Evolving Diversity in U.S. Media: A Comparison of Friends and 13 Reasons Why

MIZUKI ITO

Most people would agree that 2020 has been the most historic year in the century. The biggest reason for that is COVID-19. WHO confirmed that the virus is a pandemic and currently there are over 96 million people infected. It is for sure that the number of infected people itself is a threat for countries because there is not enough room for them in hospitals. However, there is another threat for many countries: economic. Since many countries restrict people from going outside, there are many people who get laid off. In fact, about 15% of workers in the U.S. were laid off in April (Tamura). In this insane situation, there are some countries that get praise for being good at handling those problems, such as Taiwan, New Zealand, and Finland. It would be a surprising fact for some people that those countries' leaders are women. From the image of the past, we think that a "good" leader or even a leader would be man. In my opinion, the reason why those countries' leaders were accepted as good leaders is because of women's empowerment. If women's empowerment was not on progress, they would not be accepted as a good leader or even not be able to be a leader of the country.

Another historic incident would be the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. This movement started in 2013 because of the killing of Trayvon Martin and then was recently boosted with the death of George Floyd. He was killed by police without the right reason and numerous people get angry at such unequal events. The movement started in the U.S. and then spread to the whole world. The death of George Floyd was a trigger to remind people that colored people, especially black people, are still seen as inferior to white people in 2020. However, this movement changed some things in the U.S. For example, some states asked police departments to reform and educate police officers (Somvichian-Clausen).

It is clear that women and minorities are struggling to get their rights but they are making progress in every era. If you focus on how they are shown in TV shows or movies, the way they appear is different according to when the shows or movies aired because those media are clearly reflecting the thoughts or stereotypes at that time. In this paper, I would like to draw your attention to how women and minorities are shown in some TV shows from different eras and examine the background of the era.

It would be a good idea to know backgrounds and stereotypes of each race and gender beforehand since it will be easier for us to find out what we think of someone's characteristics based on their race or gender instead of themselves. Stereotypes are constructed beliefs that members of the same groups share given

characteristics. These characteristics are generally negative (Green).

You might have heard of the term "White Privilege". This term explains that white people gets societal privilege that benefits them over non-white people in some societies even if they don't realize it. For example, it is much easier for white people in the U.S. to get housing loans than people of color (Kendall 1). Since they are considered as the "majority" of the U.S population, they do not really have stereotypes and are seen as individuals (Kendall 1).

Although white people are generally "privileged", there was discrimination towards a particular ethnic group. The ethnic group was Italian-Americans. Southern Italians, particularly Sicilians, tend to have darker skin and therefore they were discriminated against because they were considered "uncivilized" and racially inferior people even when they were in Italy. When they immigrated to the U.S. the penalties of having darker skin had caused discrimination against them. Even though they were technically "white", they were often labeled as black since they accepted "black" jobs such as working in sugar cane fields or because they chose to live among African-Americans (Staples).

Since they were "different" from other white people, they were stereotyped in the media. One of the most common stereotypes of them is the mafia and organized crime. This also leads to creating other stereotypes as being aggressive, violent, and protective of their loved ones. They are also stereotyped as being street-smart rather than book smart. Also, you can see that all

the characters are also usually featured cooking, eating, or drinking. They don't really eat alone and eating tends to serve as a social event. This came from emphasis placed on how important family is in Italian society (Piersanti).

As you would expect, Black people might be the biggest victim of stereotyping because of the slavery history. There are several words which describe stereotypes of Black people; Mammy and Sapphire are two common ones. These stereotypes created during the time of slavery and helped commodify black bodies and justified the business of slavery. For example, although slaves were forced to work from early morning to evening, they were called lazy and therefore it was okay to be forced through violence to work. Besides being seen as lazy, Black people were historically stereotyped as submissive, backward, treacherous, and dishonest (Popular and Pervasive Stereotypes of African Americans).

The Mammy stereotype had developed during slavery. Enslaved black women were highly skilled domestic workers due to working in the home of white families and taking care of their children. The Mammy stereotype continued to be popular after the Civil War and into the 1900s. During that time, The Mammy's image as a domestic worker who had undying loyalty to their slaveholders was everywhere in mass-produced consumer goods from baking goods to motor oil (Popular and Pervasive Stereotypes of African Americans).

Unlike the Mammy, the Sapphire stereotype portrayed black women as aggressive, loud, and angry. This stereotype was from Sapphire Stevens from the TV show Amos 'n' Andy which aired from 1951 to 1953. She was portrayed as angry because of her husband who was always ignorant and lazy. When the TV show aired, black people were often beaten, jailed, or killed for arguing with whites. These fictional characters' sassiness was supposed to indicate their acceptance to become a member of the white family, and acceptance of their sassiness implied that slavery and segregation were not overly oppresive (Popular and Pervasive Stereotypes of African Americans).

Though the stereotype of black men, dangerous and lazy had been created during the slavery time, it still affects black people and it has created the new stereotypes of black people. For example, if you watch news on TV, you are more likely to see black people as criminal than white people. In fact, more than 40 percent of all news in one week featured black people who are a part of crime (Oliver 6). The stereotypes of being dangerous and criminal have caused many tragedies in black people's lives. For instance, black male students are more likely to be suspended than any ethnicity because of teachers' bias that black male students are more aggressive, lower in achievement, and more likely to need special education (Taylor 216). As a result of racism towards them, only 60 percent of African-American males earned their high school diplomas and only 42 percent of African-Americans graduate from college while 62 percent of White people graduate from college (Taylor 215). It would be easy to assume that more black people live in poverty if at least 40 percent of black males drop out of school while only 20 percent of

white males drop out (Taylor 215). Indeed, the unemployment rate for African-American in 2010 was 17.5 percent compared with about 8 percent for Caucasians (Taylor 217). It is not only because of lower education than white people, but also because of prejudice held by employers. According to Taylor, white men with criminal records received more favorable treatment compared to African-American males without (217). Therefore, we could say that the stereotype "black people are criminal and dangerous" has created another stereotype "black people are poor." because it is more difficult for black men who are seen as criminal and dangerous to find a job.

Although you have seen negative stereotypes of black people so far, there is a positive stereotype of black people in TV shows and movies called "Magical Negro" though some people complain about it. The Magical Negro is a person who is usually black and /or poor, but they may be another minority to help main character of the movie who is more privileged, particularly white people with their special power. They are in the show just to help the main character and do not step up though they have abilities to do so. Therefore, some people criticize that magical negro is showing minority groups as supporters of white people (Magical Negro).

Another minority group that people would come up with when they hear the word "minority" would be Latinx. While they are often given similar stereotypes as black people such as lazy and criminal, they do have their own stereotypes though Dana Mastro argues that Latinos have been shown in a narrow set of stereotypes. They include the law enforcer, the Latin lover, and the comic/buffoon for Latino men. For law enforcers and the Latin lover, they both are shown as well-groomed but the Latin lover is defined by his heavy accent, hot-temper and sexual aggression. The comic or buffoon is identified by a heavy accent, laziness, secondary status, and lack of intelligence (Mastro).

As for Latina women, they are often described as "tempestuous", "promiscuous," and "sexv." These images partly come from the picture that Latino families tend to have more children than other races. In fact, 20 percent of Hispanic mothers between the ages 40-44 have four or more children while less than 20 percent of black mothers and around 10 percent of white and Asian mothers do (Nevarez). However, there has been a dramatic decrease in the share of all mothers with four or more children since 1988 in Hispanic families. As estimated 31 percent of Hispanic mothers had four or more children in 1988. That percentage dropped to 20 percent by 2014 (Nevarez). Also, a study shows that Latina women began sexual relations about a year older than non-Hispanic white women. While Latinas are more likely to have no more than two sexual partners, non-Hispanic white women are more likely to have five or more sexual partners (Chavas 92). From those findings, we can say that the idea that the stereotype of hypersexual fertile Latina is a social construct aimed at creating the Latino threat narrative in the United States.

While other stereotypes of colored people tend to be negative, Asian is not the case. According to Peter Kwong, AsianAmericans are often described as a "Model Minority" since they are known for being hard workers and doing well. In fact, non-Asian students consider Asians as hard working, especially good in math, and likely to be successful (Kwong 809). However, even though now they are considered as "Model Minority", their image was completely different when they came to the U.S.

Asian American started coming to the U.S. during the California Gold Rush to do mining and then they ended up working on the Transcontinental Railroad, and in agriculture. When those jobs were gone, large numbers of Asian immigrants moved to the cities where they started working in manufacturing. At that time, in the late 19th century, White American who workers were very concerned about the possibilities of losing their jobs because of Asian immigrants. As a result of their concern, the first of a series of Chinese Exclusion Acts was passed in 1882. Due to the law, Chinese workers were singled out by American immigration law which restricted their entry into the United States and said they couldn't become naturalized citizens (Guo).

It would be hard to imagine from history how they have changed their image to "Model Minority". In 1965, U.S. immigration law was again changed. Among the changes, the law gave preference to highly educated and highly skilled applicants, and it led to a new wave of Asian immigrants. Those immigrants were more likely to have graduated from university than those who did not immigrate from their countries of origin or even than the U.S. mean. This hyper-selectivity has resulted in reinforcing the stereotype of Asian Americans as smart, competent

and hard working. However, they are also defamed for being too smart, too focused on academics, one-dimensional and lacking personal skills (Confronting Asian-American Stereotypes).

It is also important to be aware of the fact that the stereotype of Asians can differ by what part of Asia the immigrants come from. When people are talking about "Model Minority", it indicates East Asians. They welcome the "Model Minority Stereotype" and look down on other Asian groups. Also, they want to be part of America's "insiders" by imitating white middle-class lifestyle (Kwong 809). While East Asians are praised as the "Model Minority", the South Asians and Southeast Asians are less likely to be perceived as smart compared with East Asians. In addition to this, South Asians are more likely to be described as victims of stereotypes about terrorism (Confronting Asian-American Stereotypes).

Stereotypes do not only apply to races, but also apply to genders. Despite the fact that we have seen some progress for gender equality, some stereotypes remain the same. There is an expression, "doing gender", which describes how someone is expected to behave according to their gender. They are influenced by cultural norms, feelings about their past, and by how they view their mating opportunities (Forste, Fox 615). For example, women generally have responsibilities for daily tasks such as cooking and cleaning while men are more likely to perform uncommon household maintenance chores. As regards childcare, women are more expected to do the planning, worrying and decision making for their children whereas men are more likely to

spend more time playing with their children (Forste, Fox 613).

As a result of the belief of "doing gender," both men and women have been characterized in different ways. For instance, men are characterized as more agentic than women, holding fort, and being in control, and women are characterized as more communal than men, being aware of others and building relationships. These characteristics have affected their occupation. Men have tended to be engaged with things-oriented, competitive occupations such as pilots, doctors, and engineers whereas women have tended to be employed in people-oriented, service occupations such as teachers and nurses (Hentschel et al.), ("Gender Identity & Roles"). "Doing gender" also applies to appearance in addition to characteristics and occupations. For example, women are assumed to be thin and graceful by wearing dresses and makeup while men are assumed to be tall and muscular by wearing pants and short hairstyles ("Gender Identity & Roles").

You cannot just divide gender into two types based on their physical features or sexual orientation. You would see sexual minorities on media nevertheless they are often stereotyped as either hyperfeminine, hypermasculine, or negatively in some way. For example, if you see a gay man in media, he is probably either interested in fashion and cosmetics and talk with a lips and is given to flouncing, prancing, and standing with one hand on his hip as the other is flapped around or held out in a limp-wristed gesture or is large and strong, and shown doing masculine things such as sports. The same things could happen in

lesbian characters. If someone is lesbian in media, they are either more interested in feminine things such as wearing makeup and fingernails than straight females or mannish by having short haircut and wearing old stype fashion such as heavy boots, jeans, and plain t-shirts ("Stereotypes").

Some stereotypes of LGBTQ people can be situationally displayed besides physically displayed. For instance, bisexual people are typically displayed as promiscuous and tend to prefer open relationships or easily cheat on since they are attracted to both men and women. As well as gay, lesbian, and bisexual people, transgender comminity is also victim of misreprentation in media. According to Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), 40 percent of transgender characters play the role of a victim and at least 21percent are villans or killers. This stereotyping paints transgender people who are members of a group already heavily discriminated agains by society as evil out casts (Mosteller).

There is an expression "Bury Your Gays" which describes how LGBT characters are treated in the media. This is the presentation of deaths of LGBT characters where these characters are nominally able to be seen as more expendable than heterosexual counterparts. In this way, death is treated as exceptional in its circumstances. Overall, it is possible to say that queer characters are more expected to die than straight characters. As a matter of fact, it might be because they seem to have less purpose compared to straight characters, or that the supposed natural conclusion of their story is an early death ("Bury Your Gays").

Even if LGBTQ characters are typecasted in a less negative light, they are still put in a box around people who identify with this community and put in pressure to meet society's standards of how they should look and act (Mosteller).

I have shown stereotypes of race and gender on the media according to publications. Henceforth, I would like to draw your attention to two TV shows from different times as examples in order to compare the differences in how people are treated on the TV shows and how accurate publication is. As the first example, I would like to use Friends. Friends is a comedy show featuring a friend group in Manhattan, New York City which consists of three men and three women (Ross Geller, Rachel Green, Monica Geller, Joey Tribbiani, Chandler Bing, and Phoebe Buffay) which aired from 1994 to 2004 (Friends "IMDb"). Friends is still one of the most popular TV shows all the time though it ended over 15 years ago. The series was nominated for 62 Primetime Emmy Awards (Friends "Television Academy").

Although Friends is still popular all over the world, there are several complaints about how this series is ignorant about the socially vulnerable such as minorities or women. First of all, this show is infamous for lack of diversity. For example, there are no minority groups among the six main characters. All of them are white and heterosexual. Even if there are some minorities in the show, they show up for a short term or once or twice in the show despite the fact that over 60 percent of people in New York City were non-white at that time ("The Changing Racial and Ethnic Makeup"). In fact, Marta Kauffman, who is co-creator of

Friends, admits that creating a very white version of New York City was a mistake and she would make very different diversity in the show if she created this show now (Ivie). However, David Schwimmer, who played Ross, claims that the series put some efforts to make the series diverse at that time though he admits it was not enough. His comments come from the fact that Ross had dated two colored women. Asian and Black, and he lost his wife to a woman (Akingbade). These actions, especially the appearance of LGBTQ people in the series reflect Bill Clinton who was the 42nd U.S. president. He was the first candidate to court the gay vote openly after meeting with LGBT advocates in Hollywood. Early in his first presidential term, Clinton had tried to change the ban on gays serving in the U.S. military though he ended up making the "Don't ask, don't tell" policy which required all members to stay silent regarding a soldier's sexual orientation ("The 1990s Lifestyles"). Even though neither the military nor gays were satisfied with this policy, it was a big step for acceptance of the existence of LGBT people at that time. Therefore, it is possible to say that the 1990s was the time when people started paying attention to the LGBT people's rights and TV shows like Friends reflect this social movement.

As Schwimmer commented that Friends had tried to make the show diverse, we can see the progress of the challenges to stereotypes of race through the whole series. Julie, who was Ross's first girlfriend of color, seems to have a feature of Asian American which is being smart based on the fact that Ross and Julie met when they were in graduate school. However, Charlie,

who is Ross's second girlfriend of color, does not have African American features considering the fact that she is a paleontology professor whereas African Americans tend to have less education and be engaged more in blue-collar jobs. The difference between the two colored girlfriends is most likely because of when they appeared. While Julie appeared in season 2 which first aired in 1995, Charlie appeared in season 9, which first aired 2003.

Even if Friends had tried to make the show diverse as much as possible at that time, you can find some prejudices towards some characters. Charles, who is Chandler's father, would be an example of this. This character appears as a trans woman and is persistently embarrassed throughout the series because of her identity. She is mocked about her gender and never gets referred to with the right pronouns (Kaplan). Another example for prejudice would be towards Joey and Paolo. Joey is one of the main characters and Paolo is a boyfriend of Rachel in the first series. A common point between these two characters is that both have roots in Italian culture; Joey is from an Italian-American family and Paolo himself from Italy. In order to argue prejudice toward them, I would like to start with Joey's personality. He is portrayed as promiscuous, loves food and is less intelligent than other characters. There are several scenes where he cannot find what is funny in some jokes while others understand since he has less intelligence. This applies with Italian American stereotypes as we have seen earlier. Also, he was an actor which is unstable for living while other male characters have stable jobs. There is not only a prejudice towards Italian-American characters, but also Italian-American people. Cosimo Fusco, who played Paolo says that he felt disrespected when he had to be a greasy guy who was touching Phoebe's buttocks (Haigh). From these representations of two characters which both are quite flirty to women, we could say that there were prejudices towards people who have roots in Italy that they are seen as promiscuous at that time in the U.S.

Prejudices in Friends were not only for particular ethnic characters but also for women. For example, while male main characters tend to have jobs in "professional" industries such as IT or paleontologist, female main characters tend to have jobs in "female things" such as cooking, fashion, and massage. Moreover, most female characters are able to earn much less money than male characters. In fact, according to a calculation of their salary, all male characters had earned approximately more than \$75,000 per a year at some point in their careers, whereas female characters except Monica had earned less than \$55,000 per year (Kelly). This means that female characters earned 75 percent of what male characters were earning. This reflects 1990s' social background since the gender pay gap in 1990s was around 75 percent (Graf et al.). There are other scenes that imply what women are expected to do. For instance, there is a scene when Ross got mad at Rachel since she hired a male nanny. This implies that childcare was considered a women's job at that time. You are also able to see the lack of equality in the household. While Chandler is always watching TV to get out of cleaning,

Monica does cleaning and cooking (Baxter-Wright).

We have seen that Friends had several prejudices and were less diverse in the series. Henceforward, I would like to draw your attention to another TV show, 13 Reasons Why (2017 ~ 2020), which is only streaming on Netflix. This is a TV drama series based on the best-selling book by Jay Asher, 13 Reasons Why. It is about the main character, Clay Jensen trying to uncover the story behind his classmate and crush Hannah's decision to end her own life (13 Reasons Why). During the first week of the release day, over 3.5 million tweets were posted on Twitter. It was actually the most-tweeted show in Netflix history at that time (Mccreesh).

Since 13 Reasons Why was created recently, we are able to see more diversity in terms of race and sexuality in this show than Friends and in fact, it gets compliments for the diversity. Although the original book does not include enough physical descriptions of the characters, leaving much to the reader's imagination, the TV series puts many different faces to the book's names. Unlike Friends, we are able to see not only white and straight characters, but also black, Asian, Mexican, and LGBT characters. This is partly because there were several movements to make the country more equal and diverse in the U.S. such as Black Lives Matter. It started online in 2013 with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter after the absolution of George Zimerman in the shooting death of Trayvon Martin. Since then, the BLM movement has become one of the leading organizations against police brutality and racism in the United States ("Black Lives

Matter"). One of the biggest achievements of the BLM movement would be that their leaders met with Hilary Clinton and Bernie Sanders in 2015. The meetings marked significant moments which helped recognize the movement as a national political force (Workneh). As a result of those movements, the awareness of the rights of minority groups has spread and it has had an impact on casting of TV shows.

Casting these diverse actors is not the only thing that should be recognized. Their portrayal of fully realized characters in the series also marks a huge step forward for not falling prey to the stereotypes we see on TV. On the Netflix series, popular cheerleaders Jessica and Sheri are played by black actors. Besides two black actors who play popular girls, another black actor plays a role which is the Ivy League-bound, honor council president, Marcus. Those roles are typically played by white actors instead of black actors since the stereotype of black people is dangerous. and lacking education while white people' are rich and educated. Meanwhile black characters are portrayed as popular kids in highschool, Justin who is a Caucasian cannot afford things such as school books and basketball gear because of his mother who is a drug addict (Carra). Although Courtney is portrayed as Asian stereotypes which is top of the class and in the honor council she is struggling with her sexuality. On the other hand, another Asian-American character, Zach is a star athlete who needs tutoring unlike Courtney (Coyner). Even his mother, who is also Asian is wondering why he is not the captain of the basketball team instead of complaining to study harder in order to

get into an Ivy League college (Carra).

13 Reasons Why is also diverse and challenging in terms of sexuality as well. There are several gay, lesbian, and bisexual characters in the show and these people do not have stereotype personality or appearance unlike other TV shows. For example, though Tony is a well-built guy who regularly hits the gym, he is a gay character, which is typically portrayed as a welldressed, overly feminine personality (Stamberg), Another character that breaks its stereotype would be Alex who finally finds out that he is bisexual in final season. When he started dating a guy, no one questioned his prior relationships with women and or challenged his identity by his friends. The storyline surrounding his relationship with with his boyfriend breaks many misconceptions and stereotypes since being bisexual is considered as a "pit stop" on the way to identifying as gay, or negates any prior feelings or relationships ("Why Bisexual Representation on 13 Reasons Why Is So Important"). The diversity of this show is caused by the normalization of being a part of LGBTQ community since several laws supporting those people such as Matthew Shepard Act and legalization of same-sex marriage had introduced during 2000s ("Gay Rights").

In addition to breaking stereotypes of minority groups, this show also handles the portrayal of male and female standards well. For instance, Clay's mother works as a lawyer which is a job that is considered as a "male job" and is the main breadwinner because of her job. On the contrary, you will see several scenes where Clay's father cooks for the family instead of his

wife. Since house chores, including cooking, are generally considered as a part of "doing gender" for females, we can say that this show is trying to show different types of male and female characters from stereotypical portrayals of them. Moreover, we are able to see scenes where male characters, such as Clay, Justin, and Tony, cry multiple times though crying emotionally is usually seen as a girly thing. The characters in the show are fairly traumatized by the tapes, the accountability for their past actions, and the show does not shy away from showing what that means in order to appeal to teenagers' struggles and problems. Even better than all of this crying is the fact that it is not shown as weakness and therefore viewers see that men are just as emotional as women and that is not a problem (Coyner).

Despite the fact that 13 Reasons Why has gotten several compliments for diverse casting and breaking stereotypes, there were still improvements that could have been made. In the season 3, we find out that Monty, who is portrayed as a bad character, is gay and struggles with intese internalized homophobia and self-loathing. All season long, we follow the murder investigation to discover who killed Bryce who raped Hannah and Jessica. At the finale, a new character from this season, Ani reveals that Monty is the one who killed Bryce though it is not true. She lied in order to cover for the real murderer, their friend Alex. Even worse, Ani and other main characters feel comfortable to do so since Monty died in prison because of another accusation (O'Keeffe). O'Keeffe complains with this ending saying "It feeds into the hackneyed Bury Your Gays trope in the laziest

way possible, and sends one of the only main gay characters out in brutal fashion". Tony is another gay main character and he is also a victim of being stereotyped. He is also portrayed Latinx as well as being gay. In the first season, he supports Clay a lot in order to finish the tape which Hannah recorded before she died. Although he says that he is a keeper of the tape and knows why Hannah left them, he never does anything to move the story forward. It seems that he is there in order to support Clay, who is his white friend. Therefore, it is possible to say that Tony takes the magical negro role though he is not technically a black person but being in a minority group.

When we compare the two TV dramas from different generations, we can see differences between them in how characters are treated based on their identities and thanks to that, we are also able to see social backgrounds at that time. For example, when we focus on Friends, which aired in the 1990s, we are barely able to see colored people or sexual minorities since all of the six main characters are white and straight people. In addition to the lack of diversity in the show, there are several stereotypes or prejudices towards people who are socially vulnerable. As an example for this, I would like to draw your attention to female main characters' jobs. They work in fashion, foods, and massage industries which is strongly connected to the things which are considered as for women. Moreover, two out of three of them have lower income than male characters. This exactly reflects the social background of the 1990s since females tended to have lower income than current females. The reason why there were so many prejudices against those people is because the awareness of social diversity and equality was lower than now because people had just started to take actions in order to get the same rights as white males had.

On the other hand, 13 Reasons Why, which aired in the late 2010s, gets compliments for diverse casting and breaking stereotypes. Unlike Friends, we are able to see several characters who are in minority groups such as Latinx. Asian, black, gay, lesbian, and bisexual besides to white straight characters despite the fact that the original books did not mention their ethnicity clearly. As an example for breaking stereotypes, Tony would be the best to illustrate it. Although gay people have been stereotyped as either hyper-masculine or hyper-feminine. Tony is portrayed in the same way as other straight male characters. There are numerous characters who are members of minority groups and each of them has some aspect to break the stereotypes of their groups. The main reason for the arrival of those characters is because people are more aware of inequality in the U.S. thanks to some movements or laws in order to fix the unfairness. However, even if 13 Reasons Why tries to show diversity and portray characters without stereotypes, they still make some missteps. This is because we are still on the way to making the world perfectly equal and someday this show may be compared with future TV shows and criticized for a lack of understanding of minority groups as Friends can be criticized now.

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