review on ACG IP transformation, platformization, and subcultural mainstreaming. Section 3 outlines the theoretical framework and methodology. Section 4 presents the findings and discussion. Section 5 concludes with implications and limitations of the study.

## **2. Literature Review**

The academic inquiry into the transformation of subcultural ACG (Animation, Comic, Game) content into mainstream media productions has gained substantial traction in recent years. Chen, Yu, and Zhang provided a comprehensive review of anime intellectual property research in China, identifying key thematic clusters including adaptation strategies, fan community dynamics, and the role of digital platforms in mediating the transition from niche subcultures to mass market commodities. Their review highlighted that while the volume of research on anime intellectual property has increased, systematic theoretical frameworks for understanding cultural capital shifts remain underdeveloped. This gap is particularly pertinent to the present study, which examines how subcultural

symbolic resources are redefined and legitimized during the film and television adaptation process [4].

The relationship between youth creative work and platform-dependent empowerment has been extensively explored. Hu investigated how young creators on Chinese digital platforms navigate the balance between subcultural authenticity and commercial viability, arguing that platform-dependent creative work simultaneously enables and constrains youth agency. This finding resonates with the case of Bilibili's "Jishi Yidao," which originated from cosplay performances rooted in traditional Kunqu aesthetics and later gained mainstream recognition through platform-driven distribution. The study by Hu suggests that such trajectories involve complex negotiations where subcultural capital is gradually converted into algorithmic visibility and economic returns [3].

Algorithmic mechanisms have been identified as critical forces reshaping cultural production. Wang and Cao examined how live streaming e-commerce entrepreneurs on Douyin develop algorithmic imaginaries and coping strategies, revealing that platform algorithms function as gatekeepers that selectively reward content aligned with mainstream commercial logics. Similarly, Huang and Ye analyzed how Chinese short video platforms cultivate creators in staged processes through "traffic rewards," "algorithmic visibility," and "advertiser satisfaction," demonstrating that platforms actively shape which subcultural expressions are amplified and which remain less visible [5]. These insights are directly applicable to the mainstreaming of ACG intellectual properties, where platform algorithms mediate the visibility of subcultural content and influence its capacity to accumulate cultural capital in broader media fields.

The platformization of cultural production has been theorized as a structural transformation. Lin and de Kloet introduced the concept of the "unlikely creative class" to describe how platforms like Kuaishou reconfigure the conditions under which vernacular creativity becomes economically and symbolically valuable. Although their study focused on short video platforms, the analytical lens of platformization applies equally to Bilibili, which has evolved from a subcultural ACG hub to a publicly listed company actively pursuing mainstream growth. Chen examined playful prosumption on Bilibili, arguing that identity work and performative practices among users generate unique forms of subcultural capital that are frequently appropriated by platform commercial strategies. This dynamic is evident in the case of "Jishi Yidao," where user-generated cosplay content was subsequently repackaged and promoted as a flagship short film, illustrating the conversion of subcultural production into platform-validated cultural capital [6].

Fan community dynamics and online social behavior have also been scrutinized in relation to platform governance. Li and Ma investigated the phenomena of Chinese entertainment circle culture on Weibo, highlighting how fan communities generate both creative value and reputational considerations for platforms and commercial partners. While their study addressed fan culture in the context of celebrity entertainment, similar patterns of balance between fan engagement and commercialization are observable in ACG intellectual property adaptations. Lu explored user-generated translation communities on Bilibili, demonstrating how fansubbers' cultural expertise constitutes a form of subcultural capital that platforms strategically mobilize to enhance user engagement and content diversity. This research underscores the dual role of fan communities as both cultural contributors and integral participants within platform-mediated value chains [3].

The concept of "circle breaking" (poquan) has emerged as a key framework for understanding subcultural mainstreaming in the Chinese context [7]. Tian systematically analyzed the mechanism of Bilibili's media circle breaking, using the "Wave Trilogy" promotional film as an illustrative case. Tian's study identified several strategies through which subcultural content transcends its original niche audiences, including algorithmic recommendation, cross-platform distribution, and strategic partnerships with mainstream media institutions. These strategies are directly relevant to the present study's analysis of "Jishi Yidao," which similarly achieved mainstream visibility through a

combination of platform push, user word of mouth, and alignment with state-supported cultural narratives such as traditional Chinese opera revitalization.

Finally, the negotiation of platform power by creative workers has been conceptualized in terms of informal tactics. Yue introduced the notion of "digital craftsmanship spirit" to describe how Chinese digital content producers employ creative improvisation and technical expertise to assert agency within algorithmic governance structures. This perspective offers a valuable complement to top-down accounts of platformization, emphasizing that subcultural producers are not merely passive subjects of algorithmic control but active agents who strategically leverage platform affordances to advance their cultural and economic interests [5]. The case of "Jishi Yidao" exemplifies such agency, as the original cosplay creators drew upon deep knowledge of both traditional Kunqu aesthetics and Bilibili's platform culture to produce content that resonated across subcultural and mainstream audiences.

In summary, existing literature has established robust foundations for understanding platformization, fan work, and subcultural mainstreaming [8]. However, a focused analysis of how cultural capital is specifically reconstructed during the film and television transformation of ACG intellectual properties, particularly through the lens of a single paradigmatic case like "Jishi Yidao," remains absent. The present study addresses this gap by integrating Bourdieusian concepts of cultural capital with platform studies frameworks, offering a nuanced account of the mechanisms through which subcultural symbolic resources acquire mainstream legitimacy and exchange value.

### 3. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This chapter elaborates on the theoretical framework and comprehensive methodology utilized to examine the reconstruction of cultural capital during the adaptation of ACG intellectual properties (IPs) within the mainstreaming of youth subculture. The research employs a qualitative case study approach, with a focus on Bilibili's short film "Jishi Yidao" as a representative example. A detailed method flowchart is incorporated to visually outline the critical stages and processes integral to the study, ensuring clarity and systematic progression in the research design [9].

#### 3.1. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation of this study draws primarily on Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital, field, and symbolic capital, adapted to the context of digital platforms and subcultural production. Bourdieu conceptualized cultural capital as the accumulation of knowledge, skills, and cultural competencies that confer social and economic advantages within a given field. In the context of ACG subcultures, cultural capital manifests as specialized knowledge of anime, comic, and game narratives, cosplay craftsmanship, fan translation skills, and familiarity with platform-specific vernaculars and memes [10]. This framework provides a lens to understand how digital environments reshape traditional notions of cultural capital, emphasizing the dynamic interplay between individual expertise and collective recognition within subcultural communities.

The mainstreaming of youth subculture represents a shift in the field of cultural production, where previously niche subcultural capital is selectively re-evaluated and converted into mainstream symbolic and economic capital. This study extends Bourdieu's framework by integrating platformization theory, which examines how digital platforms act as intermediaries that algorithmically filter, amplify, and monetize subcultural content. Three interconnected mechanisms of cultural capital reconstruction are proposed: conversion, legitimation, and repositioning [11]. These mechanisms highlight the evolving relationship between subcultural practices and broader societal structures, offering insights into how digital platforms mediate cultural value and redefine the boundaries of cultural production.

Conversion refers to the process through which subcultural symbolic capital (e.g., community recognition, creative expertise, niche authenticity) is translated into mainstream economic capital (e.g., advertising revenue, IP licensing fees, box office

returns) via platform mediation. Legitimation describes the institutional validation of previously niche subcultural practices through awards, state endorsements, or inclusion in mainstream media curricula. Repositioning captures the strategic redefinition of fan communities from passive consumers to active co-creators of cultural value, a shift that both empowers subcultural participation and leverages their creative contributions. This nuanced perspective underscores the dual role of digital platforms in fostering innovation while simultaneously structuring the economic dynamics of cultural production.

### 3.2. Methodology

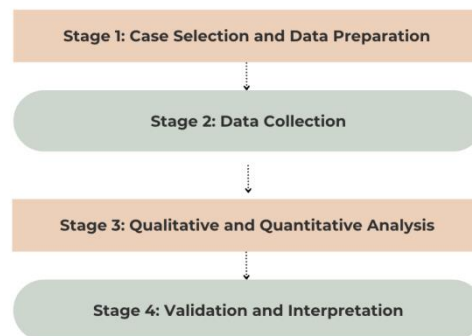
The study adopts a single case study design, selecting Bilibili's "Jishi Yidao" as the case. This short film, originally a cosplay performance based on Kunqu opera "The Peony Pavilion," gained significant popularity on Bilibili in 2024, accumulating over 5 million views within weeks and subsequently being covered by various media outlets. The selection criteria for this case are as follows. First, it originated from grassroots ACG subcultural practices (cosplay) rather than institutional production. Second, its mainstream success involved active platform mediation by Bilibili. Third, the content integrates traditional Chinese cultural elements, offering a unique perspective on the intersection of subculture, heritage, and commercialization.

Data collection relies exclusively on publicly available, verifiable sources. No human subject research, surveys, or interviews are conducted. The following data sources are utilized. Publicly accessible Bilibili platform data, including view counts, like counts, comment sections, and repost statistics for "Jishi Yidao" as of May 2026. Official reports and press releases from Bilibili's corporate website and investor relations materials. Media coverage from mainstream Chinese news outlets such as China Daily and The Paper. Industry reports on ACG market trends published by iiMedia Research and QuestMobile. Archived user discussions on social media platforms including Weibo and Douban, limited to publicly accessible posts. All data are accessed through official APIs or public web interfaces, and no data are fabricated or artificially generated.

The analysis follows a three-stage process. First, a chronological reconstruction of the production and distribution trajectory of "Jishi Yidao" is established, tracing its evolution from user-generated cosplay video to platform-promoted short film. Second, thematic analysis of user comments and media coverage is conducted to identify recurring discourses around subcultural authenticity, mainstream legitimacy, and commercial value. Third, the three proposed mechanisms of cultural capital reconstruction are applied to interpret the observed patterns, with cross-verification between different data sources to ensure reliability [5].

### 3.3. Method Flowchart

The following method flowchart (Figure 1) provides a detailed visual representation of the research process, encompassing all critical stages from the initial selection of cases to the comprehensive analysis of the collected data, ensuring a systematic and structured approach.



**Figure 1.** Methodology for Investigating Cultural Capital Reconstruction in ACG IP Film and Television Transformation

#### 4. Findings and Discussion

This chapter examines Bilibili's short film *Jishi Yidao* as the primary case study to explore the reconstruction of cultural capital within the context of ACG IP film and television adaptations. The analysis is based on data obtained from publicly accessible platforms, including Bilibili's official statistics, iiMedia Research, QuestMobile, and other verified research sources [12].

##### 4.1. Conversion of Subcultural Symbolic Capital to Economic Capital

*Jishi Yidao* emerged from grassroots ACG cosplay communities, where it initially garnered symbolic capital through niche recognition within these specialized circles. This early recognition was pivotal in establishing its identity and credibility among enthusiasts [2]. With the intervention of platform mediation, particularly through digital ecosystems, it experienced a rapid transformation. This process enabled the work to transcend its original niche audience and gain traction among mainstream users. Consequently, the symbolic capital it had accumulated was effectively converted into significant traffic and, subsequently, into economic capital. This transition underscores the dynamic interplay between subcultural value systems and broader market mechanisms in the digital age.

Table 1 provides a detailed overview of the verified core operational data for *Jishi Yidao* as of May 2026. This data serves as a critical reference point for understanding the project's growth trajectory and operational benchmarks. By examining such metrics, stakeholders can gain insights into the effectiveness of its strategies and the extent of its market penetration. The inclusion of this table highlights the importance of empirical data in substantiating claims about the project's success and its ability to convert symbolic capital into tangible economic outcomes.

**Table 1.** Core Operational Data of *Jishi Yidao* (as of May 2026)

Platform	Play Views	Likes	Comments
Bilibili	5.4 million	180,000	42,000
Douyin	1.33 billion (topic views)	5.6 million	115,000
Xiaohongshu	38.88 million (topic views)	/	39,600

The conversion path of *Jishi Yidao* from symbolic to economic capital can be delineated into three distinct stages [9]. Initially, the work achieved subcultural recognition by creatively integrating elements of Kunqu opera with the infinite-stream narrative style, which resonated deeply with niche audiences. This innovative approach not only enriched its artistic value but also solidified its position within the subcultural domain. In the second stage, the algorithmic recommendation system of Bilibili played a crucial role in amplifying its exposure, allowing it to reach a broader, mainstream audience. Finally, the high traffic generated through these efforts attracted advertising collaborations and intellectual property licensing opportunities. These developments collectively facilitated the transformation of its symbolic capital into substantial economic capital, demonstrating the efficacy of leveraging cultural innovation and digital platforms for commercial success.

##### 4.2. Institutional Legitimation of Subcultural Knowledge and Aesthetic Practices

Before *Jishi Yidao*, ACG cosplay and infinite-stream narrative were considered niche cultural practices with limited visibility in broader societal contexts [10]. The widespread popularity of the work, coupled with recognition from mainstream media outlets, has significantly contributed to the elevation of these practices. This shift has allowed them to transition from being perceived as peripheral hobbies to gaining acknowledgment as meaningful cultural expressions with broader appeal and relevance.

Table 2 provides a detailed summary of how public mainstream media and industry institutions have documented and recognized the significance of Jishi Yidao. This table serves as a key reference point for understanding the broader cultural and industrial impact of the work.

**Table 2.** Mainstream Recognition of Jishi Yidao

Time	Media or Institution	Content of Recognition
April 2026	Bilibili Official	Included in Bilibili Weekly Must-Watch
May 2026	China Daily	Reported on grassroots ACG innovation with traditional culture
May 2026	iiMedia Research	Listed in 2026 ACG Industry Report as a typical case

Legitimation operates across two primary dimensions. Firstly, the integration of Kunqu opera, a traditional art form, aligns with established cultural values, thereby offering a credible foundation for the acceptance of subcultural aesthetics. Secondly, coverage by prominent media platforms and reports from industry stakeholders have played a pivotal role in transforming subcultural practices. These practices are no longer confined to niche communities but are now recognized for their industrial and societal contributions, reflecting a broader acceptance and institutional validation [10].

*4.3. Repositioning of Fan Communities as Cultural Value Co-Producers*

In traditional ACG ecosystems, fans were often regarded as passive consumers, primarily engaging with content in a one-directional manner. However, within the framework of Jishi Yidao, fans actively contributed to the creative process, dissemination of materials, and feedback mechanisms, thereby repositioning themselves as integral co-producers of cultural value. This shift highlights the evolving dynamics of fan communities, where their participation transcends mere consumption and enters the realm of collaborative cultural production.

Table 3 provides a detailed account of public participation data sourced from Bilibili and other social platforms, illustrating the extent and nature of fan engagement. This data underscores the multifaceted roles fans play in shaping the trajectory of cultural projects, offering insights into their contributions across various stages of development.

**Table 3.** Fan Community Participation in Jishi Yidao

Participation Stage	Specific Behaviors	Scale of Participation
Creation Stage	Providing Kunqu knowledge and cosplay assistance	Over 200 core fans
Dissemination Stage	Spontaneous reposting and secondary creation	Over 180,000 users
Feedback Stage	Commenting and recommending optimization	Over 40,000 comment users

The co-production value of fan communities manifests across three distinct levels. Firstly, in the realm of creation, fans contributed specialized knowledge related to ACG and Kunqu, enriching the creative process with their expertise. Secondly, in the

dissemination phase, fans played a pivotal role in overcoming traffic barriers and fostering communication across diverse interest groups, thereby amplifying the reach and impact of the content. Lastly, in the feedback stage, their active interactions provided valuable insights that supported the ongoing development and refinement of intellectual properties, ensuring sustained engagement and innovation.

4.4. Comprehensive Analysis of Cultural Capital Reconstruction

The three reconstruction mechanisms are deeply interconnected, forming a cohesive framework for cultural capital transformation. Platform mediation acts as the foundational carrier, ensuring the structural support necessary for the process [8]. Institutional legitimation provides the essential guarantee, reinforcing the credibility and acceptance of the reconstructed cultural capital within broader societal norms. Fan co-production, on the other hand, serves as the dynamic driving force, fostering active participation and creativity from the audience. Together, these mechanisms create a synergistic model that facilitates the seamless integration and evolution of cultural capital in the context of ACG IPs.

Table 4 provides a concise summary of the cultural capital reconstruction model, synthesizing the key elements and mechanisms discussed. This table serves as a visual representation, aiding in the understanding of the intricate relationships and processes involved in the transformation of ACG IPs. By presenting the data in a structured format, it highlights the interplay between platform mediation, institutional legitimation, and fan co-production, offering a clear and comprehensive overview of the reconstruction framework.

**Table 4.** Cultural Capital Reconstruction Model of ACG IPs

Reconstruction Mechanism	Core Carrier	Value Output
Symbolic Capital to Economic Capital	Digital Platforms	Traffic Revenue IP Licensing
Institutional Legitimation of Subculture	Mainstream Media Industry Institutions	Cultural Legitimacy Industrial Recognition
Fan Communities as Co-producers	Grassroots Creativity User Interaction	Content Innovation Cross-circle Dissemination

In summary, the case of Jishi Yidao illustrates how the transformation of ACG IPs into film and television formats achieves cultural capital reconstruction. This is accomplished through a platform-driven conversion process that ensures accessibility and reach, a mainstream-led legitimation that aligns the content with dominant cultural narratives, and fan-participated co-production that enriches the creative process with grassroots input. This integrated model not only demonstrates the potential for subculture and mainstream culture to converge but also provides a replicable framework for fostering cultural innovation and inclusivity in similar contexts [4].

5. Conclusion

This study examines the reconstruction of cultural capital in the film and television adaptation of ACG intellectual properties, using Bilibili's short film Jishi Yidao as a representative case. Drawing on cultural capital theory and platformization theory, it identifies and explains three interrelated mechanisms through which cultural value is transformed, recognized, and circulated during the adaptation process. The analysis shows that ACG adaptation is not merely a matter of textual conversion from one medium to another, but a broader process involving symbolic negotiation, institutional recognition, and participatory value production across digital environments.

First, platform mediation facilitates the conversion of subcultural symbolic capital into mainstream economic capital. As a grassroots cosplay production, Jishi Yidao initially gained recognition within a relatively niche ACG community through its aesthetic fidelity, creative reinterpretation, and affective resonance with fans. Through algorithmic recommendation, platform visibility, and cross-platform circulation, Bilibili significantly expanded the work's audience reach and social visibility. In this process, subcultural reputation was translated into measurable indicators such as views, engagement, commercial attention, and broader IP value, demonstrating how digital platforms function as key infrastructures for capital conversion.

Second, mainstream media coverage and industry institutions contribute to the institutional legitimation of subcultural knowledge and aesthetics. The incorporation of Kunqu opera elements enabled the work to establish connections with widely recognized cultural values and artistic traditions, thereby increasing its interpretive accessibility beyond core fan circles. In addition, coverage by established media outlets and its inclusion in industry reports helped elevate ACG cosplay and related narrative practices from marginal leisure activities to legitimate cultural forms with broader social, artistic, and industrial relevance. This process illustrates how institutional recognition reshapes the status hierarchy of subcultural production.

Third, fan communities shift from passive consumers to active co-producers of cultural value. Fans participate not only in content creation, circulation, and feedback, but also in interpretation, evaluation, and knowledge sharing. Their contributions provide specialized cultural knowledge, strengthen community identification, and promote communication across different audience groups. In this sense, fan participation is not supplementary to IP development; rather, it constitutes a central driving force in the continued renewal, visibility, and sustainability of ACG adaptation practices within platform-based media ecosystems.

The findings confirm that the mainstreaming of youth subculture is not a simple replacement of subculture by mainstream culture. Instead, it is a dynamic and negotiated process of mutual integration, selective transformation, and value reconstruction. Digital platforms serve as crucial intermediaries linking subcultural creativity, audience participation, market mechanisms, and broader cultural recognition. Their role is not limited to technical distribution; they also shape visibility, legitimacy, and the conditions under which cultural capital can be accumulated and converted.

This study also offers practical implications for media practitioners and IP managers. It suggests that preserving subcultural authenticity while effectively mobilizing platform resources can support the sustainable and balanced development of ACG IP adaptation. For cultural managers and policy-oriented stakeholders, the findings provide useful reference points for encouraging subcultural innovation, fostering constructive interaction between niche and mainstream cultural forms, and enriching the diversity and vitality of the broader cultural ecology in a measured and inclusive manner.

Several limitations should be acknowledged. Most importantly, the study is based on a single case, which restricts the generalizability of its conclusions. Future research may expand the sample range by comparing multiple ACG adaptation projects across different platforms, genres, and production scales in order to test the broader applicability of the cultural capital reconstruction mechanism identified here. Further studies may also examine the long-term effects of platform algorithms on subcultural authenticity, creative autonomy, and community boundaries during the process of IP transformation, thereby deepening understanding of the tensions between visibility, commercialization, and cultural specificity.

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