Doctors, Drugs, and Danger: Disentangling Discourses of Adolescence/ts in *Dreamland* (original version) and *Dreamland* (young adult adaptation) with Critical Comparative Content Analysis

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Scholarship on young adult (YA) literature has long attended to the interrelationship of power, ideology, and narrative. Drawing on this scholarship, we examined a nonfiction text about the opiate epidemic. Using critical comparative content analysis (CCCA), our study examined differences in Dreamland *(the original version) and* Dreamland *(the young adult adaptation) to better understand the changing nature of textual representation when youth become the imagined audience. We found that in the youth adaptation of* Dreamland*, the implied youth reader is (a) provided less information about the opiate epidemic, which is also delivered in a simpler structure; (b) kept at a greater rhetorical distance from people who might be deemed unsavory, and (c) given a more optimistic view of the opiate epidemic in terms of progress achieved rather than action needed. The youth adaptation of* Dreamland*, therefore, positions youth as needing simplicity, protection, and a sense of optimism. Our analysis demonstrates how the implied youth reader is a textual byproduct of discourses of adolescence/ts. As youth adaptations continue their prominence in the YA marketplace, scholars and teachers should critically engage how youth are positioned as readers and thinkers by the YA publishing industry. Next steps involve additional studies that focus on the implied (youth) reader through CCCA and studies that involve middle and secondary education students, the real readers of these texts. This study is supplemented by an interview with Sam Quinones, the author of the original version of* Dreamland.

At the time of this writing, at the outset of the 2020s, social life is shaped by the ongoing global pandemic. The end of the previous decade began an upward trajectory of political turmoil, racial violence, and record unemployment as COVID-19 took hold. Catering to a white supremacist base, the Trump administration bolstered conspiracy theories about voter fraud after losing the 2020 election. While the attempt to seize power on January 6th failed, and much could be said of Trump's repeated attacks on the media that "dangerously undermine truth and consensus in a deeply divided country" (CPJ, 2020, para. 6), for our purposes, we call forth a central concern of this paper: that narratives operate through the inter-dynamic relationship of *who* is saying *what* and *to whom*. What information is conveyed through narrative cannot be meaningfully separated from who is communicating and to whom that narrative is directed.

In this context, scholarship on young adult (YA) literature and teachers of youth must re-up questions about the relationship between power, ideology, and narrative. While this relationship has a longstanding presence in YA scholarship (Bishop, 1990; Brooks & McNair, 2008; Garcia, 2013; Hill, 2014; Johnson, Mathis, & Short, 2017; McCallum, 1999; Nodelman, 2008; Sims, 1982; Trites, 2000), the current moment foregrounds the ways in which racist attitudes and idealized narratives of American progress are entangled in the notion of "appropriate for youth." For example, many state legislatures have targeted the 1619 Project and Critical Race Theory (CRT) by name, deeming these bodies of knowledge inappropriate for youth, and recently passed anti-CRT laws have been used to challenge and ban YA literature dealing with race.

Further, youth access to information about a range of topics, such as drugs, sex, and suicide, is often mediated through adult supervision (Sarigianides, 2012) and a publishing industry slanted toward white, middle-class sensibilities (Taxel, 2011). While this issue is not new (Sims, 1982), the current political climate has created a sense of urgency around how youth are positioned in schools via curricular materials. A question emerges about how youth access to the realities of current events, such as our nation's opiate epidemic, becomes mediated through books meant for youth consumption.

We turn our attention to the opiate epidemic because during the pandemic, drug overdose deaths have surged to record levels, resulting in the highest numbers in any previous 12-month period (CDC, 2020). The Center for Disease Control (2020) also noted that synthetic opiates appeared to be the primary driver in these deaths. Moreover, the American Medical Association (2021) found that more than 40 states recorded increases in opioid related deaths since the

pandemic began. Researchers and journalists have illustrated many of the causes in pandemic-related opiate overdose deaths, including pandemic-driven depression, unemployment, using alone instead of with peers, shutdowns of wellness check social programs, and homelessness (Swift & Goodnough, 2020). While the opiate epidemic began decades earlier, its current intensification underscores the need to learn about opiates and the conditions that sustain the crisis.

Against this backdrop, we situate this study of a youth adaptation of a nonfiction text dealing with opiate addiction. Using critical comparative content analysis (CCCA) (Sulzer, Thein, & Schmidt, 2018), we examined differences in *Dreamland* (2015, the original version) and *Dreamland* (2019, the young adult adaptation) to better understand the changing nature of narrative when youth become the imagined audience.

DREAMLAND: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Dreamland: The True Tale of America's Opiate Epidemic is a nonfiction book that provides a detailed account of the opiate epidemic, bringing together the social, cultural, historical, political, and economic conditions that have fueled it alongside personal stories of those affected. Author Sam Quinones begins the book in the small town of Portsmouth, OH, a community hit hard by the opiate epidemic. Over roughly 350 pages, the story expands geographically and chronologically, touching both coasts of the United States, moving south into Mexico, and tracing back to the early 1800s for historical context. *Dreamland* reports on the marketing efforts and distribution methods that gave rise to OxyContin, a painkilling drug that is molecularly similar to heroin. Quinones exposes not only the systematic corruption of multiple communities by Big Pharma, but also provides a portrait of opiate addiction involving pill mills, medical advertising, legal loopholes, shifting cultural attitudes toward pain, practices of the insurance industry, and an insatiable demand for cheap black tar heroin. Throughout the book are stories of individuals who have shaped or been shaped by the opiate epidemic. *Dreamland* won the National Book Critics Circle Award for General Nonfiction and appeared on several best book of the year lists.

Following a recent trend of nonfiction texts being adapted for a youth audience, *Dreamland* was published as a young adult adaptation in 2019, four years after the original version was published in 2015. Alter (2014) argued that "inspired by the booming market for young adult novels, a growing number of biographers and historians are retrofitting their works to make them palatable for younger readers" (para 4). However, within this adapting process, the authors, ghost

writers, and publishers of these nonfiction texts are forced to confront the so-called controversial narratives that often appear in the nonfiction text's original versions (Alter, 2014). Moreover, previous scholarship has demonstrated that in comparison to their original versions, youth adaptations often simplify the world: for example, by sanitizing thoughts and actions of Navy SEALs (Sulzer, Thein, & Schmidt, 2018), by promoting narratives that align with meritocracy rather than engage with systemic racism (Thein, Sulzer, & Schmidt, 2013), by Americanizing content for a presumably American youth audience (Thein, Sulzer, & Schmidt, 2019), and by adjusting the representation a feminist icon through omissions of material about abortion (Colley & Sulzer, forthcoming; Sulzer, 2021).

This scholarship suggests that some ideas are positioned by the YA publishing industry as being off limits to youth readers; and youth readers are positioned reductively, as if they cannot understand or handle complex ideas, topics, or people. Youth adaptations, however, need not position youth readers this way (see Sulzer [2020] for an example of a book about immigration that maintains a complex portrayal in the youth adaptation). As publishers continue to flood the market with youth adaptations, it is imperative that YA scholarship critically engage these texts. Thus, in this paper we focus on a comparison of the original and young adult adaptation of *Dreamland: The True Tale of America's Opiate Epidemic.* In Appendix A, we provide an interview with author Sam Quinones for additional background on the content of *Dreamland* and its young adult adaptation.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

CRITICAL YOUTH STUDIES

Critical youth studies (CYS) is an interdisciplinary field of scholarhip focusing on the cultural conditions and historical developments that led to the development of adolescence as a social category (Lesko, 2012). While "the teenage years" often come with particular associations (e.g., raging hormones), historical analyses demonstrate that these associations are a byproduct of economic conditions that led to youth markets (Kett, 1977; Palladino, 1996) as well as early 1900s research in psychology, particularly the "discovery" of adolescence by the first president of the American Psychological Association, G. Stanley Hall (Lesko, 2012). CYS theorizes adolescence as a social construct that is mobilized to promote educational, political, and economic agendas (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2015), a theorization made hyper-visible along racial lines, as white youth

often become positioned as adolescents while youth of color do not (Groenke et al., 2015). In short, CYS theorizes the interrelated terms of adolescence, youth, and teenagers as packed with social and historical significance that shapes adult-youth interactions as well as curricular materials youth might gain access to in educational spaces (Borsheim-Black, 2015; Lesko, Simmons, & Uva, 2020; Sarigianides, Petrone, & Lewis, 2017).

IMPLIED READERS AND REAL READERS IN THE YA MARKET

Drawing on CYS, we theorize narratives for youth as being market driven and interactive with notions of appropriateness (Lesko, 2012). The phrase "narratives for youth" is meant to highlight the for-ness of children's and YA literature. Books marketed under these categories explicitly name the intended reader. Analyses of children's and YA literature reveal how this for-ness emerges on the page through the implied reader (Cadden, 2021; Thein & Sulzer, 2015) and interacts with interpretations of real readers (Sarigianides, 2019; Toliver, 2020). An implied reader is textually constructed on the page while a real reader is a flesh-and-blood person in the world.

Implied readers are shaped by authors, editors, and the many other players in the publishing industry, and the nature of the implied reader can reveal biases of the industry. For example, Sims's (1982) seminal study of children's books with Black protagonists detailed how textual and visual representations were shaped by a predominately white publishing industry. The implied youth reader was shown the world approved of by white editors, representations bolstered through the buying power of white audiences. Using the allegory of mirrors, windows, and sliding glass doors, Bishop (1990) then theorized real readers as being in relationship to representations on the page, sometimes seeing the self as if reflected in a mirror, sometimes seeing beyond the self as if looking out a window, but often moving back and forth similar to the motion of a sliding glass door. While the relationship between implied readers and real readers is not staightfoward, considering textual representation through the lens of the implied reader provides a foundation for critical analyses of children's and young adult literature (Brooks & McNair, 2008; Garcia, 2013; Johnson, Mathis, & Short, 2017; McCallum, 1999; Nikolajeva, 2002; Nodelman, 2008; Petrone, Sarigianides, & Lewis, 2015; Trites, 2000).

THE IMPLIED YOUTH READER: RHETORICAL DISTANCE, NONFICTION TEXTS, AND NARRATIVES OF AMERICAN PROGRESS

Cadden (2021) argues authors modulate the rhetorical distance between characters on the page and the implied youth reader. Through modulations of description, dialogue, and narrative perspective, authors pull youth readers in closely to some characters, encouraging sympathetic or even empathetic response, and push them away from others. Cadden's account of rhetorical distance involves the power differential between (grown-up) authors and (not-grown) readers, which might be conceptualized through notions of gift giving:

> By thinking and caring about "safe" and "appropriate" distances created in literature for the young (which we don't consider at all with literature for adults), we acknowledge the truly rhetorical nature of a genre named for readers. Naming a genre by its readership immediately calls to mind two ends of a rhetorical exchange. If this if *for* young people, then it's *from*, or offered up by, adults. Gifts have givers, after all. (p. 3, original emphasis)

This power differential resonates with analyses about the adult "shadow text" in children's literature (Nodelman, 2008) and the propensity of young adult literature to covertly communicate to youth readers to accept the existing social hierarchies of the adult world or face consequences (Trites, 2000).

While many studies on children's and young adult literature focus on fiction texts to explore ideological content (McCallum & Stephens, 2011), these concepts of for-ness and the implied youth reader are also suitable for nonfiction texts (Kiefer & Wilson, 2011). According to Colman (2007), fiction and nonfiction hold much in common, and typical distinctions between the two tend not to hold up to scrutiny; for example, Colman dispels three common beliefs about the distinction: "1. Fiction is fake, nonfiction is not; 2. Fiction is based on imagination and nonfiction is based on facts; 3. Fiction is read for pleasure and nonfiction is read for information" (p. 259). Replacing these common misconceptions, Colman offers a model that includes nine continuums for analyzing nonfiction texts (see Colman, 2007, p. 261). These continuums, including (a) the amount of information conveyed and (b) how the information is conveyed via a relatively simple or complex structure, provide conceptual guidance for a richer analysis of nonfiction.

Through this style of analysis, nonfiction becomes, like its fiction counterpart, an aesthetic object. Kiefer and Wilson (2011) argue that "if we are to better appreciate how the [nonfiction] genre works as an aesthetic object, an analysis of different typical structures and types of nonfiction

may inform and expand our understanding" (p. 294). Much like fiction literature, nonfiction relies on textual structures or a story grammar to move the reader from front to back cover, such as problem-action-resolution. Authors and readers may rely on these generic textual structures in terms of topic presentation and interpretive strategies, respectively.

While nonfiction literature takes up a variety of patterns to present material, including cause and effect, compare and contrast, sequence of events, and a blend of description and definition of key concepts (Kiefer & Wilson, 2011), these patterns often come to signal ideological content to the implied youth reader. For example, these patterns are often used in curricular materials to communicate stories of American progress that students use to describe historical and social changes (Barton, 1996, 2001; Barton & Levstik, 1996; Barton & McCulley, 2012; Seixas, 1996). These stories communicate to youth the "appropriate" messages of American progress that have sedimented into the official history curricula, creating an overall sense that social conditions are better now compared to the past, achieving this sense by focusing mostly on the voices and experiences of white citizens (Chandler & Brandscome, 2015). While this sense is only achieved through the telling of many lies, these lies are often deemed appropriate for youth, a momentary necessity until they are "old enough" to understand (Loewen, 2007, 2018).

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE OUR INQUIRY

Through analysis of the implied youth reader in nonfiction texts, we can better understand how youth are positioned by the YA publishing industry as readers and thinkers in the world. Comparing a nonfiction text in its original and youth adapted versions provides an ideal setting for this type of analysis. In comparing *Dreamland* (the original version) with *Dreamland* (young adult adaptation), we ask the following questions:

- What are the similarities and differences across the original and youth adapted versions of *Dreamland*?
- What can we understand about the implied youth reader by examining these similarities and differences, specifically with attention to the amount of information conveyed and how that information is structured (Colman, 2007), shifts in rhetorical distance (Cadden, 2021), and the overall sense of progress suggested by the text (Loewen, 2018)?

METHODOLOGY: CRITICAL COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Our inquiry is grounded in critical comparative content analysis (CCCA) (Sulzer, Thein, & Scmidt, 2018). CCCA is a methodology drawing on critical content analysis (Johnson et al., 2017), content analysis (Krippendorff, 2013), literary criticism (Trites, 2000), and critical discourse analysis (Rogers, 2011). Methods within CCCA, therefore, feature systematic exploration of textual representation, conceptualizing surface features of the language (e.g., sentence structures or narration techniques) as entangled with discourse. Following Rogers (2011), discourse places textual representation as "always embedded within social, historical, political, and ideological contexts," always animated by those contexts, with the meanings produced always calling on larger representational systems (p. 5). The representational system in our study includes written language within the genre of YA literature, a genre with its own expected textual elements and ideological leanings (Trites, 2000).

Introducing a framework called the Youth Lens (YL), Petrone, Sarigianides, and Lewis (2015) provide interpretive strategies for exploring how "representations function as a part of cultural discourses of adolescence/ts that carry larger ideological messages" (p. 511). The YL attends to the characterizations, plot lines, settings, themes, and metaphors used to shape the narratives of young adult literature. In similar fashion, CCCA attends to textual features to examine cultural discourses of adolescence/ts. CCCA builds on these ideas with explicit attention to comparison.

Comparison is an element of literary criticism, allowing scholars to trace patterns across subgenres or bodies of work – for example, Waller's (2009) examination of adolescence/ts in fantastic realism or Trites's (2000) examination of adolescence/ts across the work of Robert Cormier and others. CCCA's treatment of comparison, however, is more explicit in using the implied reader as central to the analytic process. The methodology is geared toward collecting and interpreting differences between texts. This comparison is based in texts marketed to different audiences and therefore directed at different implied readers (see Glenn & Caasi, 2021). The implied reader – the textually constructed "ideal" reader who fits the assumptions embedded in the language, style, and overall representation the text offers (Thein & Sulzer, 2015) – provides a conceptual foundation for comparing the differences between or among texts. The purpose of CCCA is to explain the textual differences that emerge from a shift in implied reader.

The current study examines a shift from the implied reader of *Dreamland* to the implied youth reader of the young adult adaptation of *Dreamland*. Following previous CCCAs on youth adaptations (Sulzer, 2020), the strategy is to use two versions of the same text, an original version and a youth version, to examine youth positioning within the YA market. Adaptation provides an ideal context for such an examination. As Sanders (2016) argues, adaptation suggests a proximity to a source text as well as additional motivations for producing a newer version to a different audience. Sanders writes, "[A]daptation can continue a simpler attempt to make text 'relevant' or easily comprehensible to new [youth] audiences and readerships via the processes of proximation and updating," which rely on "social as well as economic rationales" (p. 23). A CCCA of a youth adaptation draws out textual differences between two versions of the same book, maintaining the analytic stance that such differences are motivated by socioeconomic rationales and reveal cultural assumptions about adolescence/ts.

As Hill (2013) argues, "Theorists of YA literature need to develop critical methodologies that explore how our perceptions of adolescence are caught and shaped by the literature written by adults for teenagers" (p. 19). As we took up CCCA for the current study, we developed new methods to explore textual differences, some quantitative and some qualitative. Moving across these data types allowed for explorations that were angular to each other, creating new analytic possibilities. For example, exploring the books quantitatively through word frequency charts provided insights that we took back to the books to explore qualitatively, and vice versa.

Resonant with the concept of mixed literary analysis, which couples computational methods with traditional literary analysis (Lynch, 2019), we used a variety of methods to explore the two version of *Dreamland*. We (a) wrote summaries of each chapter of the original version, noting what was the same, revised, or omitted from the adaptation; (b) traced the appearance and prevalence of storylines using key words and proper names; and (c) mapped organizational structures using word counts.

Building interpretations was a recursive process. We met regularly as a group to establish consensus and find new areas of exploration, keeping meeting notes and writing theoretical memos (Johnson et al., 2017) in order to keep our analytic process grounded in YA scholarship. Our own initial readings of the two versions of *Dreamland* were deepened by creating visualizations based on word frequency charts, participating in collaborative meaning making, and interviewing Sam Quinones, the author of *Dreamland*. From this interview, we learned a great deal, including the fact

that the adaptation was created by a freelance editor hired by the publisher, as the original author Sam Quinones was busy with his next book about the opiate epidemic (personal communication, April 9, 2021). The freelance editor is not named in the adaptation, which served as a reminder that youth adaptations involve a publishing industry with lots of players involved rather than an author working alone.

FINDINGS

AMOUNT OF INFORMATION AND STRUCTURAL COMPLEXITY

Using Colman's (2007) model, our analysis found differences across versions of *Dreamland* in terms of (a) the amount of information conveyed and (b) the structural complexity through which that information was presented. Following Colman, we conceptualized information and structure as continuums. Amount of information refers to the quantity of facts, plot points, storylines, and so on; and structural complexity involves how information is presented in the text (e.g., chronologically, episodically, thematically), with simple structures relying on one form of presentation and complex structures relying on multiple (Coleman, 2007, p. 262). We approached the information and structure continuums in multiple ways. First, we looked at the number of words in each text. Figure 1 provides a visual display comparing the number of words in the two version of *Dreamland*.

FIGURE 1

Bar Graph Based on Number of Words Across Both Versions of *Dreamland*

While the original version of Dreamland comes in at about 130,000 words, the adaptation is only about a third of that number. The top bar in blue, representing the original version, is separated into seven segments: F (for frontmatter), Parts 1-5, and B (for backmatter). The bottom bar in yellow, representing the adaptation, is separated into six segments, one fewer part than the original. The difference in number of words has implications for how much information is conveyed across versions. The original version has more words to convey facts, plot points, and

storylines in Part 1 alone than does the adaptation in its entirety. Overall, the youth adaptation has about 85,000 fewer words than the original, meaning a sizable amount of material from the original version was either omitted entirely or significantly pared down. Attending to what was omitted and what was significantly pared down became central to our analysis. However, we found that an explanation about the word count differences could not be meaningfully separated from structural differences. The number of words in each version needed to be considered alongside where those words were allocated structurally.

The structure of the adaptation differs from the original in two main ways. First, the adaptation has 30 chapters of similar page length whereas original has 63 chapters, which vary widely from choppy one-and-a-half page chapters to longer 20-page chapters. Using these varying chapter lengths, Quinones switches into different patterns of conveying information, allowing for more complexity in the storytelling (Colman, 2007). For example, a chapter called "A Criminal Case: Southern Virginia" (original, pp. 220-221) is only a page and a half. It takes the reader away from the geographic location of the previous chapter, Portsmouth, Ohio, to relate a brief episode where John Brownlee, a newly appointed U.S. attorney for the western district of Virginia, prepares to file a case against Purdue Pharma for criminal misbranding. This short chapter is something of an exclamation mark given the previous and much longer chapter, "Junkie Kingdom in Dreamland: Portsmouth, Ohio" (pp. 206-219). This longer chapter documents the continued downfall of Dreamland, the area of Portsmouth, Ohio and namesake of the book. More people become addicted to Purdue Pharma produced Oxycontin, and the infrastructure of pill mills continues unabated. This chapter includes rich descriptions about how Purdue Pharma coordinated their activities with pill mill doctors to capitalize on opiate addition, linking the effects of this corruption to the activity of the locals who began resorting to a black-market economy of shoplifted Walmart gear, Medicaid cards, and OxyContin pills.

While this variation in chapter lengths, and concomitant variation in modes of conveying information, is found throughout the original version of *Dreamland*, creating a dynamic structural aspect to the storytelling, the adaptation maintains fairly equal allocations of words/pages throughout the chapters. In the adaptation, chapters of similar length tend to consolidate the information under short titles suggestive of a focused topic. For example, the two chapters of the original described above, "Junkie Kingdom in Dreamland: Portsmouth, Ohio" and "A Criminal Case: Southern Virginia," are seemingly titled to evoke a sense of mystery or even cinematic

suspense and, through their varying lengths, produce a sense that hope and despair are in asymmetrical relations. In contrast, the adaptation moves this material into four chapters of similar length and follows a more straightforward titling convention: "Addiction" (pp. 20-26), "Pill Mills" (pp. 27-32), "The Oxy Trade" (pp. 33-41), and "Discovery" (pp. 42-47). Chapters in the adaptation tend to relay information about what topic will be covered, and readers come to expect about the same number of pages per topic. The structural complexity of the original that allows Quinones to vary the pace, place, and purpose of the chapters is replaced by a simpler structure in the adaptation. This difference in complexity extends to the parts of each version. Nearly half of the original version is in Part 1 alone while the adaptation is separated into relatively equal parts. Figure 2 provides a visualization of this difference in the form of a treemap. The rectangles are sized on number of words in each section across versions, and the partitions allow for a quick visual comparison of the proportions.

FIGURE 2

Treemap Showing Proportions Across Both Versions of *Dreamland*

The proportions in Figure 2 demonstrate that while the storytelling in the original *Dreamland* is free to vary in terms of how many words are allocated to each part, the youth adaptation is split evenly. Information in the form of facts, storylines, or plot points in the adaptation was omitted or pared down, seemingly, to align with this simpler structure. So, for example, Part 1 of the original version covers essentially every topic of the book (black tar heroin, OxyContin, corrupt doctors, changing attitudes about pain, Purdue Pharma, operations of drug dealers, and so on), which are

then elaborated on throughout Part 2 through 5. The adaptation, however, designates a particular part of the book for a particular topic, so, e.g., Part 1 is designated to and titled "The Pills" while Part 2 is designated to and titled "Heroin," the former relaying information about OxyContin pills, the pill mills of northern Kentucky, and Purdue Pharma, the latter relaying information about immigrants from Mexico setting up franchises in the U.S. to sell black tar heroin. While the adaptation tends to separate information in this fashion, the original moves back and forth freely, allowing the reader to experience the dynamic interplay of pain, pills, heroin, Purdue Pharma, and so on. This dynamic interplay is important to the storytelling (see interview in Appendix A), encouraging the reader to find original connections as the story unfolds. The reader of the youth adaptation is not encouraged in a similar fashion; rather, through structural differences, connections between these topics come ready-made for the implied youth reader.

Further, we found this structural difference interacted with how the storylines within *Dreamland* took on meaning. To better understand this difference, we identified storylines and traced how they moved through each version of the book (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

Rules, Examples, and Nonexamples for Identifying Storylines in *Dreamland*

#	Rule	Examples	Nonexamples
1	Protagonists must be named in one or more chapter titles of the original version.	1. Enrique 2. Dr. Jick's Letter	1. Bodies are the Key to the Case 2. Heroin Like Hamburgers
2	Protagonists may have more than one name or identifying word, such as a nickname or profession.	1. Liberace in Appalachia 2. Pain and the Pro Wrestler	1. The Revolution 2. All About the 501s
3	Storylines must depend mostly on proper nouns associated exclusively with the protagonist (e.g., Procter) but may also include other words if those words are specific to the storyline and not more generally used across the book.	1. "Landmark" to describe Hershel Jick's paragraph 2. "Liberace" to describe David Procter	1. "Xalisco," an associated word with Enrique but not exclusive to Enrique 2. "Pain," an associated word with John Bonica but not exlusive to Bonica

Using this method, we identified seven storylines: (1) *Enrique* follows the story of a poor farm boy from Xalisco, Nayarit who became a black tar heroin dealer, (2) *Jick* follows the story of a doctor who wrote a paragraph about opiate addiction that would be misinterpreted over decades to support widespread opiate pill prescription and production, (3) *Procter* follows the story of a

corrupt doctor who pioneered the practices of pill mills, (4) *Sackler* follows the story of a medical doctor turned adman who changed the way hospitals interact with pharmaceutical companies, (5) *the Man* follows the story of a drug dealer who refined franchising practices in order to reach customers and evade authorities, (6) *Bonica* follows the story of a professional wrestler turned pain doctor who advocated for a multidisciplinary approach to pain, and (7) *Pentecostal* follows the story of a family of Russian Pentecostal immigrants who upon moving to Washington state became entangled in opiate addiction, starting with pills, moving to black tar heroin, and finally recovering after years of strife.

These seven storylines emerge differently across versions, having implications for structural complexity and amount of information conveyed (Colman, 2007). Figure 3 provides a visual. Along the x-axis are chapters, and along the y-axis are frequencies. Frequencies were derived from the number of times the proper noun(s) associated with that storyline appeared in each chapter. This method allowed us to trace the presence of each storyline across chapters to see how they interact, and it also gave a sense about prevalence of each storyline relative to the other storylines. Moving recursively from the *Dreamland* texts to the frequency charts deepened our interpretations.

FIGURE 3

Storyline Frequencies Across Versions

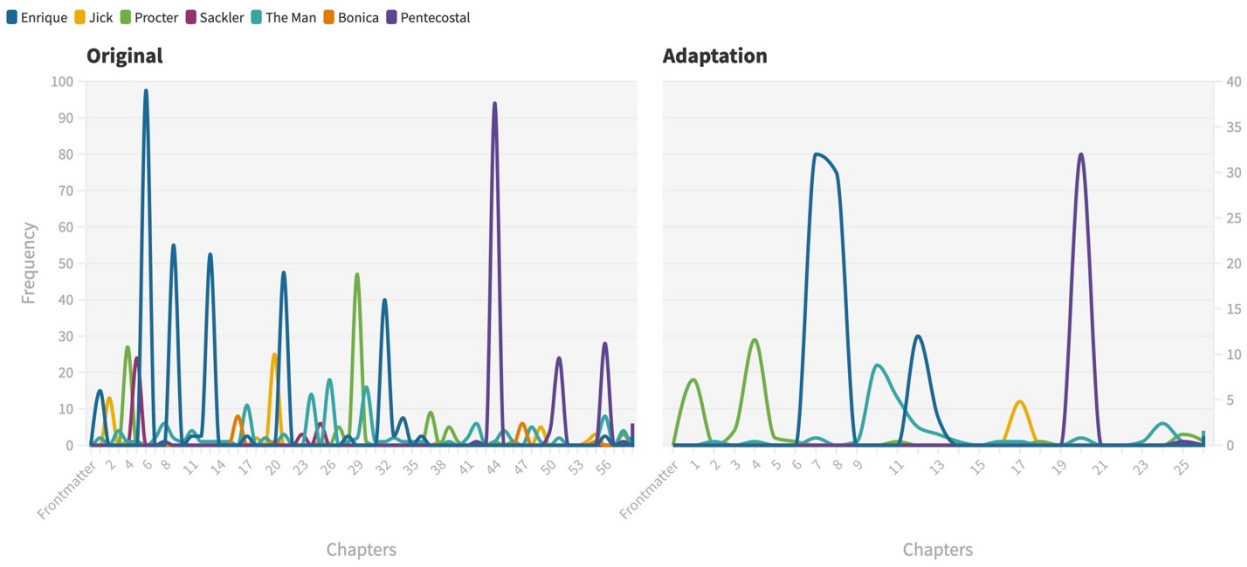


Figure 3 shows that the storylines in original version of *Dreamland* tend to appear in more chapters and are more entangled with each other than in the youth version. The different patterns

suggest a different reading experience. In the original version, readers will need to consider a particular storyline at multiple junctures and consider how a particular storyline interacts with the others; in the adaptation, readers will experience a more consolidated storyline that tends to finish its arc in one or two areas with fewer places of interaction. As we shaped interpretations throughout the analysis, we considered this graph as we reread the books and reread earlier analytic memos. We found the simpler structure and fewer words of the youth adaptation produced a sense of telling the youth reader about various aspects of the opiate epidemic, whereas the more complex structure in the original version tended to provide the reader with more interpretive space. That is, the reader of the original is given greater latitude to make meaning. This finding resonates with a previous study about youth adapted military memoirs where the adapted texts worked to micro-manage the meaning making of the implied youth reader (Sulzer, Thein, & Schmidt, 2018).

Lastly, while some storylines are pared down and left more structurally isolated, some are omitted altogether. Figure 4 displays each storyline as a circle sized by frequency across versions.

FIGURE 4

Storylines Sized by Frequency

The two smallest storylines of the original are omitted in the adaptation: Sackler and Bonica, represented in orange and dark blue in Figure 4, respectively. Although these storylines take up less physical space in terms of words and pages, they are important layers in the original version of *Dreamland*. In each case, these storylines deepen the reader's sense of history and allow the reader to consider connection points between the particular people, ideas, and developments of the current opiate epidemic.

The first omitted storyline is Sackler, which refers to Arthur Sackler (1913-1987), a psychiatrist turned adman who would come to own Purdue Pharma, a pharmaceutical company now worth billions of dollars and still owned by the Sackler family. The Sackler story arc moves through the development of advertising and outreach techniques, which emphasized direct contact with doctors, that began circa 1951. The influence of these practices is hard to understate. Sackler, with a background as a medical professional, had an intuition about how to persuade the medical community. For example, Sackler successfully organized a campaign to get Valium into the hands of women. Despite being dangerous in the eyes of the public at the time, Sackler successfully pitched Valium as a lifestyle drug, "a way of bearing the stress of lives as wives and mothers" (p. 30), and doctors, almost all men, need not worry about addictiveness because "women were presumed to need that kind of help for the rest of their lives" (p. 30). The original version demonstrates that medical advertising became not just profit-driven, but predatory.

Although Arthur Sackler died in 1987, his legacy remains: pharmaceutical companies maintain this relationship with healthcare providers to this day, a point made clear in the original version of *Dreamland* with descriptions of "an industry so indebted that it referred to him by his first name" (p. 31) and a list of medical facilities with Sackler chiseled on the facade. For the reader of the original version, Quinones writes, "Years later, Purdue would put those strategies to use marketing its new opiate painkiller OxyContin" (p. 31). While this touchpoint to the present is made explicit in the original, the youth adaptation omits this storyline altogether. Youth readers are not drawn into this history or provided access to the questions it might suggest.

The second omitted storyline is Bonica, which refers to John Bonica, a pro wrestler turned anesthesiologist. As a pro wrestler, Bonica sustained injuries leading to lifelong chronic pain, and later, as a medical doctor, Bonica would set up the first pain clinic in the United States. The reader of the original *Dreamland* is presented, through the Bonica storyline, a counterpoint to the Sackler storyline. Sackler profited from selling pain relief as a pill, but "[Bonica believed] pain could only

be salved when many disciplines within medicine, and beyond, were applied" (p. 86). The contrast of a singular approach (Sackler) to a multidisciplinary approach (Bonica) to pain is heightened as the original *Dreamland* traces the time period. Bonica's role as the chief of anesthesia at the University of Washington School of Medicine began in 1960, shortly after Sackler began his career in advertising in 1951; these simultaneous storylines allow the reader of the original to witness two competing ideologies in play with respect to pain treatment. The reader of the original watches as Bonica's multidisciplinary and effective – but less profitable – approach loses out time and again to those who carried on Sackler's legacy of profit-driven opiate sales based on pills alone.

This theme is developed in the original *Dreamland* early and late in the book. After Bonica's death, Bonica's protégé, Alex Cahana, keeps the multidisciplinary pain clinic open on a shoestring budget. Explaining the situation, Quinones writes in the original, "An insurance company would reimburse thousands of dollars for a procedure [with opiate pills for recovery]. But Cahana couldn't get them to reimburse seventy-five dollars for a social worker, even if it was likely that some part of the patient's pain was rooted in unemployment or marital strife" (p. 254). The short chapters of Bonica's storyline punctuate the original *Dreamland*.

As Figure 4 indicates, the Bonica storyline takes up little room, comparatively, in the original version. But this smaller storyline provides a complex layering of the overall story. The Bonica storyline explicitly asks the reader of the original *Dreamland* to consider the role of money in shaping the opiate epidemic, particularly how insurance reimbursements favor pain management through the singular approach of pills rather than multidisciplinary approach that Bonica developed. The descriptions of Bonica's pain management clinic, a "pathbreaking clinic" that is now in "a windowless basement" with out-of-date calendars and "still-unpacked boxes that sagged like old wedding cakes" (p. 253), provide the descriptive counterpoint to the air-conditioned board rooms with polished wooden tables of Purdue Pharma. The youth reader is denied access to this visual juxtaposition.

The omission of these two storylines in the youth adaptation reduces both the number of facts, descriptions, and so on used to convey information as well as the structural complexity of the book overall. While a book's amount of information and structural complexity can be conceptualized as continuums (Colman, 2007), we might also interpret a qualitative shift in how the youth reader is positioned in this youth adaptation. These two storylines are, after all, relatively small in terms of their word frequencies (see Figure 4), but the reader of the original *Dreamland*,

through these storylines, is invited to consider the particular histories and motivations of John Bonica and Arthur Sackler. The reader of the original is encouraged to understand the opiate epidemic by linking approaches to pain with the economic, cultural, and social conditions that favored pill mills over multidisciplinary action. Through the adapted text, the youth reader does not have this opportunity.

RHETORICAL DISTANCE

Using the notion of rhetorical distance (Cadden, 2021), we found differences across versions of *Dreamland*. Cadden (2021) argues that children's and young adult books modulate the rhetorical distance of a character to the youth reader through techniques such as characterization, dialogue, description, and so on. Characters with unsavory traits may be kept at a greater distance from youth readers while characters with culturally praised traits may be pulled closer by, for example, keeping an unsavory character relatively flat while providing a rounder and more psychological rich description of the character with culturally praised traits. Through modulations of rhetorical distance, characters take on different function. Cadden (2021) asks, "What do authorial choices regarding characterization, in particular, mean for how the reader is to position herself relative to the story?" (p. 24).

Taking up this question, we found that *Dreamland* creates more rhetorical distance in the youth adaptation than the original version with respect to several individuals. With this shift in rhetorical distance comes a shift in the function of people within the overall story. For example, Enrique is featured in both versions of *Dreamland*. And in both versions, the story arc includes seven plot points (see Figure 5). However, the first plot point of the original, which is the opening of the entire original version of *Dreamland*, is moved to a middle position in the adaptation. This plot point, represented in Figure 5 in blue, introduces the reader to Enrique in the original. The scene is at an airport where Enrique witnesses a confrontation between Mexican immigrants and the police, prompting Enrique to reflect on his own life as a dealer of black tar heroin.

FIGURE *5*

Plot Points of Enrique's Storyline

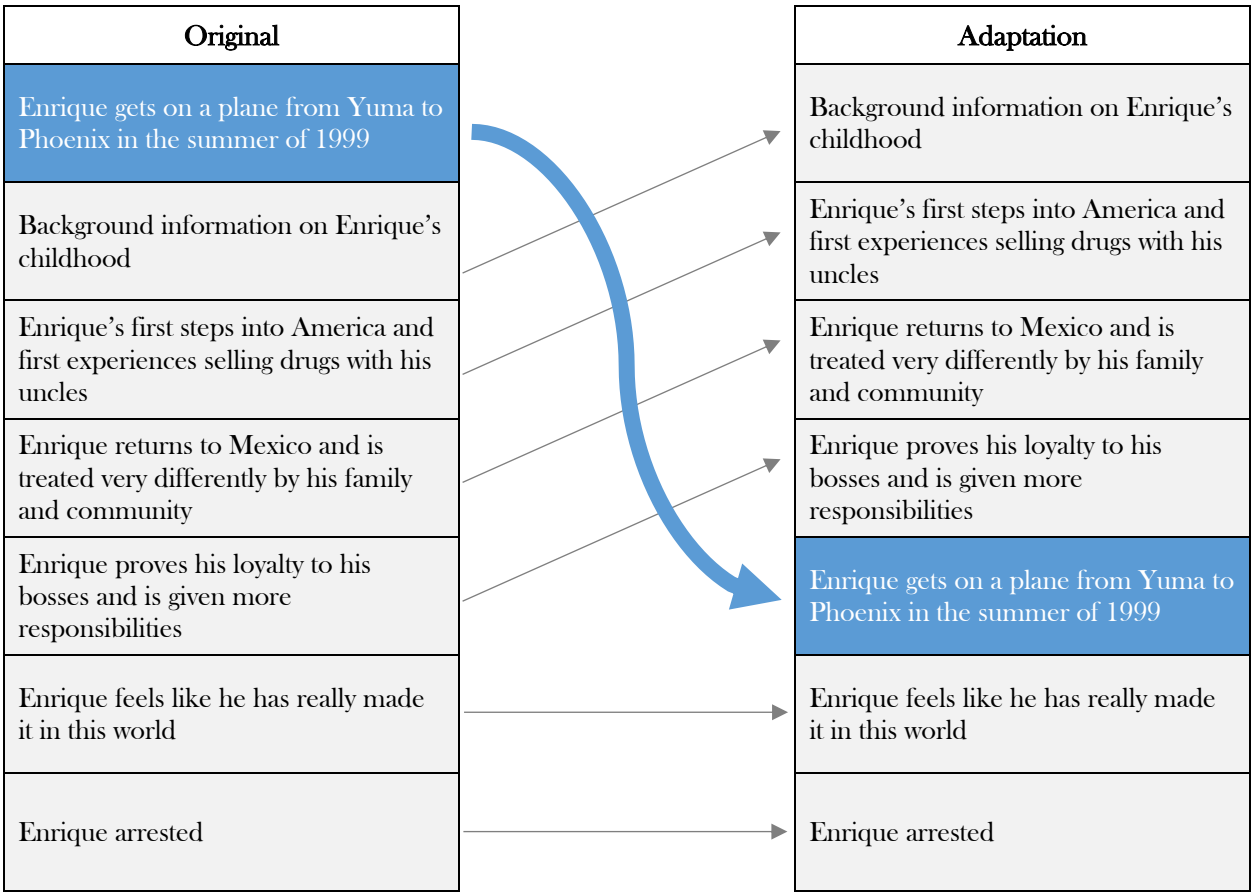


Figure 5 illustrates that this opening scene of the original *Dreamland* is transported toward the center of Enrique's story arc in the adaptation. Moving this plot point produces strict chronological ordering of Enrique's storyline in the youth adaptation. While the original version introduces the reader to Enrique as a drug dealer and only then moves to the childhood conditions that shaped his life, the adaptation introduces the youth reader to Enrique as a child growing up in the poor Mexican rancho of Xalisco, Nayarit. The youth reader follows Enrique's storyline, watching a child grow up through family and financial strife, become involved in the black tar heroin trade via his uncles, and get arrested in a large sting operation. The story is one of a poor farm boy who ended up in a bad place. Enrique's storyline feels very different in the original version, however. The opening scene is of Enrique at the airport. The reader meets Enrique as a drug dealer who has already been shaped by childhood conditions and has already made life choices. Enrique comes to the reader as a complex person who operates from a worldview

grounded in lived experience. While the youth adaptation engages the question *How did a poor child get into a bad situation?*, the original version engages the question *How do Enrique's decisions make sense given the life he has lived?*

Further, the language in this plot point represents Enrique differently across versions. The original version presents a psychologically rich description of Enrique while the youth adaptation presents a less rich, flat description, suggesting a shift to a greater rhetorical distance in the adaptation (Cadden, 2021). In the original, the scene at the airport describes Enrique as confident in his choices and his worldview as he contrasts himself to the poor Mexican immigrants getting deported, but at the same time, Enrique is reflective, questioning, and full of doubt. This psychological richness is missing from the adaptation. Table 2 presents the language of the original and the adaptation. Material in green is the same across versions; material in blue is revised but maintains the substance of the original; and material in red is omitted.

TABLE 2

Original and Adapted Description of Enrique at the Airport (same; revised; omitted)

Original (pp. 13-14)	Adaptation (pp. 90-91)
"As he waited for his plane, he watched an immigration officer in the airport spot the men and make the same calculation he had. The officer asked them for identification. There was a discussion Enrique couldn't hear. But in the end, the men could produce none. As the other passengers watched, the officer led them off single file to be, Enrique assumed, deported./ Growing up in a poor Mexican village had attuned Enrique to the world's unfairness. Those who worked hard and honestly got left behind. Only those with power and money could insist on decent treatment. These facts, which he believed had been proven to him throughout his life, allowed him to rationalize what he did. Yet moral qualms still came like uninvited guests. He told others that he hadn't been raised to be a heroin trafficker and believed it when he said it, though he was one. Scenes like this convinced him that he was doing what he had to do to survive. He didn't make the rules./ Still, as the officer paraded the men by, he thought to himself, 'I'm the dirtiest of them all and they don't ask me anything. If I'd have come to work *derecho*—honestly—they'd have treated me badly, too.'"	"As he waited for his plane, he watched an immigration officer in the airport ask the men for identification. There was some discussion. Then, as the other passengers watched, the officer led them off single file to be, Enrique assumed, deported./ Scenes like this convinced Enrique that he was doing what he had to do to survive. As the officer paraded the men by, he thought to himself, 'I'm the dirtiest of them all and they don't ask me anything. If I'd have come to work derecho—honestly—they'd have treated me badly, too.'/ Watching *la migra* rouse those dusty immigrants from the Yuma airport helped put an end to the last nagging qualms he had about selling chiva./

Reading across these two versions of this same description of Enrique at the airport produces a different effect in terms of rhetorical distance (Cadden, 2021). Both versions situate the scene in Enrique's perspective, using a narrative style of third person limited, i.e., a third person description filtered through Enrique's perspective. However, this narrative style is more pronounced in the original version, producing a more psychologically rich portrayal. Enrique has a worldview ("Only those with power and money could insist on decent treatment") that comes from lived experience ("Growing up in a poor Mexican village had attuned Enrique to the world's unfairness"), but he also questions himself ("moral qualms still came like uninvited guests"). This plot point, the first encounter the reader has with Enrique in the original, presents Enrique as a paradox: "He told others that he hadn't been raised to be a heroin trafficker and believed it when he said it, though he was one" (p. 14). This material is omitted in the adaptation. Enrique is not a paradox that demands the reader's sympathy or even empathy to understand, but a drug dealer making observations at the Yuma airport and becoming sure of himself in doing so (conclusion of the adaptation: "[the experience] helped put an end to the last nagging qualms he had about selling chiva").

The description of the original helps the reader find a psychologically complex individual in Enrique from the first encounter, setting the stage for further exploration throughout the book. Enrique is even given the very first scene of the whole book in the original version, suggesting the psychological richness of this drug dealer from Mexico is meant to operate as a framing mechanism for the opiate epidemic as a whole. The description of Enrique at the airport in the adaptation, coupled with its relative position in the adapted version, keeps the youth reader at a greater distance from this black tar heroin dealer. This greater rhetorical distance (Cadden, 2021) is produced through both plotting and description. This shift in rhetorical distance suggests that youth readers, while they are allowed to know about Enrique in the adaptation, need some measure of protection from the thinking of a Mexican drug dealer. The impulse to protect youth from people who do bad things and their presumably contagious effects (see Sarigianides, 2012) presents itself in this youth adapted text through this shift in rhetorical distance.

This shift in rhetorical distance is patterned throughout the youth adaptation. Another example is in the storyline of Dr. Hershel Jick. In 1980, Jick wrote a letter to the *New England Journal of Medicine*. The letter briefly summarized a preliminary finding about addiction among a small sample of patients taking pain killers, finding less than 1% experienced addiction. While the letter

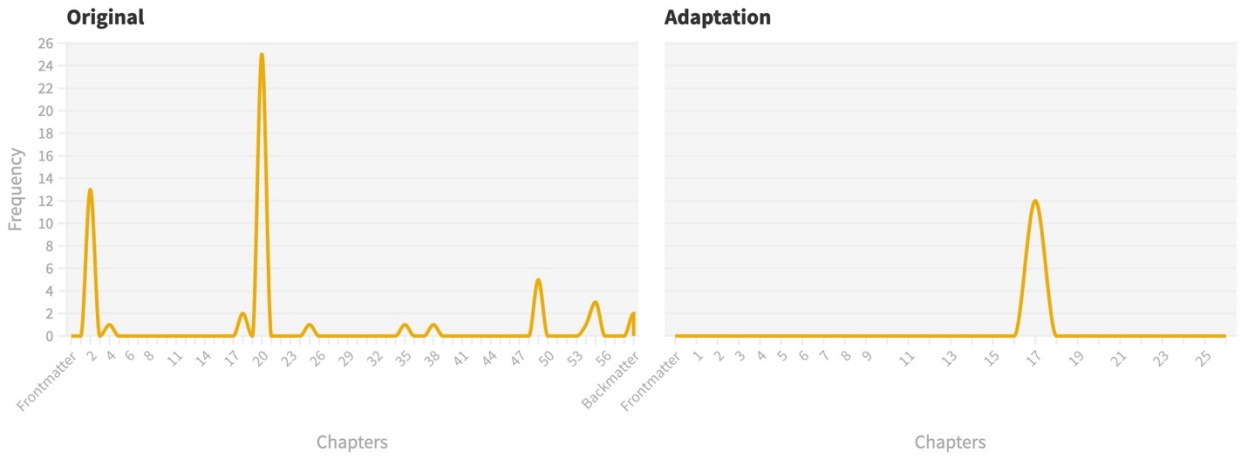
was only a paragraph in length, containing scant and decontextualized information, it would be used by those in the medical community as a "landmark study" to justify what would become the widespread practice of prescribing pain killers for even minor injuries.

This practice was supported through Purdue Pharma's aggressive campaign to sell OxyContin. When Purdue Pharma was eventually taken to court in 2007, Dr. Jick was called in to testify. In both versions of *Dreamland*, Jick "had no idea" (original, p. 266; adaptation, p. 126) that a paragraph he wrote in 1980 was being used to justify the sale of OxyContin. But in the adaptation, Jick's story only appears once, when Purdue Pharma is being sued. By contrast, in the original, Jick's story appears multiple times and works to contextualize the origin of the opiate epidemic: That is, the opiate epidemic came about, in part, from disingenuous uses of medical research by those in power who were more interested in profit than appropriate treatment for pain.

A chapter called "Dr. Jick's Letter" is placed second in the original version, directly after the introduction of Enrique described above. Over the course of multiple encounters with this storyline, readers of the original see how Dr. Jick became an unwitting player in the opiate crisis, leading to a subpoena in the Purdue Pharma misbranding trial. In the adaptation, Dr. Jick is also subpoenaed for the trial, but this is the one and only instance that Dr. Jick – and the paragraph that took on such importance in the opiate epidemic – is ever mentioned. See Figure 6.

FIGURE 6

Storyline of Dr. Hershel Jick



The original version grapples with the question of why and how Dr. Jick's paragraph – ostensibly providing figures indicating pain killers were nonaddictive – became a so-called

"landmark study." Over multiple encounters with this storyline across the book, readers of the original come to see that some in the medical community earnestly wanted to believe in the benefits of pain killers for the general public; some were persuaded because they wanted to be persuaded, and others persuaded by the aura of "known facts" that developed as more and more doctors became enveloped in the practice of prescribing pain killers. And in the midst of all this activity, Purdue Pharma amplified the voices that benefitted their own sales of OxyContin. While the original version of *Dreamland* uses Dr. Jick's paragraph as a symbol for how the disingenuous activities of Purdue Pharma interacted with the layered beliefs about pain across the medical community, the adaptation holds this entire topic at a distance.

Further, the descriptive language around Dr. Jick shifts, suggesting a greater rhetorical distance in the adaptation. The original presents Dr. Jick as a curious, engaged, successful medical researcher who is "perplexed" when asked to testify but does so, even as it is a distraction to his work. The following excerpt from the original features the scene where Dr. Jick is subpoenaed for the Purdue Pharma trial:

> In 2005, the federal prosecutors in Abingdon, Virginia, who were preparing the case against Purdue subpoenaed Dr. Hershel Jick up at Boston University. A deputy sheriff delivered the papers. Dr. Jick ignored the subpoena at first. He was too busy to be bothered. Then a federal prosecutor called. They needed him to testify before a grand jury, she said, something to the effect, Dr. Jick later remembered, of a drug company using his 1980 letter to the *New England Journal of Medicine* as proof that their drugs weren't addictive. Hershel Jick was perplexed. He had no idea what she was talking about. What did all this have to do with him?
>
> "I told them I wouldn't go," he told me. "But they threatened to put me in jail, so I schlepped on down there. They had me on the stand asking me irrelevant and obtuse questions for two hours."
>
> Dr. Jick then returned to Boston and with that he exited our story, his tiny letter to the editor in the back pages of the *New England Journal of Medicine* having helped ignite, quite unintentionally, a revolution in American medicine. (Original, p. 266)

The original makes explicit at the end of this scene the role of Dr. Jick and his letter that "quite unintentionally" began "a revolution in American medicine." Dr. Jick is a well-respected, if somewhat oblivious, researcher whose authority was co-opted by the powerful for their own ends.

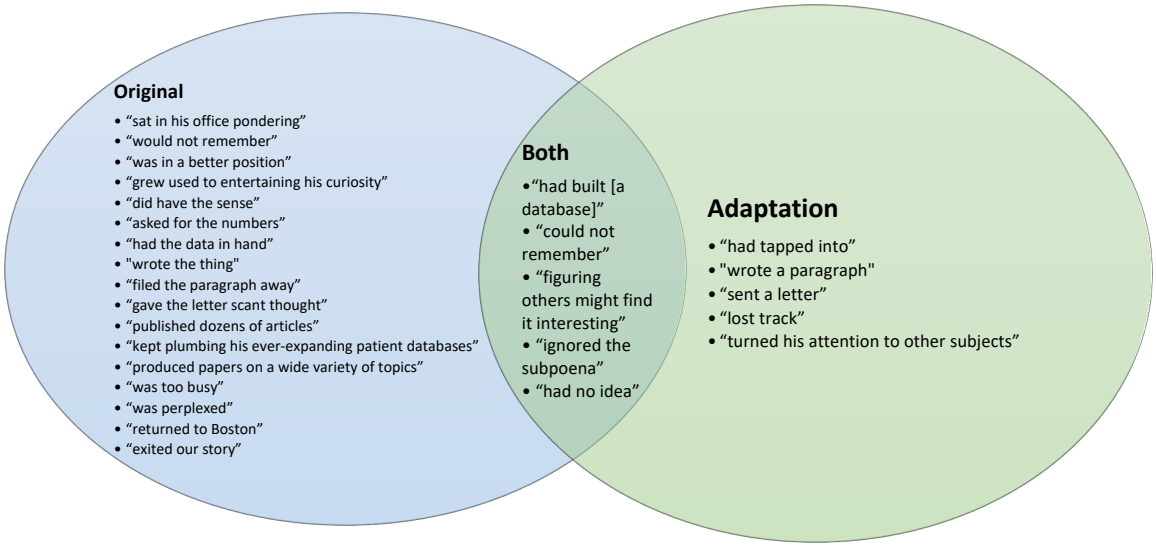
The adaptation has this scene as well, although pared down. It is also the first and only scene with Dr. Jick in the adaptation. With fewer encounters with Dr. Jick or the legacy of his infamous paragraph, he appears not as an unwitting participant, but as a resistant (possibly villainous?) doctor being forced to testify against his wishes:

> So in 2005, the Abingdon prosecutors sent a subpoena to Jick. He ignored it.
>
> Then a federal prosecutor called, explaining that they needed him to testify to a grand jury about a drug company using his 1980 letter to the *New England Journal of Medicine* as proof that their drugs weren't addictive.
>
> He had no idea what she was talking about. "I told them I wouldn't go," he said later. "But they threatened to put me in jail, so I schlepped on down there. They had me on the stand asking me irrelevant and obtuse questions for two hours." (Adaptation, p. 126)

This rendering of Dr. Jick is more resonant with a linchpin character in a procedural drama whose testimony takes the episode from climax to conclusion. The original version gives Dr. Jick and the legacy of his paragraph a fuller treatment. Dr. Jick is not a flat character in the original – rather, the reader is pulled into the mental states, motivations, and memories of Dr. Jick throughout. In the adaptation, Dr. Jick remains at a distance. Figure 7 displays a Venn diagram to demonstrate this distinction. On the left are all the verbal phrases attached to Dr. Jick in the original; on the right are the verbal phrases in the adaptation; and the middle represents both.

FIGURE 7

Venn Diagram of Verbal Phrases Attached to Dr. Jick



The original features a more varied portrayal of Dr. Jick who "grew used to entertaining his curiosity" with the database he created and "wrote the thing [his infamous paragraph]," giving it "scant thought" before "publish[ing] dozens of articles." When approached to testify, he was "perplexed" not because he was resistant, as suggested by the adaptation, but because he was oblivious about the influence of his own paragraph.

With Dr. Jick's character revised in the adaptation, the structural complexity (Colman, 2007) of the story lessens. This storyline, which gains great importance in the original by being developed at multiple points, becomes isolated in the adaptation, thereby closing off a way for youth to access the complexity of the opiate epidemic. By positioning Dr. Jick at a greater rhetorical distance from the youth reader (Cadden, 2021), the adaptation disengages from the larger sociopolitical questions about how the medical community, a blend of well-meaning doctors and outright nefarious companies, caused such harm through the misinterpretation of a single paragraph. In the original, Dr. Jick is layered with multiple textures, as is the interaction of his paragraph with the medical community. Jick's storyline is representative of the many layers Quinones finds in the original version's exploration of the opiate epidemic. Through the rhetorical distancing of the adaptation, these layers go missing, as do the youth reader's opportunity to consider them.

PROGRESS

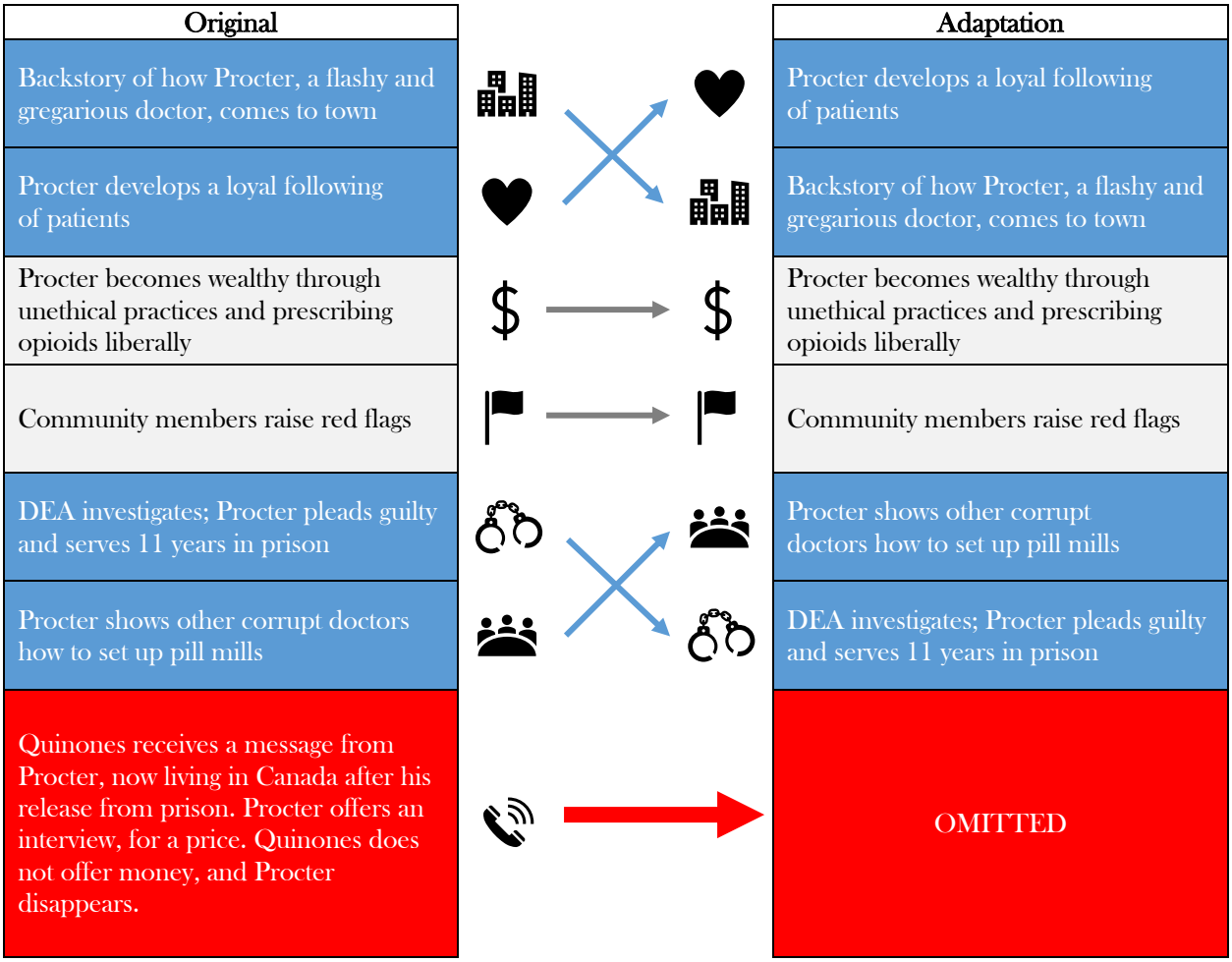
Using the notion of progress, we found differences across the original and adapted versions of *Dreamland* as well. We conceptualized progress narratives in two main ways: as a relatively simple structure of problem-action-solution (Colman, 2007) and as an optimistic conclusion. The youth adaptation of *Dreamland* tilts more toward a progress narrative than the original version, as plot points of the original storylines become reorganized to fit often less messy and more satisfying conclusions. For example, in the adaptation, the storyline of Dr. David Procter becomes reorganized and also shortened to give the youth reader a clearer sense of progress. In this case of Dr. Procter, this means corrupt doctors go to jail.

Described as "Liberace in Appalachia," Dr. Procter figures prominently across both versions of *Dreamland*. He pioneers pill mill operations; he lies, cheats, and steals; and his corruption spreads to other doctors who do the same. The main plot points of the Procter storyline vary from

the original version to the youth adaptation. The plot points are presented below in Figure 8, the original on the left and the adaptation on the right. Plot points in gray remain in the same order across versions, points in blue are switched, and the points in red indicate omission. Icons appear on either side to capture the gist of the plot point, allowing for a quick visual reference.

FIGURE 8

Plot Points of the David Procter Storyline



Across both versions, Procter is portrayed as a corrupt and contemptible person who causes great harm to his adopted communities of South Shore, Kentucky and Portsmouth, Ohio. Situated on either side of the Ohio River, Procter ingratiates himself to these small townships, setting up the first pain clinic in the region and freely prescribing pain killers to virtually anyone wanting them.

Procter's ethics come into question, and red flags accumulate. He's arrested by the DEA, but his methods of setting up pill mills proliferate. In the original, Procter is still very much a

presence after his arrest. In the adaptation of *Dreamland*, however, these plot points are organized such that Procter's arrest is the conclusion. In Figure 8, the handcuff icon represents Procter's arrest. The original (left) column has two plot points after the arrest while the adaptation (right) column ends on the arrest. The final plot point of the original has Procter attempting to once again profit from his corrupt activities by selling an interview to Quinones, who refuses. That is, the original communicates the sense that David Procter, despite having spent 11 years in prison, is still out there. Further, the previous plot point communicates that people like Procter are out there as well. The adaptation reorganizes these plot points such that Procter is arrested and sent off to prison, at which point he vanishes from the book. Across versions, Procter faces justice, but only in the adaptation does justice define the end of his storyline. In this sense, the youth reader is delivered a story of progress as the corrupt doctor is "resolved."

Another way *Dreamland* shifts to a narrative of progress in the youth adaptation is through the proportional space given to optimism. Rereading theoretical memos (Johnson et al, 2017) related to progress narratives taken directly after our reading of the original and adapted versions, we found a stark difference: the original was described as "begrudgingly optimistic toward the very end" while the adaptation seemed "committed to optimism for the last quarter of the book." Indeed, we found the optimistic chapters in Part IV of the adaptation align with the content of the much smaller Parts IV and V of the original. Table 3 lists part and chapter titles for these areas in each version of Dreamland.

TABLE 3

Comparison of Part and Chapter Titles

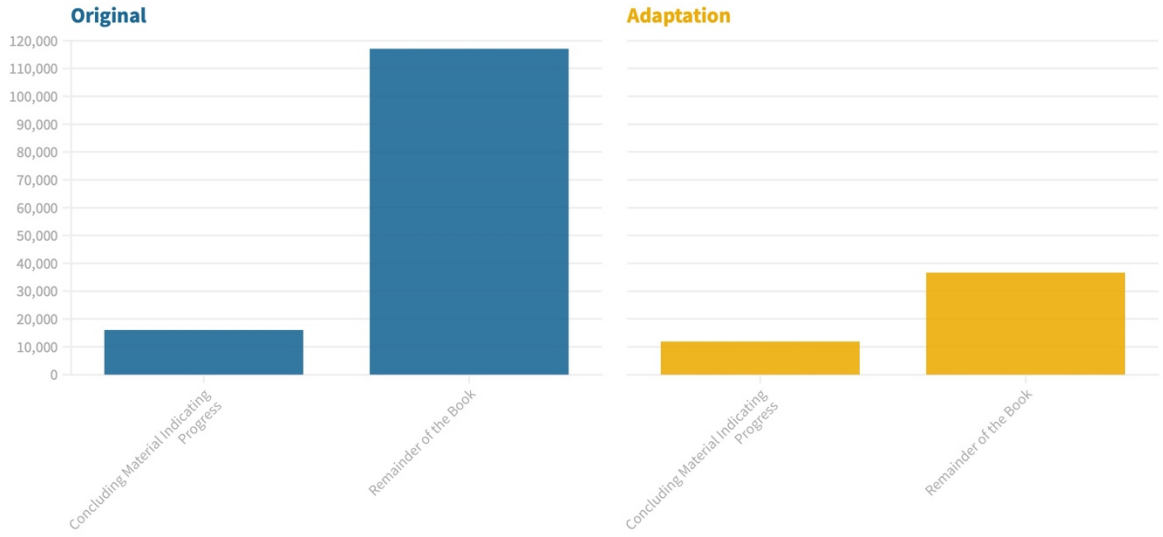
Original	Adaptation
Part IV	Part 4: Responding
America	A New Approach
The Treatment is You: Washington State	Treatment
The Internet of Dope: Central Valley of California	Untreatable Pain
Nobody Can Do It Alone: Southern Ohio	Everywhere
Part V	Changes
Up From the Rubble: Portsmouth, Ohio	Portsmouth

Table 3 displays some connections across versions. For example, the original's "The Treatment is You: Washington State" is shortened to "Treatment" in the adaptation. Both chapters approach new ways to treat morphine addiction. Both versions end in Portsmouth, Ohio,

with descriptions of clinics now taking a multidisciplinary approach to pain and addicts successfully healing from dependencies to Oxycontin, black tar heroin, and other forms of morphine. But while this section in each version covers similar content, the proportion of the book allotted to this content varies widely. Figure 9 provides a visual of these differing proportions.

FIGURE 9

Bar Graphs Displaying Proportion of Concluding Material Indicating Progress to Remaining Material



While the amount of material indicating progress in the original version is actually larger than the amount in the youth adaptation (using wordcount), the proportion of that material to the remainder of the book differs widely across versions. This material accounts for only 12% of the original, a proportion that jumps up to 25% in the adaptation. Across both versions, the reader hears a note of optimism in the conclusion. The one-time epicenter of the opiate epidemic, Portsmouth, Ohio – where Dreamland resides – becomes a symbol of hope for restoration, "A place that had, like [addicts in recovery], shredded and lost so much that was precious but was nurturing it again. Through they were adrift, they, too, could begin to find their way back./ Back to the place called Dreamland" (original, p. 345; adaptation, p. 190). But for the youth reader, this note resonates for far longer, a whole quarter of the book.

Considering this proportional difference in optimism and the tendency for story arcs to arrive at ends with unambiguous justice, the youth reader is folded into an overall narrative of

progress. While the original version remains uncompromisingly textured and "begrudgingly optimistic" in its conclusion, the adaptation becomes pared down and "committed to optimism." Youth readers are positioned as in need of the simpler, cleaner, more optimistic version of the story – far removed from the story of the original.

DISCUSSION

One of the largest challenges when doing a CCCA of a youth adaptation is to resist the urge of placing the original version and the youth adaptation in a horse race against one another. That is to say, instead of placing the two horses (i.e., texts) on the starting line and seeing if one comes out ahead, the intention of the comparison is to examine the build of the horses, their genetic make-up, their training, and to some extent the type of jockey (or, in this case, teacher) they would need to guide them. Through this analysis, we focused on a comparison of the two versions of *Dreamland*, our goal being to explain the patterned differences in terms of the positioning of the implied youth reader rather than to declare which book "wins" and which book "loses." In other words, CCCA is geared toward calling forth and explaining patterns of difference between or among texts, maintaining the analytic stance that these textual differences emerge from, interact with, and participate in various discourses.

Following critical youth studies (Lesko, 2012), our analysis demonstrates how the implied youth reader is a textual byproduct of discourses of adolescence/ts. In the youth adaptation of *Dreamland,* the implied youth reader is provided less information about the opiate epidemic, which is also delivered through a simpler structure (Colman, 2007); the implied youth reader is kept at a greater rhetorical distance from people who might be deemed unsavory (Cadden, 2021); and the implied youth reader is given a more optimistic view of the opiate epidemic in terms of progress achieved rather than action needed (Loewen, 2018). The youth adaptation of *Dreamland,* therefore, positions youth as needing simplicity, protection, and a sense of optimism. This finding resonates with previous scholarship suggesting youth are often imagined reductively as readers and thinkers, as if they are a monolithic group with a preditable set of characteristics, thoughts, and needs (Lesko, Simmons, Uva, 2020; Sarigianides, Petrone, & Lewis, 2017; Sulzer & Thein, 2016).

More broadly, our analysis suggests that teachers and scholars of YA literature should critically engage youth adaptations and the broader YA publishing industry. Notions about what is safe or appropriate for the youth reader still appear to be driven by a publishing industry rooted

in whiteness (Sims, 1982; Taxel, 2011). In the youth adaptation of *Dreamland*, for example, the characters and storylines often reside within one chapter of the text and are separated away from the other characters, storylines, plot points, and timelines. While each chapter presents narratives that are chronological, the separation of narratives, particularly the separation of storylines between the white characters and the Latinx characters, creates a segregation of narratives evocative of curricular materials rooted in white narratives slanted toward white audiences. This segregation aligns with what is often referred to as white social studies, i.e., when minoritized voices or narratives are presented, they are separated away from the main content and present an "add and stir" approach to historical perspectives (Chandler & Branscome, 2015). For example, in our analysis of the Enrique storyline, the entanglement of Enrique's choices with his larger social and cultural contexts – a major feature of the original version – is removed in the adaptation. Instead, he is presented as a flat character that maintains rhetorical distance for the implied youth reader, therefore maintaining the safety in what is deemed "appropriate."

Overall, the youth adaptation of *Dreamland* simplifies and downplays the multitude of ways that human actions influenced a widespread drug addiction epidemic, thereby cutting off opportunities for youth to engage the topic. One of the clearest examples comes from the phrases associated with Dr. Jick. As explored in our findings, Dr. Jick is presented as a well regarded medical researcher in the original version; Dr. Jick's paragraph was misquoted and misused by the larger medical community. The rhetorical distance used in the adaptation, however, removes Dr. Jick from this complex web and doesn't allow the youth reader to have the opportunity to place him within the larger storyline of Big Pharma corruption. Furthermore, as the adaptation removes the storylines of Sackler and Bonica, a similar lack of opportunity occurs for the youth reader who no longer has the historical and sociocultural context to examine how advertising, money, and insurance companies all played a pivotal role alongside Purdue Pharma in the proliferation of Oxycontin prescriptions.

By removing these storylines and plot points, the opportunities for the implied youth reader to fully understand the actions of the actors in the text (e.g., addicts, drug dealers) as well as the opportunity to use empathy as a way to take perspective on *why* they made their choices is severely limited. These limitations on agency and empathy make it increasingly difficult for the youth reader to then consider other historical thinking concepts such as significance and social change which, in

turn, introduce barriers in understanding how to effect social change in the present (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Colley, 2015, 2017; den Heyer, 2003; Endacott & Brooks, 2013; Seixas, 1993).

NEXT STEPS

Youth adaptations have quickly become a widespread publishing phenomenon. More work should be done to understand how youth adaptations change the content of their original counterparts. The patterns of change between original and youth adapted materials might be detailed further in order to better understand how youth are positioned as readers and thinkers in the YA publishing industry. Such detailing could provide guidance for scholars and teachers of YA literature on what to look for in a youth adaptation and what to watch out for. More work could also be done with middle and secondary students – the real readers of these texts – in order to understand how they make meaning of youth adapted books and what possibilities these books might afford for critical literacy in the classroom. For example, students might read excerpts across original and youth adapted versions of a book and perform their own critical analyses.

Nonfiction texts such as *Dreamland* also lend themselves to interdisciplinary connections. For example, using the original version of *Dreamland* as a focal text, a high school English teacher in a rural community teamed up with a social studies teacher from Seattle to create open discussion with their students across contexts and disciplines about the opiate epidemic (TrueTalesVideo, 2019). Such efforts show the promise of texts like *Dreamland*, and with youth adaptations, students could even consider another layer: How is the world represented in the original version – and how is the world represented to me as a young person in the youth adaptation? Integrating youth adaptations into critical literacy activities in the classroom could be a way to invite student voices into a discussion about their own positioning as readers and thinkers in the world, and thus, a discussion about the relations of power, ideology, and narrative.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW WITH SAM QUINONES, AUTHOR OF *DREAMLAND*

Q: *Dreamland* covers pill Mills, the Xalisco boys, the field of medicine, law enforcement, historical context, social and community aspects of opiates, and many, many more threads. Why was it important to present all of these threads in the same book?

QUINONES: I did not think the story could be told without that stuff. It's a complicated story. I really enjoy writing stories with many stories within them, sub texts or sub-sub narratives going on. But people always want to ask me who is most to blame for [the opiate epidemic]. I've received that question dozens of times, and my feeling is, it's hard for me to say that there's one thread that's more important than the other. I mean, pharmaceutical companies are certainly a problem but so too is Americans' desire for quick and easy answers to complicated problems like human pain. Pain Management, in its early days, as I say in the book, was a multidisciplinary story. You gave one patient a lot of different kinds of things: diet, exercise, acupuncture, could be a cognitive behavioral therapy. There were a whole bunch of things that went into the story of how we work to diminish the pain of chronic pain patients. Well, you can't start taking out pieces of that. It's very hard to take out pieces of that but although that's what happened in our culture. You start taking out pieces of the interdisciplinary pain management and all of a sudden it doesn't quite work as well. I thought the same thing was true of the story. You just cannot start saying I'm just going to tell the story of the Xalisco boys from Nayarit, Mexico. Well, why would they ever have a new market for heroin? Well, then you have to start talking about the pain revolution in American medicine. Well, why would doctors be pushed to do this? Well, then you have to start talking about Americans desire to be fixed and that kind of thing. It's a real holistic story. When I when I was writing the book, what I was writing about was what we've become as a country and who we've become as people. You know, it was not about heroin. I mean, yes, it was, but deeper down it was what we've done, was about who we've become as Americans, what we've become as a country, and what we've done to community. That was the deeper story to me.

Q: In various passages of the book, there's an emphasis on how opiates tend to come with a sense of silence, shame, and isolation for people who are addicted or have been affected by addiction. And I can't help but think of the current pandemic and how that might interact with all of these topics. What is your sense of the opiate epidemic in the current moment?

QUINONES: It's horribly, horribly worsened. Once they get all the full figures counted and everything [for 2020], we're going to find it's 20-30% higher than the most recent record overdose deaths for the country annually. It's going to be between 90 and 100 thousand overdose deaths and the record before that was 72, I believe, 73 or something like that. The pandemic worsened all the things that made the opioid epidemic such a problem. Right? People lost their jobs. People couldn't be around other people. We were a very isolated country. That's what led to this whole opiate problem. And we were working our way out of that, I felt, kind of slowly, you know? But then the pandemic hit and sent people back. On the other hand, what may also take place is that people will come to a very acute realization of how isolated we were and how horrible it is to be cut off from everybody else and why we need to be around other people outside, you know, among other Americans. That may be the silver lining, that we may have come to figure out that it's not okay to be all alone in your house all the damn time, you know, and even in wealthy areas, it was isolation. This was not a story about economic devastation,

although I was told it was when I began it. When I got into it I said, oh no no, it's deeper than that. It's in wealthy areas and in poor areas. And so economic devastation was not really the issue. It is an issue, but it's not the most important issue in this whole story. The real most important issue is our own isolation, how we destroyed community. That to me became like the big deal.

Q: These themes come across so loud and clear in the original version. Let's switch gears to the adaptation. How did the adaptation of dreamland come about? Did your publisher pitch this to you at some point? Was the publisher hoping that you would do the adaptation?

QUINONES: It was a collaborative thing. Part of part of what happened, and what surprised me endlessly was that [the book] awakened a lot of conversation and awareness of this problem. And when that happened, I started getting invitations to come speak all over the country, professional conferences in Vegas and DC and Disneyland and all these different places. I would go to this place to speak, but also went to small towns. I mean, I did 235 speeches between September of 2015 and when the pandemic hit. It was endless, and that led to the YA book because frequently I would get this question, do you have anything for younger readers on this topic? Do you have anything for a sophomore in high school? You know, *Dreamland* maybe isn't quite appropriate for a sophomore in high school. Do you have anything that I could use to bring up this conversation with my kids? Increasingly, I began to hear that and so when [the publisher] came to me with the YA idea, I thought to myself, you know, that is actually what I've been hearing this whole time. And so, it fit right in. And so I was very eager to get one done because of what I'd been hearing through all these speeches that I'd been doing.

Q: And did you have creative control of the adaptation?

QUINONES: I had conversations with the editor and the person who did the editing of the book. And she was very, very good. I read it, of course. But it was really her doing. I mean, the nuts and bolts of what got left in and left out, she, you know, reduced I would say the vocabulary a little bit, she left out certain topics that might have been too advanced, that kind of thing, which was fine with me because I was feeling this is kind of like eighth grade to 11th grade or maybe senior in high school, depending. It would be good for that. Those were the kids who were coming up in all this and needed to be having conversations about this and for which *Dreamland* itself, the original, was not really going to work as well.

Q: What about *Dreamland* in the original version do you hope lands in the same or similar way in the youth adaptation?

QUINONES: I think the awareness of how easy this stuff is to get addicted to would be a big one. I think the idea that community participation, being outside, and it comes down to stuff that's really simple sometimes, being outside with other people, you know, doing stuff to help the most vulnerable, all of those things I thought high school students would take to very clearly. This was about pharmaceutical marketing and it was about heroin trafficking from Mexico, but you know what? We were vulnerable to all of that because we'd done so much to destroy what bonded us, and those kinds of ideas I thought would be very potent for people – also, the idea that there really is no such thing anymore as recreational drug use. Recreational drug use is so deadly now, but mostly I wanted people to start thinking about this, talking about this. Frequently, I've heard from teachers that once they start talking about it, the number of people who have addicted family members or neighbors is a very high, so you begin to see how relevant it is to kids' lives and [the youth adaptation] gives them a way to understand it.

Q: What words or advice do you have for those involved in middle and secondary education?

QUINONES: The whole thing revolves around the taboos of discussing this kind of topic. And I think that's not a good thing. And I think the more we can talk about it, the more we bring real facts to bear, the better. That's what I tried to do by doing so much research and so on. I wanted to really understand the depth of [the opiate epidemic]. Of course, I could have written a book that was twice as long as the original *Dreamland* honestly, but I couldn't have done that either. I'm hoping that the classroom environment will be a place for discussion about this stuff. And helping to understand that there are economic forces at work that are just happy to play with you, to use you as their pawn. They are very powerful forces and you will you will run into those forces for the rest of your lives. And you better know how to, as an individual, deal with them. To me, the whole thing spread as fast and deeply as it did because every point along the way nobody wanted to talk about it. It really was that. I was hoping, in fact, that this [youth adaptation] might lead to community projects on the part of high school students. If people who are vulnerable in our communities, who are having a difficult time, then maybe we need to see who we can help. And maybe high school students are particularly energized in that way. I thought that might be a positive outgrowth of this book. I'm hoping it loosens up the conversation, loosens up activity.