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The Political Economy of Internet Celebrities in China

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THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INTERNET CELEBRITIES IN CHINA

By

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ABSTRACT

Internet celebrities in China, usually called 'Wang Hong' in Chinese slang, refer to those who become famous on the Internet. They may catch people's eyes because of certain events or behaviour and attract followers and fans on social platforms. From texts to pictures, videos, and livestreams, the rapid development of Internet information technology has brought about the evolution of social media in China.

Although some observers argue that Internet celebrities in China advance participatory culture, the phenomenon advances monetarization, commodification, a colonised networked public sphere that operates as a sphere of culture consumption, and potentials for the overaccumulation of capital, the overproduction of commodities, and the exploitation of labour-power.

Political economy is a major perspective in communication and media research that is suited for studying processes of commodification and their impacts on society. Therefore, this dissertation uses this tradition of communication research. The research combines critical theory and empirical social research methods to study the political economy of Internet celebrities in China. The specific research questions are as follows:

Main research question:
How does the political economy of Internet celebrities look like in China?

The main research question can be subdivided into four sub-questions:

RQ1: How does commodification work in the political economy of Chinese Internet celebrities?

RQ2: How do the working conditions look like in China's Internet celebrity industry?

RQ3: How does the everyday life of those who work in the Internet celebrity industry look like in China?

RQ4: How does the identity construction of fans of Internet celebrities look like?

The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with 9 influencers, 9 proletarianized platform workers who aim to become famous online but have ended up as precarious online workers, and 15 fans. The research is situated in the context of three types of Internet platforms: social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms.

The findings of the study show that China's Internet celebrity industry is a dynamic industrial system where Internet capitalists make profits, obscure their legal relationship to Internet celebrities and fans, and carry out labour control through incentive systems and product management systems. The result is a high-pressure work environment where online workers dream of becoming famous, love their work and face highly precarious conditions. Only a selected few of them become rich and famous.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APR	Annual Progress Review
BCI	Weibo Communication Index
BSA	British Sociological Association
CAMRI	Communication and Media Research Institute
CASS	Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
CCTV	China Central Television
CNNIC	China Internet Network Information Centre
CPA	Cost Per Action
CPC	Communist Party of China
CPS	Cost Per Sales
C2B	Customer to Business
CWS	Celebrity Worship Syndrome
GMV	Gross Merchandise Volume
IRS	Interaction Ritual Chains
KOL	Key Opinion Leader
MCN	Multi-Channel Network
MII	Ministry of Information Industry
NPD	Narcissistic Personality Disorder
OCI	Online Celebrity Index
PGC	Professional Generated Content
SCIO	State Council Information Office
SRA	Social Research Association
STDS	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
UGC	User Generated Content
WCI	WeChat Communication Index

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Looking back on my research journey, I have been engaged in communication and media research for about ten years, and I am still full of research enthusiasm. From Journalism as an undergraduate to Management of the Culture Industry as a graduate student, and now the Political Economy of Communication as a PhD student, I have benefited a lot from my research in the past ten years, which also gives me a deeper understanding of the media industry.

However, the COVID-19 hit the world the year after I started my PhD study, which was a huge challenge for all researchers. Many academic conferences and research projects were cancelled due to the pandemic, and I had to change my research methods from face-to-face interviews to remote data collection. Under such great pressure and changes, my physical and psychological conditions were affected. It was the help of many teachers, family members, and friends that encouraged me to complete my PhD study and thesis writing despite difficulties and hardships.

Throughout my doctoral research, I owe great debts of gratitude to so many kind people who have been providing constant guidance and generous support to me. First of all, I would like to express my sincere thanks to my supervisory team from the bottom of my heart—Professor Christian Fuchs, and Dr Xin Xin.

My director of studies, Professor Christian Fuchs, has given me great confidence and encouragement during the most difficult period and is also the person who has the greatest influence on my academic career. When I was still in the PhD application stage, he began to guide me patiently and helped me to formulate my research direction. Since I began my doctoral research, he has spared no effort to

support me and has been always ready to answer my questions and offer professional advice. His rigorous academic attitude always inspires me, which enables me to overcome difficulties and find a breakthrough in my research.

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In addition to my supervisory team, there are several other faculty members from the Communication and Media Research Institute (CAMRI) to whom I am grateful. Thanks to CAMRI for providing a good research environment for researchers and creating channels of learning and communication during such a difficult time of the pandemic.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I, Xinyi Yang, hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and has not been presented or accepted in any previous application for a degree. This work has been carried out by me unless otherwise stated, and where the work is mine, it reflects personal views and values. All quotations have been distinguished by quotation marks, and all sources of information, including those of the Internet, have been acknowledged using references.

Xinyi Yang

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

1.1. Research Background

In the era of new media, the development of China's digital economy has brought about changes in the macro-environment. Under this background, emerging information technology has become the interface for the integration and development of traditional industries and new media. The new development model of 'Internet + traditional industries' has accelerated the transformation and upgrading of the new economy, and also triggered a new round of industrial reform, which has brought about the emergence of China's Internet celebrity industry.

Internet celebrities in China, usually called 'Wang Hong' in Chinese slang, refer to those who become famous on the Internet. They may catch people's eyes because of certain events or behaviour and attract followers and fans on social platforms. According to Baker and Rojek, "open-access sites and the rise of user-generated content have lowered barriers to entry in the digital era by enabling ordinary people to reach public audiences" (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 69). From texts to pictures, videos, and livestreams, the rapid development of Internet information technology has brought about the evolution of social media in China, which has also provided opportunities for ordinary people to create Internet celebrities with the click of a mouse.

2016 is a year of breakthrough development for the Internet celebrity industry. Under the momentum of mobile network and the packaging of talent/MCN (Multi-Channel Network) agencies, Internet celebrities took social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms as strategic media for rapid promotion,

and built their IP brands through personalized content, which also gave rise to the formation of a new industrial chain.

The huge commercial value has led more and more ordinary people to take Internet celebrities as a career and devote themselves to different platforms. According to the *Report of Market Size of Internet Celebrity Industry in China* released by Frost & Sullivan (Frost & Sullivan, 2020), the market size of China's Internet celebrity industry was 63.6 billion yuan (≈7 billion pounds) in 2016, 91.4 billion yuan (≈10 billion pounds) in 2017, 172.3 billion yuan (≈19 billion pounds) in 2018 and 253.4 billion yuan (≈28 billion pounds) in 2019. In 2020, it reached 341.9 billion yuan (≈37.6 billion pounds).
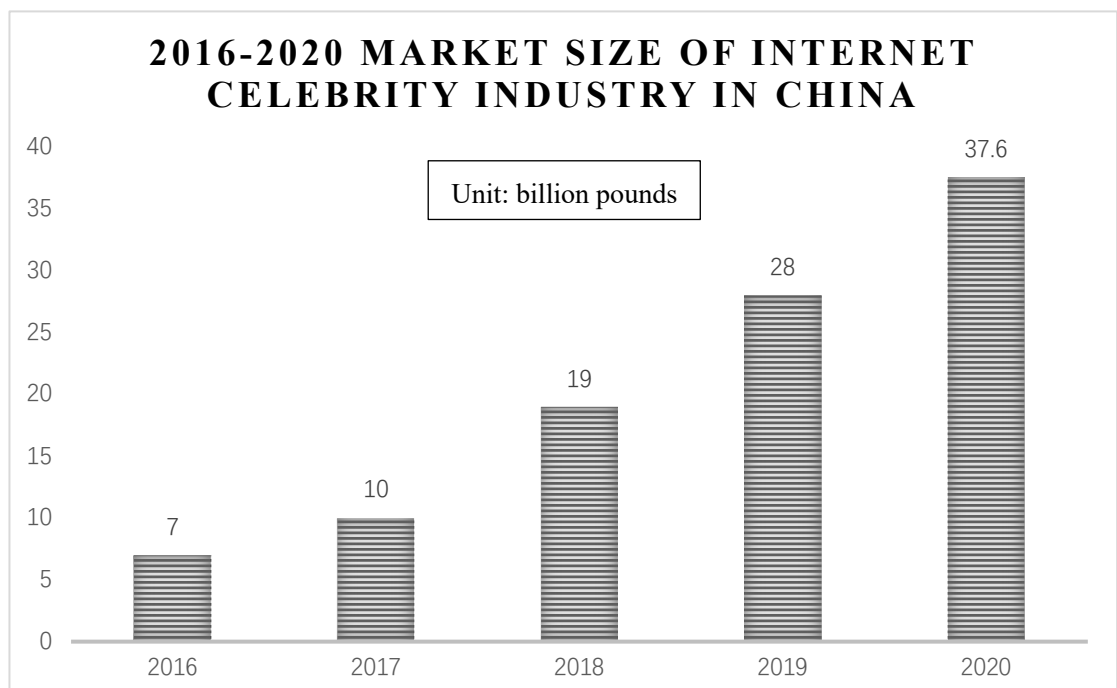
FIGURE 1.1 2016-2020 Market Size of Internet Celebrity Industry in China

Driven by new media technology, Chinese Internet celebrities in the new era continue to develop their potential commercial value, thus broadening the channels of diversified capital accumulation. This emerging business model has provided a platform for ordinary people to show their personality and talents, which has also

realized the monetarization of social assets. It can be said that China's Internet celebrity industry is an operating model in which Internet celebrities gather popularity through targeted marketing and content promotion, and eventually convert audiences into purchasing power relying on their huge fan base.

In this context, through sorting out the historical development of the research on celebrities, audiences/fans, and culture industry by Western and Chinese scholars in three different periods: the age of mass media, the age of reality TV and the age of the Internet, it can be found that the research on celebrities in China started later and developed more slowly than that in the Western world. Although the Reform and Opening-up in 1979 opened a new way for the study of celebrities in China, there is still a gap between China and the Western world in terms of research perspective and theoretical framework.

Meanwhile, at present, most of the research on celebrities in China focuses on the social and psychological aspects, while the political economy research on celebrities is rare. Compared with the research on celebrities in the Western world, the research on celebrities in China is mostly conducted at the micro and middle-range levels, while ignoring the macro development status of the whole society. Such research only focuses on single Internet phenomenon and misses the big picture of society. Some issues, such as the influence of celebrity culture on ideology, and the capitalist exploitation of celebrities and fans, are of great research significance. These topics and perspectives are rarely discussed, leaving many research gaps in the future.

In addition, most Western celebrity scholars adopt the research method of ethnography and obtain the intuitive materials through interviews, observations，and conversations. The method of the experiment is helpful to enhance the

persuasiveness of the conclusion and to study the development of the celebrity industry objectively. In contrast, China's celebrity scholars mostly conduct textual analysis of a specific event concerning celebrities. Although specific events can make the study of celebrities more concrete, conclusions based on specific events can only prove the results under specific influences of time, space, and environment, but cannot cover all situations.

Throughout the research on celebrities by Chinese and Western scholars, the critical political economy approach is minoritarian in both geographical regions. In particular, it is necessary to put forward a more novel research model that is closer to the development of times. Therefore, considering that political economy is a major perspective in communication and media research, it is necessary to study the experiences and impacts of Internet celebrities in China from the perspective of political economy, starting from a realist, non-essentialist, and critical epistemology, and aiming at the prosperous development of this newly emerged group.

1.2. Research Aims and Objectives

With the rise of bourgeois modernity and the commercialization of mass media, celebrity is regarded as "the attribution of glamorous or notorious status to an individual in the public sphere" (Rojek 2004, 10). In the Internet age, social media in China poses new opportunities for Internet celebrities. Meanwhile, it is also an object where the influence on the digital labour and public sphere is manifested. Under the influence of neoliberalism, the emergence of Internet celebrities in China has greatly intensified the historical trend that boundaries between play and labour, work time and leisure time, production and consumption, public and private life tend to blur (Fuchs, 2014a).

However, in the hyper-competitive Internet celebrity market, survival of the fittest is a fundamental law of digital labour. Driven by economic interests, Internet celebrities in China have to overwork under the exploitation of capitalists in exchange for more attention and business opportunities. Although some observers argue that Internet celebrities in China advance participatory culture, the phenomenon advances monetarization, commodification, a colonised networked public sphere that operates as a sphere of culture consumption, and potentials for the overaccumulation of capital, the overproduction of commodities, and the exploitation of labour-power.

In addition, as opinion leaders on social platforms, the comments and behaviour of Internet celebrities will cause symbiotic attachment among fans, which will affect their daily life, identity construction, and psychological development. In fact, the transition from ordinary people to fans of Internet celebrities is a process of identity construction from individual identity, group identity to social identity. Under the role model effect, fans interact with Internet celebrities and imitate their behaviour, to integrate into the fan groups with collective behaviour. With the deepening of commodity fetishism, fans act as the role of consumers in the Internet celebrity industry, to share common emotions and values in the social context.

At the same time, the interaction between fans and Internet celebrities generates emotions and symbolic maintenance, thus forming a fan culture with organizational thoughts. Fans view, click, share, and comment on what is posted on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms, to help spread the content and create attention for it. In this context, such labour of fans can also be seen as digital labour. Fans spend unpaid labour time generating online activities on platforms, and the user data is sold as commodities to advertisers, thereby converting surplus-value into monetary profits.

Therefore, as the two most important bodies in China's Internet celebrity industry, the political economy of producers (Internet celebrities) and consumers (fans) could be regarded as the main research objectives of this study. In the meantime, it is worth noting that in China's Internet celebrity industry, Internet celebrities are divided into influencers and proletarianized platform workers according to the level of salary and the number of followers ('proletarianized platform workers' is a new concept in this dissertation, refers to proletarianized workers who aim to become famous online but have ended up as precarious online workers). Those who have large followings, known as influencers, are the main source of income for talent/MCN agencies. Those who fail to become famous in the Internet celebrity market, usually called proletarianized platform workers, are mostly at the bottom of the company because of their small number of followers and lack of attention.

To be specific, China's Internet celebrity industry chain takes Internet celebrities and fans as the core and forms three links: production, dissemination, and consumption, and realizing capital circulation and accumulation under the special political, economic, and cultural conditions of China. However, the blind worship of consumerism has led to the increasingly entertainment-oriented and commodified Internet celebrity industry in China. In the context of fierce competition and increasing work pressure, the working conditions and everyday life of Internet celebrities and fans have changed along with the logic of digital capitalism, which ultimately has an impact on their identity construction.

As a result, combined with Marxist critical theory and the critical political economy of communication, it is necessary to introduce a theoretical framework for a critical understanding of social media in the context of political economy and

use it as a theory based on the social research for studying Internet celebrities in China. Through the research method of semi-structured interviews, the commodification, working conditions, everyday life, and identity construction of Chinese Internet celebrities and fans will be fully analysed, to summarize the political economy of Internet celebrities in China.

1.3. Research Questions

To achieve the optimal results, it is necessary to select the most suitable research methods after fully considering the characteristics of the research questions and object. According to the research theme—the political economy of Chinese Internet celebrities, I analysed the research questions in detail and chose the corresponding method according to each subdivided question, which will be analysed from four aspects: commodification, working conditions, everyday life, and identity construction. Specific questions are as follows:

Main research question:

How does the political economy of Internet celebrities look like in China?

The main research question can be subdivided into four sub-questions:

RQ1: How does commodification work in the political economy of Chinese Internet celebrities?

RQ2: How do the working conditions look like in China's Internet celebrity industry?

RQ3: How does the everyday life of those who work in the Internet celebrity industry look like in China?

RQ4: How does the identity construction of fans of Internet celebrities look like?

FIGURE 1.2 Methodology Framework Designed for this Research

Considering that the clear definition of keywords is crucial for the follow-up research section, I will define the four aspects of sub-questions (commodification, working conditions, everyday life, and identity construction) surrounding the research, thus corresponding to the subsequent research analysis and summary. Commodification refers to the act or process of treating something or someone as a commodity. In China's Internet celebrity industry, talent/MCN agencies, Internet celebrities, and fans follow the industrial chain of '*production → dissemination → consumption*' and realize capital circulation and accumulation under the political economy of communication with Chinese characteristics.

Working conditions mainly reflect the working process and working environment, which also includes the relevance between work and everyday life. There are four areas shape working conditions throughout the process of capital accumulation: productive forces, production process, results of production, and relations of production. Among them, the labour-power and production process that includes ideological influence, labour spaces, work activity, work experiences, and control mechanism is closely related to everyday life. Therefore, in the chapter of research analysis, the everyday life of Internet celebrities will be analysed in combination with working conditions, which is more in line with the labour logic of the Internet celebrity industry.

Identity construction can be regarded as a psychological process of the individual's identification of self and cognition of the group and society to which he/she belongs. During this process, identity is developed gradually. Individuals need to meet the needs of cognition, emotion, and action, which is reflected in the changes of identity status from individual identity to group identity, and then to social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As a result, in the analysis chapter of identity construction, this research will start from the three stages of identity construction of fans, to summarize the influence of Chinese Internet celebrities on fans.

1.4. Theoretical Framework

Critical theory is rooted in the Western critical tradition and highly sensitive to the major issues of the times, which lies between social theory and philosophical discourse, and its intrinsic emphasis is social criticism and rational construction. Critical theory analyses the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, the accumulation of capital, the exploitation of surplus-value and the transformation of aspects of society into commodification.

In critical theory, Marx profoundly revealed the laws of specific historical periods, the relationship between capital and labour, and the nature of commodities, money, and capital, which are the objects we must think about living in a market economy. Combined with the development status of Chinese society, the critique of Western Marxist critical theory on economic rationality, mass culture, consumerism, and technological rationality can help to reveal the antagonistic relationship between China's social development and capital logic, thus supplementing the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Derived from Marxist critical theory, the critical political economy of communication focuses on media communication and social relations in the context of power relations (Mosco, 2009). Based on morality and philosophy, it analyses the distribution of culture and the distribution between the private and public control of communication through the epistemology of realism and materialism (Golding & Murdock, 1997a). Going back to Marx's research tradition, dialectical philosophy can provide a solid theoretical basis for media and communication criticism (Fuchs, 2011b).

If we are going to conduct a critical analysis of social media and the Internet celebrity industry in China, then the research approach that combines critical theory with the critical political economy of communication will be our theoretical framework. Therefore, in the part of the theoretical framework, I will start with the critical digital labour theory and analyse the political economy of communication in China, to build a theoretical model of digital labour with Chinese characteristics.

Based on the Marxist critical theory and the critical political economy of communication, I will place my research on Chinese digital labour in the broader

domain of Chinese social relations. Secondly, in the era of information capitalism, I will summarize the development characteristics of the Chinese digital labour industry through the political economy analysis of the Internet information and communication industry. Finally, I will place the power and discourse struggle of China's Internet communication system in the broader global political economy and capital culture flow, thus exploring the practical significance of the development of the digital labour industry in China.

In the context of the socialist market economy, I construct four theoretical frameworks: Chinese Labour Market on the Internet, Digital Labour with Chinese Characteristics, Political Economy of Digital Labour in China, and Political Economy of Internet Celebrities in China. Under the special national conditions of China, this research starts from the background of social transformation of contemporary China, and discusses the political, economic, and cultural aspects, to summarize the theory of digital labour with Chinese characteristics.

1.5. Research Methods

Throughout the theme and content of this research, it focuses on the current-concerned social phenomenon—the political economy of Internet celebrities in China, which reflects its qualitative characteristics. Therefore, with the help of political economy, communication, sociology, semiotics, and other disciplines, this research will adopt the main method of semi-structured interviews and follow the steps of '*observation → analysis → explanation*', to get closer to the lives of Chinese Internet celebrities and deeply analyse their survival status and political-economic influence on social media platforms.

Since each research method has its corresponding research steps, I will follow the five steps of research ethics, sample selection, operationalization, data collection, and data analysis, to carefully explain the research process of this study.

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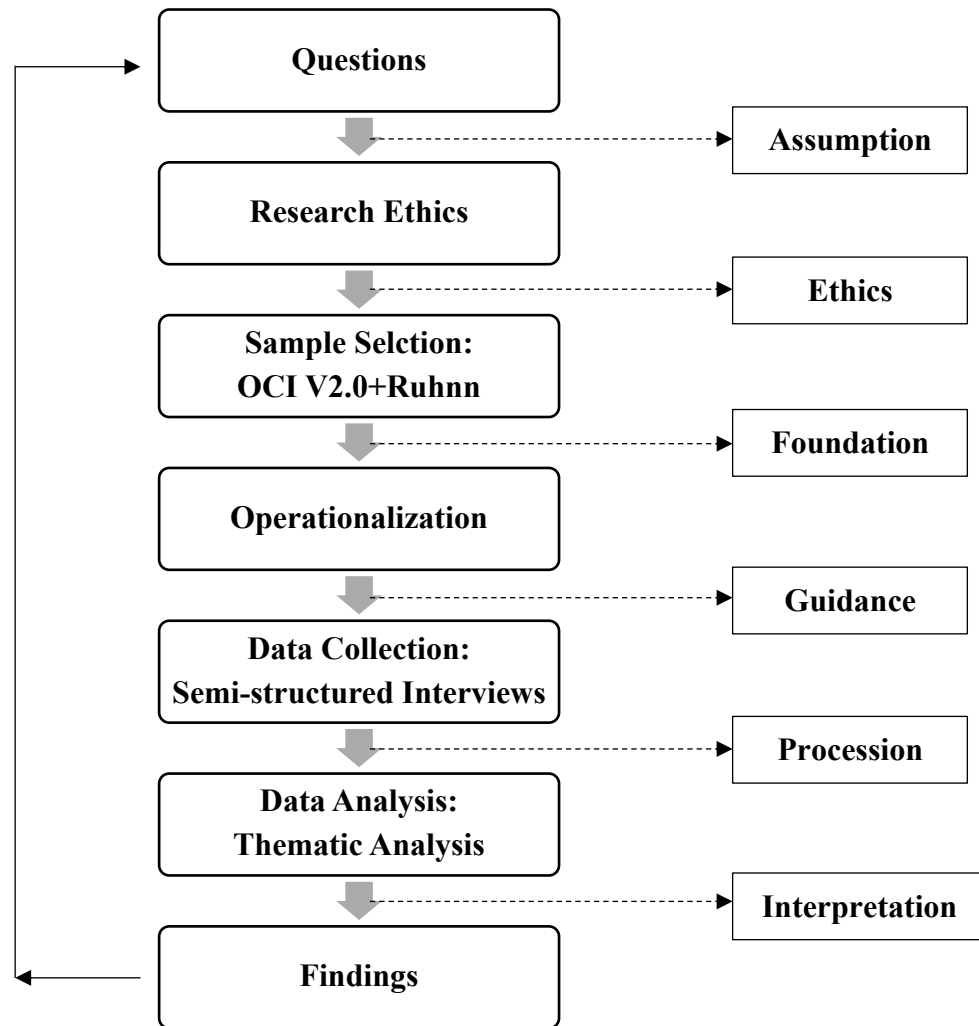
FIGURE 1.3 The Research Procedures of Semi-structured Interviews

In each step, I will combine the characteristics of Internet celebrities and the advantages of network technology to select the most convenient and fast method, to optimize the research process. Particularly in the process of sample selection, I will adopt the '*Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0*' evaluation model (which is

established to evaluate the transmissibility and influence of Internet celebrity groups through the collection of Chinese Internet data), supplemented by the list of employees in Ruhnn (the largest Internet celebrity incubator and marketing company in China) to screen the interviewees.

In the process of data collection, I will add 9 influencers, 9 proletarianized platform workers, and 15 fans on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms to the interview list, to conduct a detailed analysis of their commodification, working conditions, everyday life, and identity construction through semi-structured interviews. Specifically, I will ask questions with the help of chat software, to ensure that the interviews are properly conducted. During the interviews, this study will give priority to using the video function, to fully capture the subtle reactions of each interviewee.

	Influencers	Proletarianized Platform Workers	Fans
Social Media Platforms	3	3	5
Short Video Sites	3	3	5
Live streaming Platforms	3	3	5

FIGURE 1.4 Sample Selection of Different Types of Interviewees

Entering the process of data analysis, one of the main difficulties of semi-structured interviews is the large database, so thematic analysis emerged. The thematic analysis emphasizes the identification, analysis, and interpretation of themes through qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Combined with the

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characteristics of this research, the process of analysis can be divided into six stages: transcription, generating codes, generating initial themes, reviewing themes, defining themes, and thematic analysis. By adjusting the priority and definition of the themes, the research results will be the best response to the research questions.

If there is a problem in any of the links and the conclusions cannot conform to the expectation, I will find out the reasons and start a new round of steps to ensure the rationality of the conclusions. Through a planned research proposal and complete operation module, this study will collect and analyse data following a rigorous framework and hold the bottom line of ethics as it is completed.

1.6. Research Outline

Under the research framework with clear steps and rigorous logic, this research will follow the steps of '*observation → analysis → explanation*', which can ultimately summarize the political economy of Internet celebrities in China. Chapter One is the introduction of the research, which will discuss the research background, research objectives, research questions, theoretical framework, research methods, and research outline.

Chapter Two and Chapter Three are the literature reviews of this research. Chapter Two focuses on the study of celebrities in the Western world, while Chapter Three emphasizes celebrity research in China. Combined with the media development process and Model of Celebrity Communication, I will select the three most important subjects in celebrity culture communication: the encoder (celebrities), the decoder (audiences or fans), and the medium (culture industry) for discussion in the age of mass media, reality TV, and the Internet. Through this analytical

framework, the unique insights of scholars on the development of celebrities will be presented in an orderly way and the research ideas will be clearer.

In Chapter Four of the theoretical framework, I start with Marxist theory and then focus on the capital accumulation and commodification of digital labour on social media platforms. After the full understanding of labour and digital labour theory and a complete analysis of China's unique communication disciplines, the core of this chapter is to elaborate the political economy of digital labour in China, to establish an analytical framework for this exploited class.

Through the discussion of methodology in Chapter Five, we can get a clear research framework for in-depth observation, analysis, and explanation of Internet celebrities in China: questions → research ethics → sample selection → operationalization → data collection → data analysis → findings. With the help of the most advanced Internet technology and social media software, each step in this study will be tailored to the characteristics of Chinese Internet celebrities, to further clarify the research direction and obtain effective results.

To better interpret the characteristics of China's Internet celebrity industry, Chapter Six will conduct an in-depth analysis of the four main bodies: organizers (talent/MCN agencies), producers (Internet celebrities), disseminators (e-commerce/social platforms), and consumers (fans) respectively through detailed interpretation of data from authoritative reports. After fully understanding the development status of China's Internet celebrity market, it can pave the way for the following chapters on the analysis of interview results.

Based on the interview report of Internet celebrities in China, Chapter Seven, Eight and Nine are the analysis chapters of this study. Chapter Seven will be divided into

three parts: China's Internet Celebrity Industry (7.2), The Commodification of Chinese Internet Celebrities (7.3), and The Monetarization Approach of China's Internet Celebrity Industry (7.4). Through an in-depth thematic analysis of the industry, commodification, and monetarization approach of China's Internet celebrity industry, the commodification process of Internet celebrities in China will be completely summarized.

Chapter Eight will select the most core areas in the capital accumulation to analyse the working conditions of those who work in China's Internet celebrity industry. Section 8.2 is Relations of Production in China's Internet Celebrity Industry; Section 8.3 is Labour-power in China's Internet Celebrity Industry; Section 8.4 is Production Process in China's Internet Celebrity Industry. With the combination of interviews and analyses, the current situation of digital labour in China's Internet celebrity industry can be demonstrated.

Starting from the three stages of identity construction of fans, Chapter Nine will focus on summarizing the influence of Chinese Internet celebrities on fans. Section 9.2 is The Construction of Fans' Individual Identity in China's Internet Celebrity Industry; Section 9.3 is The Construction of Fans' Group Identity in China's Internet Celebrity Industry; Section 9.4 is The Construction of Fans' Social Identity as Consumers in China's Internet Celebrity Industry. Under the comprehensive analysis of the three levels, the identity construction process of fans in China's Internet celebrity industry will be fully displayed.

Chapter Ten is the conclusion of this study. After summarizing the key findings, research contributions, and limitations, more issues that can be explored in the future will be raised to make a summary statement of the full research.

CHAPTER TWO

Celebrities in the Western World: A Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Celebrity culture is inseparable from capitalism and commodity culture, which emerged as the result of three historical processes: "the democratization of society, the decline in organized religion, and the commodification of daily life" (Rojek 2004, 13). As a manifestation of the historical process, the phenomenon of celebrity reflects the power relationship between social forces and values in the period of social transformation, which in recent years have attracted a great amount of scholars' attention from different academic fields: sociology studies, media studies, communication studies, and cultural studies.

Scholars of celebrity studies generally confirm the fact that the biggest supply-side factor for the development of celebrity culture is access to information, and the most vital tool for access to public view is media. In this context, the expansion and development of media are often regarded as the engine in the growth of celebrity culture.

Throughout the history of media, the development of media has gone through three stages: the stage of traditional media, the stage of television media and the stage of new media (Winston,1998). The emergence of traditional media is attributed to the invention of paper, printing, and the radio technology. Since the advent of newspapers and radio, information no longer existed in a single form, but frequently stimulated people's visual and auditory senses. With the breakthrough of imaging technology and the continuous development of transmission technology, the television media stage has come, which broadened the channels of

information acquisition and drove the popularity of reality TV shows worldwide. Entering the third stage, human history experienced the third scientific and technological information revolution, and the Internet began to enter the global vision. The continuous evolution of mobile communication technology has injected strong impetus into the development of society. The emergence of new media makes access to information no longer limited to the location, which greatly increases the convenience of information access.

In these three stages of media development, there are three important time nodes, representing the height of the prosperity of celebrity culture at their stage, which are mass media, reality TV, and the Internet. Therefore, in this chapter, I will choose the age of mass media, the age of reality TV, and the age of the Internet, respectively as significant nodes of the stage of traditional media, the stage of television media, and the stage of new media in celebrity culture, to explore the research process of scholars on celebrities, celebrity culture, and Internet celebrities in different historical stages.

To further understand the propagation mode of celebrity culture, we must first introduce Stuart Hall's *Encoding/Decoding Model*. In the field of mass communication, Hall's main contribution is to link the cultural form of ideology with the decoding strategy of the audiences. The differences in the audiences' frameworks of knowledge, structures of production, and technical infrastructure will lead them to make different decoding of the transmitted content. Hall believed that the main factor which restricts decoding is the social class of the audiences and proposed three decoding positions corresponding to the audience class: dominant-hegemonic position, negotiated position, and oppositional position (Hall, 1973).

In his famous paper '*Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*' (Hall, 1973), Hall borrowed Marxist terms of production, circulation, use, and reproduction to develop a discussion on the dissemination.
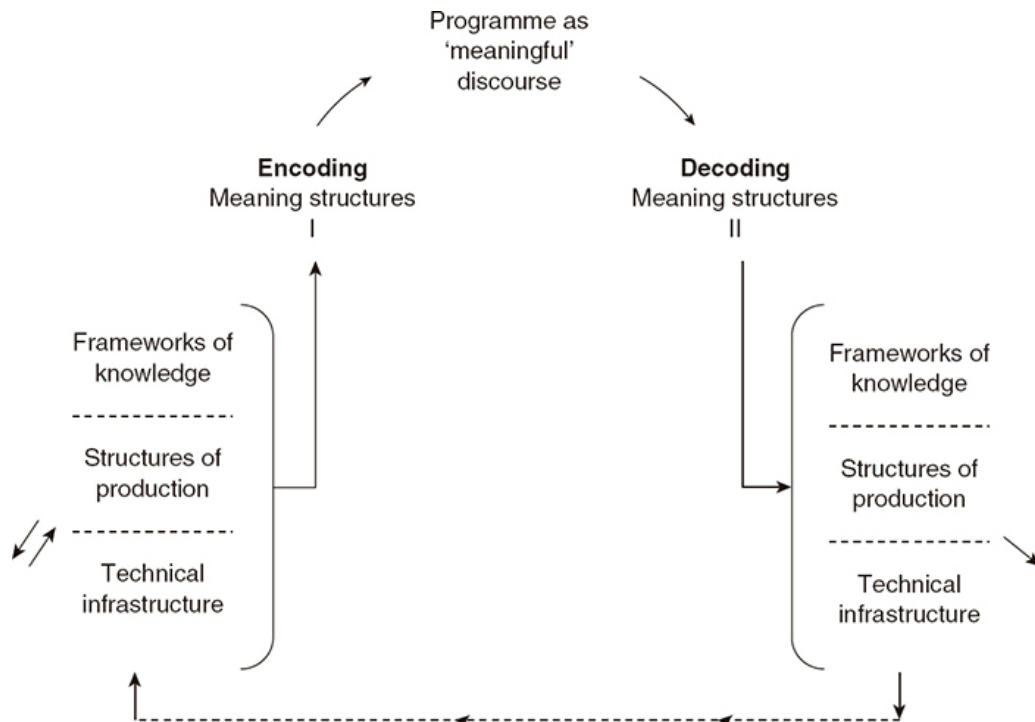
FIGURE 2.1 Stuart Hall's Encoding/Decoding Model

First of all, the production link of TV discourse is the link of encoding of information. In the coding process, the coder must produce codes in a meaningful discourse form. Secondly, circulation is the process by which information is transmitted from the coder to the audiences. Thirdly, the use link, which refers to the enjoyment of TV programs in this model. The fourth link is the reproduction of information by the audiences, namely the decoding link. This is done at roughly the same time as the use link.

In his theory, Hall believed that once a coded message is transmitted, the coder loses control over it. Due to the structural differences of the relationship and status between the coder and the audiences, as well as the asymmetry of codes, the

audiences may have different interpretations or even misinterpretations due to different social, cultural, and historical backgrounds (Hall, 1973). Therefore, we should attach importance to codes and release their social significance through interpretation.

Hall's communication theory attacks the empiricism and behaviourism of the traditional communication mode. These patterns treat propagation as a straight line, with a one-way line between sender and audiences. In the production of media information, Hall made a fundamental difference between encoding and decoding. He believed that every link of communication has its determinants and conditions of existence: the production and consumption of information are affected by a series of factors, including the intermediary discourse it uses, the discourse situation formed by information, and the technology to convey information (Hall, 1973).
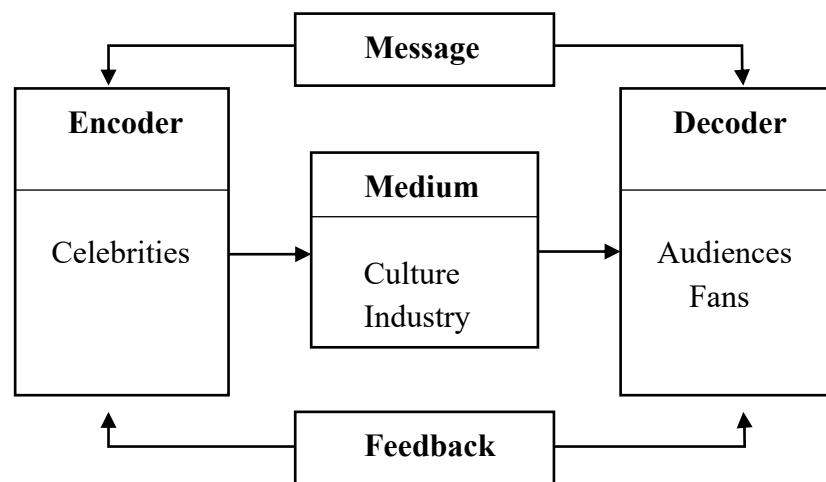
FIGURE 2.2 Celebrity Communication Model in the Western World

Based on Stuart Hall's *Encoding/Decoding Model*, I draw a new model of celebrity communication based on the characteristics of celebrity culture. In this model,

celebrities are the source of information, audiences or fans are the decoders of information, and the culture industry of celebrities, such as brokerage companies, public relations networks, and media organizations, become the intermediaries of information transmission. In the process of encoding and decoding, the audiences or fans will make feedback after receiving the information, and the feedback information will return to the celebrities, which will prompt the celebrities to create new information to meet the needs of the audiences and start a new round of transmission.

Combined with the above media development process and Model of Celebrity Communication, I will select the three most important subjects in celebrity culture communication: the encoder (celebrities), the decoder (audiences or fans), and the medium (culture industry) for discussion in the age of mass media, reality TV, and the Internet. Through this analytical framework, the unique insights of scholars on the development of celebrities at different historical stages will be presented in a more orderly way and the research ideas will be clearer.

2.2. Celebrities in the Age of Mass Media

2.2.1. Celebrities

2.2.1.1. The Rise of Mass Media

The invention of television dated from the 1920s, and the development of television broadcasting began in the 1950s. The rise of mass media and public business channels in the 1960s and 1970s expanded the reach of programming and narrowed the distance between celebrities and the public, which promoted and strengthened the celebrity culture.

Throughout the studies of celebrities in the era of mass media, C. Wright Mills's 'The Power Elite' (Mills, 1956) and Daniel J. Boorstin's 'The Image' (Boorstin,

1962) are two earlier studies on the nature of celebrities. Both Mills and Bootstin were critical and cynical about the emerging Hollywood subculture and the Hollywood celebrity industry. The difference is that Mills' understanding of celebrities was more inclined to the study of economic elites, while Bootstin's research focused more on the negative impact of celebrities on society, ignoring the positive significance of the existence of celebrities. In my opinion, both of their studies are somewhat one-sided.

2.2.1.2. Celebrities and Public Sphere

From Tom Cruise to the commercial pop stars, in 1997, P. David Marshall conducted a detailed analysis of celebrities in the mass media era through socio-cultural discourse analysis of several specific events, investigating the public's desire to associate with celebrities. He examined a wide variety of stars, questioning the need for each type of star fulfilled in our lives, and linked those needs to specific entertainment media. '*Celebrity and power*' (Marshall, 1997) identified the forces that promote democratic culture by redefining the public sphere of celebrities. Marshall believed that the special attention of the public in modern capitalism promoted the emergence of celebrities and the celebrity industry. Driven by capitalism, celebrity culture provided a mode of self-differentiation, which further promoted the emergence of individualism and an individualized economy (Marshall, 1997).

2.2.1.3. Celebrities in Early Talk Shows

In 2002, Laura Grindstaff published an ethnographic book called '*The Money Shot*' (Grindstaff, 2002), which explored how daytime talk shows work. In this book, she illustrated the setting and production principles of two talk shows: *Randy* and *Diana* (pseudonyms), to reveal our understanding of culture, class, and media discourse. Through ethnographic methods and based on her own experience,

Grindstaff went deep into the process of talk show production and summarized how celebrities were shaped by scripts and directors (Grindstaff, 2002). Given the survey results, she sought to tap into the precise categorization of talk shows and how talk format was reshaping our class consciousness.

2.2.2. Audiences/Fans

2.2.2.1. Audience Experience and Star image

In 1979, Richard Dyer changed the way we think about screen images by delving into the history, ideology, and aesthetics of stars in movies, advertisements, magazines, and commentary texts. In the book '*Stars*' (Dyer, 1979), Dyer analysed celebrities in the mass media era from the perspectives of phenomena, images, and signs, and summarised the influence of celebrities on the audiences from diverse audiences' reactions. Through socio-cultural discourse analysis of several celebrities such as Bette Davis, Greta Garbo, Jane Fonda, Marilyn Monroe, and Robert Redford, Dyer made a point that the audiences' experience of a film was largely influenced by its star image, which set new standards for the critical and theoretical rigour of celebrity and audience research (Dyer, 1979).

2.2.2.2. TV Industry and Fan Viewing Reactions

In 1987, John Fiske adopted the research idea focusing on the television industry and examined the role of television as the agent of mass culture through the discourse analysis of the text and the thorough study of the audiences. Fiske used an analysis of a classic series '*Hart to Hart*' (Fiske, 1987), which revealed how TV developed its specific narrative forms and ways of presenting characters and showed how TV was absorbed by social experience and thus entered popular culture. Fiske further considered the relationship between this cultural dimension and television as a commodity in the culture industry. He believed that TV educated audiences were strong-minded and had their ideas. They were influenced

by TV programs and TV celebrities to have different viewing reactions, and on the contrary, they also intervened and controlled the development of the TV industry (Fiske, 1987).

2.2.2.3. Adolescents' Secondary Attachments

With the deepening influence of celebrities, scholars began to focus on the influence of celebrities on teenagers. In 1990, A.L. Greene and Carolyn Adams-Price designed a series of questionnaires to study the perceived attractiveness of celebrities to teenagers of different ages and genders by surveying 60 boys and girls in grades 5, 8 and 11. The questionnaire described the maturity, attraction, and personality of six male celebrities and six female celebrities. The research indicated that teenagers had different levels of secondary attachments to celebrities. Multivariate analysis of variance showed that heterosexual celebrities were more attractive to adolescents than homosexual celebrities, while perceived attractiveness of heterosexual celebrities increased with age, especially among adolescent girls (Greene & Adams-Price, 1990). Secondary attachment to celebrities was a problem that cannot be ignored by society, which had an important impact on the growth and development of young people.

2.2.2.4. The Power of Movie Fans

In the early studies of mass media celebrities, few scholars were aware of the power of fans in shaping the film industry. '*Movie Crazy*' (Barbas, 2001) made up for that balance, which told a story about Hollywood's golden age from the perspective of fans. In 2001, through detailed text analysis of fan's mails, journal articles from fan's club, records of film studios and other previously unreleased files, Samantha Barbas summed up how the enthusiasm and constant activism of Hollywood movie fans changed the early film industry, as well as the direction of celebrities, modern mass media, and development of pop culture (Barbas, 2001).

Barbas's research provided a new perspective on the development of celebrity worship and showed that although fans were avid customers of the film industry, they did not blindly accept the celebrity images provided by the film studios. Fans had changed the development of the film industry through their reactions and emotional changes to movies and celebrities.

2.2.3. Culture Industry

2.2.3.1. Entertainment Properties of Celebrities

As an important part of social dynamics and mass media, TV, because of its special commodity status in the capitalist economy, provides endless products and experiences for the celebrity industry and the public. However, behind the booming TV industry, the entertainment value of celebrities and commercial advertisements had also been continuously amplified, which was considered by many scholars as the 'drug' of contemporary life.

In 1985, in the book named '*Amusing Ourselves to Death*', Neil Postman revealed the entertainment properties of celebrities and commercial television in the era of mass media by studying the changes in public discourse (Postman, 1985). Postman contrasted the fundamental differences in information processing and priorities between oral, written, and television cultures, arguing that reading was interactive and dialectical, while television was passive. Therefore, TV and celebrities no longer emphasized the quality of information, but met the need for entertainment and became a commodity. He cited the examples of the US President, Ronald Reagan, and other celebrities, and argued that television images lost the rational thinking of printed words and that the rights of citizens were traded for consumer entertainment, resulting in 'entertainment to death' (Postman, 1985).

2.2.3.2. Advertising and Celebrity Endorsers

The appearance of celebrities brings business opportunities to the commodity and advertising market. Driven by the celebrity effect, companies invite celebrities to endorse products, thus improving the purchasing power of fans and audiences.

In 1995, Jagdish Agrawal and Wagner A. Kamakura used event study methodology to evaluate the impact of celebrity endorsements and advertising contracts on a company's expected profitability. They believed that after celebrity endorsements and advertising contracts were published on commercial media, market analysts can evaluate the potential profitability of celebrity endorsers based on celebrity status, the number of followers, media coverage, etc., to calculate the expected return of the company (Agrawal & Kamakura, 1995). Agrawal and Kamakura analysed 110 announcements of celebrity endorsements and found that celebrity endorsements and advertising contracts had a positive impact on a company's stock returns, which indicated that celebrity endorsements were generally considered as a valuable advertising investment in that era.

2.2.3.3. Directors in Film Industry

The 1920s and 1950s are the golden age of Hollywood's film industry. It provides fertile ground for the development of film celebrities, and the director is the most important role in bringing film celebrities into public view.

According to an interview survey of the rise of Hollywood directors in the 1960s and 1970s, Peter Biskind described how young directors like Dannis Hopper, Francis Coppola, Stephen Spielberg, and Martin Scorsese committed to rejecting the rule of producers and breaking up the old studio system (Biskind, 1998). Biskind conducted more than 100 interviews with directors, stars, film producers, as well as studio executives, and made careful notes of a dizzying array of

anecdotes. What he was concerned that was the promotion of the celebrities' collaboration, in which a new path to stardom had been created.

2.2.3.4. 'Dream Machine' in Celebrity Industry

Celebrity culture is very important in American public culture, which reflects the development trajectory of mass media and mirrors the commercialism in popular culture. In 1994, Joshua Gamson criticized and analysed American celebrity culture in the era of mass media through a series of in-depth interviews with celebrities in the industry. He interviewed publicists from *People* magazine and the agencies behind the stars and examined the practice of 'Dream Machine' that journalists, tabloids, publicists, and agencies employed to create celebrities (Gamson, 1994). Depending on Gamson, the celebrity industry was like a spectator sport, and they got their rewards in the game. However, the process of 'celebritisation' was both political and economic. It had positive aspects, and there were also fictions and untruths (Gamson, 1994).

2.2.4. Summary

Scholars have been paying attention to celebrities since the 1950s. The early research on celebrities mainly revolves around the birth of mass media. C. Wright Mills and Daniel J. Boorstin both focused on the rise of the celebrity industry in Hollywood. They made a preliminary exploration of celebrities, but both were one-sided. P. David Marshall is also a pioneer in the study of celebrities. He is the first to examine celebrities in the public sphere, focusing on their influence on capitalist society. In the age of mass media, scholars were curious about the emerging celebrity industry and paid attention to it from different angles.

At the audience level, early celebrity scholars mainly focused on the audiences experience and fan reactions, among which Richard Dyer and John Fiske made

major contributions. Dyer started from different audiences' experiences and summarized the influence of celebrity images on fans. Fiske started with fan feedback, highlighting the power of fans and the audiences' reactions to the celebrity market. Starting from two ports of the celebrity communication model, they laid the foundation of early fan research. Meanwhile, the influence of celebrities on teenage fans was also getting more and more attention. Scholars noticed that teenagers had different degrees of secondary attachments to celebrities. The fanatical pursuit of celebrities, especially movie celebrities, was becoming a social force that cannot be ignored.

With the rapid development of mass media, the celebrity culture industry, such as public relations, advertising, directing, and agency companies, began to enter the academic field of vision. Among these scholars, some theorists had reflected on the entertainment value behind the celebrity industry and made political and economic criticism. Neil Postman highlighted the commodification of television and celebrities, and his famous 'entertainment to death' comment was a wake-up call for celebrity entertainment. Jagdish Agrawal and Wagner A. Kamakura focused on the development of celebrity endorsers and advertising, confirming the huge economic benefits brought by celebrities. Joshua Gamson saw the progress of public culture from the celebrity industry. He called the celebrity industry a 'dream machine' and exposed the fiction and lies behind it. In the early stage of celebrity research, most scholars hold a critical and opposing attitude towards the celebrity industry. They overemphasized the negative influence of celebrities on society, which is somewhat biased.

2.3. Celebrities in the Age of Reality TV
2.3.1. Celebrities
2.3.1.1. Birth of Reality TV Celebrities

As people's desire for further insight into the celebrity world has grown, reality TV provides a steady stream of celebrities for mass consumption and further extends the celebrity culture, which brings another twist to celebrity research. Although reality TV has existed in a modern form since '*Candid Camera'* in the 1950s, in-depth research on different types of celebrities in reality TV didn't start until the 1990s.

In the development of reality TV, there are several popular programs, which bring new ideas to the further study of celebrity culture. In 2005, through textual analysis of 6 representative reality TV shows: '*Wife Swap*', '*Big Brother*', '*The House*', '*The Cruise*', '*Crimewatch UK*', and '*The Osbournes'*, Jonathan Bignell made an in-depth analysis of the birth of celebrities in reality TV, exploring their political, economic, and cultural significance (Bignell, 2005). He focused on the production technology of reality TV, the relationship between monitoring and privacy, the reality and fiction in reality TV, the cognition of TV audiences, and the influence of media culture on celebrities, to evaluate the development direction of TV culture in the new century (Bignell, 2005).

Similarly, to explore the meaning of celebrities and how celebrities came into being, in 2010, Christopher E. Bell conducted a detailed and meaningful discourse analysis on '*American Idol*' for seven seasons. He used the analytical model proposed by Roland Barthes (1981) to analyse the theme, rhetoric, content, and discourse expression of this popular Reality TV show, to reveal the definition, generation, packaging, and strengthening process of celebrities (Bell, 2010).

2.3.1.2. Classification of Celebrities

In the age of reality TV, many scholars have defined and classified celebrities, among which the 'Five-Categories of Celebrities' proposed by Chris Rojek is the

most famous one (Rojek, 2001). In his landmark book named '*Celebrity*', Rojek put celebrities in the context of the public sphere through socio-cultural discourse analysis of stars in the field of politics, arts, and sports, such as Prince William, Johnny Depp, and Michael Jordan, and proposed five categories of celebrities for further refinement in a creative way (Rojek, 2004), including ascribed celebrities, attributed celebrities, celetoids, and celeactors, which had ever triggered the discussion of celebrity categories and celebrity culture in academia.

Category	Origin	Examples	Remarks
Ascribed Celebrities	line of biological descent	Prince Henry Ivanka Trump	typically follow from the bloodline
Achieved Celebrities	perceived accomplishments of the individual in open competition	Michael Jackson Tiger Woods	individuals who poss rare talents or skills in the public sphere
Attributed Celebrities	training, packaging, and promoting by cultural intermediaries	Ellen DeGeneres	generate public interest with several headline-grabbing events
Celetoids	the cultural accessories organized around mass media and mass communications	Lottery winners Serial killers	individuals who pop into public view one day, and disappear after a while
Celeactors	either invariably satirical creations or become a feature of popular culture	Walt Disney's animated cartoon	achieving considerable cultural impact

FIGURE 2.3 Rojek's Five Categories of Celebrities

Based on Rojek's Critical Celebrity Theory, we can argue that Internet celebrities can be classified as a combination of attributed celebrities and celetoids, because they possess both characteristics and are "cultural accessories organized around mass communications under the training, packaging, and promoting by cultural intermediaries" (Rojek 2004, 20), which is consistent with the characteristics of Internet celebrities who become famous on social media with the promotion of talent/MCN agencies. Combined with Baker and Rojek's definition of micro-celebrity in the '*Lifestyle Gurus*', the rise of Internet celebrities can be seen as "part of the trajectory of conferring fame on ordinary people", "gaining popularity and status through self-broadcasting of niche topics on social media" (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 87-88), which also confirms his earlier theory of celebrity classification.

In social relations, celebrities embody their influence on public consciousness and project it into the public impression through media and cultural intermediaries (Rojek 2004, 10). In this case, mass media constitute the main channel for the connection between celebrities and fans, resulting in three outcomes: confirmation, normalization, and cognitive dissonance (Rojek 2004, 17). 'Confirmation' refers to "verifying the public face of celebrities through direct interaction with fans"; 'Normalization' is to "make celebrity status transparent by articulation and recognition of the psychological and cultural common traits of celebrities and fans"; The manifestation of 'cognitive dissonance' is "the intense conflict with mass-media images of celebrities, thus exposing the public face to criticism" (Rojek 2004, 17).

To further investigate this connection, in 2012, Rojek published his monograph '*Fame Attack*' as a follow-up (Rojek, 2012a). This book explored the principles of celebrity engineering and focused on the para-social relationships between

celebrities and audiences (Rojek, 2012a). At the same time, the role of media and public relations in creating fame has been emphasized. Rojak investigated the business operations of reality TV shows by observing how celebrities interacted with their audiences, thus drawing the strategies for making celebrities in celebrity culture, and revealing the social, economic, and psychological impact of fame on the public and celebrities (Rojek, 2012a).

2.3.1.3. Authentic Celebrity and Idol Phenomenon

With the rapid development of reality TV, the discussion on the authenticity of celebrities and the phenomenon of idols comes into being. In 2007, Charles Fairchild studied the idol phenomenon through the discourse analysis of '*American Idol*' (Fairchild, 2007). He pointed out that after becoming famous through TV programs, reality TV celebrities gradually formed recognizable brands that were familiar to fans. Based on the relationship between reality TV celebrities and their fans, these brands were promoted by maintaining the authenticity of celebrities. Fairchild focused on the storytelling and atmosphere of '*American Idol*' and pointed out that the relationship between celebrities and fans in reality TV was not limited to the ordinary binary relationship, but a series of intimate and active multiple relationships (Fairchild, 2007). Through various channels established by the program group, celebrities can convey the truth to the audiences and establish the emotional investment, thus transforming the idol phenomenon into the fan economy.

2.3.2. Audiences/Fans
2.3.2.1. Audiences' Response to Reality TV

In the study of celebrities in the reality TV era, we can obtain the progress and changes of reality TV by paying attention to the audiences' response, to improve

our understanding of different types of reality TV and the contemporary TV audiences.

In 2005, according to the core target of the viewing experience of reality TV, Annette Hill conducted a quantitative and qualitative study of TV audiences to understand how viewers classified reality TV and the performance of authenticity in different types of reality TV. She believed that audiences were critically examining the development of reality TV, which also raised ethical issues of reality TV to a new level (Hill, 2005). Hill was particularly interested in celebrities and viewers of reality games and documentaries, which encourage non-professional stars or ordinary people to present themselves in a variety of ways for viewing. In the discourse analysis of pet programmes, she focused on the family ethics of reality TV, which provided further insight into the TV audience research.

2.3.2.2. Celebrities and Sickness

Since 2002, Chris Rojek has been focusing on celebrities and sickness in the age of reality TV, especially the disordered behaviour among audiences, self-harm or physical attack, and dangerous fan fantasies. In his Theory of Celebrity, Rojek innovated the concept of 'fame attack', which refers to "the neurotic, obsessional disorders that stem from celebrity culture" (Rojek 2012a, 4). He mentioned three celebrity illnesses: Celebrity Worship Syndrome (CWS), Star Paranoia, and Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD) (Rojek 2012a, 4-5).

According to Rojek's observation, a star with NPD might be unable to treat other people as equals because of his/her "innate sense of superiority and entitlement that is indifferent to others and social consequences" (Rojek 2012a, 5). Due to the negative influence of celebrities and celebrity culture, fans who suffer from CWS tend to "form an over-close identification with celebrities", thus leading to

"dysfunctional behaviour" (Rojek 2012a, 4). Fans afflicted by Star Paranoia cling to an emotional belief that "celebrities' behaviour is unreasonable", such as infringing human rights and breaking the law, which may lead to "resentment and anger against celebrity culture" (Rojek 2012a, 5).

This comment was confirmed by another scholar Mark A. Bellis and his colleagues, who claimed that sometimes fame was a killer (Bellis et al., 2007). After using a novel actuarial method that compared the survival rates of stars with those of the general population in North America and Europe, they concluded that death rates for celebrities were significantly higher than for demographically matched populations in the US and UK because of high-risk work and high-pressure environment. From 3 to 25 years post-fame, the death rates of stars in North America and Europe were significantly higher (more than 1.7 times) than those of the general population in the US and UK. The difference in death rates between stars who became notorious before 1980 and the general population was even greater.

2.3.2.3. Mirror Effect of Celebrities

To investigate the impact of celebrities on the sense of self-worth and identity in young fans, in 2001, Susan D. Boon and Christine D. Lomore randomly chose 75 young adults (aged 17-35 years), through the way of question-and-answer investigation, discussing the characteristics of the sample of celebrities. Research showed that fans had moderate to strong attachments to celebrities, reality TV idols and media figures, and sometimes even developed negative influences. 58.7% of students believed that idols influenced their attitudes and personal beliefs (Boon & Lomore, 2001). The study highlighted the utility of using relationship orientation to study how celebrity attachment considerably affected fan identity development.

Similarly, in 2009, Drew Pinsky and S. Mark Young made a point of the destructive effect of celebrities and celebrity culture on audiences and fans. In the book named '*The Mirror Effect*', they made in-depth interviews and data investigations with several groups of fans, especially teenagers, and suggested that celebrities had a 'mirror effect', whose frontier will be mirrored by negative adaption of the public (Pinsky and Young, 2009). Based on their findings, 3.7% of female teens suffered from anorexia and nearly a quarter of adolescents from 15 to 20 had Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDS) under the bad influence of celebrities. If stars engaged in extreme or paranoid behaviour, audiences and fans may reflect passive social-psychological traits.

2.3.3. Culture Industry

2.3.3.1. PR and Publicity Industries

In the era of reality TV, the social status of celebrities and the collective influence of the celebrity industry have been widely concerned. In 2000, Graeme Turner, Frances Bonner and P. David Marshall interviewed 20 Australian celebrity brokers, public relations personnel, media promoters, advertising agents, and magazine editors, and summarized the circulation mode of Australian celebrity products, the operation of media promotion and the changes in the public sphere. Through a detailed interpretation of the interview content, the authors explained how the personality of celebrities was formed and how news and entertainment information can be effectively conveyed to the audiences (Turner, Bonner, Marshall, 2000).

To further understand the process of making and promoting celebrities, in 2004, Graeme Turner provided the first comprehensive overview of celebrity production processes and consumption patterns from the perspective of cultural and media studies. In his book '*Understanding Celebrities*' (Turner, 2004), he conducted

extensive research on the celebrity industry, especially the public relations firms and publicity industries. Through socio-cultural discourse analysis, Turner analysed examples from various modern media, such as movies, reality TV, newspapers, and magazines, and put forward a new comprehensive theoretical position by focusing on the cultural process of celebrity consumption, which made us begin to correctly understand the role of celebrities in contemporary culture (Turner, 2004).

2.3.3.2. Cultural Intermediation

In 2008, based on the discourse analysis of Hollywood fixers Howard Strickling, and publicity agents Warren Cowan and more, famous publicist Mark Borkowski offered a Fame Formula that claimed to put the relationship of fame, time, and media activities on a scientific basis: $F(T) = B + P (1/ 10T + 1/2T^2)$. F is the quantity of fame; T is the time-frequency measured every 3 months (e.g. T=1 is after 3 months, T=2 is after 6 months); B is the baseline of fame, which is quantified by analysing the average visibility in the year before the peak; P is the fame increment above the base level, benefiting from media activities (Borkowski, 2008). According to his calculations of the duration of fame in the celebrity industry, ordinary people without any rare skills can also be brought into the public eye and achieve reputation with the intervention of talent agencies and cultural intermediaries, but the fame can only last for 15 months without constant promotion or support.

Alphabet	Meanings
F	Quantity of fame
T	Time-frequency (measured every 3 months)
B	The Baseline of fame (quantified by analysing before the peak)
P	Fame increment above the base level (benefit from media activities)

FIGURE 2.4 Interpretation of the Fame Formula

For example, when T=2, that is 6 months later, F=B+P (1/20+1/8), which works out at F=B+0.175P. That means 82.5% of the fame increment are wasted at the peak of public attention; when T=5, that is 15 months later, F=B+P (1/50+1/50), which works out at F=B+0.04P. That means 96% of the fame increment are wasted at the peak of public attention. However, there are obvious flaws in this formula. When T is equal to 0, F is infinite, which contradicts the whole notion of B; When T is infinite, F is equal to B, it is impossible that a celebrity's reputation is still at its peak after thousands of years. Therefore, Borkowski's Fame Formula still has room for improvement.

Borkowski believed that cultural intermediation was crucial in building a reputation, and always adhered to the utmost importance of cultural intermediation and talent agencies in celebrity research, which was also recognized by another publicist Simon Cowell: Stars will never exist without management (Cowell, 2004). Nonetheless, in my opinion, they overemphasize the meaning of cultural intermediation, and also underestimate the cultural literacy of celebrities and audiences. Moreover, 'cultural intermediation is everything' (Borkowski, 2008) ignores the impact of the Internet and new technology that can expand innovative pathways to become famous, which it seemed to be problematic.

2.3.3.3. Celebrity Culture

In the reality TV era, as a new form of media expression and the result of mass culture development, celebrity culture has attracted extensive attention from researchers. In 2005, Aaron Jaffe explored the relationship between modernist literature and celebrity culture through several archival studies. In her study, James Joyce, and Wyndham Lewis, among others, created a market for their work by

collaborating, setting up mutual support networks, reviewing and editing each other's work and building their circle of celebrity reputations. Jaffe pointed out that this circle of celebrity fame reflected the economics of celebrity culture, despite what modernists claimed to oppose (Jaffe, 2005).

There is also research on celebrity culture. In 2006, Ellis Cashmore discussed the origin, significance, and global influence of celebrity culture in her book *'Celebrity/Culture'* (Cashmore, 2006). Through the analysis of representative celebrities such as Madonna, Princess Diana, Beckham, Tyson, etc., this study covered the multiple perspectives of celebrification of politics, fame addiction, celebrity fatigue and so on. Cashmore analysed the relationship between celebrity culture, commercialization, and consumer society, and investigated media programs such as reality TV and celebrities' pursuit of self-improvement (Cashmore, 2006).

In 2009, Indian scholar Pramod K. Nayar discussed the process of celebrities being constructed and packaged into consumer goods under the influence of celebrity culture. Celebrity culture, she argued, was another kind of society of the spectacle. Through socio-cultural discourse analysis of several specific events in Indian urban culture, Nayar explored how celebrities established themselves in the public imagination and how social reactions made them their own, thus revealing three aspects of celebrity culture: adulation, identification, and imitation (Nayar, 2009).

2.3.4. Summary
With the birth of the first reality TV program *'Candid Camera'*, the rapid development of reality TV made celebrity research enter a new stage—celebrity research in the era of reality TV. During this period, many household reality TV programs contributed to the rapid popularity of reality TV celebrities. Scholars

represented by Jonathan Bignell and Christopher E. Bell studied this phenomenon and revealed the birth process of reality TV celebrities. At the same time, a group of scholars tried to classify celebrities, among whom Chris Rojek's 'Five-Categories of Celebrities' was the most famous, which created the theoretical basis for subsequent celebrity research.

Different from mass media audiences, in the era of reality TV, celebrities are closer to their fans and have deeper influences on each other. In this context, the abnormal reactions of celebrities and the crazy worship of fans have been widely concerned by scholars. In these studies, scholars mainly focused on Celebrity Worship Syndrome (CWS), Star Paranoia, and Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD). Mark A. Bellis and his colleagues explored the health risks of fame by studying celebrity survival rates. Susan D. Boon, Christine D. Lomore, Drew Pinsky and S. Mark Young respectively investigated the physical and psychological effects of reality TV celebrities on fans from the perspectives of self-worth, psychological attachment, and personality traits. Compared with earlier studies, studies in this period extended from the social perspective to the human perspective and focused on more detailed points.

After years of innovation and development, the celebrity culture industry in the era of reality TV has been getting more and more diversified and standardized. During this period, to promote the prosperity of the celebrity market, many new professions began to appear, enriching, and improving the mode of celebrity communication, which attracted the attention of many scholars. Frances Bonner, P. David Marshall, and Graeme Turner are leading scholars in this field. They analysed the celebrity market in the age of reality TV from the perspective of the business economy and summarized the process of making celebrities and the consumption patterns behind them. Another group of scholars, such as Aaron Jaffe,

Ellis Cashmore, and Pramod K. Nayar, mainly paid attention to celebrity culture. They studied the public image of celebrities and the relationship between celebrity culture, commercialization, and modern society. At this stage, scholars have made comprehensive progress in their understanding of the celebrity culture industry.

2.4. Celebrities in the Age of the Internet

2.4.1. Celebrities

2.4.1.1. Early Internet Celebrities

With the gradual popularization of the Internet, the emerging information technology represented by the Internet has become the development interface for the integration of traditional industry and new media. Therefore, social media has become a new platform for celebrities to attract popularity and make their fame.

To find out the survival status of celebrities in the Internet era, senior lecturer Theresa M. Senft began her critical and ethnographic study of the 'camgirls' (girls who broadcast themselves on social platforms to become famous) from 2000 to 2004, bringing this newly emerged group into the public eye (Senft, 2008). For a more authentic reflection of camgirls' daily life, she even created her site at Terricam to act as a real camgirl. In the progress of her research, Senft interviewed about 40 camgirls and nearly 80 viewers to conclude the fact that the rise of blogs, chat rooms and webcams operated confession culture for young girls sharing their personal lives (Senft, 2008).

2.4.1.2. Different Forms of Internet Celebrities

In 2018, Crystal Abidin analysed contemporary Internet celebrities and fame by using examples from the UK, US, Australia, China, South Korea, Japan, Singapore, Sweden, and social platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Weibo, Twitter Reddit, Tumblr, and YouTube. In the book named '*Internet Celebrities*' (Abidin, 2018),

Abidin provided an academic framework for analysing the different forms of Internet celebrities that have emerged over the past 10 years, which included eyewitness viral stars, meme personalities, DIY celebrities, crowd-puller cameos, microcelebrities, and influencers. She also discussed the overall pattern, development trend and cross-cultural impact of the Internet celebrity economy to consolidate key ideas about the Internet celebrity culture (Abidin, 2018).

2.4.1.3. Internet Celebrities in Digital Culture

In the 21st century, with the transformation of mass media from a one-way broadcast model to a digital model that is free for all, the emerging social media have given birth to new forms of celebrities to adapt to the interactive environment where fans expect to keep visiting. In 2018, David C. Giles started from the background of digital culture and studied how platforms like YouTube and Twitter developed their own celebrity culture by extensively analysing emerging literature on celebrity studies. Giles believed that 12st-century celebrities valued their superficial authenticity more than their charm or talents. He took the YouTubers as examples to explore how Internet celebrities can embody authenticity in well-crafted performances and the boundaries between authenticity and ordinariness in digital culture (Giles, 2018).

2.4.1.4. Political Economy of Micro-Celebrities

In the Internet age, the rise of social media has provided a platform for online sharing, which has spawned an industry called lifestyle gurus. In the book '*Lifestyle Gurus*' in 2020, sociologists Stephanie A. Baker and Chris Rojek used the Belle Gibson scandal as an example to take a critical perspective to analyse the rise of micro-celebrities in the digital age and the political, economic, and cultural conditions under which they gain authority and influence online (Baker & Rojek, 2020a). The Belle Gibson scandal broke in 2015 when the 'lifestyle guru' Belle,

who claimed to have incurable brain cancer and only months to live, amassed huge fans on her blog with her inspirational stories and 'health Bible'. However, it was revealed by the media that she had never had cancer, which was all a lie to attract social attention (Baker & Rojek 2020b, 388-389).

Based on the case of the scandal, Baker and Rojek have pointed out a cultural phenomenon that deserves social attention: "the rise of lifestyle gurus in the digital age has created a crisis of confidence in the interventions of experts and professionals" (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 9). According to Baker and Rojek, 'lifestyle gurus' can be considered as a type of micro-celebrities, referring to "lifestyle bloggers who gain authority and influence in the public domain" (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 14) The emergence of lifestyle gurus has played an important role in managing intimacy and social relations, and it can be said that "the proliferation of 21st-century lifestyle gurus has resonated with contemporary understandings of self-identity" (Baker & Rojek 2020b, 391).

Lifestyle gurus "embody the para-social, trading off the appeal of intimacy, authenticity, and integrity" (Baker & Rojek 2020b, 388). Baker and Rojek fully explored the ethical contradictions of lifestyle websites and linked the phenomenon of lifestyle gurus to the erosion of trust among professional power groups. Through the study of the micro-celebrity phenomenon, this research demonstrated that "social media are particularly effective in establishing para-social relationships of trust that emphasize authenticity and social inclusion, even though many of these relations are performed for fame and profit." (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 108). At the same time, Baker and Rojek revealed the commodification of self in the process of self-branding and criticized the risks it brings, which has provided a new theoretical perspective for the political economy research of Internet celebrities (Baker & Rojek, 2020a).

2.4.2. Audiences/Fans

2.4.2.1. Changes to Social Media Users

The latest Global Digital Report for 2019 from *We Are Social* and *Hootsuite* shows that up to 3.5 billion people (almost 45% of the world's population) use social media today, of which 2.17 billion are Facebook users (We Are Social & Hootsuite, 2019). The unprecedented development of social media and Internet celebrities has led to a surge in the number of social media users, which brought fresh ideas to the research on fans and users in the Internet era.

Based on discourse analysis of social media users in Trinidad, Daniel Miller found 12 Facebook users with different needs in 2011, revealing how Facebook has become a tool for people to cultivate relationships and the influence of Internet celebrities on social media users. According to Miller's interviews and observations, Facebook can bring back the lives of people who have been isolated at home because of illness or failure, but it can also destroy privacy and create scandals (Miller, 2011). Social media platforms and Internet celebrities have transformed the daily lives of ordinary people, becoming carriers of politics, economics, culture, and religion, dramatically expanding our social relationships, and challenging the core assumptions of social science.

To more deeply understand the role and identity of social media users, in 2017, Florencia Garcí a-Rapp conducted a 22-month immersion field study of the YouTube beauty community as well as a wide range of ethnography research. Through the analysis of 80 video samples, Garcí a-Rapp considered Bubz for example, from the concepts of attention economy and popularity index, to explore the content characteristics of Internet celebrities. According to her study, there were two types of social media users: casual viewers and loyal subscribers—an

essential core competency in YouTube's highly competitive environment (Garcí a-Rapp, 2017).

2.4.2.2. Digital Revolution and Fans

The Internet transcends geographical limits, and the digital revolution has shaped a truly global market. In this market, the youth subculture presented by digital fans under the influence of Internet celebrities has become a new direction of fan research. In 2010, Paul Booth took virtual reality games under the influence of the digital revolution as an example to examine the influence of digital technology, new media, and Internet celebrities on fans in today's digital media environment and studied the game philosophy presented by digital fans. According to Booth, digital fans adapted to the new integrated media environment and developed independent personalities in their own space (Booth, 2010).

In addition to Facebook, blogs, and Twitter being products of the 21st-century digital revolution, in 2011, Mary Cross conducted in-depth interviews and observations with 'bloggeratis' and 'Twitteratis' (Cross, 2011), to study the online behaviour fostered by the blog and Twitter users. Her original and exclusive interviews with celebrities such as Tina Brown, Martha Stewart and Arianna Huffington concentrated on the analysis of fan groups and how celebrities influenced their knowledge, thinking, and actions. Cross believed that blogs and Twitter opened up the way people communicate, leaving information out of the hands of gatekeepers. But on the contrary, information and speech on the Internet can easily be hijacked by Internet celebrities to spread and incite misinformation (Cross, 2011). The Internet has changed the way people live and communicate.

2.4.2.3. Participatory Culture in Social Media

In the Internet age, social media is considered a language marketplace. In this market, the self-branding of Internet celebrities drives the growth of the fan economy, thus increasing social and economic benefits. In 2006, Henry Jenkins took the lead in researching celebrities' self-branding and fans' participatory culture on social media platforms. Through in-depth interviews on the current status of fans, Jenkins took fans in blogs and online games as the research subject to analyse how fans' participatory behaviour affected the development of social media platforms. He believed that fans were the most active, creative, and socially connected consumers in pop culture and that their investment and engagement can build mutually beneficial relationships with the mass media (Jenkins, 2006).

Similarly, in 2012, Ruth Page randomly selected about 92,000 tweets of 100 publicly available Twitter accounts, analysed the frequency, type, grammar, and context of hashtags, and compared the discourse styles of enterprises, Internet celebrities, and Twitter followers. The results showed that the practice of Internet celebrities' self-branding can have a direct impact on fans, and it reflected and strengthened the social and economic levels existing in the offline environment. Page believed that the participatory culture in Twitter was not evenly distributed. The discourse of Internet celebrities and enterprises improved the visibility of Twitter through hashtags, thus presenting the mainstream media form of broadcast conversation (Page, 2012).

2.4.3. Culture Industry

2.4.3.1. Social Media Industry

In 2013, to study the new online participatory culture industry, Alice Marwick spent 9 months at San Francisco's tech community doing a multi-sited ethnography from 2008 to 2009. During that time, she conducted about 50 interviews with various Internet celebrities, entrepreneurs, and celebrity agencies

and had informal conversations with hundreds of people. After investigating the current state of celebrities from the perspective of modern technology, Marwick found that the power of social media had changed social status, encouraging people to put attention and visibility first (Marwick, 2013). The social media industry has brought the attention economy into the daily lives and promoted attention-grabbing technologies such as live-streaming, micro-celebrity, and self-branding.

2.4.3.2. Celebrity Advocacy and International Development

In the Internet era, the political and economic influence of celebrity advocacy is increasingly important in international development. In 2014, Dan Brockington made an empirical study on the background, development, political, and economic impact of celebrity advocacy through multiple channels. In the study, Brockington conducted a large-scale public opinion survey and focus group analysis to discuss the impact of celebrity advocacy on the public and civil society in the Internet era. At the same time, he conducted in-depth interviews with the non-government sector, media, and celebrity industry, and revealed the social impact of the populist celebrity advocacy through the analysis of the content, which marked the disconnection between the public and politics, especially between the public and civil society (Brockington, 2014).

2.4.3.3. Taste Work in Asia

With the advance of social media and modern technology, the taste work of Asian fashion bloggers is gradually rising. These Internet celebrities make a career out of posting photos of themselves in clothes on the Internet, transforming taste work into a steady stream of economic benefits and intangible capital. In 2015, Minh-Ha T. Pham conducted a critical survey of the Internet celebrities' fashion blogosphere. Through ethnographic research, she explored the status and

significance of Asian taste in the 21st century, the cultural and economic work done by Asian taste, and the preferences of the fashion industry and certain racial elites (Pham, 2015). She focused on the broader economic, political, and cultural changes under the influence of global consumer capitalism, as well as the causes of race, gender, and class formation, thus summarizing the work practices and digital spaces under the influence of the fashion media economy.

2.4.3.4. Capitalism and the Making of Fame

To analyse the political and economic influence of celebrities in the Internet era, in 2016, Milly Williamson published her monograph '*Celebrity: Capitalism and the Making of Fame*', in which she took a critical view of celebrities and explained how the environment of celebrity industry thrived (Williamson, 2016). By combing the development of celebrities in mass media, film, and theatre, Williamson brought historical and theoretical sophistication to the analysis of the mutating relationship between celebrity and capitalism (Williamson 2016). Furthermore, she highlighted the political and economic functions of celebrities in diverse media and entertainment industries and emphasized the relationship between the changing social values and consumption patterns of celebrities (Williamson, 2016).

2.4.4. Summary

In the 21st century, with the rapid development of modern information technology, the Internet has connected the world and changed the mode of information dissemination beyond recognition. The emergence of new media represented by social platforms provides celebrities with a brand-new platform. Against this background of development, Internet celebrities appeared. Faced with this emerging group of celebrities, scholars have carried out research one after another, trying to explore the celebrity culture in the digital world. Theresa M. Senft

summed up the survival style of early Internet celebrities from the 'camgirls' group. Crystal Abidin studied popular social media platforms and divided Internet celebrities into six categories. From the perspective of digital culture, David C. Giles deeply observed the living space of Internet celebrities. Stephanie A. Baker and Chris Rojek took a critical perspective to analyse the rise of lifestyle gurus under the political, economic, and cultural conditions, among which the in-depth analysis of micro-celebrities and social media has provided me with a lot of inspiration for the research of political economy of Internet celebrities in China.

Internet celebrities maintain emotions with their fans through social media, so in the Internet era, audience research needs to be carried out based on social platforms. During this period, the digital revolution brought technological innovation and changes in the way of social communication. At this time, fans are no longer the traditional audiences, but digital fans. To study how the Internet changed the lives of the audiences and the way of communication, Daniel Miller, and Florencia Garcí a-Rapp respectively did ethnographic research, from which they concluded how Internet celebrities interact with digital fans. Paul Booth and Mary Cross focused on the misleading information of the Internet and the independent personalities of digital fans. On the other hand, the participatory culture brought by Internet celebrities is gradually gaining popularity on social media platforms. Scholars led by Henry Jenkins and Henry Jenkins paid attention to this phenomenon and affirmed the self-branding of Internet celebrities.

With the continuous expansion of the Internet celebrity group, the economic benefits behind the celebrity industry are also increasingly prominent. Many Internet users have found this business opportunity and started to turn celebrity status into a career, which has also attracted the attention of many scholars. Alice Marwick and Minh-Ha T. Pham are two early scholars who studied the

professionalization of Internet celebrities. They mainly focused on the social media changes to the social status of celebrities, and the popularity of professional Internet celebrities driven by the attention economy. Meanwhile, research on the political economy of Internet celebrities has made progress. Dan Brockington studied celebrity advocacy on the public and civil society from multiple channels. Milly Williamson paid attention to the political and economic functions of celebrities in diverse media. These beneficial explorations have explained the Internet celebrity market from different aspects, but most scholars used a single research method and discussed it from the simplex link of celebrity communication, which made the research less comprehensive and extended.

2.5. Conclusion

So far, through a comprehensive survey of the academic achievements of celebrity studies in the era of mass media, reality TV, and the Internet, it is not difficult to find that scholars' analyses of celebrities mainly focus on three levels: the study of celebrity manifestation, the study of celebrity discourse effect and the study of celebrity social influence. In these studies, to get closer to celebrities, fans, and cultural industries, scholars mostly adopt ethnographic research methods such as interview, field research, discourse analysis, event study, questionnaire survey, literature review and even immersive observation to study celebrities, fans, and cultural intermediaries in a certain environment.

For example, scholars like P. David Marshall, Richard Dyer, Chris Rojek, Stephanie A. Baker, Jonathan Bignell, Graeme Turner, Aaron Jaffe, Ellis Cashmore, Pramod K. Nayar, David C. Giles, and Milly Williamson, who were interested in discourse analysis, started with representative events and studied the characteristics and market environment of celebrities. Other scholars, such as Peter Biskind, Joshua Gamson, Theresa M. Senft, Daniel Miller, Mary Cross, Henry

Jenkins, Henry Jenkins, and Dan Brockington, adopted the research method of interviewing to delve into various aspects of the celebrity industry and obtain first-hand information from participants. There are other types of scholars, such as A.L. Greene, Carolyn Adams-Price, Mark A. Bellis, Susan D. Boon, Christine D. Lomore, Drew Pinsky, S. Mark Young and Ruth Page. Through experimental statistics, surveys, data analysis, and other methods, they intuitively explained the development status, market environment, fans feedback, and social impact of celebrities with data, and finally reached the conclusions based on mathematical analysis.

No matter if discourse analyses, interviews or experimental statistics are used, most of the current scholars focus on the celebrities, fans, and celebrity culture industry. However, there is a neglected group of celebrities, usually called 'proletarianized platform workers'. They are not yet famous or suffer from corporate exploitation because of fierce competition, which affects the overall development of the celebrity labour market. In Marxist theory, proletarianization is a complicated and developing process, which depends on the predominant structure of exploitation and the result of class struggle in a certain period, thus producing the working class (Larson, 1980).

Research on the proletarianized platform workers is important today, which is helpful to study the proletarianization of digital labour under the background of the Internet era. Therefore, in addition to the research on traditional celebrities, I will add a group of proletarianized platform workers in this dissertation, focusing on the analysis of their everyday life, sociality forms, and working conditions, thus leaving out aspects of the macro-level that deals with the entire political economy of celebrities.

From the perspective of research content, at present, the studies of celebrities mainly concentrate on the manifestation and discourse effect level. Due to the various types of celebrities and different historical backgrounds, scholars tend to focus on the manifestation and discourse analysis of celebrities at different times. In contrast, there are few debates on the commodification of celebrities in celebrity research, and only a few academic studies have focused on the political economy of celebrities, including business models, profit mechanisms, aspects of labour, publicity strategies, fan economy, etc. The analysis of the social function of celebrity culture is also rare in celebrity research, especially the ideological role that celebrity culture plays in capitalism and the influence of celebrities on the public sphere. To solve these problems, a series of disciplines, knowledge, and different research methods are needed, which also provide a new perspective and direction for the future development of celebrity research.

It is also worth noting that there is still room for improvement in the interpretation of celebrity classification. In different times, there have been many scholars trying to define celebrities and classify them into different types or trying to quantify the fame of celebrities by using formulas and mathematics. However, due to the rapid development of the celebrity industry, these definitions, classifications, and quantification have some limitations because of the unclear overlap of boundaries, omission of definitions, or incomplete quantification formulas. To carry out the research in a more orderly and logical way, it is necessary to develop a brand-new celebrity classification system with clear boundaries, especially the classification framework of Internet celebrities, to ensure that the research on celebrities is carried out reasonably and without omission.

To sum up, since the era of mass media, the era of reality TV, and the era of the Internet, the study of celebrities in the Western world has carried out many

beneficial attempts and made substantial progress. However, due to the limitations of times and recognition, most scholars adopt a single discipline research method to study a certain aspect of celebrity communication mode from a special path or perspective, but lack of discussion and analysis of the whole celebrity market. Especially the study of commodification of celebrities and political economy, which are relatively rare in the current research, leaving a lot of room for future development. From my point of view, a more varied range of methodology should be considered. In particular, it is necessary to put forward a more novel research model that is closer to the development of times.

According to the research question—the political economy of Chinese Internet celebrities, will mainly rely on the research method of semi-structured interviews, which will be analysed from four aspects: commodification, working conditions, everyday life, and identity construction. While a structured interview has a rigorous set of questions that does not allow one to divert, a semi-structured interview is open, allowing new ideas to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says. Since each research method has its corresponding research steps, I will follow the five steps of research ethics, sample selection, operationalization, data collection, and data analysis, to carefully explain the research process of this study.

Therefore, through the methodology of semi-structured interviews, I will go deep into different groups in the Internet celebrity market and analyse their everyday life and working conditions, to summarize the political economy of Internet celebrities in China.

CHAPTER THREE

Celebrities in China: A Literature Review

3.1. Introduction

We live in a celebrity-dominated culture, where "visual impact, emergency, and incident are essential features of celebrity" (Rojek 2012a, 8). The development of celebrity studies in China has gone through the evolution process from nothing to being, from unconsciousness to consciousness, from sensibility to rationality. It stemmed from the study of celebrities in the Western world and experienced four stages: development, stagnation, recovery, and prosperity.

China's attention to celebrities began in the 1920s. In 1926, Shanghai '*New World*' magazine held the first selection of 'film queen' in China. Since then, celebrities had become an indispensable factor in the commercial value of early Chinese films. Early articles in '*Star Pictorial*', '*Drama Pictorial*', '*Film Pictorial*', and other magazines mostly introduced the screen image of actors and the path of stars' filmography (Yu, 2011).

From the founding of New China in 1949 to the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1978, it was a dark period for Chinese film and celebrity studies. To maximize the political appeal and minimize the creation of celebrities, the connotation of celebrities began to be related to the national will and became the synonym of politics. During this period, the unprecedentedly powerful national discourse formed the political standard of unitary system and integration, and the research on celebrities also stagnated, reflecting the distinct historical characteristics and cultural background.

After China's Reform and Opening-up in 1979, the standard of truth replaced the political standard, and the diversified aesthetic replaced the single pattern. The celebrities returning to the screen represented people's aesthetic and political identity at that time (Hu, 2012). Celebrity, a word that has been absent for nearly 30 years, appeared again on the cover of '*Popular Movies'* and attracted wide attention from society and academia. Since then, the study of celebrities in China had officially entered the public view and started the process of academic research.

Based on the development history and research status of Chinese celebrities, I will also divide the research on Chinese celebrities into three stages: the age of mass media, the age of reality TV, and the age of the Internet, respectively as significant nodes for the development of Chinese media: the period of Reform and Opening-up, the period of Chinese reality TV, and the period of new media.

By comparing the development path of celebrity research in China and the Western world, we may find that the three stages of celebrity research in China are similar to the three ages of celebrity research in the Western world, which all reflect the important time nodes of media development. However, due to the cultural stagnation and technological lag brought by the Cultural Revolution, the research on celebrities in China started later and developed more slowly than that in the Western world. Although the Reform and Opening-up in 1979 opened a new way for the study of celebrities in China, there is still a gap between China and the Western world in terms of research perspective and theoretical framework.

Similarly, combined with the development process of Chinese media and the Model of Celebrity Communication (from the previous section—*Celebrities in the Western World: A Literature Review*), I will still choose the three most important subjects in celebrity culture communication: the encoder, the decoder, and the

medium for discussion in different historical stages. The only difference is that the research on celebrities in China is mostly conducted at the micro and middle-range levels while ignoring the macro development status of the whole society. In the Chinese celebrity market, the effect of transforming information into economic benefits is mainly achieved by talent agencies through the packaging and operation of celebrities.
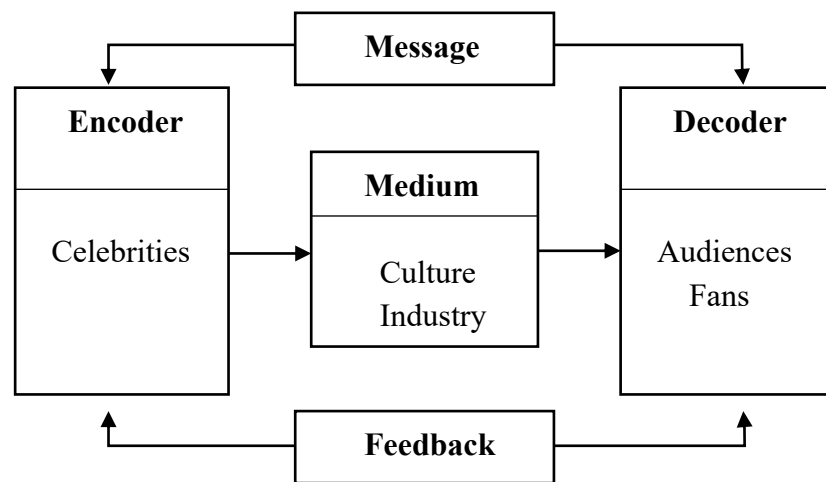
FIGURE 3.1 Celebrity Communication Model in China

In addition, it is worth noting that in Chinese academia, academic journals are successively divided into five categories according to their authority level: core journals, national journals, provincial journals, and general academic journals. At present, core journals are the most important and authoritative academic journals in China, which are based on *'A Guide to the Core Journals of China'* and evaluated by the academic index system.

To better analyse the development history of celebrity research in China, I will mainly select academic papers in the core journals to reflect the authoritative influence of these academic results. For example, *'Film Art', 'Contemporary*

Communications', 'Press Circles', 'Journalism Review, Exploration and Free Views', 'Modern Communication', 'Chinese Journalists', 'China Advertising', 'Journal of Chinese Youth Social Science', and *'Chinese Youth Studies'*, which are the top academic journals in the field of Chinese media, communication, and advertising, is of great research value.

National journals are academic periodicals sponsored by departments directly under the state council, while provincial journals are academic periodicals sponsored by provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the central government and their departments. Although they are not as authoritative as core journals, they still have certain research value compared with general academic journals. Therefore, in this chapter, I will also select some national and provincial journals for research, such as *'The Film and Television Art', 'Southeast Communication', 'Video-Audio Circle', 'Journal of News Research'*, and '*Modern Business'*.

Since the 1980s, these experts have been exploring the way celebrity research in China has evolved. Among them, Dian Fei Zhong, a famous Chinese film theorist, is the first person who started the research on Chinese celebrities (Zhong, 1981); Xiao Hong Li, who is the leading scholar to focus on star-chasing behaviour of Chinese teenagers for the first time (Li, 1994); Qian Chen, who is the first to study the economic benefits of celebrity advertising in China and put forward suggestions for improvement (Chen, 1997). After entering the 21st century, some important scholars have made contributions to the study of celebrities in China. For example, Lin Li made the first definition of Chinese reality TV celebrities (Lin, 2003); Hong Chen is the first to summarize the characteristics of celebrities and focus on the psychological connections between celebrities and audiences (Chen,

2007); Peng Ao first paid attention to social media and took the lead in defining Internet celebrities (Ao, 2016).

As a useful supplement to the literature review on celebrity research, the literature review on celebrities in China will focus on Chinese celebrities, audiences/fans, and the culture industry from 1979 to the present, combining the unique historical background and development characteristics of China. Through the classification and review of the research on Chinese celebrities in different historical periods, this dissertation will sort out different perspectives, modes, and methods of Chinese scholars' research on celebrities, to provide more comprehensive research on celebrities, celebrity culture, and the Internet celebrities.

3.2. Celebrities in the Age of Mass Media

3.2.1. Celebrities

3.2.1.1. Early Judgment of Celebrities in China

In the early 1980s, Dian Fei Zhong, a famous Chinese film theorist, was the first pioneer to study celebrities. In 1981, Zhong published two articles in the first and the third issue of '*Film Art*': '*the First Discussion of Yu Zhang*' and '*Meeting Yu Zhang in Shanghai*'. With the method of discourse analysis, these two articles took Yu Zhang, the heroine of the popular movie '*Romance on Lushan Mountain*', as an example, to judge her career, her thoughts, and her acting ability in the film (Zhong, 1981). At that time, Zhong's criticism of celebrities was the first in academia, which also aroused public opinions. Some scholars thought that Zhong's criticism of Yu Zhang was too severe, which tended to pose pressure on celebrities. However, Zhong believed that celebrities were not only performers but also the embodiment and image of charm. Celebrities should be judged by the audiences (Zhong, 1981).

3.2.1.2. Success Factors of Chinese Celebrities

With the further development of celebrity research in China, some scholars began to pay attention to the reasons for the success factors of celebrities, which was known as the 'success study' of celebrities (Fang, 1998). In 1998, Zhou Fang made a profound analysis and comprehensive summary of the success factors of Chinese celebrities in various industries from 1980 to 2000 based on a large number of discourse analyses. Fang believed that contemporary Chinese celebrities should have nine success qualities, which were discernment, talent, firm belief, professionalism, personality, endurance, interpersonal relationship, expressiveness, and eloquence (Fang, 1998). In the analysis of each success factor, Fang was supported by complete examples of celebrities. He stressed that professionalism and talent were two qualities commonly lacking in contemporary Chinese celebrities, which needed to be further improved (Fang, 1998).

3.2.2. Audiences/Fans

3.2.2.1. Star-chasing Behaviour in China

In the 1990s, Chinese celebrity culture developed rapidly under the influence of mass media and commodification. The emergence of 'starchaser' has become a major phenomenon in the celebrity market, which also attracted the attention of scholars. Starchaser, as the name suggests, are people or groups who worship and chase certain stars (Li, 1994). In 1994, through the discourse analysis of news about star-chasing behaviour, Xiao Hong Li defined the starchaser group and criticized the negative influence of the star-chasing phenomenon. Li believed that fans' consumption of celebrities was essentially the expected effect achieved by the culture industry through media operation and packaging planning, while starchaser's fanaticism behaviour reflected the catharsis of inner feelings (Li, 1994). Therefore, we should not restrict star-chasing behaviour, but need to guide teenagers in the right way.

3.2.2.2. Audiences' Imitation of Celebrities

Celebrity communication influences the audiences through the transmitted content. Therefore, it is of more practical significance to study how the transmitted content influences the audiences. In 1999, through in-depth analysis of celebrity endorsements discourse and fans' star-chasing behaviour, Ru Cao summarized the influence of celebrities on audiences and audiences' feedback on celebrities. Cao believed that the influence of celebrities on the audiences was mainly manifested in two aspects: thoughts and behaviour, while imitation was the basic way for the audiences to feedback celebrities. At that time, due to the diversity of mass media means, the audiences' imitation of celebrities showed the characteristics of inductiveness, sociality, and rapidity. The connotation, grade, and quality of celebrities would also affect the audiences' imitation, thus showing different fan characteristics (Cao, 1999).

3.2.3. Culture Industry

3.2.3.1. Celebrity Advertising in China

In 1988, the film star Hong Pan was invited by Shanghai Xiafei Daily Necessities Chemical Factory to shoot China's first celebrity advertisement. Since then, Chinese celebrity advertising began to enter the public eye.

In 1997, Qian Chen summarized the effective principle and publicity strategy of celebrity advertising by discourse analysis of celebrity advertising in China in the past ten years. Chen believed that celebrities' ability to turn advertising into economic benefits was mainly due to the development of mass media. At that time, there were some problems in the celebrity advertising market. First, celebrities were overpaid to appear; Second, the credibility of celebrity advertising declined significantly; Third, celebrities were too dominant in the dissemination of

advertising information. He further pointed out that to solve these problems, advertisers needed to pay attention to the unification of celebrity images. Only by strengthening the relationship between celebrities and products and strictly avoiding false advertisements can good results be achieved (Chen, 1997).

3.2.3.2. Limitations of Celebrity Effect

With the further development of celebrity research, the celebrity effect had aroused wide attention in academia. In daily life, when celebrities appear, they can strengthen their influence and promote the economic benefits of enterprises, thus exerting a profound influence on social life, which is the celebrity effect (Liu, 2000). In 2000, Shao Ting Liu discussed the celebrity effect through discourse analysis of celebrity reports. After introducing the example of director Jin Xie, Liu pointed out that the celebrity effect in China had certain limitations. First, the credibility of celebrity images was not high and unable to arouse audiences' resonance; Secondly, the relationship between celebrities, enterprises, and audiences was disjointed, which affected the economic benefits of celebrities. Therefore, to guide the celebrity effect to the positive development, it was necessary to change the current single media promotion pattern and conduct all-round publicity and packaging of celebrities from TV, newspapers, offline activities, and other channels, to improve the commercial value of celebrities (Liu, 2000).

3.2.4. Summary

As the first stage of Chinese celebrity research, celebrity research in the age of mass media started from the Reform and Opening-up and completed the transformation from the study of celebrity image to the study of celebrity connotation. Dian Fei Zhong is one of the earliest scholars studying celebrities. Through the discourse analysis of actor Yu Zhang, Zhong evaluated Yu Zhang's

performance and career and put forward the conclusion that celebrities need to be judged by the audiences. Based on this, Zhou Fang, another scholar, started the success study of celebrities. By analysing successful celebrities from 1980 to 2000, Fang put forward nine success qualities of celebrities in China, which set an early standard for successful celebrities.

With the continuous development of mass media, celebrities were becoming more and more popular. Star-chasing behaviour and imitation behaviour of fans became the focus of scholars in this period. Xiao Hong Li first defined 'starchaser' and studied the negative influence of celebrities through the discourse analysis of news about the star-chasing behaviour of Chinese teenagers. Li believed that star-chasing behaviour should not be limited but needed to be properly directed. Ru Cao focused her research on the audiences' feedback. Through in-depth analysis of the audiences' imitation of celebrities, she found the different influences of celebrities with different qualities, levels, and connotations on the audiences, which opened up a new direction for fan research.

After China's Reform and Opening-up, the celebrity-related culture industry had gradually emerged. The rise of the celebrity effect made the economic benefits of celebrity advertising and celebrity endorsement increasingly concerned. Based on the discourse analysis of celebrity advertising in China over the past decade, Qian Chen summed up the publicity strategies of celebrities to turn advertising into economic benefits. He further pointed out the problems existing in the celebrity advertising market and proposed corresponding solutions. Shao Ting Liu focused on the realistic development of the celebrity effect and its influence on social life. Through in-depth discourse analysis of celebrity news, Liu pointed out the limitations of celebrity effect in China. Only through multi-channel packaging and publicity can the commercial value of celebrities be improved.

In the age of mass media, the study of celebrities in China just started. In this period, cases of celebrities, fans, and the culture industry were scarce, and there were few relevant theories to support them. However, scholars began to transform from external research to internal research on celebrities, which was a significant breakthrough.

3.3. Celebrities in the Age of Reality TV

3.3.1. Celebrities

3.3.1.1. Definition of Chinese Reality TV

In June 2000, the programme '*Survival Challenge*' produced by Guangdong TV station was launched, which was the first time that reality TV was introduced to China. Later, CCTV and other provincial TV stations in Shanghai, Zhejiang, Hunan, Sichuan, and Guizhou began to launch reality TV programmes, which triggered the popularity of reality TV across China. 2005 was a year of rapid development of reality TV in China. Among them, reality TV shows featuring national entertainment had achieved great success. Since 2006, to meet the needs of audiences, Chinese major TV stations had launched various programmes of reality TV, which triggered the discussion on reality TV celebrities in academia.

The earliest research on celebrities in Chinese reality TV programmes began in 2003. Li Lin compared reality TV in China and the Western world by discourse analysis of programmes such as '*Survival Challenge*' and '*Survivor*'. She gave a preliminary definition of reality TV and put forward the concept of 'Chinese reality TV'. Lin believed that Chinese reality TV was restricted by specific Chinese ideologies, cultural traditions, and social values in terms of entertainment taste, moral standards, and human expression. At the same time, she pointed out that the popularity of celebrities in Chinese reality TV reflected the publicity of

the private sector (Lin, 2003). Through their performance in reality TV, celebrities transmitted simple codes to the audiences, thus breaking the evil boundaries of social groups and creating a place for cultural activities.

3.3.1.2. Categories of Reality TV Celebrities

To further summarize the development of Chinese reality TV programmes and celebrities, in 2006, Yun Geng Xie and Hong Chen systematically summarized the forms of Chinese reality TV programmes by discourse analysis of a large number of programmes. Xie and Chen discussed the development history and existing problems of Chinese reality TV programmes, as well as the category characteristics and future trends of reality TV celebrities. They divided reality TV celebrities into seven categories, which were celebrities of performing talent shows, outdoor activities, indoor activities, education, career, emotion, entertainment, and public welfare. Xie and Chen pointed out that reality TV shows were the product of the upgrading of entertainment programmes in China, which conformed to the strong demand of audiences for reality and had a huge market space in the future (Xie & Chen, 2006).

3.3.1.3. Configuration and Characteristics of Reality TV Celebrities

Celebrity is an important factor for the success of reality TV programmes because the performance of celebrities constitutes the main part of the programme. In the planning of reality TV programmes, celebrities' character value, character role and character structure must be configured, to build an excellent programme that highlights people, humanity, and personality.

To study the construction of celebrities in reality TV programmes, in 2007, Hong Chen summarized the configuration and characteristics of reality TV celebrities by discourse analysis of '*Perfect Holiday*', '*Super Girl*', and other programmes.

Chen believed that reality TV shows needed to establish a proper relationship between celebrities and audiences, and sometimes even needed conflicts. Celebrities, on the other hand, needed to have distinctive characters to attract the attention of the audiences. At the same time, she pointed out that reality TV celebrities must have the characteristics of representativeness, difference, and personality to produce dramatic effects (Chen, 2007). In fact, these celebrities were mimicry of human society in the real world. Only celebrities related to human daily life and emotional state can arouse the audiences' emotional investment to the greatest extent.

3.3.2. Audiences/Fans

3.3.2.1. Interaction Between Celebrities and Audiences

The essence of reality TV is the participation of ordinary people. This kind of civilian communication meets the needs of real entertainment in the form of original ecology and realizes the deep value desire of the contemporary public. When celebrities appear in reality TV programmes, the audiences will have a psychological stereotype due to the particularity of celebrities' status, thus affecting the direction of the programme. Therefore, when studying celebrities in the age of reality TV, it is very important to study the audiences.

In China, reality TV programmes imitate Western cultural forms but are adapted to the Chinese audiences' preferences. In 2005, Zhou Li Wang and Wen Feng Zhu pointed out that the audience was the core link of the local transformation of reality TV. Through discourse analysis of popular shows '*90 Days of Entrepreneurship*' and '*Valley Survival Camp*', Wang and Zhu interpreted the interaction between celebrities and audiences. They believed that curiosity was a human instinct. Reality TV shows created suspense through competition, contradiction, and excitement among celebrities, thus giving audiences the feeling of personal

participation. It was the open competitive consciousness displayed by celebrities in the programme that made the audiences get great psychological satisfaction (Wang & Zhu, 2005).

3.3.2.2. Psychology of Reality TV Audiences

In 2007, through the discourse analysis of famous reality TV programmes such as '*Let's Shake it*' and '*Just the Two of Us*', Nan Nan Li made psychological attribution from the perspective of audiences and explored how celebrities and programme operators broke or conformed to audiences' psychological stereotypes, to achieve the ideal effect of information dissemination. Li summarized six psychologies of reality TV audiences, namely, worship psychology, crowd psychology, curiosity psychology, expectation psychology, compensation psychology, and imitation psychology (Li, 2007). She believed that audiences' psychology and media guidance complemented each other. Only when celebrities and reality TV were well balanced, can they drive the overall improvement of audience level and form a benign interaction (Li, 2007).

3.3.2.3. Reality TV Authenticity and Audiences' Feedback

The success of reality TV lies in its authenticity. When the audiences think the programme is real, it will arouse resonance and generate dependence. To deconstruct the relationship between reality TV authenticity and audiences' feedback, in 2010, Jun Zhao conducted discourse analysis on two reality TV programmes, '*Survivor*' and '*Temptation Island*', and compared the audiences' situational feelings, identity recognition, and narrative acceptance of the programmes, thus concluding the influence of authenticity on celebrities and programmes. Zhao believed that reality TV emphasized the authenticity, interactivity, and performance of celebrities. Only when reality and fiction were

integrated, can audiences have a good viewing experience and achieved the best effect (Zhao, 2010).

3.3.3. Culture Industry

3.3.3.1. Elements and Artistic Processing of Reality TV

As the main body of the reality TV programme, celebrities gather together because of the configuration of the programme. The relationship between these celebrities is not completely realistic, but a theatrical relationship arranged and chosen by the director. In the programme, whether it is the celebrity's identity, relationship, functions assumed in the programme or the rules of the game, are all part of the dramatic show. Therefore, it is very important to study the programme elements and operation mode of reality TV to further understand the development of reality TV celebrities.

To better understand the production mode of reality TV and the process of shaping celebrities, in 2005, Hong Yin, Hong Lu and Ru Xue Ran decomposed reality TV into character elements, dynamic elements, structural elements, link elements, situational elements, detail elements, and infectious elements. Combined with well-known reality TV programmes like '*Super Girl*', '*Lucky 52*', and '*Survival Challenge*', they conducted discourse analysis, especially detailed discussions on the shaping of narrative plots and the artistic processing of programmes (Yin, Lu & Ran, 2005). The conclusion was that for shows to be popular, companies needed to package celebrities and interfere with the competition process. Through the application of audio-visual technologies, the audiences can establish an internal connection with celebrities, to obtain a special media experience.

3.3.3.2. Implicit Marketing Communication of Reality TV Celebrities

With the development of integrated marketing, some reality TV programmes, and celebrity companies began to jointly plan and embed marketing content in the programmes to create implicit marketing communication effects (Jiang, 2009). To study this marketing model, in 2009, Yi Bin Jiang conducted a discourse analysis of '*Super Girl*' and '*Avenue of Stars*' and summarized three typical implicit marketing communication modes: game mode (show the characteristics of products during the games), experience mode (celebrities personally experience to promote the products), and situation setting mode (set special situation to highlight the advantages of products) according to the elements of reality TV programmes. Jiang believed that this kind of implicit marketing communication can make it difficult for audiences to detect celebrities' active marketing behaviour and unconsciously accept the marketing content transmitted by celebrities, thus achieving good marketing results (Jiang, 2009).

3.3.3.3. Economic Benefits of Celebrity Product Placement

As reality TV shows and celebrities became increasingly popular with the audiences, 'celebrity product placement', which means celebrities deliberately put the products or services of enterprises in the programme to achieve a subtle promotional effect, had expanded from radio, film, and TV sitcoms, bringing huge profits to reality TV (Wang & Han et al., 2009). In 2009, Xiu Li Wang, Gang Han and their colleagues used a controlled experiment on famous reality TV programme '*Makeover: Home Edition*' to test the influence of the time, size, location, and time of celebrity product placement on audiences' brand awareness, memory, and purchase intention (Wang & Han et al., 2009).

Data analyses showed that the length of time celebrity product placement appeared in reality TV shows had a significant impact on audiences' brand awareness, memory, and purchase intention. The longer the time, the easier it was for the

audiences to remember and buy the product. The size of celebrity product placement affected the audiences' awareness and memory of the brand, but not the purchase intention. The location of celebrity product placement affected audiences' memory, but not on brand awareness or purchase intention. The audiences' attitude towards celebrity product placement, whether positive or negative, had no significant impact on their brand awareness, memory, or purchase intention (Wang & Han et al., 2009).

3.3.4. Summary

In the 21st century, the development of Chinese celebrity research entered a new stage, which all originated from the introduction of reality TV. This form of TV programme quickly occupied the top spot in Chinese TV viewing, and also attracted the attention of celebrity research scholars.

In 2003, Li Lin compared Chinese and Western reality TV and defined 'Chinese reality TV' for the first time. Lin believed that the publicity of the private sector was reflected in the popularity of Chinese reality TV celebrities. This was the first interpretation of the public and private sphere by Chinese celebrity scholars. Subsequently, Yun Geng Xie and Hong Chen classified Chinese reality TV celebrities, forming a preliminary framework of celebrity classification. Through the discourse analysis of the most famous reality TV shows, Hong Chen further summarized the configuration and characteristics of reality TV celebrities and stressed the importance of establishing psychological connections between celebrities and audiences. The early research on reality TV celebrities mainly focused on the classification, characteristics, and performance of celebrities, which was a beneficial exploration, but not in-depth enough.

Based on the research of early scholars, fan studies in the period of Chinese reality TV mainly focused on the interaction between celebrities and audiences, audiences' psychology, and audiences' feedback. In this period, the mainstream direction of fan research was to analyse the audiences from the perspective of psychology. Zhou Li Wang and Wen Feng Zhu studied the localization of reality TV. Through comparative discourse analysis of popular reality TV programmes, Wang and Zhu analysed the construction process of emotional connection between celebrities and audiences. Nan Nan Li explained the audiences' psychology of reality TV and analysed the feedback mechanism of fans from the perspective of psychology. Jun Zhao focused on the authenticity of reality TV. Through the analysis and comparison of audiences' situational feelings, identity recognition, and narrative acceptance in two famous reality TV programmes, Zhao summarized the influence of authenticity on audiences' feedback.

The development of reality TV had created business opportunities for the celebrity-related culture industry, including implicit marketing communication, product placement, and other forms, which pointed out new directions for celebrity marketing and enriched the content of celebrity research. Hong Yin, Hong Lu and Ru Xue Ran compared several reality TV shows with high popularity and analysed the narrative plots and artistic processing of the shows, to figure out the impact of the programme operation on the construction of celebrity images. Through in-depth discourse analysis, Yi Bin Jiang summarized three typical implicit marketing communication modes and situation setting mode. Xiu Li Wang, Gang Han, and their colleagues used a controlled experiment to test the influence of the time, size, location, and time of celebrity product placement on audiences' brand awareness, memory, and purchase intention.

During this period, various perspectives of celebrity research emerged, including communication, politics, psychology, economics, culture, etc., to study celebrities, audiences, and the culture industry, which greatly enhanced the academic scope of celebrity research.

3.4. Celebrities in the Age of the Internet

3.4.1. Celebrities

3.4.1.1. Phenomenon of Internet celebrities in China

Since Sina Weibo was launched in August 2009, its sharing and participation feature had provided more opportunities for ordinary people to have their voices heard and participate in discussions. The rise of China's social media platforms represented by Weibo provided a new battlefield for celebrities and brought unprecedented changes to the field of information communication.

In 2016, through discourse analysis of social media content shared by famous Internet celebrities in China, Peng Ao systematically sorted out the development and changes of Chinese Internet celebrities after the rise of social media platforms. He gave a preliminary definition of Internet celebrities, believing that Internet celebrities were a group of people who accumulated their influence and were pursued by fans in their respective fields on the basis of social media platforms (Ao, 2016). Based on the flourishing Internet celebrity culture, Ao made a comprehensive analysis of the communication motivation and elements of Internet celebrities. In this article, he tried to summarize the characteristics of Internet culture and pointed out the potential role and influence of Internet celebrities on society.

3.4.1.2. Reasons for the Popularity of Internet Celebrities

Entering the Internet era, more and more people smell the business opportunities behind Internet celebrities and begin to take this identity as a career for profit. To further explore the reasons for the popularity of Internet celebrities, in 2016, Jing Wen took Papi Jiang—the No.1 Internet celebrity in China, as an example, and analysed it from three perspectives: communicator, communication content and audiences. Wen analysed all the videos since Papi Jiang became famous through discourse analysis. She found that Papi Jiang became popular because of her role as a key opinion leader. Her video topic was eye-catching, friendly, and easy to resonate with, which exactly meets the needs of users influenced by the youth subculture. Wen further pointed out that to maintain this attention economy, it was necessary to increase the Intellectual Property value of Internet celebrities (Wen, 2016).

3.4.1.3. Digital Survival Status of Internet Celebrities

In contemporary society, Internet celebrities are not only a combination of entertainment, information, and consumption, but also a digital way of life for contemporary youth that integrates daily life, emotional experience, values, and identity.

To illustrate the manifestation of this way of life, Xian Zhang explained the positive and negative effects of Internet celebrities by conducting discourse analysis of two famous events in 2016 and summarized the characteristics of the digital survival status of Internet celebrities: decentralized communication, civilianization, interactive community, and experience simulation. Zhang further pointed out that the digital way of life brought the nothingness of values, and the subjectivity of Internet celebrities must be rebuilt to promote cultural construction (Zhang, 2016). Therefore, we must reject consumerism and nihilism and find the

right balance between business and technology, thus building a positive Internet celebrity culture.

3.4.2. Audiences/Fans

3.4.2.1. Audiences' Psychological Characteristics

To make the leap to Internet celebrities, ordinary people need to have high social assets, which is called fan economy. As the direct audiences of Internet celebrities, the quantity and quality of fan groups are directly related to the realization ability and development trend of Internet celebrities.

Through discourse analysis of Sina Weibo, WeChat, and other social media platforms, and audience analysis of fans in 2016, Wen Cong Zheng summarized the audiences' psychological characteristics in the Internet age, which were respectively gratified psychology, crowd psychology, voyeuristic psychology, and expressing psychology (Zheng, 2016). Gratified psychology can fill the gap between audiences' situation and their ideal goals; Crowd psychology reflected the application of attention resources in the Internet celebrity market; Voyeuristic psychology incarnated the reality that there was no place to vent the pressure of the audiences' life; Expressing psychology showed the audiences' inner needs to participate in the media production process, which laid the foundation of Internet audience research.

3.4.2.2. Role Model Effect on Teenagers

With the development of the social networks, Internet celebrities are more likely to be accepted by teenagers because of their approachable communication style. However, due to the lack of value judgment ability, teenagers are easy to imitate some wrong behaviour of Internet celebrities, showing a negative role model effect.

In this context, in 2016, Bo Xun Sun and Ming Li Chu combed through the history of Internet celebrities and studied their role model effect on teenagers. Based on the discourse analysis of the '*38th Statistical Report on China's Internet Development*' released by CNNIC in August 2016 (CNNIC, 2016), Sun and Chu believed that smartphones and other mobile devices were the main channels for the Internet celebrities to contact teenagers. Young people are in the transition stage from childish to mature, idol worship is an important content of their spiritual life. However, the wrong behaviour of Internet celebrities will bring dislocation effect, distortion effect and deviation effect to teenagers, and finally cause a huge impact on their moral construction and character formation (Sun & Chu, 2016).

3.4.2.3. Entertainment of the Audiences

In 2018, Jia Liang Huang, Yu Dong Zheng and Mei Qi Liu issued 1,700 questionnaires, which counted the opinions of fans of different ages and genders on Internet celebrities from the perspective of audiences. Statistics based on the discourse analysis of questionnaires showed that 88.57% of men aged 18-23 and 83.78% of women aged 12-18 had seen the online performances of Internet celebrities, indicating that the fans of Internet celebrities tended to be younger. Another data showed that 50% of men aged 23-30 had left messages and given virtual gifts to Internet celebrities, while women of the same age chose only to watch the online performances of Internet celebrities, indicating that men had more interactions with Internet celebrities on social media platforms. In addition, 52.86% of the fans who watched online performances took entertainment consumption as the main purpose, indicating that the market of Chinese Internet celebrities was developing towards entertainment (Huang, Zheng & Liu, 2018).

3.4.3. Culture Industry

3.4.3.1. A Network Flat World of WeChat

Under the wave of 'We Media' (which means everyone has the function of media and communication under the role of social media), Internet celebrities at this time are no longer limited to traditional texts and pictures. Their faces have become increasingly commercialized, fragmented, and diversified, becoming creative groups as the leverage of brand publicity, and those who help these Internet celebrities develop commercial value are celebrity intermediary organizations and media platforms.

As a representative of the most popular we-media platform, WeChat has attracted extensive attention from scholars due to its pattern of reciprocity and sharing. Different from the traditional method, in 2016, Xu Dong Zhao put forward the ethnography research method based on observation, interview, and participation and summarized the overall characteristics of WeChat as an intermediary platform in the Internet era. Through the investigation and research of ethnography, Zhao pointed out that WeChat reflected a networked flat world. People were no longer a group mode of getting along, but a value mode of reciprocity, interconnection, and sharing (Zhao, 2016). The interaction between Internet celebrities and their fans formed a decentralized living space, and the boundaries between work, life and entertainment were gradually broken and intertwined with each other.

3.4.3.2. Development Issues of Live streaming Platforms

2016 was a prosperous year in China's social media platforms, in which live streaming platforms were the most popular. To clarify the development status and existing problems of live streaming platforms, Min Zhang conducted a discourse analysis of the 10 most famous live streaming platforms in China, namely Douyu, Huya, Panda TV, Tik Tok, Zhanqi TV, Longzhu, YY, Quanmin Live, 6.cn and Kugou, and summarized the communication characteristics of live streaming platforms (Zhang, 2016). According to Zhang, there were five categories in live

streaming platforms, which were games, entertainment, music, outdoor activities, and e-commerce. Under the influence of consumerism, the live streaming platforms reflected the characteristics of fragmentation of information, entertainment of audiences' participation, and interaction between celebrities and audiences, which led to problems such as content chaos, celebrity worship, and network infringement.

3.4.3.3. Business Model of Internet Celebrity Industry

With the emergence of the economic effect of Internet celebrities, an Internet celebrity industrial chain emerged. This large-scale and replicable business model provides ordinary people with a platform to show their personality and makes it possible to realize social assets.

To further analyse the industrial chain of Internet celebrities in China, in 2016, Li Ming Liang analysed the financing status in social media platforms, short-video platforms and live streaming platforms according to the text analysis of '*CVSource*' data and concluded the business models of Internet celebrities. Liang believed that Internet celebrities relied on the development of social networks to become KOL (Key Opinion Leader), and then deepened or transformed UGC (User Generated Content) into PGC (Professional Generated Content) to compete for the identity of fans, to influence the behaviour of fans and make profits through e-commerce, advertising, and virtual gifts (Liang, 2016). This study pointed out the direction for the commercial development of the Internet celebrity industry.

3.4.3.4. Political Economy of Internet Celebrities in China

In 2012, Taobao introduced the Sina Weibo sharing platform, and some e-shop owners began to share goods on their Weibo to promote electronic transactions. The cooperation between Taobao and Sina Weibo greatly improved the liquidity

of fans' attention. In August 2015, Taobao held the '*New Online Idols: Internet Celebrity Phenomenon Communication Meeting*', at which the business model was formally proposed as 'Internet celebrity economy'.

The proposal of the Internet celebrity economy has aroused a wide discussion in academia and prompted scholars to study Internet celebrities in China from the perspective of political economy. In 2016, Nan Jia criticized the economic phenomenon of Internet celebrities from the theoretical perspective of consumerism and communication political economy. He believed that the Internet celebrity economy was a kind of fan economy, that is, by means of marketing, the interaction between fans and Internet celebrities can be enhanced to obtain the economic benefits of enterprises (Jia, 2016). Internet celebrities attract fans in special areas to generate a sense of trust and get good results through brand marketing. However, under the influence of consumerism and commodity fetishism, homogenized commodities and culture condense into discourse power, which unconsciously guides and controls people's consumption concepts and behaviour.

3.4.4. Summary

In the 2010s, China's Internet began to enter the era of widescreen. The emergence of new media platforms ushered in a new stage for the development of Internet celebrities. These emerging groups, often called 'Wang Hong' in Chinese slang, have driven the reform of the celebrity industry, and left broad space for the study of celebrities in China.

Internet celebrities in China grew rapidly in 2016 due to the popularity of social media platforms. Peng Ao first paid attention to this phenomenon and took the lead in defining Internet celebrities. Based on the flourishing Internet celebrity

culture, he tried to summarize the potential role and influence of Internet celebrities on society. Jing Wen took Papi Jiang as the discourse analysis object and discussed the communication mode of Internet celebrities from three perspectives of communicator, communication content, and audiences, thus finally concluding the reasons for the popularity of Internet celebrities. Different from the former two, Xian Zhang paid attention to the digital survival status of Internet celebrities. Through the comparison of two famous events, Zhang pointed out the positive and negative influences of Internet celebrities and emphasized the importance of Internet cultural construction.

Similar to the age of mass media and the age of reality TV, audience research in the Internet era is still mainly discussed from the perspective of psychology. Based on the audience analysis of China's well-known social media platforms, Wen Cong Zheng summarized the audiences' psychological characteristics in combination with the current situation of Internet development. Bo Xun Sun and Ming Li Chu analysed the data of the *38th Statistical Report on China's Internet Development* (CNNIC, 2016) to figure out the role model effect of Internet celebrities on teenagers. Based on the analysis of 1,700 questionnaires, Jia Liang Huang, Yu Dong Zheng, and Mei Qi Liu obtained the opinions of fans of different ages and genders on Internet celebrities. The result showed that the market of Chinese Internet celebrities was developing towards entertainment.

In the Internet era, the development of the celebrity culture industry has been widely concerned by scholars of celebrity studies. Social media platforms represented by WeChat and live streaming platforms represented by Douyu and Huya are the platforms that scholars mainly focus on. Through in-depth ethnography research, Xu Dong Zhao analysed the operational characteristics of WeChat and summarized the interactive behaviour between Internet celebrities

and fans on social media platforms. Min Zhang conducted a discourse analysis of 10 well-known live streaming platforms, in which she pointed out the existing problems in the Internet celebrity market. Meanwhile, research on the business model and political economy of the Internet celebrity industry has also made progress. according to the data of *CVSource,* Li Ming Liang analysed the financing status in social media platforms and concluded the business models of Internet celebrities. Nan Jia criticized the economic phenomenon of Internet celebrities from the theoretical perspective of political economy and pointed out the direction for the future development of Internet celebrities.

3.5. Research on Chinese Celebrities by Western Scholars

With the growing development of the Chinese celebrity industry, some Western scholars have become interested in Chinese celebrities and published prospective studies in some books and journals, which supplement the Western perspective for the research of Chinese celebrities.

Chinese celebrity culture is influenced by the party and the state, and a fusion of cultural connotations and socialist values, reflecting the unique political and economic characteristics of Chinese celebrities (Edwards & Jeffreys, 2010: 15). In 2010, Louise Edwards and Elaine Jeffreys co-edited '*Celebrity in China*', which is a compilation of contemporary Chinese celebrity studies. This book outlined the literature review of celebrities in Australia, European countries, and the United States, thus revealing its implications for Chinese celebrity studies. It also explored major themes in emerging fields of celebrity research in China, including celebrity philanthropy, literary celebrities in China, Chinese transsexual celebrities and celebrities in the sports and film industries (Edwards & Jeffreys, 2010).

In addition, it is worth noting that in Chapter 10 and Chapter 11 of this book, David J. Davies, and Ian. D. Roberts respectively conducted targeted research on the business model of the Chinese celebrity industry and Chinese Internet celebrities. In Chapter 10, David J. Davies took Jie He Yan, the chairman of *China Pacific Construction Group Ltd* as an example, and summarized Jie He Yan's famous experience and business operation mode through the discourse analysis of Yan's relevant reports on the Internet. Davies believed that in China, where the media was monitored by the state and manipulated by the market economy, celebrities, especially famous entrepreneurs, whose success and business model was often considered as the result of national prosperity rather than individual efforts (Davies: 2010).

Ian. D. Roberts is one of the early Western scholars to start paying attention to Chinese Internet celebrities, even ahead of some Chinese scholars. In Chapter 11, Roberts took Furong Jiejie—the first Chinese Internet celebrity, as an example. He also conducted discourse analysis on early social media platforms, such as blogs, and BBS, and summarized the reasons why Chinese Internet celebrities become famous and the formation of Chinese Internet culture. Through the in-depth analysis of Furong Jiejie's rise to fame, Roberts believed that the popularity of Internet celebrities was a symbol of democracy and liberty in Chinese Internet culture. Furong Jiejie grew from an ordinary person to a household name, which narrowed the distance between celebrities and ordinary people, and also gave Chinese Internet culture a sense of open-mindedness and independent participation. According to Roberts, the success of Chinese Internet celebrities can be seen as a sign of the progress of Chinese Internet culture (Roberts: 2010).

Coincidentally, some Western scholars also conducted in-depth research on Chinese Internet celebrities and social media platforms. In 2011, Cara Wallis

studied the development trend of the Internet in China and conducted political economy research on China's cyberspace. Through the discourse analysis of Chinese online communities and social media platforms, Wallis focused on China's online public sphere, citizen participation, Internet celebrities and new media consumption. She believed that new media technology had become an important part of personal, social, and political change in China. The Chinese government hoped to use the power of new media to maintain its legitimacy, and social media platform was an important tool for public opinion guidance. In China, youth-dominated cyberspace had become an active area of public discussion, information dissemination and mobilization. Cyber citizens used the Internet and mobile phones to conduct thinking, civic participation, and collective action in a way that integrated online and offline fields, which had made a significant contribution to the construction of the online public sphere in China (Wallis, 2011).

In 2012, another scholar Jonathan Sullivan took Sina Weibo—the most famous social media platform in China, as an example. By social media discourse analysis of the celebrities, fans, and ordinary users on Weibo, he summarized the current situation of Chinese Internet celebrities and China's unique content censorship system on social media platforms (Sullivan, 2012). Sullivan believed that the widespread use of Sina Weibo reflected the trend of the entertainment-oriented Internet in China, which was consistent with the situation of Twitter in the United States. In particular, Sina Weibo implemented a proactive and comprehensive censorship system. To track and block inappropriate content, Weibo employed thousands of censors and used sophisticated software to monitor 'sensitive words' (such as those that endanger national security or violate social values). The censorship system limited what users can say on social media platforms but was also seen as a condition for users to get online interaction (Sullivan, 2012).

With the increasing development of Chinese Internet celebrities, 'Big V' has begun to attract the attention of Western scholars. 'Big V' refers to Internet celebrities who are personally certified and have a large following on social media platforms such as Sina, Tencent and Netease. As these celebrities' Weibo nicknames are often followed by an icon of the letter 'V', they are usually called 'Big V' (Schneider, 2017). In 2017, Florian Schneider discussed the behaviour of 'Big V' to guide the public opinions of fans through the discourse analysis on Weibo of the *2012 East China Sea Dispute*. According to Schneider, 'Big V' was the most influential Internet celebrity, and also had an overwhelming power of discourse on the Internet, which can stir up fans and influence the development of the event by posting comments on social media platforms. In the *2012 East China Sea Dispute*, China's nationalist discourse is intentionally guided by the 'Big V', whose power in China's ideology cannot be ignored (Schneider, 2017).

Throughout the comparison of Chinese and Western scholars' research on Chinese Internet celebrities, the obvious difference is that most of the Western scholars study from a macro perspective and focus on the political economy fields such as Internet public space and social ideology; While Chinese scholars' research mostly from the micro perspective, focusing on the commercial operation and industry chain of the Internet celebrity market. At present, there is little research on the political economy of social media platforms and Internet celebrities in China. One of the important reasons is China's strict ideological control. Although Western scholars have tried relevant research, they are still unable to conduct in-depth and thorough analyses due to the complexity of China's national conditions. Therefore, combining the political, economic, and cultural background of China, the research on Chinese Internet celebrities from the perspective of political economy can make up for the existing research gap in China, which has certain practical significance.

3.6. Conclusion

Throughout the 40 years of research on Chinese celebrities, scholars have not regarded celebrities as the ultimate goal of analysis, but as media texts to reveal the process of mass culture.

Generally speaking, there are three different aspects of the research on celebrities in China, which can also be regarded as three different directions. The first is to treat celebrities as 'texts' in studies. In this direction, celebrities are mainly regarded as a code or a text containing social and cultural information, whose images in the celebrity industry are placed in the inter-texts of the social system. Therefore, to accurately analyse the image, external expression, and internal essence of celebrities, it is necessary to interpret celebrities within a wide range of ideological and social discourse.

The second direction starts from the audiences' point of view, regarding the celebrity as the 'object of desire'. In this sense, spectatorship is the focal point of theoretical construction of the celebrity-audiences relationship, and its branches mainly include audiences' identification and their psychological satisfaction in following celebrities. By linking celebrities with the desires of the audiences, we can deeply explore the inner psychology of the audiences through discourse analysis of the interactive content between celebrities and audiences, which is the fundamental reason for the existence of celebrities.

The last direction is different from the former social and psychological aspects. From the perspective of the political economy, celebrities are regarded as 'commodities' to improve commercial interests and economic effects. In the cultural context where consumption rules everything, celebrities are understood as special forms of industrial products. According to different market effects,

celebrities are packaged and publicized through print media, TV, the Internet, and other channels to attract fans to consume. Some celebrities even influence the behaviour of fans through their discourse power, thus dominating the mainstream consciousness in the public sphere.

However, at present, most of the research on celebrities in China focuses on the first and second directions, while the political economy research on celebrities is rare. Compared with the research on celebrities in the Western world, the research on celebrities in China is mostly conducted at the micro and middle-range levels, while ignoring the macro development status of the whole society. Such research only focuses on single Internet phenomenon and misses the big picture of society.

Through further analysis of the research on celebrities as 'commodities', we can find that Chinese scholars mainly focus on social media platforms. By analysing the problems in the operation of the platform, scholars try to summarize the development direction of celebrities. But it's worth noting that these analyses of celebrity business models are only a small part of political economy research. Some issues, such as the role of celebrities in the public sphere, the influence of celebrity culture on ideology, and the capitalist exploitation of celebrities and fans, are of great research significance. These topics and perspectives are rarely discussed, leaving many research gaps in the future.

The research of celebrities involves multi-dimensional fields such as politics, economy, and culture. Compared with the research methods of Western scholars on celebrities, the research perspectives of Chinese scholars on celebrities involve journalism, communication, psychology, economics, and other disciplines, but the research methods are relatively simple, mainly focusing on the textual analysis of specific celebrity events.

To have a deeper understanding of the psychological demands of celebrities and audiences as well as the operation mode of the celebrity culture industry, most Western celebrity scholars adopt the research method of ethnography and obtain intuitive materials through interviews, observations, and conversations. Some Western celebrity scholars conduct quantitative analysis of specific groups through experiments. The method of the experiment is helpful to enhance the persuasiveness of the conclusion and to study the development of the celebrity industry objectively.

In contrast, China's celebrity scholars mostly conduct textual analysis of a specific event concerning celebrities. No matter in the age of mass media, the age of reality TV, and the age of the Internet, Chinese scholars all selected the most celebrities and events in this period for comparison and analysis. Although specific events can make the study of celebrities more concrete and the interpretation of celebrity culture more objective, there are also some deficiencies. One of the problems is that the results cannot be used as general conclusions. Due to the unrepeatable nature of events, they need to occur in a particular time and space environment. Therefore, conclusions based on specific events can only prove the results under specific influences of time, space, and environment, but cannot cover all situations.

Throughout the research on celebrities by Chinese and Western scholars, the critical political economy approach is minoritarian in both geographical regions. Therefore, this research will introduce a theoretical framework for a critical understanding of social media in the context of political economy and use it as a theory combined with social research for studying Internet celebrities in China, which constitutes a novel approach of semi-structured interviews.

The semi-structured interview has both the advantages of the structured interview and non-structured interview. It cannot only avoid the limitations of the structured interview, such as the lack of flexibility and difficulty in an in-depth discussion of issues but also avoid the time-consuming, laborious, difficult to conduct quantitative analysis and other defects of the non-structured interview. To comprehensively study the political economy of Chinese Internet celebrities, I will conduct semi-structured interviews with three major groups in the celebrity market: influencers, proletarianized platform workers, and fans. Through in-depth interviews on the commodification, working conditions, everyday life, and the identity construction of Internet celebrities and fans, the political economy of the Chinese Internet celebrity market will be fully explored.

Therefore, with the help of political economy, communication, sociology, semiotics, and other disciplines, this research will follow the steps of '*observation → analysis → explanation*', to get closer to the lives of Chinese Internet celebrities and deeply analyse their survival status and political-economic influence on social media platforms.

CHAPTER FOUR
Theoretical Framework

4.1. Introduction

Nowadays, thinking critically about society and social media is concerned with creating social structures and the media where everyone can benefit. If we want to conduct a critical analysis of social media and Internet celebrities, we need a critical philosophy as the basis.

Critical theory is rooted in the Western critical tradition and highly sensitive to the major issues of the times. While fully exposing various problems and predicaments in contemporary society, it also carries out a 'revolutionary action' in the whole ideological and cultural field. In essence, critical theory lies between social theory and philosophical discourse, and its intrinsic emphasis is social criticism and rational construction. The critical theory focuses on the rational criticism of the modern industrialization process and the transcendental design of the ideal society, which is mainly embodied in a critique of modernity, that is, a philosophical attitude towards the rationalization process of modern society.

Critical theory analyses the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, the accumulation of capital, the exploitation of surplus-value and the transformation of aspects of society into commodification. In capitalism, one of the important contradictions is that the owning class exploits the non-owning class (Fuchs, 2014c). Critical theory questions all ideas and practices that justify domination and exploitation. Domination means that a group gains at the expense of others through violence; Exploitation is a specific form of domination, which means that a group controls property by coercion and forces others to work toproduce goods or

property controlled by the class, so critical theory aims to reflect the interest of the oppressed and exploited groups and overcome the class society (Fuchs, 2014c).

"Criticism measures individual existence against essence" (Marx 1997, 61), which means that critical theory is normative and realistic. In critical theory, Marxism with far-reaching historical influence still has strong vitality in the contemporary era. Marx profoundly revealed the laws of specific historical periods, the relationship between capital and labour, and the nature of commodities, money, and capital, which are the objects we must think about living in a market economy. Robert Heilbronner said, "To explore the development prospects of human society, we must ask Marx for advice" (Heilbronner 1980, 16-17). Marx's analysis of human needs, private property, capital, fetishism, class relations, and gender relations is still an important theoretical resource for us to analyse modern society and social media.

In the West, the critical theory of Marxism has a distinct dialectical character, which seeks a theoretical outlet for social problems. Its realistic criticism of the negative impact of modernity in Western capitalist countries has provided a theoretical reference for the problems in China's modernization path. At present, the development of China's modernization is facing three kinds of crises: ecological crisis (deterioration of the ecological environment), class crisis (contradiction between the bureaucratic/capitalist class and the proletariat), and human subject crisis (imbalanced development of human material needs and values) (Chen 2017, 110). The critique of Western Marxist critical theory on economic rationality, mass culture, consumerism, and technological rationality can help to reveal the antagonistic relationship between China's social development and capital logic, thus supplementing the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Derived from Marxist critical theory, the critical political economy of communication focuses on media communication and social relations in the context of power relations (Mosco, 2009). Based on morality and philosophy, it analyses the distribution of culture and the distribution between the private and public control of communication through the epistemology of realism and materialism (Golding & Murdock, 1997a). Critical theorists like Dallas Smythe, Herbert Schiller, Armand Mattelart, Graham Murdock, Peter Golding, and Jonathan Hardy focus on the discussion of capitalist media communication, monopoly capitalism, audiences commodification, labour-power, advertising, ideology, and technological determinism (Smythe, 1981), which essentially criticizes "the way media culture reproduces the relationship between domination and oppression" (Kellner 1995, 4).

"Philosophy is the critical preservation of science." (Habermas 1971, 4). Going back to Marx's research tradition, dialectical philosophy can provide a solid theoretical basis for media and communication criticism (Fuchs, 2011b). If we are going to conduct a critical analysis of social media and the Internet celebrity industry in China, then the research approach that combines critical theory with the critical political economy of communication will be our theoretical framework. Therefore, in the theoretical framework chapter, I will start with the critical digital labour theory and analyse the political economy of communication in China, to build a theoretical model of digital labour with Chinese characteristics.

Based on the Marxist critical theory and the critical political economy of communication, I will place my research on Chinese digital labour in the broader domain of Chinese social relations, especially observing their discourse, consciousness and life experiences in the political and economic struggle on social

media platforms. Secondly, communication is an important dimension of China's political economy. In the era of information capitalism, I will summarize the development characteristics of the Chinese digital labour industry through the political economy analysis of the Internet information and communication industry. Finally, I will place the power and discourse struggle of China's Internet communication system in the broader global political economy and capital culture flow, to explore the practical significance of the development of the digital labour industry in China.

4.2. Digital Labour on Social Media

4.2.1. Capitalism and Leisure Labour

Since the 1980s, sociologist Chris Rojek has begun critical research on capitalism and Leisure Theory, trying to use sociological imagination to develop the study of leisure as a field of research in the social and historical context. Over the past 30 years, Rojek has published six books on Leisure Theory: *Capitalism and Leisure Theory* (Rojek, 1985), *Ways of Escape* (Rojek, 1993), *Decentring Leisure* (Rojek, 1995), *Leisure and Culture* (Rojek, 2000), *Leisure Theory* (Rojek, 2005), and *The Labour of Leisure* (Rojek, 2010), which has laid a solid theoretical foundation for the development of the contemporary sociological theory of leisure.

Rojek argued that the main defect of social formalism, the dominant research tradition of leisure sociology, lies in "its failure to place leisure relations in the historical background and general power structure of capitalist society" (Rojek 1985, 3). Based on the critique of both positivist empiricism and the Frankfurt School of Cultural Materialism, Rojek subverted the traditional theory that links leisure with freedom, and proposed a new perspective of power, arguing that "leisure is not free time, but an effect of legitimation systems" (Rojek 2015, 16).

Within the parameters of Marxist sociology, Rojek regarded privatization, individualization, commercialization, and pacification as the defining characteristics of modern leisure practice, and placed the study of leisure in a broader field of cultural analysis (Rojek 1985, 19). He further pointed out that "leisure activity is an adult phenomenon under the influence of legitimating rules and must be studied as a dynamic and open-ended process in sociology" (Rojek 1985, 180-181), thus establishing analytical principles for the sociological study of leisure.

Under the influence of capitalism, "the driving forces of modern changes such as dedifferentiation have gradually undermined the bourgeois divisions of work and leisure, reason and nature, body and mind" (Rojek 1993, 188). It can be said that in modernity, leisure meant freedom and escape, while in post-modernity, these meanings are challenged and deconstructed. In Rojek's opinion, "leisure is an essential element of social order" (Rojek 1995, 39). While "industrial societies emphasize over-regimentation, calculability, and rationality", leisure is a place that "challenges everyday culture and compulsion" (Rojek 2000, 187).

In this context, leisure can be defined as "a status-positioning activity that places us culturally in relation to others", in which the role of cultural intermediaries becomes increasingly apparent (Rojek 2000, 3). In *The Labour of Leisure*, Rojek put forward the new concepts of 'emotional labour' and 'emotional intelligence' (Rojek 2010, 3). 'Emotional labour' refers to "the emotional competence and 'people skills' necessary to operate in a service-dominated economy". And 'emotional intelligence' is "a prerequisite for being recognized as an effective member of civil society and a credible member of the labour force." (Rojek 2010, 22). Overturning the traditional definition of leisure, the meaning of 'emotional labour' is that it involves both work and leisure, considering both workplace and

leisure settings (Rojek 2010, 23).

According to Rojek, "the accumulation of emotional intelligence and the management of emotional labour does not stop when a person leaves the workplace" (Rojek 2010, 27), which also applies to the working life of Internet celebrities. Even after work, they have to manage their image through emotional labour to generate emotions and symbolic maintenance with their fans. In the "round-the-clock undertaking work", emotional labour has no 'free time' or 'time off', and constantly works for the formation and development of self-presentation, which makes labour a continuous process. In this case, "the work-life balance and distinctions between work and leisure, disciplined time and time off become untenable" (Rojek 2010, 27).

Therefore, it can be concluded that Chris Rojek's theory of leisure and emotional labour is particularly important for the analysis of Internet celebrities in the new era, and "the development and practice of emotional intelligence" of Internet celebrities can be classified as a kind of emotional labour in the work-life conditions (Rojek 2010, 22). Rojek challenged the orthodox definition of leisure and extended a new set of concerns for leisure research, including globalization and labour markets, as well as illegal leisure goods and services (Rojek 2010, 13). At the same time, he analysed "the changing balance of power relationship between scarcity and surplus distribution" (Rojek 2010, 19) to reflect differences in class, gender, race, education, and physical health (Rojek 2010, 5), which opened up new perspectives for the political economy research of Internet celebrities.

4.2.2. Digital Labour and Marxist Theory

In the digital age, all the contents of human life are included in the virtual world

supported by digital information and technology. The Internet and social media have empowered traditional audiences and expanded the boundaries of their work. Digital technology is imperceptibly embedded in politics, economy, and culture, which has a great impact on the large social system including capital and labour.

An important term emerging from the digital age is 'digital labour', which is characterized by the fact that the boundaries between play and labour, work time and leisure time, production and consumption, public and private life tend to blur (Fuchs, 2014a). Labour, is no longer just seen as an element of the labour-capital relationship, but as a broader concept, which is used to analyse many aspects of daily life, especially on the Internet (Burston, Dyer-Witheford & Hearn, 2010).

In 2010, *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* published a proceeding named *Digital Labour: Workers, Authors, Citizens*, which discussed the significance of digital labour in politics, practices, policy, culture, and theoretical exploration. In this proceeding, Brian Holmes (2010), Cristina Morini and Andrea Fumagalli (2010) explained the historical context and theoretical basis of digital capitalism. David Hesmondhalgh (2010), Barry King (2010), and Jack Bratich (2010) focused on more specific forms of digital labour: Hesmondhalgh (2010) believed that the development of 'free labour' has increasingly marginalized the importance of politics; King (2010) suggested that 'creative labour' is the latest manifestation of digital labour. Some scholars, such as Matt Stahl (2010) and Michael McNally (2010), focused on the policies, regulations, and management systems related to digital labour.

Other scholars analysed the transformation of the characteristics and value sources of digital labour from different theoretical perspectives: Alison Hearn (2010) investigated the contradictory relationship between individual practices and digital

enterprises; Vincent Manzerolle (2010) believed that people are involved in the accumulation of information capital by transforming communication into work; Edward Comor (2010) used the concept of 'prosumer' and analysed the different utilities and interests of production and consumption in class relations.

In 2012, *Digital Labour: The Internet as Playground and Factory* edited by Trebor Scholz was published, which reflected the application of Marxist labour theory in the Internet value model. This book highlights the importance of Marxist theory for the study of the digital workplace and examines new forms of employment, exploitation, and alienation of digital labour (Aroles, 2014).

As the core ideas of the book, the third and fourth parts mainly discuss the exploitation, alienation, and class conflict on social media platforms through the Marxist theory of critical political economy. Mark Andrejevic (2012) proposed that digital labour can be exploited and social platforms can create profits through commodity feedback; Jonathan Beller (2012) pointed out that profits, alienation, and capital accumulation are the manifestations of digital expansion; Michel Bauwens (2012) provided an ideological analysis of the emerging P2P economy; Christian Fuchs (2012d) believed that enterprise Internet is a place where exploitation and class relations are maintained.

In these two books, digital labour was generally defined as labour on the Internet, whereas later in 2014, Christian Fuchs extended this concept based on his book *Digital labour and Karl Marx* (Fuchs, 2014a). In this context, the notion of digital labour became more to be understood as "all labour/activities that contribute to the production of digital media technologies and contents" (Fuchs 2014a, 351-352). This interpretation has expanded the conceptual scope of digital labour, thus opening a new chapter of the Marxist labour theory of value. Throughout these

theoretical studies of digital labour, they examine the process of labour market migration to the Internet from political, economic, and historical perspectives, and examine new forms of exploitation and alienation of digital labour, which is a valuable treasure for labour research in the new era.

4.2.3. Gig Economy and Visibility Labour

In the 21st century, with the development of information and communication technologies, the 'gig economy' that derived from the digital economy has become the focus of labour theorists. In the context of digital development, this new form of employment has created a new form of labour characterized by independence and contractualization.

In 2014, Gerald Friedman first proposed the concept of 'gig economy', which means that companies shift the risk of economic volatility to workers by hiring temporary workers (Friedman, 2014). Subsequently, more and more scholars began to carry on the research on the gig economy. Valerio De Stefano pointed out that the gig economy includes 'crowd work' and 'work-on-demand on apps', which ultimately leads to the commodification of work (De Stefano, 2016). Miriam A. Cherry and Antonio Aloisi, who referred to workers in the gig economy as 'dependent contractors', analysed labour litigation related to the gig economy with a comparative approach (Cherry & Aloisi, 2017). Juliet Webster argued that 'microwork' requires projects with few skills and very little time, which reflects its temporality and instability (Webster, 2016).

In 2016, Crystal Abidin began to study the digital practices of users on social media platforms. Through ethnographic fieldwork, she observed and interviewed influencers and followers on Instagram, and analysed the 'visibility labour' in which followers engage on targeted advertorials (Abidin, 2016). According to

Abidin, 'visibility labour' is the operation of ordinary Internet users to attract elite users (Abidin, 2016). On social media platforms, ordinary users unknowingly generate a lot of advertising content but receive almost no pay, so their labour can be considered as 'tacit labour' (Abidin, 2016). In the Internet age, capitalists could quietly profit from the creative work of users through social media platforms, but this is often potentially exploitative (Abidin, 2016).

Another researcher, Brooke Erin Duffy observed the work and lives of fashion bloggers, video bloggers and online designers, and linked these women's activities to unpaid labour through in-depth interviews and field research. Duffy believed that the creative industry of social media is manipulative in nature. In her research, aspiring social media producers pay free labour for 'potential exposure' (Duffy, 2017). Moreover, inequality across class, race, and gender still exists in this industry. To attract brand collaborations, social media producers are blurring the line between labour and leisure time, authenticity and self-promotion (Duffy, 2017). This high degree of liberalization and commodification has attracted more and more people to participate, but it has also intensified the oppression of women and the exploitation of free labour.

Based on different definitions and manifestations, it can be concluded that visibility labour is a specific category of digital labour. According to the common definition, all forms of labour involved in the ICT industry can be classified as 'digital labour' (Fuchs 2014a, 351-352). In contrast, Abidin's 'visibility labour' and Duffy's 'potential exposure' are the kind of self-presentation on social media platforms. As prosumers, they create and reproduce creative content on social media platforms that attract clicks and unintentionally generates a huge amount of user data. This user data is sold as commodities to advertisers on social media platforms without payment, generating profits for Internet capitalists. The

unremunerated manifestations of visibility labour also testify to the fact that digital labour is severely exploited in the digital age.

4.2.4. Commodification of Digital Labour on Social Media

In 1980, Alvin Toffler proposed the concept of 'prosumption' in his monograph *The Third Wave*, which refers to the economy in which "progressive blurring of the boundary that separates producer from consumer" (Toffler 1980, 267). The biggest difference between Internet audiences and traditional mass media audiences is that Internet audiences are both consumers and content producers. These digital workers engage in perpetual creative activities, content production, and community communication on social media platforms (Fuchs, 2011a).
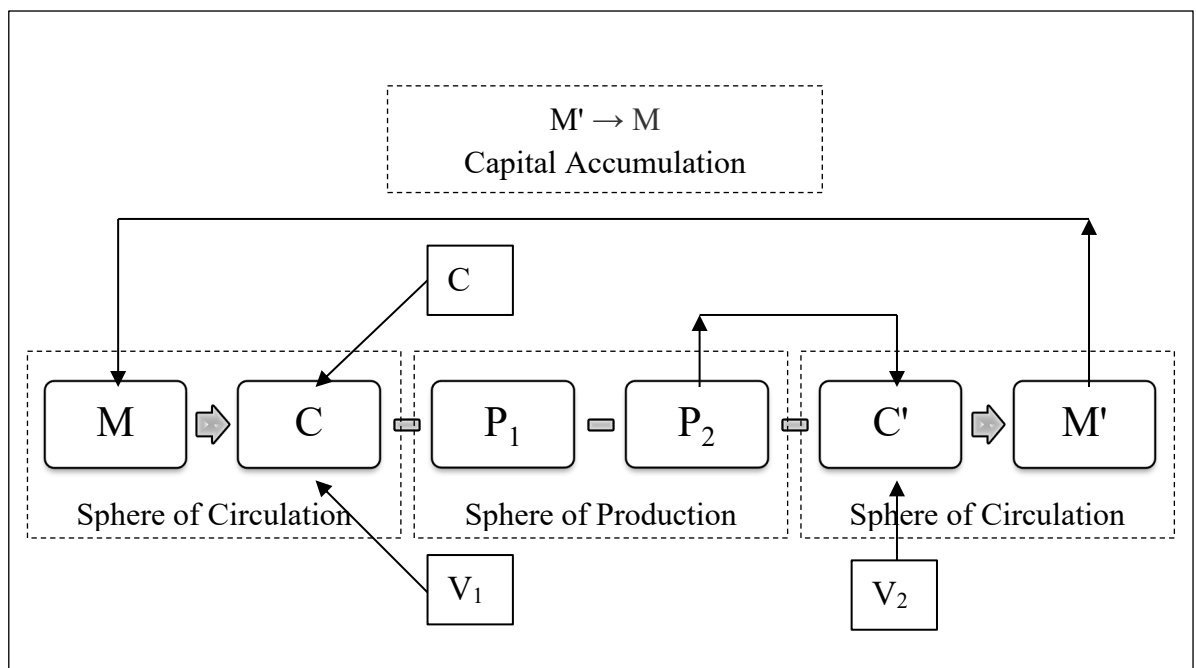
FIGURE 4.1 Capital Accumulation on Social Media Platforms (Fuchs 2014a, 97)

Based on Marx's capital accumulation model, Christian Fuchs introduced a model for describing the process of capital accumulation on social media platforms through targeted advertising (Fuchs, 2014a). In the circulation sphere, social media enterprises use money capital (M) to buy technologies/constant capital (c) and

labour-power/variable capital (v_1) to produce social media platforms (P_1). In the production process P_2, the unpaid labour time (v_2) caused by digital workers' use of social media platforms is generated (Fuchs, 2014a). Social media enterprises sell Internet prosumer commodities to advertisers, which contains surplus-value created by their employees and digital workers. Once the commodity is sold to advertisers, the commodity and surplus-value are converted into money capital (Fuchs, 2014a).
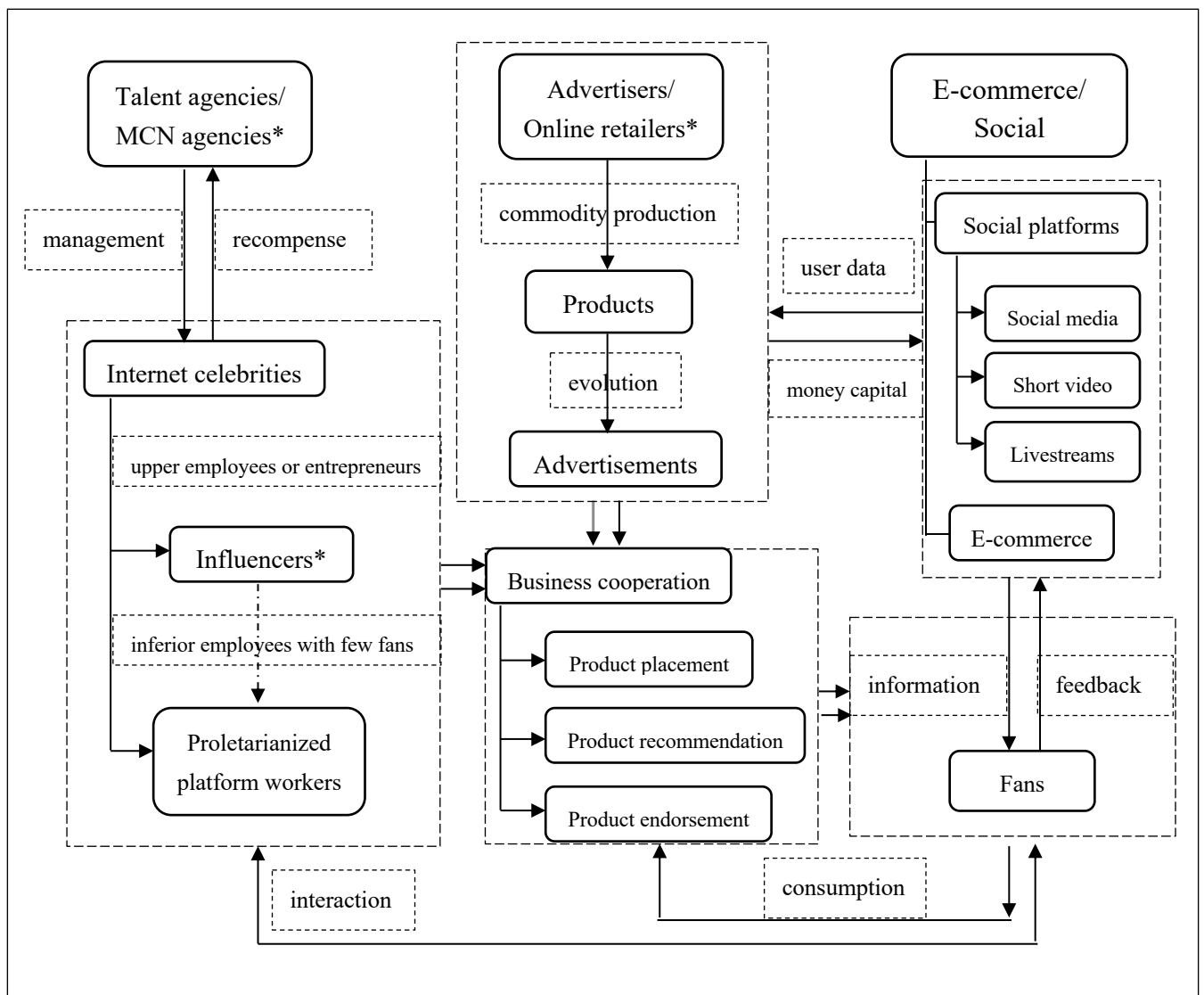
FIGURE 4.2 Capital Accumulation in the Internet Celebrity Industry

Specific to the Chinese Internet celebrity industry, in the digital age, under the role of Internet technology innovation, China's Internet celebrity industry chain can be summarized into three links: production, dissemination, and consumption. Around these three links, talent/MCN agencies, Internet celebrities, advertisers/online retailers, e-commerce/social platforms, and fans are all involved to jointly promote the accumulation and circulation of capital. Next, I will focus on these three links to explain the operation mode of capital in China's Internet celebrity industry.

In the production process, talent agency is the core organization to manage Internet celebrities and produce high-quality Internet content. In China, talent agencies are known as MCN (Multi-Channel Network) agencies. As an intermediary, MCN agencies sign up potential people and build their popularity through training, packaging, and marketing. After business cooperation with advertisers, these Internet celebrities will split their revenue in proportion to their companies. Among them, influencers, as upper-level employees with huge fans, are the main source of the company's revenue. Some influencers even own shares of the company or become their own bosses; While proletarianized platform workers have less popularity, because of the lack of business cooperation, they are often at the bottom of the company with low income.

The cultivation of Internet celebrities by MCN agencies has improved the quality of content production, thus realizing the transition from UGC (User Generated Content) to PGC (Professional Generated Content). In this process, MCN agencies and influencers as entrepreneurs both act as capitalists, while the labour of proletarianized platform workers is alienated. Dominated by capital, these workers cannot decide the means or results of production and are forced to sell their labour-power as commodities and work in a low-paid and high-pressure environment.

In the dissemination segment, to quickly build brand awareness, Chinese advertisers and online retailers conduct targeted business cooperation with Internet celebrities. Combining the active and specialized fields of different Internet celebrities, business cooperation generally takes three forms: product placement, product recommendation, and product endorsement. For Internet celebrities with different numbers of fans, there are two main ways to calculate advertising fees: CPA (Cost Per Action) and CPS (Cost Per Sales). CPA is charged according to the actual advertising effect, while CPS is charged in line with the actual number of products sold. Based on these forms and standards, Internet celebrities incorporate the brand in their texts, pictures, videos, and livestreams, and hand over advertising fees to the company for performance calculation.

At the same time, these texts, pictures, videos, and livestreams, which incorporate targeted advertising content, will be delivered on different e-commerce/social platforms. On China's popular social media platforms (Sina Weibo), short video sites (Tik Tok), live streaming platforms (Douyu) and e-commerce platforms (Taobao), users' clicks, retweets, and comments are aggregated into a huge amount of user data, which is sold to advertisers to facilitate their marketing plans. In this session, both advertisers and platforms are capitalists, while the labour of fans is alienated. Fans spend unpaid labour time generating online activities on platforms, and the user data is sold as commodities to advertisers, thereby converting surplus-value into monetary profits.

In the consumption sphere, the interaction between fans and Internet celebrities on the platforms generates emotions and symbolic maintenance, thus forming a fan culture with organizational thoughts. According to Randall Collins's Interaction Ritual Chains (IRS) theory (Collins, 2004), when targeted advertisements are promoted to specific fan communities, fans will focus on common products or

activities and respond to the call of Internet celebrities for consumption to enhance group identity. In fact, the process of fans' click-and-buy is the surplus-value realization process of advertisers (Fuchs, 2014a). Fans have no control over their process and product of labour, while monetary profits are controlled by capitalists: platforms and advertisers, which reflects the process of consumption and capital accumulation in the Internet celebrity industry.

Digital technology provides opportunities for ordinary people to become Internet celebrities, but it also "creates conditions for deceit, hoodwinking, and exploitation" (Baker & Rojek 2020b, 402). Throughout the production, dissemination, and consumption link of China's Internet celebrity industry chain, it can be found that this includes not only the capital accumulation of talent agencies and advertisers but also the capital accumulation of social platforms. In this process, the role of capitalists is constantly changing among talent agencies, advertisers, social platform owners, and even entrepreneurial influencers. As a result, the labour of proletarianized platform workers and fans is alienated, which constitutes the exploitation of digital labour by capital. In this case, every participant in the Internet space is working, and the working space for labour has been extended. Thus, the whole society has become a 'social factory' (Tronti, 1962).

4.3. Political Economy of Communication in China

4.3.1. The Development of Political Economy of Communication

Political economy is an important perspective of communication research. Since the 1940s, this method has guided the research work of communication scholars around the world and its global expansion continues today (McChesney, 2007). In 1977, Dallas Walker Smythe published the *Communications: Blindspot of Western Marxism*, which has triggered a major debate about the 'blindspot debate' (Livant, 1979). Later, based on Marx's critical political economy, Smythe proposed the

concept of 'audiences labour', and opened up the research field of the political economy of communication (Mosco, 2009).

With the development of globalization and the scramble for the information and communication order, the putative rise of the information society stimulates the study of the political economy of communication (Flichy, 2007). The political economy of communication today focuses on the analysis of the economic structures of the communication system and the operation process of the market economic system (Mosco, 2004). Through the analysis of the ownership, production, circulation, and audiences' consumption of communication, the political economy of communication tries to show the social power relations of communication, to reveal the complexity of communication and culture industry (Melody, 2007).

Nicholas Garnham tried to link the media and culture with the development of contemporary capitalism by revising the traditional 'economic base/superstructure' model, to refute the criticism of economic reductionism and economic determinism (Garnham, 1990). By rethinking the relationship between culture and economy, Garnham attempted to make a specific economic analysis of media production, which can solve the problems related to ideology and autonomy in cultural studies. Graham Murdock and Peter Golding focused on the problems caused by the liberalization and marketization of the communication industry in the UK and Europe and criticized the blind worship of commerce and consumption in the cultural field and the lack of public interests (Murdock & Golding, 1974). In 2009, Vincent Mosco defined the political economy of communication, which is considered as the study of social relations, especially the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources (Mosco, 2009).

In the political economy of communication today, capitalist media are regarded as a mode of reification in a dual sense. First, they relegate humans as consumers of advertising and goods. Second, culture is also seen as a form of commodity. Third, to achieve hegemony, capitalism uses the media to shape itself as the best system (Fuchs, 2014c). Therefore, capitalist media have become a means of advertisement, commodification, and ideology, which not only shapes human beings into tools of economic profits but also injects capitalist systems into human subjectivity (Fuchs, 2014c).

The contemporary political economy of communication examines the power relations among various components of communication, national policies, and civil society organizations in the context of global political economy, and judges whether the communication process is conducive to democracy, equality, participation, and justice (Hackett & Carroll, 2006). The emergence of new media deepens and expands the trend of early forms of capitalism, opening up new possibilities to transform media and audiences into saleable commodities (Murdock & Wasko, 2007). At the same time, new media also questions traditional economic categories and the control capacities of the capitalist economy. Social and technological changes create problems for capitalism that make global governance imperative.

4.3.2. China's Communication Disciplines and Marxist Studies

As Judy Polumbaum pointed out, China's unique communication discipline is an important measure to maintain social stability and ideological unity, which is mainly realized through the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC), clear political program, and ideological-cultural education (Polumbaum, 1988).

In 1989, under the influence of the outbreak of the pro-democracy movement in China, the CPC began to strengthen the state's media propaganda work and further enhanced the ideological portfolio of the party leadership (Yang, 2001). In the 1990s, the State Council Information Office (SCIO), modelled after the press offices of Western governments, managed the government's communication with the outside world. In 1998, the government not only strengthened the development of the culture industry but also established the Ministry of Information Industry (MII) to promote the coordination and regulation of the development of China's information industry.

Entering the 21st century, the rapid development of the Internet and digital technologies has further expanded the depth and scope of the Chinese government's role in the field of communication (Zhao, 2008). In the digital age, the rapid expansion of the communication industry, especially the intensified commercialization of media production and distribution, has prompted government agencies to strengthen the structural management of media. Under the effect of global consolidation, the pressure of transnational capital entering the Chinese market has increased, which makes the government's regulation of the media industry more necessary (Zhou, 2006).

In this context, at the end of the 20th century, the political economy of communication was introduced into China and extended to the field of industrial analysis and social criticism, which made certain achievements in the sinicization of Marxist theory. Yue Zhi Zhao (2008) analysed the role of media in China's democratization process, and paid attention to the dual influence of ideology and market on China's media industry; From a cross-cultural perspective, Zhen Zhi Guo (2002) discussed the concrete ways that transnational capital can reshape China's communication system structurally. Some other scholars, such as Feng

Luo (2010) and Qing Yuan Huang (2012), conducted critical research on the trade order and operation mode of China's communication industry, from which they found the conflicts between capital and power in China's communication market.

At the same time, the development of the market economy in China has realized the commercialization of media and the liberalization of communication, while the capitalists' pursuit of profits has gradually infringed the civil rights and social benefits. Dian Ying Wang (2013) believed that the privatization of media has eroded the integrity of civil rights; Xiao Hong Liu (2005) focused on the threat of media monopoly to China's public sphere; Qi Cai (2007) investigated the role of media in the political and economic power system and pointed out the unequal situation of power relations in Chinese society. Different from the West, the research on the political economy of communication in China sometimes shows the separation of political research and economic research. Due to China's special political and economic conditions, most Chinese scholars focus on 'media economics', but pay less attention to the power structure of the media and institutional changes of the society. Therefore, it can be said that the theoretical system based on China's unique political and economic conditions is still under construction, which needs to be developed in the future.

4.3.3. Neoliberalism with Chinese Characteristics

With the trend of economic globalization, neoliberalism has become one of the mainstream ideologies in the world today. Based on the critical perspective of Marxist spaces of capital, Marxist geographer David Harvey pointed out that 'accumulation by dispossession' is the dialectical expansion of the logic of power territory and power capital (Harvey, 2006). Harvey believed that the expansion of neoliberalism in China has directly led to the emergence of state capitalism and the commodification of labour, which reflects the internal contradictions of capital

accumulation (Harvey, 2007).

Harvey's critical theory of neoliberalism discusses the latest historical development form, basic characteristics, and crisis trend of contemporary capitalism, and reveals the practical power of neoliberalism as an ideology, which has caused 'creative destruction' through policy practice (Harvey, 2006). Combining the essential nature of China's socialist market economy and the analysis of Reform and Opening-up, Harvey further proposed the concept of 'neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics' (Harvey, 2007). Through in-depth analysis of China's pluralistic governance model, Harvey summarized the authoritarian power system with Chinese characteristics in the new era which combines political centralization and administrative decentralization.

In Harvey's opinion, China's Reform and Opening-up policy has promoted the transformation of government functions to empowerment and decentralization, among which the most important feature is the privatization under the strategic state intervention. In response to the market signals of global demand, China's non-strategic sectors of the economy are open to competition from private domestic and foreign enterprises, allowing large-scale foreign investment. At the same time, China maintains exclusive government control and concentrates state resources on industries deemed essential to overall economic development, national security, and core competitiveness. It can be said that the 'visible hand' of the Chinese government has not disappeared, but has become more discerning.

Under the development of neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics, China's market economy has been extensively supervised by the central government. The rapid industrialization of China's liberal economy through export production has catapulted China into the position of 'world manufacturer'. Since the 1990s, this

export-led economic model has allowed China's rural resources and labour to migrate to the cities and into labour-intensive industries that serve industrial capital, thus leading to the exploitation of cheap labour by capitalists and the rise of the working class.

In addition, neoliberalism has brought about crucial changes in China's labour market and has also developed decentralized authoritarianism. In the process of capital accumulation and circulation, China's central government focuses on the control and management of the macro-economy, while provincial and local governments are responsible for the implementation of specific strategies. At the same time, the whole society is connected into a 'star structure' with centralized control and a 'distributed structure' with decentralized control through groups, associations, enterprises, and other linked organizations.

It is the disciplined leadership and hierarchical management of the Communist Party of China (CPC) that makes decentralized authoritarianism possible. Under the leadership of the Party, the Chinese government has delegated the power of examination and approval to lower-level governments and further improved market allocation by arousing the initiative of local governments and individuals, to accelerate the process of modernization. At the same time, the cross combination of neoliberalism and authoritarianism has also led to political, economic, social, and ecological conflicts in China, which have brought many challenges to the new era.

4.3.4. Political Economy of Communication in China

The study of the political economy of communication in China, is a detailed demonstration of the forms and determinants of Chinese social-cultural development (Zhao, 2008).

First, we need to focus on the relationship between the unequal distribution of control systems of communication and the wider unequal distribution of wealth and power (Perry & Selden, 2003). In China, market reforms have not only exacerbated pre-existing political, economic, and social inequalities but have also created new forms of social exclusion and inclusion, which leads to a rapid process of social stratification and class differentiation (Perry & Selden, 2003).

Secondly, China's social transformation is composed of political and economic contradictions, social conflicts, ideologies, and cultural tensions (Dirlik, 2005). Since the Reform and Opening-up, the market relations have gradually expanded, and neoliberalism has been carried out pragmatically. However, opposition to the development of neoliberalism emerged at every turning point in the process of political and ideological reform, these opposition voices took the form of conflicts and resistance in society (Dirlik, 2005).

In the era of globalization, class formation and reformation in China are multi-faceted (Lynch, 1999). On the one hand, China's economy is largely divided along urban-rural lines, and in Chinese cities, there are sharp differences between different economic sectors and forms of ownership (Tomba, 2004); On the other hand, China's economy is reintegrating into the global market system as it shifts from a production-oriented to a consumption-oriented economy (Lee, He & Huang, 2006). In these processes, the media and the communication sector play a dual role: they are not only increasingly important tools of production and economic exchanges but also the means of social organization and the subjective site of information, thereby affecting the class structure of China (Lee, He & Huang, 2006).

The commercialization of media and communication as a source of political, economic, social and symbolic power has created new patterns of exclusion and inclusion, which has led to a substantial restructuring of social relations within and around Chinese media (Perry & Selden, 2003). However, commercialization is a double-edged sword. It has provided the necessary institutional requirements for media innovation. Different from the West, the informational commodity in China is both commercial and political. While pursuing interests, the information produced by media organizations needs to follow the political lines to maintain the current political-economic order (Wang, 2001). This form of media commercialization has improved the diversity of media but also promoted state control over communication, which has brought political and economic contradictions and social conflicts (Wang, 2001).

With the development of China's market reforms, including the reforms of the media and culture sector, the ideological contradictions between global capitalism and socialism with Chinese characteristics is also considerable (Zhao, 2008). To alleviate these contradictions, the Internet has become a platform for the exchange of public opinions. Various social groups have been mobilized to express their views on social media platforms, which has greatly promoted the development of civil rights. However, these social reformist-oriented, rights-based Internet activities have inevitably met bureaucratic resistance due to their challenges to vested bureaucratic interests (Li, Zhang, Zhao & Liang, 2005). The government's tight control of the Internet reflects the fragile political-economic foundations of the Chinese media itself. Therefore, in the digital age, we need to return to the Marxist political economy of communication. Through the critical analysis of digital labour and communication in China, the interactive relationship between capital, power, and ideology will be fully explained.

4.4. Political Economy of Digital Labour in China

4.4.1. Chinese Labour Market in the Digital Economy

Under the influence of neoliberalism, the Reform and Opening-up policy developed China's economy and completed the transformation into a market-oriented economy. The development of the Internet has brought about the commercialization of media and communication. In particular, the mobile Internet, as the most efficient and fastest way of communication, has changed the traditional distribution mechanism, thus completely overturning the previous centralized and single communication structures (Wang, 2003).

At present, the Chinese Internet market can be divided into four categories: software market, hardware market, service market, and content market (Zook, 2001). As an important part of the Internet content market, Chinese social media platforms have accumulated a lot of economic capital by attracting Internet users to provide online content, and this rapid accumulation of capital relies on the hard work of digital workers (Xia, 2014). According to the *White Paper on China's Digital Economy and Employment (2019)*, China's digital economy reached 31.3 trillion yuan (34.8% of China's GDP, ≈3.44 trillion pounds) in 2018, among which there were 191 million digital workers, accounting for 24.6% of the total employment that year.

Based on the *White Paper on China's Digital Economy and Employment (2019)*, the current digital industry in China can be divided into four sub-sectors: the telecommunications industry, the electronics manufacturing industry, the software and IT services industry, and the Internet-related services industry. In 2018, the revenue of the telecommunications industry reached 1.301 trillion yuan (6% of total revenue, ≈143.1 billion pounds); The revenue of the electronics manufacturing industry reached 10.6 trillion yuan (56% of total revenue, ≈1.17

trillion pounds); The revenue of the software and IT services industry reached 6.3061 trillion yuan (33% of total revenue, ≈693.7 billion pounds); The revenue of the Internet-related services industry reached 956.2 billion yuan (5% of total revenue, ≈105.2 billion pounds).
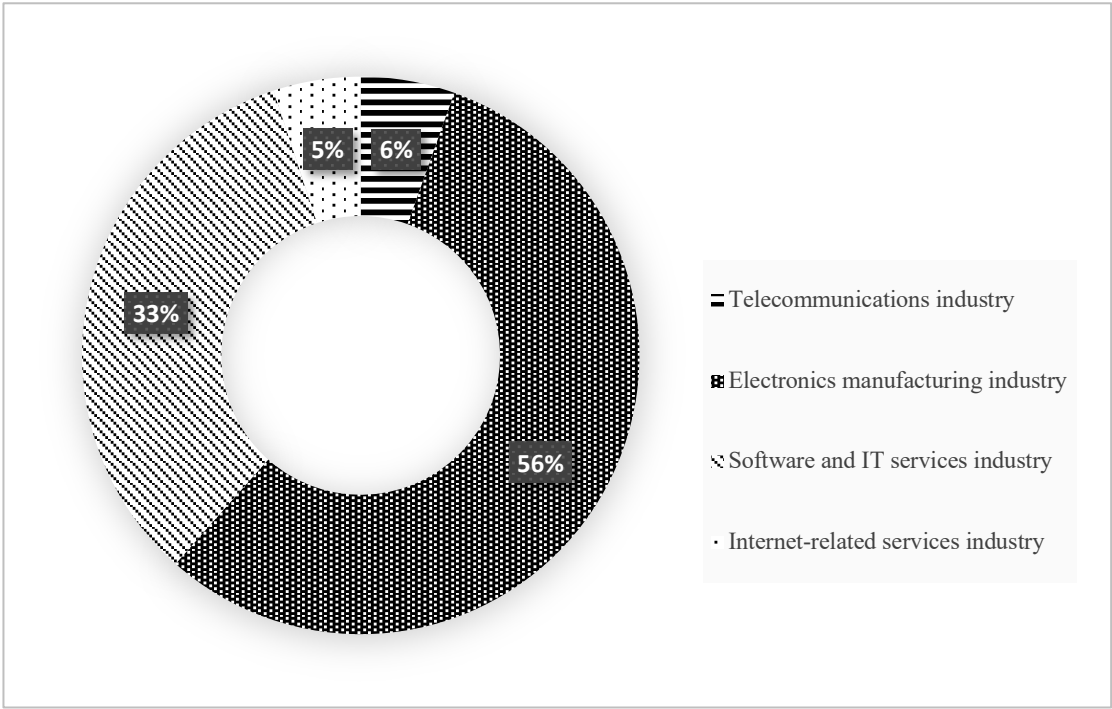
FIGURE 4.3 Sub-sectors of China's Digital Industry and its Revenue Share

Among these sub-sectors, although the Internet-related services industry accounts for a small proportion of the total revenue, it includes digital advertising, e-commerce, online services, and other industrial fields, which are constantly developing under the joint effect of technology and capital. In its segment, Internet information service revenue reached 859.4 billion yuan (89.4% of the total revenue of Internet-related services industry, ≈94.5 billion pounds), which covered the occupations of advertising workers, platform workers, e-commerce workers, game anchors, etc., with about 9.55 million employees, corresponding to the development of Internet celebrity industry.

The huge Internet labour market has brought huge benefits to China's economic development. However, the 'socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics' means that the government will not only intervene in the Internet industry through relevant industrial policies but also regulate the daily behaviour of digital workers on the Internet (Perry, 2007). Since 2000, the Chinese government has gradually enacted several laws and implemented administrative orders concerning the Internet to censor Internet content in a variety of ways, at multiple levels and across departments (Tsui, 2003).
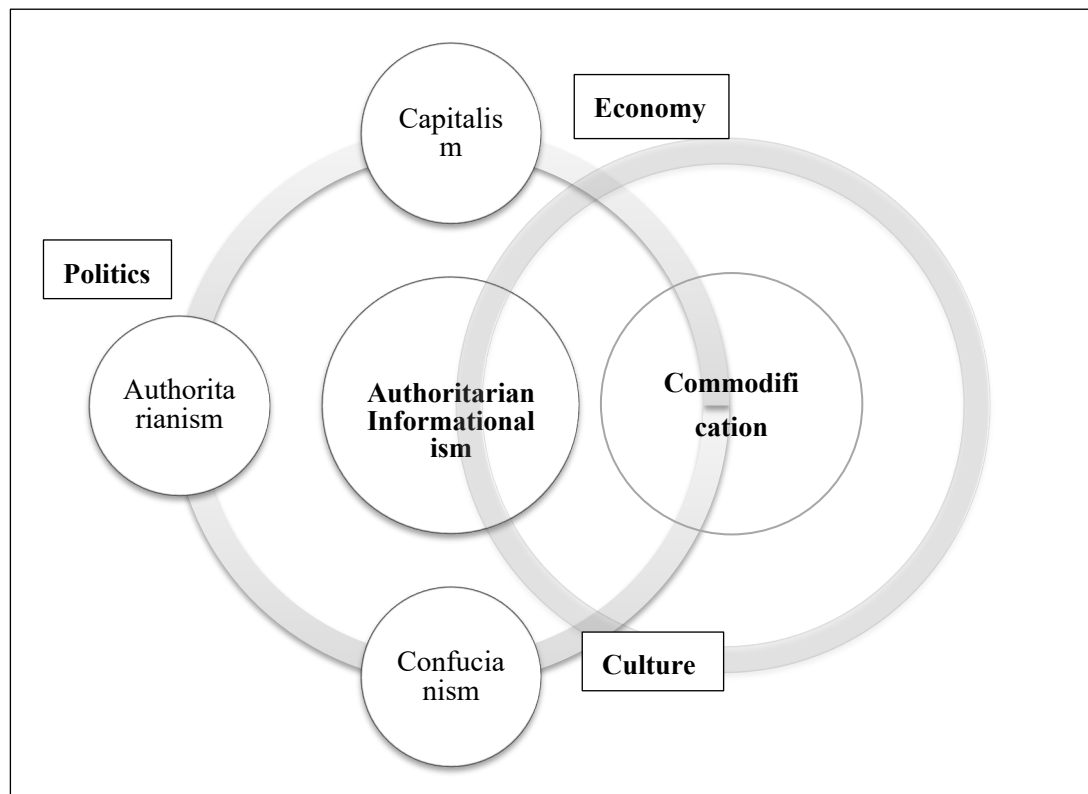
FIGURE 4.4 The Model of Chinese Labour Market in the Digital Economy

In the Chinese Internet labour market, the government has consolidated its political-economic dominance by establishing its authority in ideological and cultural spheres, which reflects a model of Internet development and regulation that combines authoritarianism, capitalism, and Confucianism—'authoritarian informationalism' (Jiang, 2010). Authoritarianism reflects the political leadership

and institutional control over the Internet, and the formation of normative Internet rules under the construction of national legal system (Landry, 2008); Capitalism means a commercial development path of the digital economy guided by capital and economic interests; Confucianism represents a harmonious culture and ideological unity, which is the value base for the Chinese government to maintain the stability of the Internet space. These three guiding modes correspond to the three aspects of politics, economy, and culture, from which China's management strategies for developing the Internet can be summarized.

Meanwhile, in China's state-dominated Internet labour market, capital and labour have shown a trend of polarization. Compared with digital workers, Internet capitalists have absolute advantages in economic, political, and cultural rights, which can be reflected in their wealth and status in society. In addition, Chinese digital workers in the Internet labour market are always in a state of self-organization or disorganization. This single, independent labour relationship often makes it difficult to fully protect the rights of digital workers. Therefore, the Communist Party of China (CPC) plays an important role in adjusting labour relations on the Internet, thus forming a top-down, administration-driven Internet labour market with Chinese characteristics.

Through this model, the Chinese government has established political, economic, and cultural leadership to maintain the stability of the Internet information society (Weber & Lu, 2007). Under the influence of China's unique communication disciplines, the Chinese labour market on the Internet presents a situation of coexistence of commodification and authoritarian informationalism.

4.4.2. Digital Labour with Chinese Characteristics

In Marx's definition, the objective interests of classes are fundamentally opposed,

so these opposing interests and consciousness eventually result in class conflicts (Marx & Engels, 1848). In the digital age, with the introduction of information and Internet technologies, Chinese digital workers are doing similar jobs to manual labour and are being exploited similarly, forced to sell their labour to survive. Based on China's special national conditions, Chinese digital labour shows the characteristics of government-dominated collectivism, hidden exploitation, and neoliberalism-led work values.
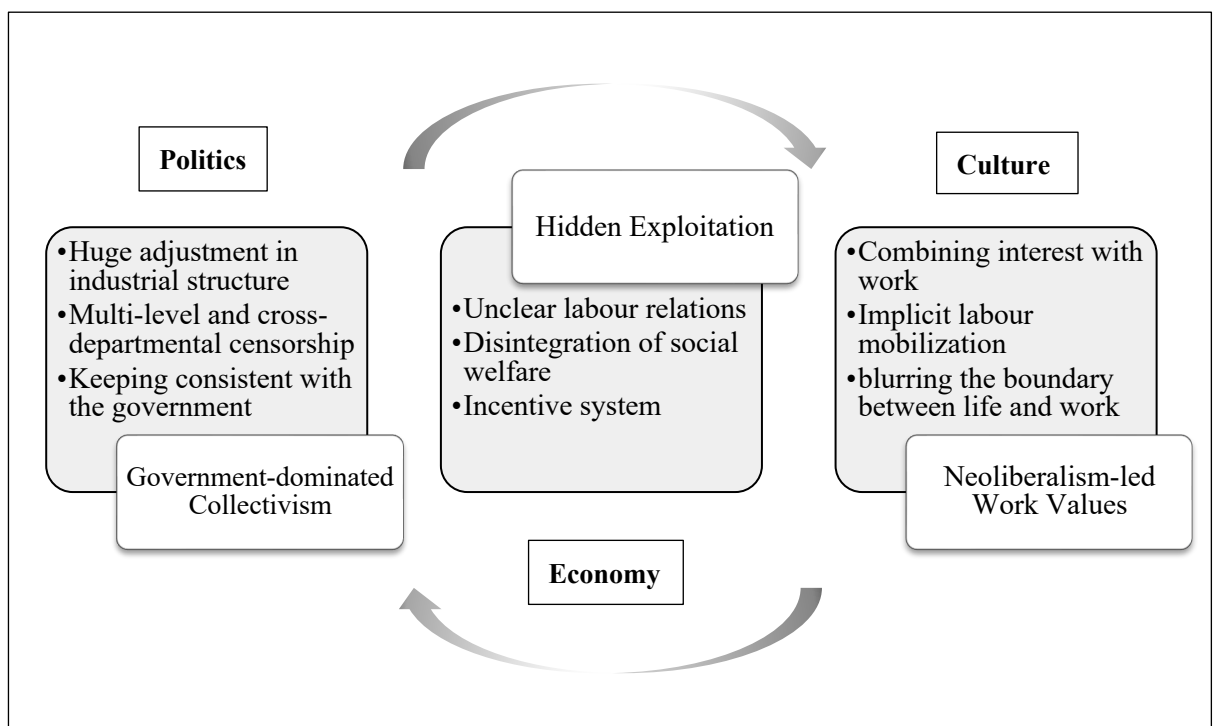
FIGURE 4.5 The Model of Digital Labour with Chinese Characteristics

First, from the political perspective, the working class has become the major part of Chinese digital labour. With the deepening of global economic integration, China's industrial structure has undergone a huge adjustment, with the working class shifting from the agricultural and industrial sector to the information sector on a large scale. According to the White Paper on China's Digital Economy and Employment (2019), the digital economy in China's agriculture, industry, and services industries accounted for 7.3%, 18.3% and 35.9% of their respective

industries in 2018. The digitization of China's agriculture, industry, and services sectors reached 24.9 trillion yuan (≈2.74 trillion pounds), contributing 79.5% to the growth of China's digital economy. In this context, China's working class has expanded from workshops into cyberspace.

The rapid development of digitization in various industries has given birth to new flexible employment models such as self-employment and freelancing in China. However, due to the multi-level and cross-departmental censorship by the Chinese government, the working form of Chinese digital labour engaged in knowledge, information and cultural production is strictly controlled. The political positions of Chinese digital workers mostly follow the collective and keep consistent with the government, which reflects the characteristics of government-dominated collectivism.

Secondly, in economic terms, the labour process of Chinese digital workers is under covert control, which leads to the blurring of labour relations and the disintegration of social welfare. In China, the traditional resource-intensive industry model based on wage labour has been transformed into a demand-oriented platform model based on tacit labour (Ao, 2017). Most digital workers work in private enterprises through labour dispatch, where entrepreneurs have the ownership of capital, but workers cannot control their labour-power. Unclear labour relations prevent digital workers from being protected by labour contracts and deprive them of social benefits such as housing, education, and medical care.

In the digital age, advanced mobile technology has reshaped the nature of work. In China, the traditional 'nine-to-five' work system has been gradually replaced by the '996 work system'—working from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., more than six days a week, which apparently violates the Labour Law. Internet capitalists obscure the

legal relationship with digital workers and carry out covert labour control through incentive systems and product management systems, which illustrates the characteristics of hidden exploitation.

Thirdly, in the aspect of culture, neoliberalism, as a cultural practice, has changed the traditional values of the Chinese working class. Traditional work ethic in China worships social status, while neoliberalism advocates the liberation of individual entrepreneurship through private property rights and the free market. With low barriers to entry and abundant opportunities for digital work in China, Internet capitalists use the name of 'combining interest with work' to attract workers to contribute cheap or even free labour. This kind of implicit labour mobilization seems to have no compulsory requirements, but makes use of the psychology of 'doing more and earning more' and blurs the boundary between life and work.

The uninterrupted production brought about by information technology gives Chinese workers a '24/7' view of time. However, the reality is that digital workers are chronically overworked. Due to the imbalance between work and life, the original free working mode turns into a disguised slavery mechanism. This kind of cultural consciousness has subverted the traditional Chinese work ethic, which incarnates the characteristics of neoliberalism-led work values.

To further emancipate and develop the productive forces, China is keeping public ownership as the mainstay of the economy and allowing diverse forms of ownership to develop side by side, and adhering to the system in which distribution according to work is dominant and a variety of modes of distribution coexist. This unique ownership structure and distribution system have promoted the development of Internet enterprises but also triggered fierce market competition. Competition drives different companies to maximise surplus-value by exploiting

labour to increase capital accumulation through increasing the workday (absolute exploitation) or intensifying the work process during the workday (relative exploitation), which may lead to serious conflicts between employees and employers, individuals, and societies.

4.4.3. Political Economy of Digital Labour in China

Different from the communication research of administrativism, the political economy of communication takes criticism as the core and mainly focuses on the social relations of communication. Therefore, in the analysis of the political economy of Chinese digital labour, I will start from the macro-economy, meso-industry and micro-enterprise dimensions and investigate the problems of digital labour in the communication industry based on the Marxist theory of political economy.
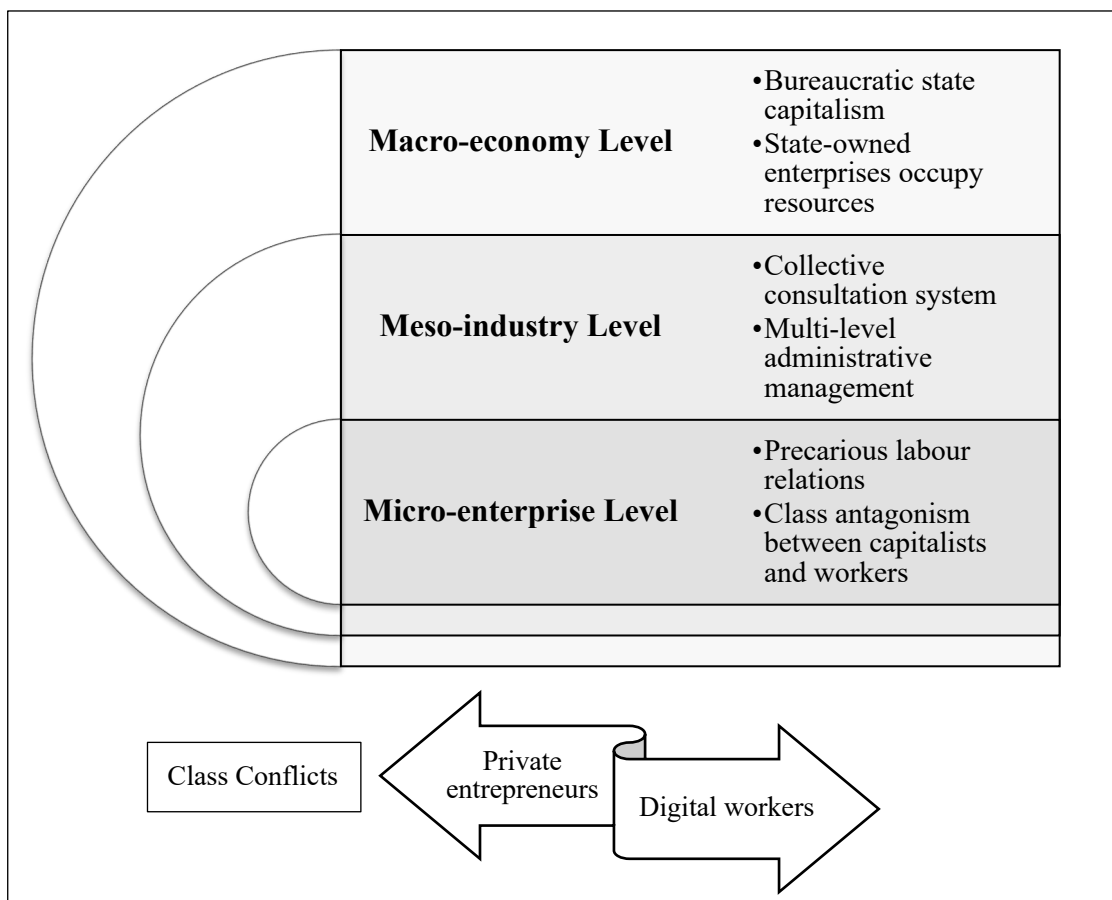

FIGURE 4.6 The Model of Political Economy of Digital Labour in China

In the macro-economy dimension, the political economy of communication places the research of Chinese digital labour in the context of global social transformation. In China, a 'bureaucratic state capitalism' with nationalism at its core still exists (Callinicos, 2004). In this mode of production, bureaucracies and managers engage in profit-making activities through governmental powers such as administrative monopoly, special regulations and industrial policies, and enjoy the franchise rights of telecommunications, network, and other industries, occupying the class position of exploiters. The monopoly of bureaucratic capital makes the market economy in China rife with corruption.

Specific to the Chinese digital labour industry, the bureaucrat capitalist class, such as state-owned enterprises, occupy the means of production, such as factories, raw materials, and economic sources, and have the political power to distribute these means of production and economic sources. According to *China's State-owned Economic Development Report (2019)*, there are 460,000 state-owned enterprises in China. In 2018, China's state-owned enterprises (excluding financial enterprises) continued to grow in the digital economy, with their total assets reaching 210.4 trillion yuan (≈23.1 trillion pounds). Their domination and exploitation of the digital workers are reflected in their power to control the production and distribution of wealth, which is based on the hard work of the working class.

At the meso-industry level, the political economy of communication analyses the industrial norms and labour processes of digital workers in China. Throughout Western countries, the market-oriented labour relations are generally formed from the bottom-up and promoted by the society, while the digital labour relations with Chinese characteristics are promoted from the top-down and driven by the administration. In China, as an effective mechanism to adjust labour relations, a

'collective consultation system' is an important part of China's socialist market economic system. When labour disputes arise in the digital industry, the Chinese government will play a leading role, setting consultation rules and providing mediation and arbitration services.

In China, the adjustment of labour relations not only involves the social economy but also directly affects the ruling status of the party. Therefore, considering the special working conditions and flexible employment forms of digital workers, the Chinese government has mobilized various administrative resources to achieve legalization. At the administrative level, the Chinese government has further clarified the identification mechanism of labour relations on the Internet platforms; At the community level, the dedicated advisory boards have been set up for unorganized digital workers; At the enterprise level, the labour benefit coordination offices have been established. Through the construction of a 'government-community-enterprise' grid management system, comprehensive governance has been carried out in multiple ways.

In the micro-enterprise aspect, the political economy of communication is not only limited to the working environment of Chinese digital workers but also emphasizes that digital enterprises are an integral part of China's digital economy. With the development of digital capitalism in contemporary China, information and communication technologies have promoted the global expansion of capital. The essence of such expansion is the political, economic, and cultural penetration of developed countries into developing countries. Due to the information monopoly by developed countries, China's digital labour is gradually showing a trend of decentralization and homogeneity (Liu, 2012) under the influence of the global division of labour.

At the same time, the managers in Chinese digital enterprises become the controllers in a substantial sense, and the digital workers only become the labour factors in the production process. Due to the temporary nature of digital work, Chinese digital workers have no access and rights to participate in the company's institutional change and legal protection, which makes the class antagonism between capitalists and workers more obvious. The absence of collective bargaining rights and strike rights also makes it impossible for digital workers to gain protection by participating in the formulation of labour rules, which is reflected in the fact that Chinese digital workers have to face more intensive work, lower pay and more isolated working environment compared with workers in traditional industries.

To sum up, combining the macro, middle, and micro analysis of digital labour in China, we can conclude that Chinese digital workers are subject to the rule of bureaucratic state capitalism, multi-level administrative management and precarious labour relations. These digital workers cannot own and allocate the resources and skills they have. Instead, the fruits of their labour are appropriated by the bureaucratic capitalist class and private entrepreneurs through long hours of work, unequal wages, and poor working conditions.

4.4.4. Political Economy of Internet Celebrities in China

Internet celebrities in China, usually called 'Wang Hong' in Chinese slang, refer to those who become famous on the Internet. They may catch people's eyes because of certain events or behaviour and attract followers and fans on social platforms. Through different types of social platforms, the Internet allows ordinary people to wrest control of fame from social media, creating Internet celebrities with the click of a mouse.

As a specific category of digital labour, Internet celebrities proactively receive their moment of fame, which is aimed to cater to the public appetite for a character type that sums up the times. With the development of social media, Chinese Internet celebrities have gradually evolved into a new business model, which converts the audiences into purchasing power through the precise marketing of targeted advertising. Unlike Western influencers, the political economy of Internet celebrities in China is influenced by both socialism and digital capitalism, thus presenting unique Chinese characteristics: the pursuit of consumerism, the worship of body capital, and the existence of class conflicts.
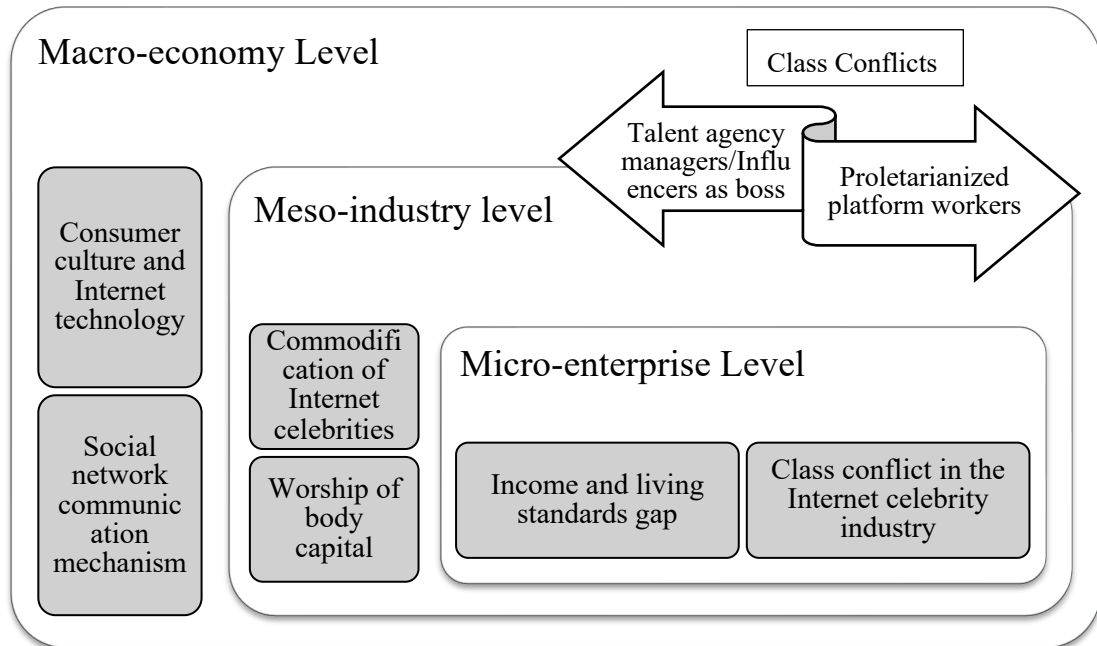
FIGURE 4.7 The Model of Political Economy of Internet Celebrities in China

From a macro-economy perspective, the emergence of Chinese Internet celebrities is the objective result of the joint action of consumer culture and Internet technologies. Under the influence of neoliberalism, the communication structure of Chinese media has undergone a global transformation, which has also opened a new era of prosperity in China's Internet society. In this context, the improvement of Chinese residents' consumption power and the diversification of demand

structure have gradually popularized subcultures such as fan culture and celebrity culture (Yang, 2018). At the same time, in the process of China's social structure transformation, polarization between rich and poor and intergenerational mobility have emerged, which has overturned China's traditional labour market.

With the iteration and upgrade of Internet social media, the social model of Chinese society has changed and formed a social network communication mechanism. Different from traditional communication methods, the image construction and group identity system of social platforms have realized the stabilization and institutionalization of social relations across time and space. In addition, during this period, the structure of China's Internet users has also changed, showing the characteristics of younger age, lower-income, and more freelance work. From the perspective of usage time and behaviour, mobile network is becoming more and more permeable in daily life. More and more Chinese Internet users regard networking as their main way of life, which has significantly enhanced the attention and influence of Chinese Internet celebrities.

In the meso-industry aspect, the commodification of Chinese Internet celebrities has formed an industrial chain of information transmission and traffic monetarization. At present, the business model of the Chinese Internet celebrity industry can be divided into three links: production, dissemination, and consumption. In the production process, talent agencies select suitable Internet celebrities for training and content production; In the dissemination segment, the produced content will be specifically distributed to social platforms to attract fans to read and click; When it comes to consumption, advertisers gain profits from fans' purchases, then start a new round of industry operation. In China, this type of talent agency is called the MCN (Multi-channel Networks) agency, which has greatly promoted the commodification of Internet celebrities.

In addition, neoliberal subjectivization has brought about the pursuit of beauty economy in China's Internet celebrity industry. The pragmatism of 'body capital' has promoted the objectification and commodification of the body (Dippner, 2018). In China, male Internet celebrities are mainly engaged in the field of games and electronics, while female Internet celebrities mostly belong to the field of beauty makeup and fashion. To cater to the public aesthetic orientation, Chinese female Internet celebrities have become victims of cosmetic surgery lines. Under the effect of capitalization and gender prejudice, women's appearance has become the direct object of capital. As a commodity, it can be produced or exchanged symbolically for clicks that help capitalists profit. China's traditional patriarchal culture emphasizes the moral authority and power dominance of men, which has exacerbated the prevalence of body/capital fetishism in the Chinese Internet celebrity industry.

On the micro-enterprise scale, there are also intense class conflicts in the internal structure of Chinese Internet celebrities. In China, Internet celebrities mainly show three characteristics: low cost, low threshold and high added value. As an important indicator to determine the life cycle of Internet celebrities, the number of fans determines the popularity of Internet celebrities. In China's Internet celebrity market, popular influencers have millions of followers. They can grasp most of the economic interests in the market, develop their own businesses and even hire employees, while proletarianized platform workers have a small fan base. Most of their income consists of a low base salary and a 20-50% activity/platform share, leaving them to work under severe exploitation by talent agencies.

Under the fierce market competition, the income gap between Chinese influencers and proletarianized platform workers is gradually widening. According to the

Survey Report on the Ecology of Internet Celebrities in China (Topklout, 2019), the average annual income of Chinese Internet celebrities is 199,665 yuan (≈21,963 pounds). Among them, 45% earn less than 5,000 yuan (≈550 pounds) a month, 17% earn between 5,000 (≈550 pounds) and 10,000 yuan (≈1,100 pounds), and only 13% earn more than 30,000 yuan (≈3,300 pounds). The top 5% of Internet celebrities made 92.8% of the total income. To survive, 60% of proletarianized platform workers work more than 15 hours a day, seriously affecting their daily life and health. With the professionalization of Internet celebrities, influencers as entrepreneurs gradually become Internet capitalists, while proletarianized platform workers gradually stand in the opposite class due to their low social status and living standard, which has also become a potential factor of social instability.

4.5. Conclusion

In the digital age, Marxism with profound historical influence still has strong vitality, because it can always be enriched and developed based on specific practices. Therefore, in the chapter of theoretical framework, I start with Marxist theory and then focus on the capital accumulation and commodification of digital labour on social media platforms. After the full understanding of labour and digital labour theory and a complete analysis of China's unique communication disciplines, the core of this chapter is to elaborate the political economy of digital labour in China, to establish an analytical framework for this exploited class.

In the 'Digital Labour on Social Media' section, labour is no longer just seen as an element of the labour-capital relationship, but as a broader concept, which is characterized by the fact that the boundaries between play and labour, work time and leisure time, production and consumption, public and private life tend to blur (Fuchs, 2014a). At the same time, based on Marx's capital accumulation model, the process of capital accumulation in the Chinese Internet celebrity industry can

be modelled. Throughout three links of production, dissemination, and consumption, it can be found that this includes not only the capital accumulation of talent agencies and advertisers but also the capital accumulation of social platforms. In this case, social relations become relations of production, and the whole society is integrated with production.

Entering the section of 'Political Economy of Communication in China', the putative rise of the information society stimulates the study of the political economy of communication. Under the influence of neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics, class formation and reformation in China are multi-faceted. The commercialization of media and communication has created new patterns of exclusion and inclusion, which has led to a substantial restructuring of social relations within and around Chinese media (Perry & Selden, 2003). However, it has also promoted state control over communication, which has brought political and economic contradictions and social conflicts (Wang, 2001). The government's tight control of the Internet reflects the fragile political-economic foundations of the Chinese media itself.

The 'Political Economy of Digital Labour in China' section focuses on the Chinese digital labour and labour market on the Internet. In the context of the socialist market economy, I construct four theoretical frameworks: Chinese Labour Market on the Internet, Digital Labour with Chinese Characteristics, Political Economy of Digital Labour in China, and Political Economy of Internet Celebrities in China. Under the special national conditions of China, this section starts from the background of social transformation of contemporary China, and discusses the political, economic, and cultural aspects, to summarize the theory of digital labour with Chinese characteristics.

In terms of the 'Chinese Labour Market on the Internet', at present, the development of the Internet has brought about the commercialization of media and communication. However, under the influence of China's unique communication disciplines, the Chinese government has consolidated its political-economic dominance by establishing its authority in ideological and cultural spheres to maintain the stability of the Internet information society, which reflects a model of the Chinese labour market on the Internet that combines the unique characteristics of commodification and authoritarian informationalism.

In the aspect of the 'Digital Labour with Chinese Characteristics', with the introduction of information and Internet technologies, Chinese digital workers are being exploited in a similar way to manual labour. Due to the multi-level censorship and covert labour control through incentive systems, Chinese digital labour cannot control their labour-power and be hampered by implicit labour mobilization. Competition drives different companies to maximise surplus-value by exploiting labour to increase capital accumulation, which shows the characteristics of government-dominated collectivism, hidden exploitation, and neoliberalism-led work values.

In regard to the 'Political Economy of Digital Labour in China', the information and communication technologies have overcome the spatial distance and temporal barriers to communication, while enabling the global expansion of capital. In China, the bureaucrat capitalist class have the power to control production, while the digital labour relations with Chinese characteristics are promoted by the administration. In addition, Due to the temporary nature of digital work, Chinese digital workers cannot gain protection by labour rules, which indicates that Chinese digital workers are subject to the rule of bureaucratic state capitalism, multi-level administrative management and precarious labour relations.

In relation to the 'Political Economy of Internet Celebrities in China', the improvement of Chinese residents' consumption power and the diversification of demand structure have gradually promoted the celebrity culture and the commodification of the female body. At the same time, with the professionalization of Internet celebrities, influencers as entrepreneurs gradually become Internet capitalists, while proletarianized platform workers gradually stand in the opposite class. Therefore, the political economy of Internet celebrities in China is influenced by both socialism and digital capitalism, thus presenting unique Chinese characteristics: the pursuit of consumerism, the worship of body capital, and the existence of class conflicts.
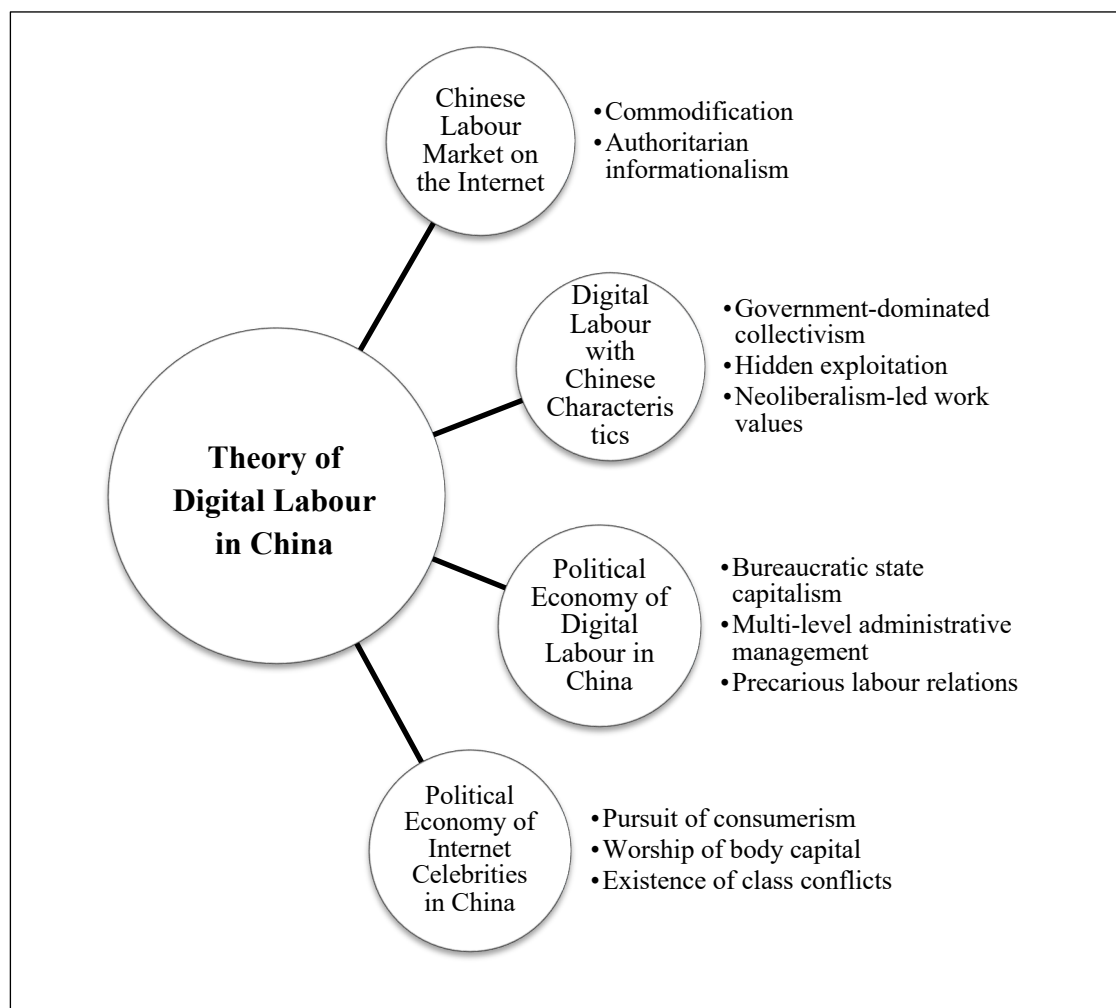
FIGURE 4.8 Theoretical Framework of Digital Labour in China

Combing with Marxist critical theory and the critical political economy of communication, we can conclude that the social background of digital labour is the current stage of capitalist development, that is, the stage of information capitalism. Specific to the digital labour in China, although China is a socialist country, considering the relationship between the unequal distribution of the control systems of communication and the wider unequal distribution of wealth and power, it is obvious that in the field of Internet communication in China, Chinese digital labour is subject to capitalist domination and exploitation.

CHAPTER FIVE
Methodology

5.1. Introduction

From the perspective of data analysis, research methods can be divided into two types: qualitative research and quantitative research. The theoretical basis, research means, and subject background of qualitative and quantitative research are different, so the conclusion is expressed in different forms. To be specific, qualitative research is a bottom-up process. It conducts in-depth research on social phenomena through data collection and field experience; While quantitative research is a top-down process, researchers verify preconceived assumptions through experiments, surveys, statistics, and other methods to obtain objective results.

In social research, each method has its advantages and disadvantages. To achieve the optimal results, it is necessary to select the most suitable research methods after fully considering the characteristics of the research questions and object. Throughout the theme and content of this research, it focuses on the current-concerned social phenomenon—the political economy of Internet celebrities in China, which reflects its qualitative characteristics. Therefore, with the help of political economy, communication, sociology, semiotics, and other disciplines, this research will adopt the main method of qualitative research and follow the steps of '*observation → analysis → explanation*', to get closer to the lives of Chinese Internet celebrities and deeply analyse their survival status and political-economic influence on social media platforms.

To further find the most appropriate research methods, I analysed the research questions of this study in detail and chose the corresponding method according to each subdivided question. Specific questions and corresponding research methods are as follows:
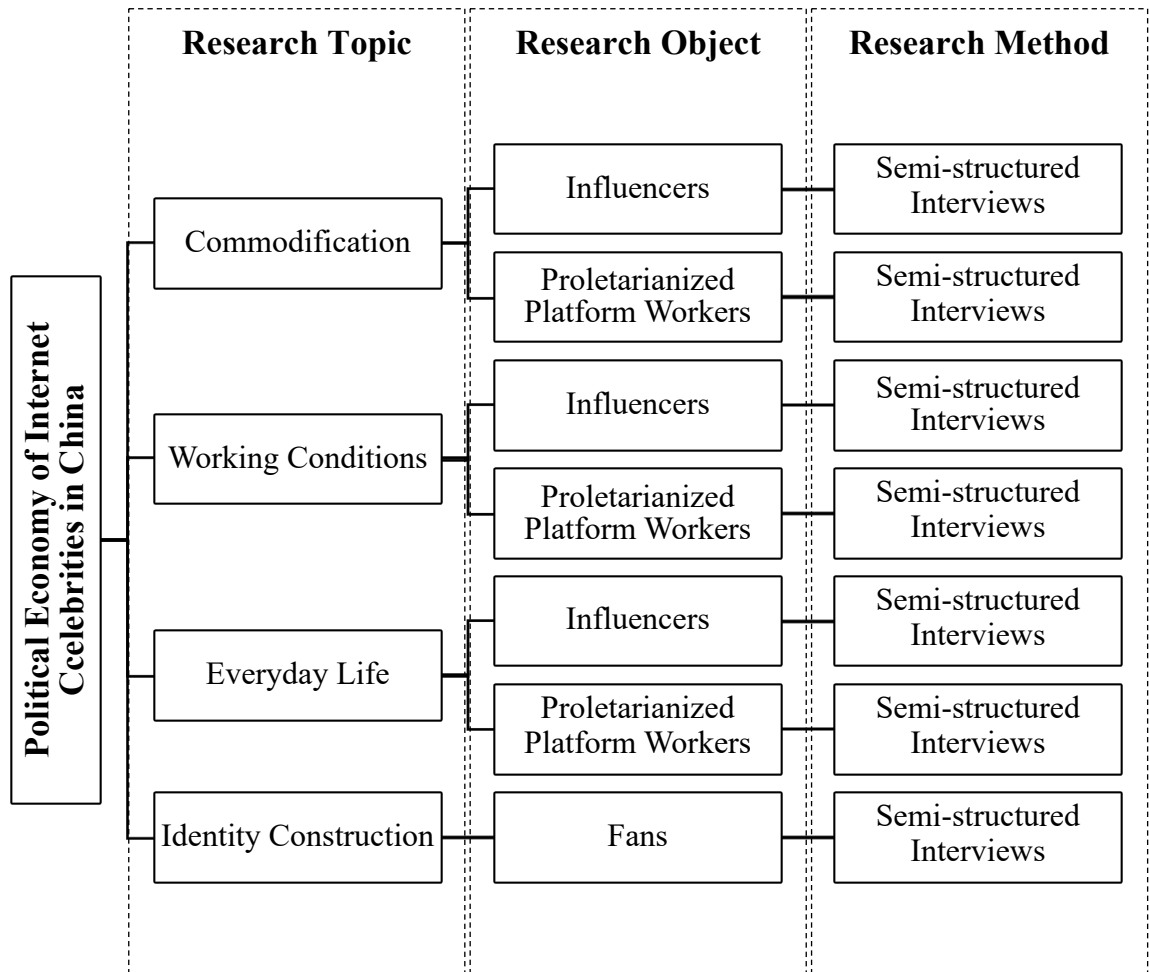

FIGURE 5.1 Methodology Framework Designed for this Research

Main research question:

How does the political economy of Internet celebrities look like in China?

The main research question can be subdivided into four sub-questions:

RQ1: How does commodification work in the political economy of Chinese Internet celebrities?

RQ2: How do the working conditions look like in China's Internet celebrity industry?

RQ3: How does the everyday life of those who work in the Internet celebrity industry look like in China?

RQ4: How does the identity construction of fans of Internet celebrities look like?

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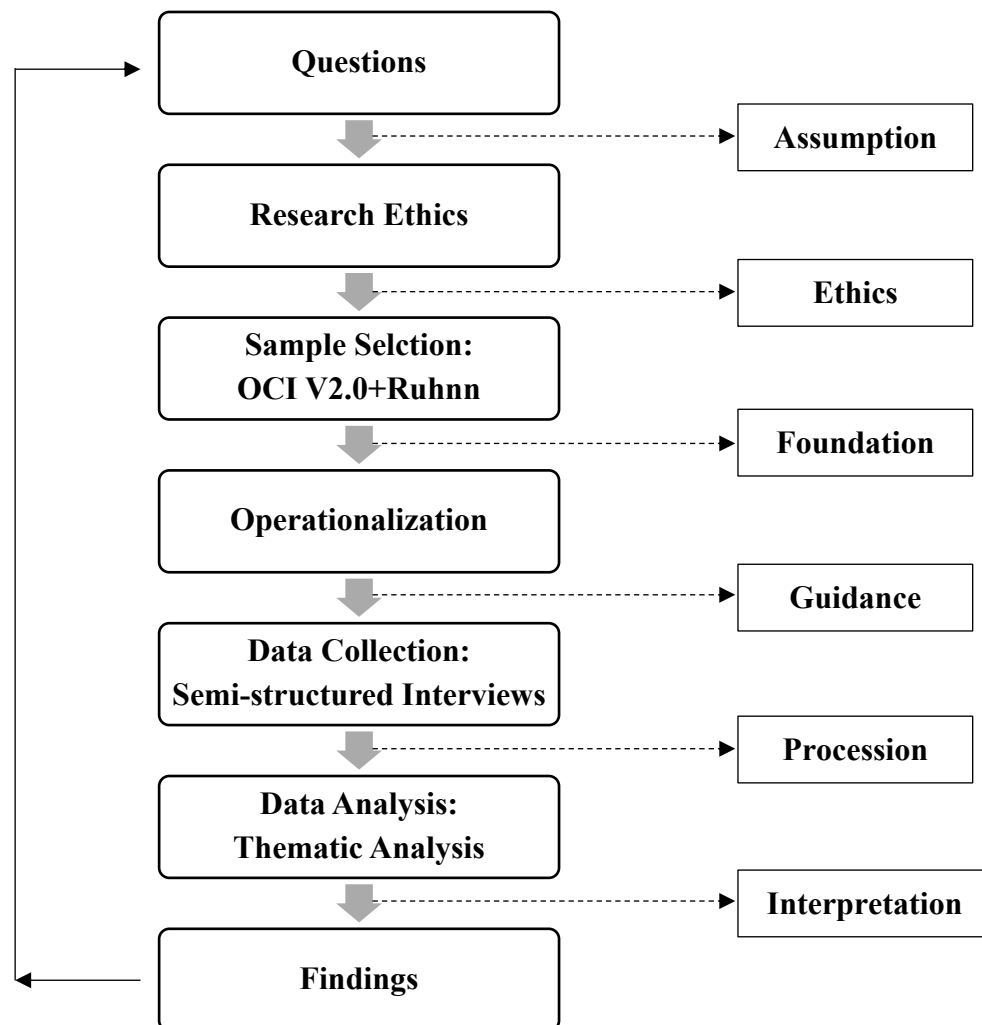
FIGURE 5.2 The Research Procedures of Semi-structured Interviews

According to the research question—the political economy of Chinese Internet celebrities, will mainly rely on the research method of semi-structured interviews,

which will be analysed from four aspects: commodification, working conditions, everyday life, and identity construction. Since each research method has its corresponding research steps, I will follow the five steps of research ethics, sample selection, operationalization, data collection, and data analysis, to carefully explain the research process of this study.

In each step, I will combine the characteristics of Internet celebrities and the advantages of network technology to select the most convenient and fast method, to optimize the research process. Particularly in the process of sample selection, I will adopt the '*Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0*' evaluation model (which is established to evaluate the transmissibility and influence of Internet celebrity groups through the collection of Chinese Internet data), supplemented by the list of employees in Ruhnn (the largest Internet celebrity incubator and marketing company in China) to screen the interviewees.

In the process of data collection and analysis, I will add 9 influencers, 9 proletarianized platform workers, and 15 fans on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms to the interview list, and conduct thematic analysis of their free narration. If there is a problem in any of the links and the conclusions cannot conform to the expectation, I will find out the reasons and start a new round of steps to ensure the rationality of the conclusions.

Through a planned research proposal and complete operation module, this study will collect and analyse data following a rigorous framework and hold the bottom line of ethics as it is completed. In the following sections, further analyses of these five steps will be the subject of my discussion.

5.2. Research Ethics

Among research ethics, the British Sociological Association (BSA) and the Social Research Association (SRA) are more famous for their ethical guidelines (Bryman, 2012). In 1978, Edward Diener and Rick Crandall summarized ethical principles and divided possible ethical problems into four aspects (Diener & Crandall, 1978):

1. whether there is harm to participants.

2. whether there is a lack of informed consent.

3. whether there is an invasion of privacy.

4. whether deception is involved.

From these four aspects, we can find that traditional research ethics mainly focuses on privacy, anonymity, and informed consent. However, Internet research, especially the research of Internet celebrities, is more complex due to the characteristics of fast dissemination, easy search, and high transparency of Internet data.

Combined with Diener and Crandall's ethical principles and the characteristics of the Internet, let's re-examine the ethical issues in social media research. The first is the risk of harm. In this study, influencers will be interviewed online with the help of chat software commonly used in China, while proletarianized platform workers and fans will be interviewed face-to-face. Internet-based interviews improve the anonymous degree of data collection and avoid the disclosure of real information to a certain extent, thus reducing the harm to interviewees. At the same time, when selecting interview samples and designing interview questions, I will do preliminary surveys to avoid interviewing people who have suffered from psychological diseases (such as depression or mania) or who have experienced Internet violence (such as verbal attack or Internet lynching), to prevent the potential harm that interviews may bring.

The second is informed consent. In semi-structured interviews, informed consent is very important, which represents that the interview contents can be used reasonably and legally. To fulfil the duty of informed consent and prevent possible harm to the participants, each interviewee will be required to sign an *'Informed Consent Form'* before the interviews. Here is the proposed agreement:

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWS

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
Taking Part		
I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being interviewed and recorded through the Internet.		
I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the project at any time, and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to join.		
Use of the information I provide for this project only		
I understand my personal details such as gender, age, telephone number and address will not be disclosed to anyone outside the project.		
I understand that my words may be quoted in papers, reports, magazines, websites, and other research outputs.		
I understand that my identity will be anonymous in any report on the results of this study. This will be done by changing my name and covering up any interview details that might reveal my identity or the identity of the person I talk about.		

Name of participant………………………

Signature ………………………………… Date …………………………………

Name of researcher ………………………………

Signature ………………………………….

Date ………………………………

The third is the invasion of privacy. In semi-structured interviews, protecting the privacy of interviewees and not revealing their details is the primary ethical basis for academic research. Specifically, the names of influencers, proletarianized platform workers or fans who participated in the interviews will be removed and replaced by pseudonyms. In addition, when analysing details, the interviewees' phone numbers, addresses, and other personal information will be protected. When the interviews involve other people besides interviewees, the privacy and personal information of others will also be protected in this study. Therefore, in the final results, only the events and discourse related to the research will appear, except other private information, to avoid causing trouble.

5.3. Sample Selection

In 2014, developed by Tsinghua University, *GSData* first proposed the '*Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0*' evaluation model. Through the collection of Chinese Internet data, the '*OCI V2.0*' model is established to evaluate the transmissibility and influence of Internet celebrity groups.

To be specific, transmissibility is mainly used to evaluate the dissemination of content released by Internet celebrities on Weibo, WeChat, or other social media platforms. It is quantified by traffic data such as page views, forward rates, and the number of comments; Influence is used to evaluate the popularity and online

attention of Internet celebrities on major online platforms, mainly through evaluation of the number of fans, degree of social concern, and other indicators.

To select the most representative interviewees, I will refer to the ranking results of the '*Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0*' evaluation model of *GSData*, and combine the categories and development status of different Internet celebrities, thus adding 9 influencers (Internet celebrities with high *OCI* Index and popularity on Internet platforms), 9 proletarianized platform workers (Internet workers with low *OCI* index and no reputation), and 15 fans on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms to the interview list, to conduct a detailed analysis of their commodification, working conditions, everyday life, and identity construction through semi-structured interviews.

	Influencers	Proletarianized Platform Workers	Fans
Social Media Platforms	3	3	5
Short Video Sites	3	3	5
Live streaming Platforms	3	3	5

FIGURE 5.3 Sample Selection of Different Types of Interviewees

First, it is necessary to analyse the '*Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0*' evaluation model in detail. Here is the specific calculation formula of '*OCI V2.0*':

Dimension	Index	Weight (Wi)	Calibration (Ui)
Transmissibility (60%)	Weibo Communication Index (BCI)	35%	Ln (BCI+1)
	WeChat Communication Index (WCI)	25%	Ln (WCI+1)
Influence (40%)	Number of Web Searches (X1)	10%	Ln (X1+1)
	Number of News Searches (X2)	10%	Ln (100*X2+1)
	Number of Weibo Searches (X3)	10%	Ln (100*X2+1)
	Number of WeChat Searches (X4)	10%	Ln (100*X4+1)
OCI = 100 × ∑ (Wi×Ui)			

FIGURE 5.4 'Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0' Evaluation Model

1. *Weibo Communication Index (BCI)*:

The Activation (W1) and Propagation (W2) can reflect the transmissibility and effect of the Weibo account, which is used to calculate the Weibo Communication Index.

$W1 = 30\% \times \ln (B1 +1) + 70\% \times \ln (B2 +1)$

$W2 = 20\% \times \ln (B3 +1) + 20\% \times \ln (B4 +1) + 25\% \times \ln (B5 +1) + 25\% \times \ln (B6 +1) + 10\% \times \ln (B7 +1)$

$BCI = (20\% \times W1 +80\% \times W2) \times 160$
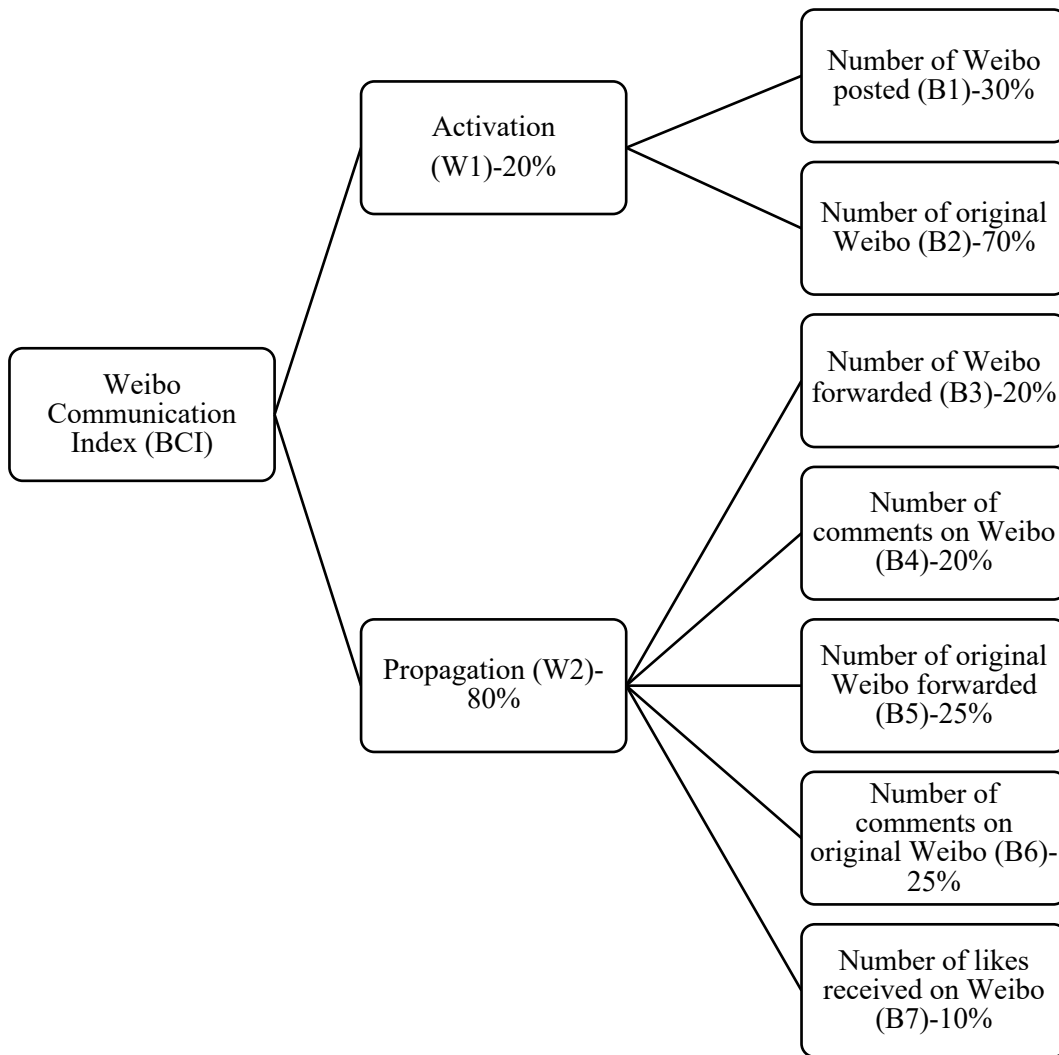
FIGURE 5.5 The Calculation Standard of BCI

2. *WeChat Communication Index (WCI)*:

WCI is comprehensively evaluated from four dimensions: The Overall Transmissibility (O), Average Transmissibility (A), Front-page Transmissibility (F) and Peak Transmissibility (P).

First Class Index	Second Class Index	Weight (Wi)	Calibration (Ui)
Overall Transmissibility (O)-30%	Number of daily readings (R)/d	85%	O = 85%*ln (R/d+1) +

	Number of daily views (V)/d	15%	15%*ln (10*V/d+1)
Average Transmissibility (A)-30%	Average number of readings per article R/n	85%	A = 85%*ln (R/n+1) + 15%*ln (10*V/n+1)
	Average number of views per article V/n	15%	
Front-page Transmissibility (F)-30%	Number of daily readings of front pages Rf/d	85%	F = 85%*ln (Rf/d+1) + 15%*ln (10*Vf/d+1)
	Number of daily views of front pages Vf/d	15%	
Peak Transmissibility (P)-10%	Maximum number of readings (Rmax)	85%	P = 85%*ln (Rmax+1) + 15%*ln (10*Vmax+1)
	Maximum number of views (Vmax)	15%	
WCI = {30%*[85%*ln (R/d+1) + 15%*ln (10*V/d+1)] + 30%*[85%*ln (R/n+1) + 15%*ln (10*V/n+1)] + 30%*[85%*ln (Rf/d+1) + 15%*ln (10*Vf/d+1)] + 10%*[85%*ln (Rmax+1) + 15%*ln (10*Vmax+1)]} ^{2}*10			

FIGURE 5.6 The Calculation Standard of WCI

R: The total number of readings of articles during the evaluation period.

Z: The total number of views of articles during the evaluation period.

d: Days included in the evaluation period (7 days per week, 30 days per month, 365 days per year, or real days for other customized periods).

n: The number of articles posted by WeChat accounts during the evaluation period.

Rf: The total number of readings of front pages posted by WeChat accounts during the evaluation period.

Vf: The total number of views of front pages posted by WeChat accounts during the evaluation period.

Rmax: The maximum number of readings of articles posted by WeChat accounts during the evaluation period.

Vmax: The maximum number of views of articles posted by WeChat accounts during the evaluation period.

3. *Number of Web Searches (X1)*: The number of Internet celebrity-related (Baidu) web searches during the T period.

4. *Number of News Searches (X2)*: The number of Internet celebrity related (Baidu) news searches during the T period.

5. *Number of Weibo Searches (X3)*: The number of Internet celebrity-related Weibo discussions/searches during the T period.

6. *Number of WeChat Searches (X4)*: The number of Internet celebrity-related WeChat articles (collected on *www.sogou.com*) searched during the T period.

(T = One Week)

Based on the '*Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0*' evaluation model, *GSData* compiled the list of Chinese Internet celebrities in June 2019. In the list below, I've captured the top 50 Internet celebrities in China. Moreover, it is worth noting that the *OCI* Index here has a maximum of 600 and a minimum of 0:

Ranking	Internet Celebrity	Number of Fans	Transmissibility	Influence	Type	OCI
1	Cha Ping	2.03m	426.18	98.83	IT	525.02
2	Lei Jun	21.97m	421.77	100.30	Business	522.07
3	Si Xiang Ju Jiao	32.02m	442.08	77.84	Literary Arts	519.92

4	Zhan Hao	4.16m	428.26	80.39	Finance & Economics	508.66
5	Luo Yong Hao	16.39m	412.35	95.11	Business	507.46
6	Ri Shi Ji	18.12m	431.51	71.71	Desserts & Cate	503.22
7	Wu Zhi Hong	6.9m	423.62	74.96	Health Resources	498.58
8	Su Qun	9.53m	421.83	69.09	Sports	490.92
9	He Kai Wen	8.55m	430.67	59.94	Education	490.61
10	Hao Qi Bo Shi	3.07m	420.91	69.09	Punster	490.00
11	Chen Zong He Xian Sheng	685k	416.20	71.71	Finance & Economics	487.91
12	Tong Dao Da Shu	18.09m	434.42	53.03	Anime & Constellation	487.45
13	Feng Tang	9.66m	398.57	87.64	Literary Art	482.92
14	Kai Zi	630k	404.32	79.73	Moods & Psychology	484.04
15	Li Bo Qing	3.9m	407.96	74.96	Literary Art	482.92
16	Qing Yin	4.89m	404.98	77.84	Moods & Psychology	482.81
17	Li Kai Fu	51.91m	400.13	81.61	Business	481.74
18	Alex Da Shu	16.71m	428.63	53.03	Anime & Constellation	481.67
19	Ye Tan	3.06m	421.22	59.94	Finance & Economics	481.16
20	Hui Yi Zhuan Yong Xiao Ma Jia	40.24m	434.24	46.15	Punster	480.39
21	Gong Wen Xiang	4.35m	400.97	77.84	IT	478.81

22	Zhi Hu Da Shu	7.46m	432.40	46.15	Moods & Psychology	478.55
23	Zhang Zhao Zhong	12.36m	424.98	53.03	Media & Politics	478.02
24	Lu Hui Ming	680k	410.99	65.53	Finance & Economics	476.52
25	Gogoboi	9.82m	429.47	46.15	Fashion & Beauty	475.62
26	Jin Cuo Dao	320k	391.11	82.16	IT	473.27
27	Zhang De Fen	1.07m	419.93	53.03	Literary Art	472.96
28	Yu Jia	10.4m	408.45	63.99	Sports	472.43
29	Fan Ku Cha Zhen Di	2.38m	425.98	46.15	Literary Art	472.13
30	Tang Shi Zeng	3.74m	405.64	65.53	Literary Art	471.17
31	Xuan Ke Jiong	1.47m	416.55	53.03	Media & Politics	469.59
32	Pan Xing Zhi	10k	388.15	81.02	Literary Art	469.17
33	Lu Qi	27.11m	421.80	46.15	Moods & Psychology	467.95
34	Yan Qiang	4.52m	394.54	68.04	Sports	462.58
35	Ai Ge Chi Bao Le	1.68m	415.01	46.15	Desserts & Cate	461.16
36	Wu Xiao Bo Ping Dao	1.86m	407.97	53.03	Finance & Economics	461.00
37	Hu Xin Shu	420k	413.49	46.15	Moods & Psychology	459.64
38	Wen er	790k	405.65	53.03	Entertainment	458.68
39	Quan Zhang Gui	4.07m	405.33	53.03	Entertainment	458.36

40	Liu Yi Nan	2.32m	411.02	46.15	Education	457.17
41	Ji Lian Mei Yao Shi	2.14m	409.71	46.15	Health Resources	455.86
42	Wu Man Lan Jiang	510k	386.53	66.86	Humanities	453.38
43	Qiu Ye	840k	405.36	46.15	Education	451.51
44	Da Ren Jun Jun	700k	390.05	59.94	TV Series	449.99
45	Chen Da Ka	580k	402.65	46.15	Fashion & Beauty	448.80
46	Gong Xiao Ming Yi Sheng	4.31m	394.72	53.03	Health Resources	447.76
47	Gu Ye	1.34m	400.43	46.15	Design	446.58
48	Ba Gong Shu Shu	3.16m	400.13	46.15	Pet	446.28
49	Kong Kong Dao Ren	830k	397.70	46.15	Finance & Economics	443.85
50	Yang Jian Guo	2.48m	376.90	63.99	Business	440.88

FIGURE 5.7 The Top 50 Chinese Internet Celebrities in June 2019

It should be noted that the Internet data is updated every second, so the current ranking of Internet celebrities is constantly changing. In this study, big data analytics is only an auxiliary tool. Through the integration and calculation of a large number of Internet celebrity data, it helps me choose the best interview samples. From the figure above, we can find that the top 50 Internet celebrities in the *OCI* index are in different fields. However, based on the contents they post on different platforms, these Internet celebrities are essentially divided into three categories: fashion-based Internet celebrities who mainly post texts and photos on social media platforms, video-based Internet celebrities who mainly post short

videos on video sites, and live-based Internet celebrities who mainly post livestreams on live streaming platforms.

Considering that 9 influencers from different platforms are required in the semi-structured interviews, I will first contact the top 50 Internet celebrities with high *OCI* index through Sina Weibo's chat tool (a tool that can send private messages to people without adding friends). If less than 9 influencers agree to be interviewed, I will expand the list of Internet celebrities to 100 or 150 and send interview invitations to more influencers until the number of interviewees is met. Fortunately, I manage to get in touch with 9 of the top 50 influencers who are willing to be interviewed to make sure the research go ahead.

According to the *'Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0'* evaluation model, we can select the most suitable samples of influencers. However, due to the low level of transmissibility and influence, we need to adopt another sample selection method for proletarianized platform workers.

Coincidentally, I once worked for Ruhnn, the largest Internet celebrity incubator and marketing company in Hangzhou, China. As the most famous talent agency in China, Ruhnn manages more than 2,000 Internet celebrities and serves more than 500 well-known brands in China and abroad. In 2019, Ruhnn successfully made its IPO on Nasdaq and became the first Internet celebrity company in China to list in the United States. There are some popular influencers in this company but also a lot of proletarianized platform workers who are still in the training stage. To further understand the current living situation of this group, I will take advantage of my position convenience and working relationship to contact the HR manager of Ruhnn for the employees' contact information and choose those willing to communicate among these groups according to different platforms.

As for the sample selection of fans, I will select the most representative fans according to different platforms. For fans of social media platforms, I will use the 'Stan' function of Sina Weibo. The special feature of this function is that when fans interact with Internet celebrities for 5 days or more in the last 30 days, including forwarding and commenting on Weibo, making speeches in the fan groups, and signing hashtag topics, they will be identified as the 'Stan' of this Internet celebrity. Accordingly, I will check the fans labelled with 'Stan' from the fans list according to the selected Internet celebrities and choose the most suitable samples of fans for interviews based on their interaction.

For fans of short video sites, I will mainly rely on Tik Tok, the most popular short video platform in China, as the basis for sample selection. When we open the homepage of the video-based Internet celebrities on Tik Tok, we can see the total number of fans, as well as their personal information, locations, and homepages. By comparing the total number of comments and interaction frequency of different fans, the most representative interviewees can be selected; For fans of live streaming platforms, this study will select samples with the help of Xiaohulu, a platform dedicated to analysing live streaming data. Xiaohulu has a special feature that searches for any live-based Internet celebrity to get a list of his or her followers on the live streaming platforms. The list is based on the total amount of virtual gifts tipped by fans, with the most loyal fans topping the list. Therefore, we can search specific live-based Internet celebrities to find the most suitable interviewees in the list of fans.

5.4. Operationalization

The operationalization of semi-structured interviews is not guided by a pre-existing schedule. On most occasions, interviewers use an interview guide that

reminds them of the topics they want to cover while giving respondents considerable latitude over what they want to say and how they say it. In consideration of these, this research would start with some general questions about Internet celebrities, such as the age, educational background, family information etc., and the topics are activated only to ensure that everything is covered.

Moreover, it should be noted that there are three kinds of interviewees: influencers, proletarianized platform workers and fans. Each of them has different characteristics, so the interview guides can be both different. The following is the interview guide for influencers:

Research Aspects	Question Classification	Interview Questions
Working Conditions (RQ2)	Introductory Questions	How long have you been active on social media platforms?
		What social media platforms are you primarily active on?
		What motivated you to start this kind of work?
	Work Experiences	How does your typical working day look like?
		What are your main tasks and responsibilities?
		How much time do you spend at work every day?
		Apart from work, what do you mainly do in your daily life?
		How do you feel about work-life balance in this industry? Can you talk about your own experience?

		Do you feel that sometimes it is difficult to combine work as an influencer with private and family lives? If so, can you give me examples? Why do you think the situation is like that?
		Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation?
		Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it?
		What are the best aspects of your work? Can you give a concrete example?
		Can you tell me about a work situation that you found really difficult? What did you do in this situation?
Commodification (RQ1)	Work Activity	How long does it usually take you to create a new original work that you post on your social media profile(s)?
		Normally, where do the ideas for your videos, images, texts, etc. come from? Can you give me an example?
		Can you give me an example of where you have been paid for creating certain content or promoting certain goods? How frequently do such promotions take place?

		In such cases, do you feel that you have full control of the creative process or not? Can you give me a concrete example?	
		Have there been cases where you felt you were not really in control of the creative process? If so, can you talk a bit more about an example? How did you feel about not having full control of this process?	
		Have you ever paid for increasing your visibility and reputation on social media platforms? If so, can you give me a concrete example?	
		Why do you think some influencers pay for increasing their reputation?	
		Do you think that influencers experience competition with others as a problem and concern? If so, why? How do you feel about the competition with other influencers?	
	Labour Spaces	Do you have your own company or are you working for a talent agency?	
		Self-employed	What advantages and disadvantages do you see of having your own company and being self-employed?
		Employed	What advantages and disadvantages do you see of working for a talent agency?

		How is it decided what work and how much work you do per week? And who assess the quality of the work? And how is this done?
		Are there any assistants who help you? Can you rely on help from others? In what respects? If yes, who decides that you can use certain people or resources as help?
	Income, Payment, Revenues	What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they?
		Do you have your own brand, product or online store? Tell me about how you started and are running your business.
		Self-employed	According to the agreements you make with clients, how much do you earn on average from one project? Can you maybe show me an example and talk about it?
		Employed	According to the agreement between the talent agency and you, what percentage of the profits or revenues will you receive when you complete one project?
		Can you tell me how much money you earn on average per month?
		Self-employed	[If the influencer has his own company that employs others]: How much money do you typically make in total from one project?

			And how much of it are the costs for your employees? How much remains for you? How much do your employees earn on average per month and for what kind of activities? Do you think their remuneration is justified?
			[If the influencer works as a one-person company]: Do you feel the remuneration you typically get for one project is rather fair or rather unfair? Why?
		Employed	Do you feel the remuneration is rather fair or rather unfair? Why?
Everyday Life (RQ3)	Psychological Changes	What do you think has changed you most since you started this kind of work? How have you adapted to these changes?	
		What do your family members or friends think about this kind of work?	
	Gender Prejudices	As a woman/man, do you think you have certain disadvantages and/or advantages in this industry? If yes, in what respects? Can you give me some examples?	
		Do you think that certain gender prejudices exist in the influencer industry? If yes, can you give me some examples? Why do you think these prejudices exist? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on those working in the	

| | | industry? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on fans? |
| | | [probe into topics such as women and beauty standards, men and computer games (shooter games, car racing, etc.), etc.] |

FIGURE 5.8 Interview Guide for Influencers

Influencers are high-popularity, high-income, and high-status groups who have a large fan base and can often become KOLs (key opinion leaders) in public events. Therefore, during the interviews with influencers, I would ask questions and guide them from the aspects of work experiences, revenues, and work activity. Considering the work intensity, management ability, and business status of influencers, I will focus on guiding interviewees to talk about their commodified experiences and obtain more cases and details through the discussion.

Research Aspects	Question Classification	Interview Questions
Working Conditions (RQ2)	Introductory Questions	How long have you been active on social media platforms?
		What social media platforms are you primarily active on?
		What motivated you to start this kind of work?
	Work Experiences	How does your typical working day look like?
		What are your main tasks and responsibilities?
		How much time do you spend at work every day?
		Apart from work, what do you mainly do in your daily life?

		How do you feel about work-life balance in this industry? Can you talk about your own experience?
		Do you feel that sometimes it is difficult to combine work as an influencer with private and family lives? If so, can you give me examples? Why do you think the situation is like that?
		Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation?
		Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it?
		What are the best aspects of your work? Can you give a concrete example?
		What are the worst aspects of your work? Can you give a concrete example?
Commodification (RQ1)	Work Activity	How long does it usually take you to create a new original work that you post on your social media profile(s)?
		Normally, where do the ideas for your videos, images, texts, etc. come from? Can you give me an example?
		Can you give me an example of where you have been paid for creating certain content or

		promoting certain goods? How frequently do such promotions take place?
		In such cases, do you feel that you have full control of the creative process or not? Can you give me a concrete example?
		Have there been cases where you felt you were not really in control of the creative process? If so, can you talk a bit more about an example? How did you feel about not having full control of this process?
		Have you ever paid for increasing your visibility and reputation on social media platforms? If so, can you give me a concrete example?
		Why do you think some ordinary platform workers pay for increasing their reputation?
		Do you think that ordinary platform workers experience competition with others as a problem and concern? If so, why? How do you feel about the competition with other proletarianized platform workers?
	Labour Spaces	Are you working for a talent agency? What advantages and disadvantages do you see of working for a talent agency?
		How is it decided what work and how much work you do per week? And who assess the quality of the work? And how is this done? [Note: questions of management, control, available resources, etc.]

		Are there any assistants who help you? Can you rely on help from others? In what respects? If yes, who decides that you can use certain people or resources as help?
	Income, Payment, Revenues	What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they?
		Do you have your own brand, product or online store? Tell me about how you started and are running your business.
		According to the agreement between the talent agency and you, what percentage of the profits or revenues will you receive when you complete one project?
		Can you tell me how much money you earn on average per month?
		Do you feel the remuneration is rather fair or rather unfair? Why?
Everyday Life (RQ3)	Psychological Changes	What do you think has changed you most since you started this kind of work? How have you adapted to these changes?
		What do your family members or friends think about this kind of work?
	Gender Prejudices	As a woman/man, do you think you have certain disadvantages and/or advantages in this industry? If yes, in what respects? Can you give me some examples?
		Do you think that certain gender prejudices exist in the influencer industry? If yes, can you give

		me some examples? Why do you think these prejudices exist? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on those working in the industry? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on fans? [probe into topics such as women and beauty standards, men and computer games (shooter games, car racing, etc.), etc.]

FIGURE 5.9 Interview Guide for Proletarianized Platform Workers

Unlike influencers, proletarianized platform workers are living at the bottom of the industry. They have few fans, low incomes and are sometimes exploited by their employers. Due to the gap between industrial status, proletarianized platform workers' labour spaces, income level, working intensity, and fan interaction are always at a low level. As a result, they have to do multiple jobs to survive. During the interviews, I will mainly guide interviewees to talk about their personal experiences in their major and part-time jobs, especially the experiences of being oppressed or treated unfairly, and summarize the causes and processes of the exploitation of digital labours.

Research Aspects	Question Classification	Interview Questions
Identity Construction (RQ4)	Introductory Questions	How long have you been active on social media platforms?
		What social media platforms are you primarily active on?

		Who is the Internet celebrity that you are most fond of? When did you start to become a fan of him or her? And why?
		What do you particularly like about this Internet celebrity?
	Role Models	Are some Internet celebrities something like role models for you? Why and in what respects?
		Do you think some fans aspire to also become Internet celebrities? If so, why and what do these fans then do to try to become Internet celebrities themselves? Have you experienced or heard of concrete examples?
		Do you think the hopes and dreams of such fans to become famous can mostly be realised or not? Why respectively why not? Have you heard of any concrete examples?
	Industry Impacts	Has being a fan of Internet celebrities changed your life? In what respects? Can you give me an example?
		We know from academic studies and news reports that some people think that Internet celebrities do not always look like everyday people but look and behave in a special way. Do you agree or rather not? Why respectively why not?
		Some even think that this industry reinforces prejudices of how young people should ideally look like and behave. Do you think that this industry can have any negative effects on the lives

		of fans? If so, in what respects? Have you heard of concrete examples?
		There have been stories about Internet celebrities and Internet fans who have suffered from eating disorders and mental health problems. Have you heard about such stories too and can you talk more about it? Have there been such cases that you directly experienced yourself? If so, can you tell me more about it?
	Commodification	Have you ever spent money for an Internet celebrity (virtual gifts, event tickets, etc.)? Can you talk about it in detail? What do you think about fans paying for Internet celebrities?
		Do you think that some fans spend lots of their money or too much money on Internet celebrities? If so, why do you think that's the case? Do you think this can have negative consequences? If yes, which ones? Have you heard of any particular cases you can talk about?
		Many Internet celebrities are paid for by companies to promote certain products. From your experience, is it always clear whether a certain video, image, text or other posting contains an advertisement or not? Can you give or show me certain examples?
		I will now show you a video by Chinese food blogger Ms Yeah.

		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE What's your first impression and opinion of this video? Do you think there is some form of advertising in it or not? Ms Yeah was paid by company SVW for doing this video and it contains hidden ads for the product New Lavida that is produced and sold by company SVW. What do you think about this fact? How do you feel about cases where a posting is an advertisement for which the Internet celebrity is paid for by a company for advertising products and this is not transparent to fans like you?
		Do you think that such advertisements should always be labelled or not? And if yes, how should such labelling look like?
	Fan Activities	What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day?
		There are stories of fans who spend quite a lot of time per week on fan activities. Why do you think that is the case? Do you think there can be negative consequences on these fans' lives and health? If so, in what respects?
		Do you sometimes feel that you spend too much time on these activities? If so, why? If not, why not? Do you sometimes feel it would be better to spend your time differently? If so, why? If not, why not?

		Overall, would you say being a fan of Internet celebrities has had more positive than negative consequences on your life or more negative than positive consequences? Or something different? Can you give me some examples of how your life has changed?

FIGURE 5.10 Interview Guide for Fans

Fans are the main force to enhance the value of Internet celebrities and the main consumers to promote the growth of the Internet economy. Interviewing fans can observe the development status of the Internet celebrity market from another perspective and can also see the business operation mode of Internet celebrities. Therefore, by freely discussing their experiences, fans will be guided to uncover the inner workings and deep impacts of the industry, from which we can learn how Internet celebrities turn fan attraction into economic benefits.

5.5. Data Collection

This research would provide one of the main arenas in which semi-structured interview is considered as the main data collection method. While a structured interview has a rigorous set of questions that does not allow one to divert, a semi-structured interview is open, allowing new ideas to be brought up during the interviews as a result of what the interviewee says.

To ensure the operability and pertinence of the interviews, I designed different interview methods according to the characteristics of each group of interviewees. The following is the specific method for each type of interviewee:
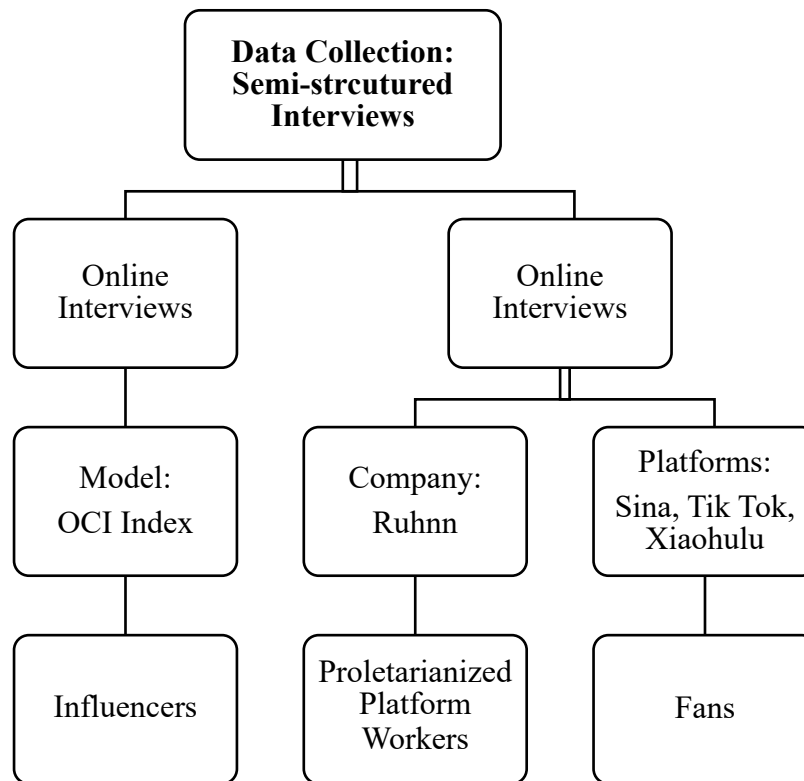
FIGURE 5.11 Semi-structured Interviews for Different Interviewees

In this study, social media platforms give Internet celebrities the ability to enhance their appearance and attract fans. With the help of various Internet tools, such as shooting props and photo beautification tools, Internet celebrities hide their appearance defects and show their perfect side in front of their fans. These Internet beautification technologies have increased the gap between the virtual and the real, and because of this, few Internet celebrities, especially influencers, are willing to interact with others in the real world. In addition, there are no geographical restrictions on the work of Internet celebrities. Influencers, for example, live in a wide range of areas, and they have to travel from place to place due to frequent commercial activities, which leads to the uncertainty of interview locations.

Taking all these into account, Internet celebrities can be considered with the characteristics of anonymity and non-publicity on social media platforms, which determines the semi-structured interviews for influencers and proletarianized

platform workers will be conducted based on the Internet. As for fans, given that they live in widely different geographical areas, fans who meet the criteria for sample selection will also be invited for interviews online, to ensure the smooth progress of the research.

Specifically, according to the interview guides, I will ask questions with the help of chat software commonly used in China, such as QQ, WeChat, and Sina Weibo, to ensure that the interviews are properly conducted. During the interviews, this study will give priority to using the video function in the chat software, to fully capture the subtle reactions of each interviewee and achieve the interview effect similar to the face-to-face interviews.

5.6. Data Analysis

In the process of data analysis, one of the main difficulties of semi-structured interviews is that it relies on texts in the form of interview records to generate a large and cumbersome database, which often confuses researchers when conducting discourse analysis. To solve this problem, thematic analysis emerged.

The thematic analysis emphasizes the identification, analysis, and interpretation of themes through qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This method can be used to organize qualitative data and theoretically explain the meaning of discourse. By exploring the views, behaviour, and practices of interviewees, researchers can explore explicit and implicit meanings in discourse. Thematic analysis is based on different philosophical and conceptual assumptions. Its main supporters, Braun Virginia and Clarke Victoria proposed the reflexive thematic analysis method, which is widely used in qualitative data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The reflexive thematic analysis method is a flexible coding process. During the analysis, individual code is not fixed but can evolve and merge, and eventually be promoted to the themes. When similar code is gathered around a central concept or idea, a theme with a common meaning emerges. For Braun and Clarke, there is a clear distinction between theme and code: a code represents one (or more) insights about data, while a theme contains a large number of insights organized around a central concept or idea. A theme is considered as the result of encoding, and the code is a label on the specific data that makes up the theme (Braun & Clarke, 2013).
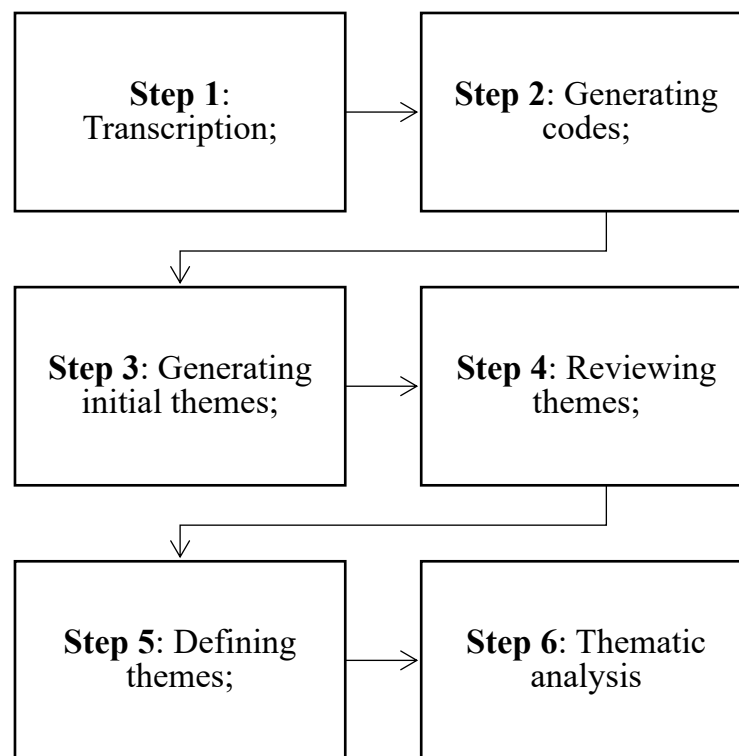
FIGURE 5.12 Specific Steps for Thematic Analysis

Combined with the characteristics of this research, the process of analysis and interpretation can be divided into six stages: transcription, generating codes, generating initial themes, reviewing themes, defining themes, and thematic analysis.

Transcription is the first step of thematic analysis. We need to transcribe the obtained interview records into readable texts to facilitate coding. In the process of transcribing, we can deepen our understanding of the interviewees and even supplement the information we observed during the interviews that cannot be reflected in the scene (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Considering that the interview model of this study is Internet interviews based on social media platforms, in addition to the ordinary discourse texts obtained from the interviews, we should also focus on the special texts accompanying the discourse, such as a meme, sticker, emoji, emoticon, etc., to ensure accurate recording of the emotional expression of interviewees.

As the second step of analysis and interpretation, coding is the most core and important. Coding is the process by which we further decompose the original material step by step. That is, we divide the transcribed texts into small, operable units, such as words, phrases, or sentences, and then mark them as necessary (Saldana, 2009). Coding is not a linear process, but a cyclic process. In this process, code is added, subtracted, combined, or segmented for potential meaning to be developed and refined (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). It should be noted that the interviews in this study involve sensitive topics such as exploitation and class antagonism. Therefore, in the process of coding, we should not only identify the explicit meaning of the original text but also explore the implicit meaning of the interviewees' discourse, to realize the inclusiveness and integrity of the code.

After the coding process, the next step is to generate the initial themes. By this stage, we already have different types of code, and the code on the same topic can be grouped to form a preliminary theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The difference between a theme and code is that a theme is made up of ideas and descriptions in

the code, which is not only an extension of the meaning in the code but also an abstraction of the core idea (Saldana, 2009). Therefore, in the process of summarizing themes, firstly we need to make a preliminary list of candidate themes. This list may contain repeated ideas, similar contents, colloquial expressions, and other non-academic and imprecise summation of discourse, which can be refined at a later stage by gradually narrowing the scope of the themes.

The process of reviewing the themes is a self-examination of the original themes. The purpose of this step is to ensure that the analysis does not deviate from the data and to provide a convincing statistical statement relevant to the research questions (Guest & MacQueen & Namey, 2012). In this stage, the initial themes will be refined, reviewed, and revised at a higher level. Specifically, it will include two aspects: reviewing the themes against the coded data and reviewing the themes against the whole dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2013). In the first area, when there is a lot of overlap between themes, we need to refine and simplify the contents to create cohesive, mutually exclusive themes; In the second aspect, if the thematic meaning of the whole dataset deviates from the research questions, it may be deleted to ensure the consistency of research direction.

After generating and reviewing the themes, we should move on to defining the themes. At this stage, we need to identify the nature of the themes and further discover the depth of the themes. As for the naming of the themes, we need to make inferences according to the research questions and logic, so that the finally defined themes can be connected to tell a complete research process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). From the previous steps, we may have concluded that there are different levels of themes, both core themes and sub-themes. We should not only connect the narrative content of each theme but also highlight the primary aspects.

Through the auxiliary narration of sub-themes, we can fully express the meaning of the core themes, to improve the research results.

Finally, we come to the step of thematic analysis. The goal of this stage is to convince the readers of the validity and value of the data. Thematic analysis should be written with sufficient evidence that the themes are relevant to the dataset, and a clear, concise, and logical statement is important for the readers to understand the final report (Braun & Clarke, 2013). When it comes to the operation, we need to analyse the final defined themes one by one and gradually explore the logical relationship between themes. At the same time, we need to constantly reflect and check against the original interview samples to confirm whether the final description is true and accurate (Guest & MacQueen & Namey, 2012). By adjusting the priority and definition of the themes, the research results will be the best response to the research questions.

5.7. Conclusion

Through the discussion of methodology in this chapter, we can get a clear research framework for in-depth observation, analysis, and explanation of Internet celebrities in China: questions → research ethics → sample selection → operationalization → data collection → data analysis → findings. With the help of the most advanced Internet technology and social media software, each step in this study will be tailored to the characteristics of Chinese Internet celebrities, to further clarify the research direction and obtain effective results.

The choice of research methods in this framework depends on the establishment of research questions. According to the research question—the political economy of Chinese Internet celebrities, will mainly rely on the research method of semi-structured interviews. Considering that each research method has its

corresponding research steps, I will follow the five stages of research ethics, sample selection, operationalization, data collection, and data analysis, to carefully explain the research process of this study.

In the first part, we should pay attention to the ethical issues that may occur in the research. Combined with Diener and Crandall's ethical principles and the characteristics of the Internet, we need to focus on three aspects: the risk of harm, informed consent, and invasion of privacy. To some extent, Online interviews improve the anonymity of data collection and avoid the disclosure of real information, which will reduce the harm to interviewees. To fulfil the duty of informed consent and prevent possible harm to the participants, each interviewee will be required to sign an *'Informed Consent Form'* before the interviews. At the same time, the use of comments by interviewees is limited to the information they agree to publish or post on public platforms, and for content related to private information, specific measures will be taken to protect it from disclosure.

When it comes to the sample selection process of semi-structured interviews, I will choose the '*Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0*' evaluation model developed by *GSData* for preliminary screening according to the characteristics of Internet celebrities in China. Through the statistics of transmissibility and influence of Chinese Internet celebrities on Weibo, WeChat, and other social media platforms, the top 50 Chinese Internet celebrities in June 2019 were calculated, which helps me choose the best interview samples of influencers.

The sample selection of proletarianized platform workers will mainly rely on Ruhnn, the largest Internet celebrity company in China. To choose the best samples, I will take advantage of my working relationship and choose those willing to communicate according to different platforms. As for the sample

selection of fans, I will select fans active on different platforms from Sina Weibo, Tik Tok, and Xiaohulu according to the selected Internet celebrities and choose the most suitable samples of fans for interviews based on their interactions. On this basis, considering the different types of Internet celebrities in China, 9 influencers and 9 proletarianized platform workers as well as 15 fans on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms would be added to the interview list, to ensure the representativeness and feasibility of the sample.

When the operationalization process begins, I will make interview guides in advance to ensure the smooth execution of the interviews. Due to the different characteristics and status of interviewees, three interview guides will be set to meet different interview requirements.

For example, when interviewing influencers, the process of commodification will be the core of the research. Therefore, I will focus on guiding interviewees to talk about their commodified experiences by sharing specific cases and details; During the interviews with proletarianized platform workers, I will guide the interviewees to talk about their experiences in companies or talent agencies to find out the reasons why digital labours are exploited and oppressed; While conducting interviews with fans, the psychological impacts and activity experiences will be the key points. Through free discussion of topics, I will mainly guide fans to share their experiences of interacting and communicating with Internet celebrities, to uncover the inner workings and deep impacts of the Internet celebrity industry.

In the data collection process of semi-structured interviews, considering the anonymity, geographical restrictions, and the lack of willingness of the Internet celebrities and fans to accept face-to-face interviews, this research will conduct interviews with the help of chat software commonly used in China, to ensure that

the interviews are properly conducted. During the interviews, this study will give priority to using the video function in the chat software, to fully capture the subtle reactions of each interviewee and achieve the interview effect similar to the face-to-face interviews.

After the data collection, the following is the data analysis process. Semi-structured interviews will bring a large and cumbersome database. Therefore, thematic analysis is needed. The thematic analysis emphasizes the identification, analysis, and interpretation of themes through qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). By exploring the views, behaviour, and practices of interviewees, researchers can explore explicit and implicit meanings in discourse. Combined with the characteristics of this research, the process of analysis and interpretation can be divided into six stages: transcription, generating codes, generating initial themes, reviewing themes, defining themes, and thematic analysis. Through dividing social media discourse into different themes based on the coding results, this research will focus on analysing the culture and ideology of social media discourse in the context according to different themes, to study the role of social media discourse in social cognition and social communication of Internet celebrities.

In conclusion, under the research framework with clear steps and rigorous logic, this research will adopt the method of semi-structured interviews according to the pattern of '*observation → analysis → explanation*'. Through the optimal sample selection, the most representative groups in the Internet celebrity industry will be selected for in-depth analysis, which can ultimately summarize the political economy of Internet celebrities in China.

CHAPTER SIX

Overview of China's Internet Celebrity Industry

6.1. Introduction

Internet celebrities in China, usually called 'Wang Hong' in Chinese slang, refer to those who become famous on the Internet. They may catch people's eyes because of certain events or behaviour and attract followers and fans on social platforms. Through the ups and downs of different social platforms—from BBS to online forums, social networks to short video sites, video streaming platforms and now live streaming services—the Internet allows ordinary people to wrest control of fame from social media, creating Internet celebrities with the click of a mouse.

"Celebrity culture occupies public space and is built and maintained for public consumption by public relations and media specialists" (Rojek 2012a, 10). As the tools of communication, cognition, and cooperation, social media in China poses new opportunities for Internet celebrities. Meanwhile, it is also an object where the influence on the digital labour and public sphere is manifested. Under the influence of neoliberalism, the emergence of Internet celebrities in China has greatly intensified the historical trend that boundaries between play and labour, work time and leisure time, production and consumption, public and private life tend to blur (Fuchs, 2014a).

Although some observers argue that Internet celebrities in China advance participatory culture, the phenomenon advances monetarization, commodification, a colonised networked public sphere that operates as a sphere of culture consumption, and potentials for the overaccumulation of capital, the overproduction of commodities, and the exploitation of labour-power. Considering

that political economy is a major perspective in communication and media research that is suited for studying processes of commodification and their impacts on society, it is necessary to combine critical theory and empirical social research methods to study Internet celebrities in China.

Driven by new media technology, Chinese Internet celebrities in the new era continue to develop their potential commercial value, thus broadening the channels of diversified capital accumulation. At present, there are four main bodies in China's Internet celebrity industry: organizers (talent/MCN agencies), producers (Internet celebrities), disseminators (e-commerce/social platforms), and consumers (fans). In the political economy of communication with Chinese characteristics, these subjects follow the industrial chain of '*production* → *dissemination* → *consumption*', and realize capital circulation and accumulation under the special political, economic, and cultural conditions of China. It can be said that China's Internet celebrity industry is an operating model in which Internet celebrities gather popularity through targeted marketing and content promotion, and eventually convert audiences into purchasing power relying on their huge fan base.

Nowadays, China's Internet celebrity industry has three main characteristics: commodification, diversification and specialization (Huang, Zheng & Liu, 2018). Commodification is reflected in the market chain of Internet celebrities in China. To build an IP brand and enhance business value, Chinese Internet celebrities have gradually developed from individual operation to team operation. With large-scale operations, talent/MCN agencies organize Internet celebrities to produce commodities and sell them to fans through e-commerce/social platforms; Diversification is reflected in the different types of Internet celebrities in China. According to their advantages, Chinese Internet celebrities are engaged in

increasingly diversified development directions. Their identities are no longer limited to age, occupation, and status, but show the characteristics of multi-level and wide-field; Specialization is reflected in the professional level of Internet celebrities in China. To maximize their economic benefits, Chinese Internet celebrity has gradually emerged as a profession in the labour market, which requires professional knowledge and cultural attributes, to meet the needs of fans with high-quality and creative content.

Therefore, to better interpret the characteristics of China's Internet celebrity industry, starting from the development history of Internet celebrities in China, this chapter will conduct an in-depth analysis of the four main bodies: organizers (talent/MCN agencies), producers (Internet celebrities), disseminators (e-commerce/social platforms), and consumers (fans) respectively through detailed interpretation of data from authoritative reports. With the combination of data and analysis, the development status of China's Internet celebrity market will be fully presented, which will also pave the way for the following chapters on the analysis of interview results.

6.2. Development of Internet Celebrities in China

In 1994, with the connectivity of the first 64K international dedicated line, China's Internet era officially arrived, and Internet celebrities emerged (Ao, 2016). From texts to pictures, videos, and livestreams, the rapid development of Internet information technology has brought about the evolution of Internet celebrities in China, which can be summarized into four stages: the age of text, the age of picture, the age of symbol and the age of new media.

In the text era, with the emergence of BBS and literature websites in the 1990s, early Chinese Internet celebrities, known as 'text celebrities', became popular on

the Internet by writing online novels. In 1997, William Zhu, a Chinese American, founded the literature website 'Under the Banyan Tree', and since then, many literature lovers had a platform to share their works. In 1998, Taiwan writer JHT published his first novel *Flyin' Dance* on BBS, which gained a large number of fans. Inspired by JHT, writers such as Murong Xuecun and Annie Baby became popular on Internet platforms with their online novels and were regarded as the first group of Internet celebrities in China. At that time, most of the Chinese Internet celebrities took their anonymous Internet IDs as their identity marks and entered the major platforms as network writers. They consolidated their fan base through fan meetings, book signings, and other online/offline activities, which set off the upsurge of Chinese online literature.

After the 21st century, China's Internet speed had greatly improved. In the age of picture, a large number of mischievous and entertaining pictures began to enter the public's vision. In 2004, photos of Sister Furong's exaggerated actions went viral on the BBS of Tsinghua and Peking Universities, bringing a powerful entertainment attribute that redefined the concept of Chinese Internet celebrity. Subsequently, Xiao Yueyue, BMW Girl, and other Internet celebrities with vulgar and money worship as the main form of expression gradually appeared. They made a name for themselves by breaking conventions, creating visual impact, and subverting mainstream values, which can be used for commercial promotion. Different from the identity of writers in the text era, Chinese Internet celebrities at this stage tended to be popular and personalized by uploading their pictures on the Internet, known as 'picture celebrities', and began to ferment on the Internet with the help of network promoters.

2009 was a year of rapid growth for China's mobile Internet. In 2009, the advent of Sina Weibo gave ordinary people a chance to participate in the discussion. In

the symbol era, social media platforms had brought unprecedented changes to the Internet celebrity industry in China. While Sina Weibo provided a new arena for Chinese Internet celebrities, the rise of a large number of 'Big V's (short for 'verified') had disrupted the traditional pattern of the Chinese Internet industry. Distinguished by unique symbols and labels, Chinese Internet celebrities, known as 'symbol celebrities' had attracted a large number of followers and become an important force in the digital economy. Active in politics, education, fashion, technology and other fields, these 'Big V's, such as Wang Sicong and Zuo Yeben, attracted a large number of fans and maximized economic benefits through different channels. Sometimes they can even guide the direction of the public opinion of the Internet users, acting as the power of discourse that cannot be underestimated.

6.3. Internet Celebrities

Entering the age of new media, Chinese Internet celebrities are no longer limited to traditional texts, pictures, and symbols, but are gradually stepping into the fields of video and live streaming. Under the packaging and marketing of talent agencies, 'new media celebrities' cooperate with advertisers to develop potential commercial value through all-round display on e-commerce/social platforms, which finally evolves into a complete industrial chain. According to their fields of expertise, Chinese Internet celebrities are distinguished by their active platforms. Thus, Internet celebrities on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms could be classified into three different types: fashion-based Internet celebrities, video-based Internet celebrities, and live-based Internet celebrities.

Fashion-based Internet celebrities usually sell products, clothes, and designs on e-commerce platforms to earn a living online. Hers is a prime example of a business

model: Zhang Dayi, who has generated huge success with her Taobao store 'The Wardrobe I like'. Zhang Dayi has nearly 7 million fans on Sina Weibo and she likes to chat with her fans. Every time she has new products, she posts photos of herself wearing new clothes she has designed. Two seconds after she uploaded her latest fashion items on her Taobao store, more than 5 thousand items were sold. In 2004, Zhang Dayi was the first seller on the Chinese e-commerce platform to break the 100-million-yuan record (≈11 million pounds). In 2016, Zhang Dayi's store reportedly pulled in $46 million, which was based on estimates by Forbes.

Video-based Internet celebrities generally send out short videos on video sites and get paid from business companies through advertising and offline activities. One of China's most sudden and popular video-based Internet celebrities is Papi Jiang, who has attracted around 44 million followers and lucrative advertising contracts, with her fast-talking videos on Youku customisable channel 'Papitube'. The series of humorous video posts feature that Papi Jiang mocking everything from relationships to regional accents in high pitched, rapid-fire Mandarin. In 2016, Papi Jiang sold her very first advertisement that would appear in her videos for an astonishing 22 million yuan (≈2.42 million pounds). Later, she landed 12 million yuan (≈1.32 million pounds) from a group of domestic venture capital investors, in exchange for a stake in her future earnings.

Unlike the former two, live-based Internet celebrities normally share daily lives through livestreams and make a great deal of money mainly from virtual gifts tipped by fans, transforming labour values into money via daily livestreams. Feng Timo is the most famous live streamer with the highest income on Douyu. Her daily work is singing or playing computer games for three or four hours a day, and during that time, she will interact with her fans while receiving 'gifts' from the audiences. Watching live streaming is free, but fans will be charged by live

streaming platforms with real money if they want to send gifts to live streamers. The gifts will be automatically transferred into a virtual currency that can be exchanged for real cash and the profit will be split proportionately among the platforms, talent/MCN agencies, and live streamers. In China, for a live streamer who already has a reputation, live streaming platforms will pay a fixed salary to him or her every month.
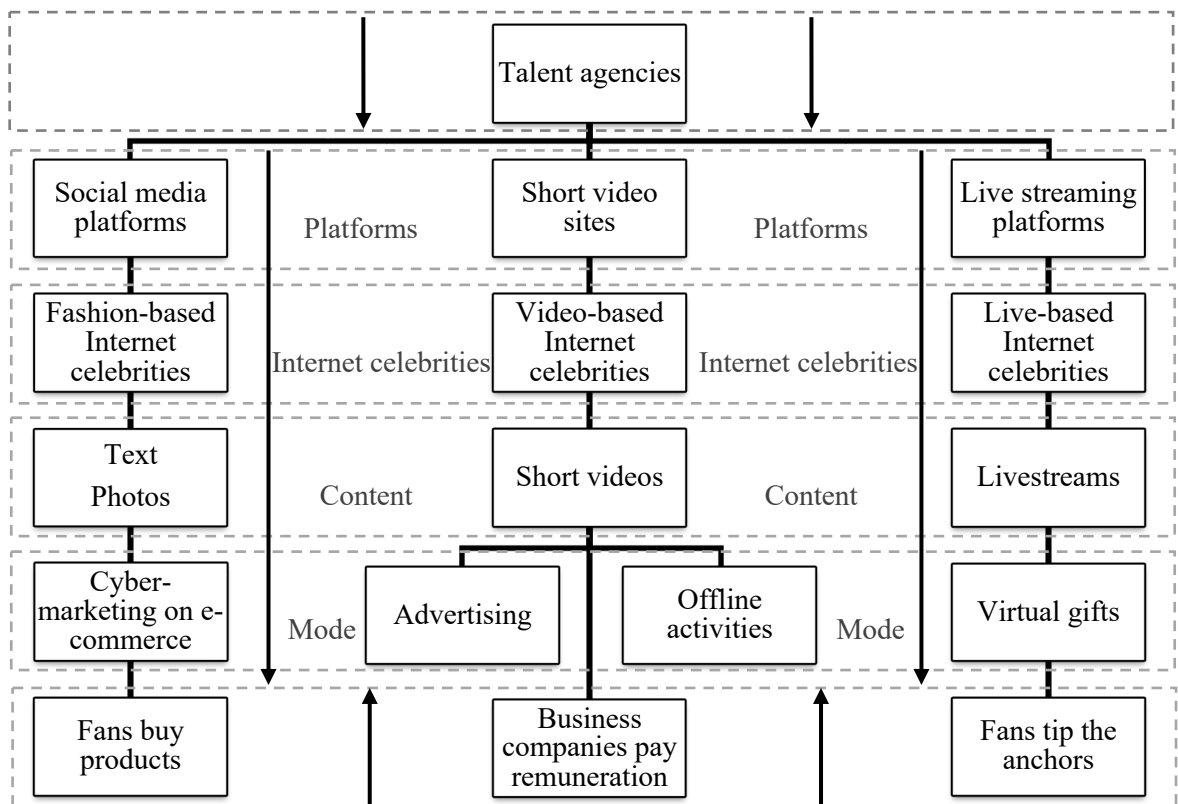
FIGURE 6.1 Classification of Internet Celebrities in China

Considering all these types, we cannot rule out the possibility that the model of Internet celebrities leaves interconnected forms where categories overlap. Armed with a huge fan base, cross-platform Internet celebrities generally accumulate their credible degree of popularity via social media platforms and then turn their fame and influence into cash through posting texts, photos, videos, and livestreams

online. The rise of Internet celebrities and potential audiences reach has empowered the sector to develop and gradually form a complete value chain.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INTERNET CELEBRITIES IN CHINA

First-tier cities	35.30%
Second-tier cities	27.60%
Third-tier cities	17.30%
Fourth-tier cities or below	14.30%
Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and overseas cities	5.40%
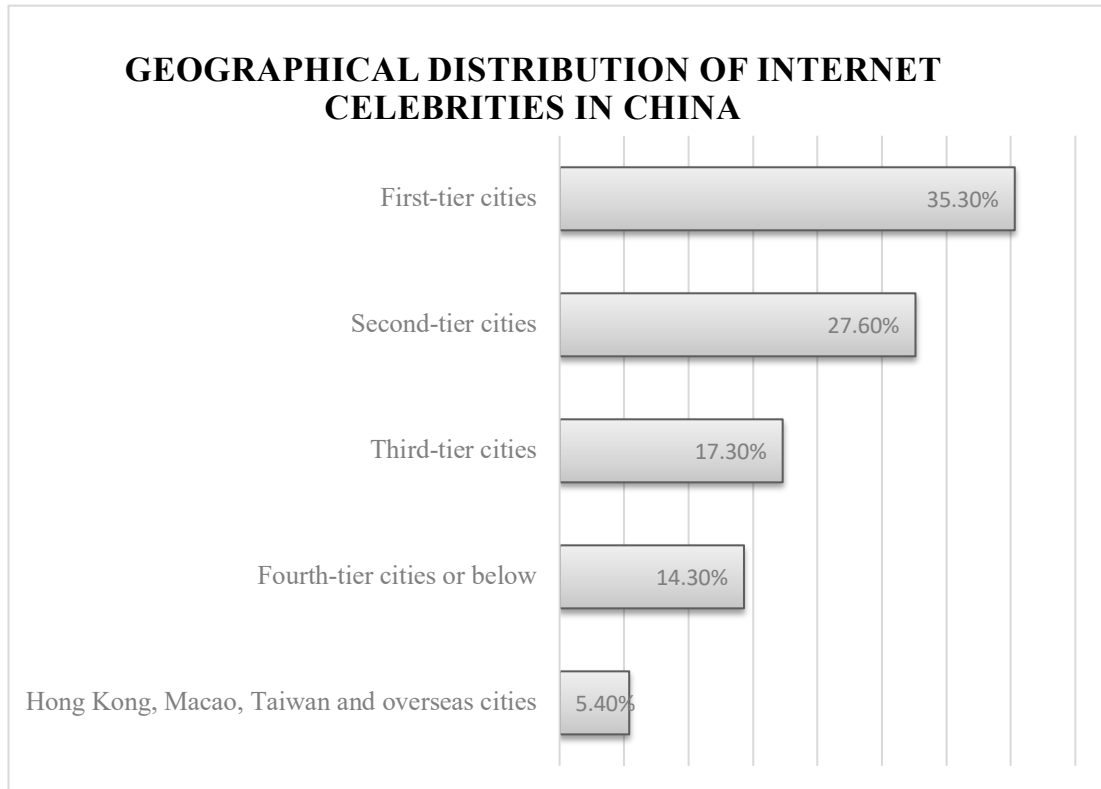
FIGURE 6.2 Geographical Distribution of Internet Celebrities in China

The huge commercial value has led more and more ordinary people to take Internet celebrities as a career and devote themselves to different platforms. According to *The 46th China Statistical Report on Internet Development* released by China Internet Network Information Centre (CNNIC, 2020) in September 2020, the number of users on social media platforms in China reached 550 million, accounting for 58.6% of the total Internet users. Video (including short video) sites have 888 million users, accounting for 94.5% of the total Internet users. The number of live streaming users reached 562 million, accounting for 59.8% of the total Internet users. Among them, the number of live streaming game users reached 269 million, accounting for 28.6% of the total Internet users; The number of live streaming commerce users reached 309 million, accounting for 32.9% of the total

Internet users; The number of live streaming reality show users reached 186 million, accounting for 19.8% of the total Internet users.

According to the '*Insight Report on the Development of Internet Celebrity Economy in China*' jointly released by IResearch and Sina Weibo, Internet celebrities in China are widely distributed geographically (IResearch & Sina Weibo, 2018). Although more than half of them are still concentrated in first-tier and second-tier cities in China, they are also widely distributed in third-tier and fourth-tier cities, and overseas regions. Among them, Chinese Internet celebrities account for 35.3% in first-tier cities (15% in Beijing, 7.9% in Shanghai and 19.3% in Guangzhou), 27.6% in second-tier cities, 17.3% in third-tier cities, 14.3% in fourth-tier cities or below, and 5.4% in Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and overseas cities.
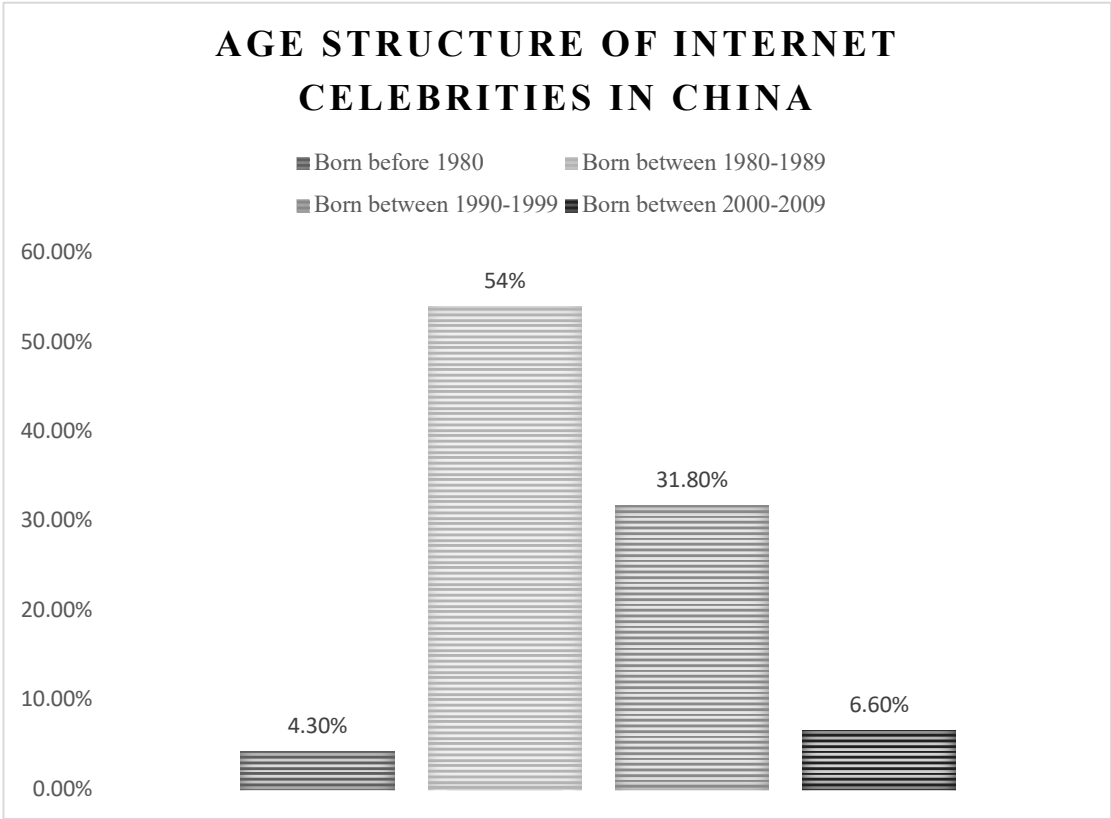
FIGURE 6.3 Age Structure of Internet Celebrities in China

Also referring to the *Insight Report on the Development of Internet Celebrity Economy in China* (IResearch & Sina Weibo, 2018), in terms of age, the age structure of Chinese Internet celebrities is getting more and more mature, realizing the popularization of all age groups. People born between 1980-1989 accounted for 54% of the population, while people born between 1990-1999 accounted for 31.8%. In terms of academic qualifications, the educational level of Chinese Internet celebrities is also on the rise. Among them, 63% have a bachelor's degree, 12.8% have a master's degree and 1.8% have a doctor's degree or above. The increase in academic qualifications has driven up the level of content production, which has accelerated the professionalisation and diversification of Internet celebrities in China.
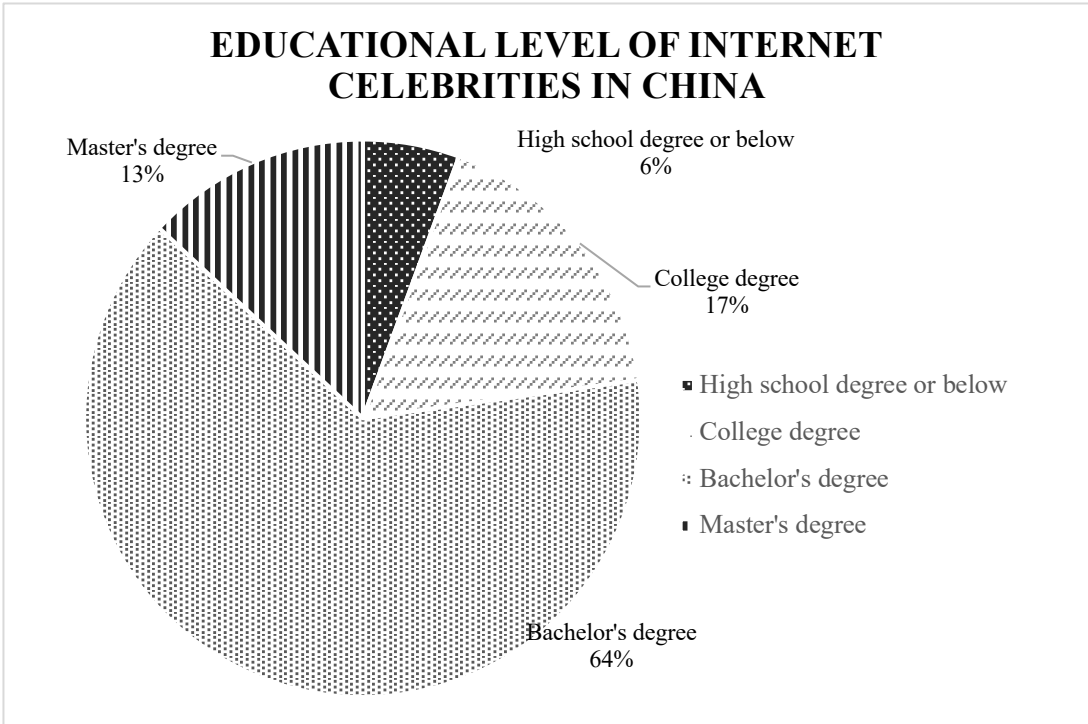
FIGURE 6.4 Educational Level of Internet Celebrities in China

On the other hand, overwhelmed by the variety of competitors available, very few of them can act as Key Opinion Leaders (KOL) in their special field. Those who have large followings and influence on the Internet, known as influencers, are the

main source of income for talent/MCN agencies. Those who fail to become famous in the Internet celebrity market, usually called proletarianized platform workers, are mostly at the bottom of the company because of their small number of followers and lack of attention. To increase capital accumulation, talent/MCN agencies and platforms currently set out some rules to regulate working hours. Under brutal exploitation, many proletarianized platform workers live a tough life because of low popularity, which may have an adverse impact on their career development as well as the whole of society.

6.4. Talent/MCN Agencies

Celebrities need to "maximize public impact factors in the media", which requires "cultural intermediaries to cultivate media networks" (Rojek 2012a, 15). In China, cultural intermediaries in the Internet celebrity market are known as MCN (Multi-Channel Network) agencies, which originated from YouTube in the United States (Liang, 2016). It refers to the core organization that manages Internet celebrities and serves as an intermediate bridge between advertisers and e-commerce/social platforms, to produce high-quality Internet content. With the accumulation of experience and the support of capital, talent/MCN agencies in China continue to develop, thus presenting a business model with Chinese characteristics.

According to the *2020 Research Report of MCN Agencies in China* by iiMedia (iiMedia, 2020a), the market size of MCN agencies in China was 7.8 billion yuan (≈858 million pounds) in 2017, 11.2 billion yuan (≈1.23 billion pounds) in 2018, and 16.8 billion yuan (≈1.85 billion pounds) in 2019. In 2020, the market size of MCN agencies in China reached 24.5 billion yuan (≈2.7 billion pounds). The continuous expansion of the market scale has attracted more and more capital to enter the field of the Internet celebrity industry. In terms of the number of agencies, there were 1,700 MCN agencies in 2017, 5,800 in 2008, and 14,500 in 2019. In

2020, the number of MCN agencies in China reached 28,000 with an average year-on-year growth rate of more than 100%. The explosive growth of MCN agencies has further intensified the competition in the Internet celebrity industry.
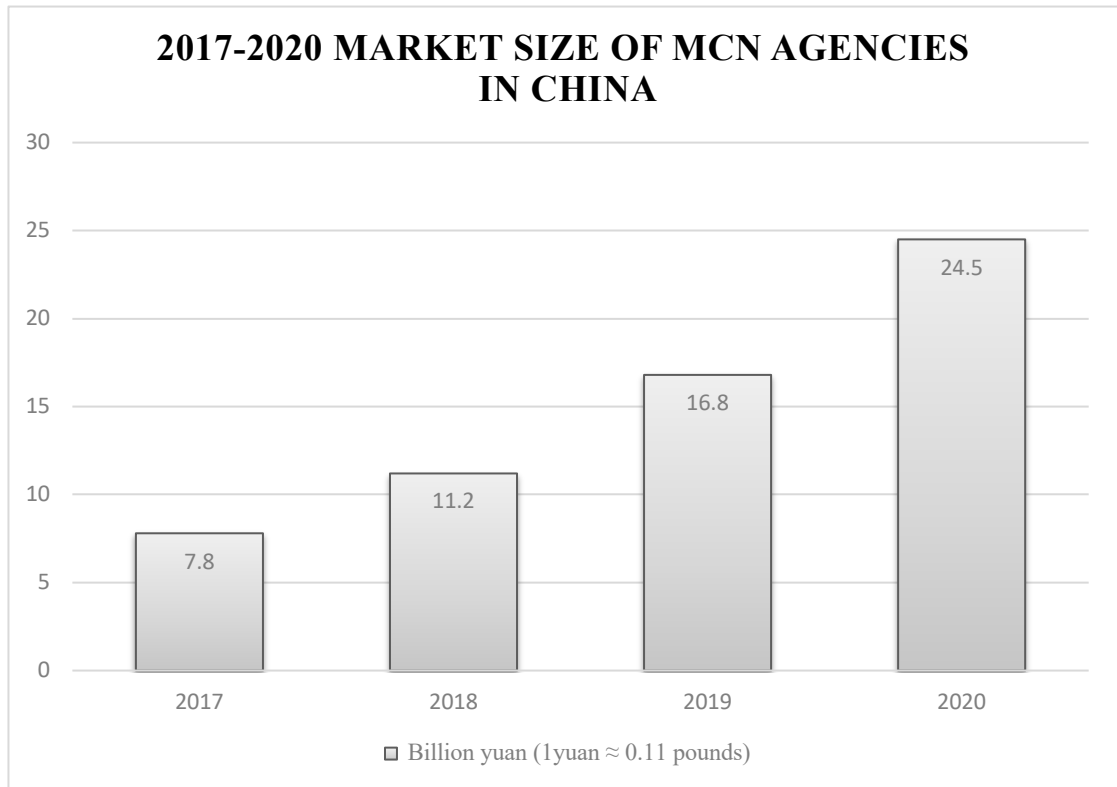
FIGURE 6.5 2017-2020 Market Size of MCN Agencies in China

At present, to ensure the production of high-quality content, most Chinese Internet celebrities will sign contracts with MCN agencies to maximize economic value. Through a series of packaging, production, and marketing, professional MCN agencies will develop publicity plans according to the characteristics of different Internet celebrities, to enhance the loyalty of fans. After accumulating a certain fan base, MCN agencies will help Internet celebrities connect supply chain channels and integrate advertisers and e-commerce/social platform resources, which promotes the commodification and monetarization of Internet celebrities.

According to the three different domains of Internet celebrities, Chinese MCN

agencies can be divided into three categories: content MCN agencies, video MCN agencies, and live/e-commerce MCN agencies (Yang, 2018). Content MCN agencies, such as VSMedia, are primarily active on social media platforms. They provide resources for their Internet celebrities and ensure the continuous output of texts and images through the production of original content; Video MCN agencies, such as Papitube, mainly operate accounts on short video sites. Through the original production of short videos, they help Internet celebrities to build strong personal tags to attract advertisements; Live/e-commerce MCN agencies, such as Ruhnn, usually focus on cooperation with live streaming and e-commerce platforms. Internet celebrities cultivated by them will interact with fans during the process of live streaming, and agencies will receive virtual gifts from fans in proportion or guide fans to buy products recommended by anchors to make profits.
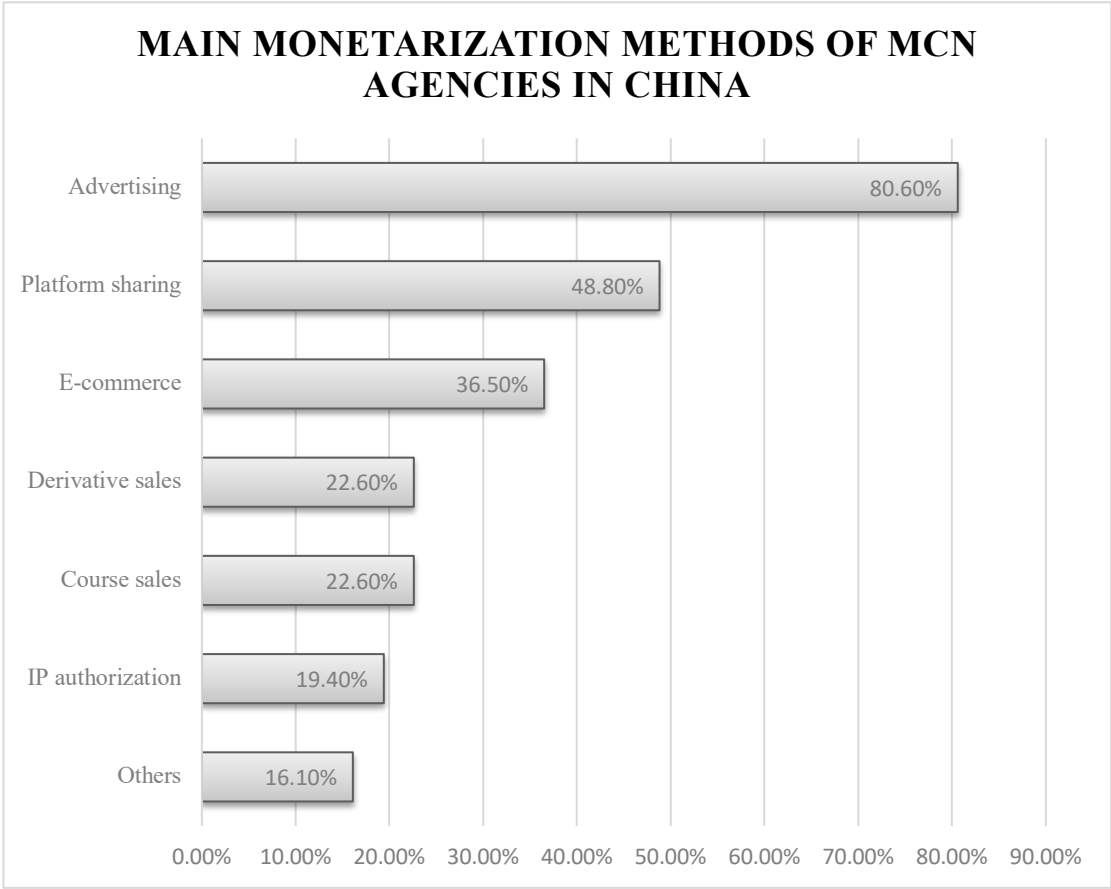
FIGURE 6.6 Main Monetarization Methods of MCN Agencies in China

As more and more MCN agencies enter the Internet celebrity market, the fierce competition promotes the professionalization of the celebrity cultivation business model, which gives rise to an industrial chain of '*celebrity incubation→personnel management→marketing services→content production→advertising monetarization*' (Zhang, 2016). Under such commercial operation, the main monetarization methods of Chinese MCN agencies also show the characteristics of multi-channels, which are divided into the following six categories: advertising, platform sharing, e-commerce, course sales, derivative sales and IP authorization. According to the *2020 Research Report of MCN Agencies in China* (iiMedia, 2020), advertising is the most important way of monetarization, accounting for 80.6%. The second is platform sharing, accounting for 48.8%.

With the increasing profitability of MCN agencies, the financing amount and opportunities of the Chinese Internet celebrity industry are gradually reduced. Also referring to the *2020 Research Report of MCN Agencies in China* (iiMedia, 2020), in 2016, the financing amount of China's MCN industry was 16.5 billion yuan (≈1.8 billion pounds). In 2017 and 2018, the financing amount was 13.6 billion yuan (≈1.5 billion pounds) and 7.9 billion yuan (≈869 million pounds). By 2019, the amount of financing fell to 3.5 billion yuan (≈385 million pounds). This data also shows that MCN agencies in China are constantly improving and developing towards independent monetarization.

6.5. E-commerce/Social Platforms

Social media are particularly potent in "building para-social relationships of trust and intimacy" because these platforms "dispense with hierarchies that separate the attention capital of celebrities from the fans" (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 108). In contrast, they "emphasize egalitarianism and social inclusion, but are also subject

to corporate and commercial hierarchies" (Baker & Rojek 2020b, 396). With the continuous update of Internet infrastructure, China's new media platform is rapidly improving in terms of industrial-scale and platform functions, and it has also become an important monetarization carrier for the Internet celebrity industry.

According to the *Report on the Development of New Media in China (CASS, 2020)* released by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), new media platform has become the most important channel for Chinese Internet users to obtain information, communicate, and consume, which has also built a bridge for the interaction between Internet celebrities and fans. From the perspective of type division, China's new media platforms can be divided into two categories: e-commerce platforms and social platforms. Among them, social platforms can be subdivided into social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms (Zhang, 2016). The new media platform is favoured by the capital market because of its advantages of convenience and fragmentation. While delivering information and generating traffic, it also creates marketing opportunities for advertisers/online retailers.

The first category is China's social platforms, starting with social media platforms. With the popularization of mobile terminals and the development of social applications, the mobile social application has become an important part of the online life of Chinese Internet users. Social media platforms in China can be divided into four categories: communication, consulting, social networking, and career (Ian, 2010). For example, communication social media such as QQ and WeChat; Consulting social media such as Sina Weibo and Zhihu; Networking social media such as Momo, Soul; Career social media such as DingTalk and Boss. At present, the average monthly active users of WeChat, QQ, and Sina Weibo have reached the level of 100 million. By 2020, WeChat, QQ, and Sina Weibo have

reached 1 billion, 950 million and 300 million respectively, ranking in the first echelon of Chinese social media platforms. At present, with the participation of Internet celebrities, China's social media platform can be regarded as a place for public events to be discussed. Verified by large followers on social media platforms, influencers are generally known as the 'Big V's (short for 'verified') for their ability to guide discourse on the Internet.

THE MOST POPULAR TYPE OF CONTENT ON CHINESE SHORT VIDEO SITES

Type	Percentage
COMEDY	69.50%
LIFE	52.60%
NEWS	40.20%
FASHION	36.90%
ENRERTAINMENT	34.10%
FOOD	32.20%
PET	20.90%
DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY	20.50%
SPORTS	17.50%
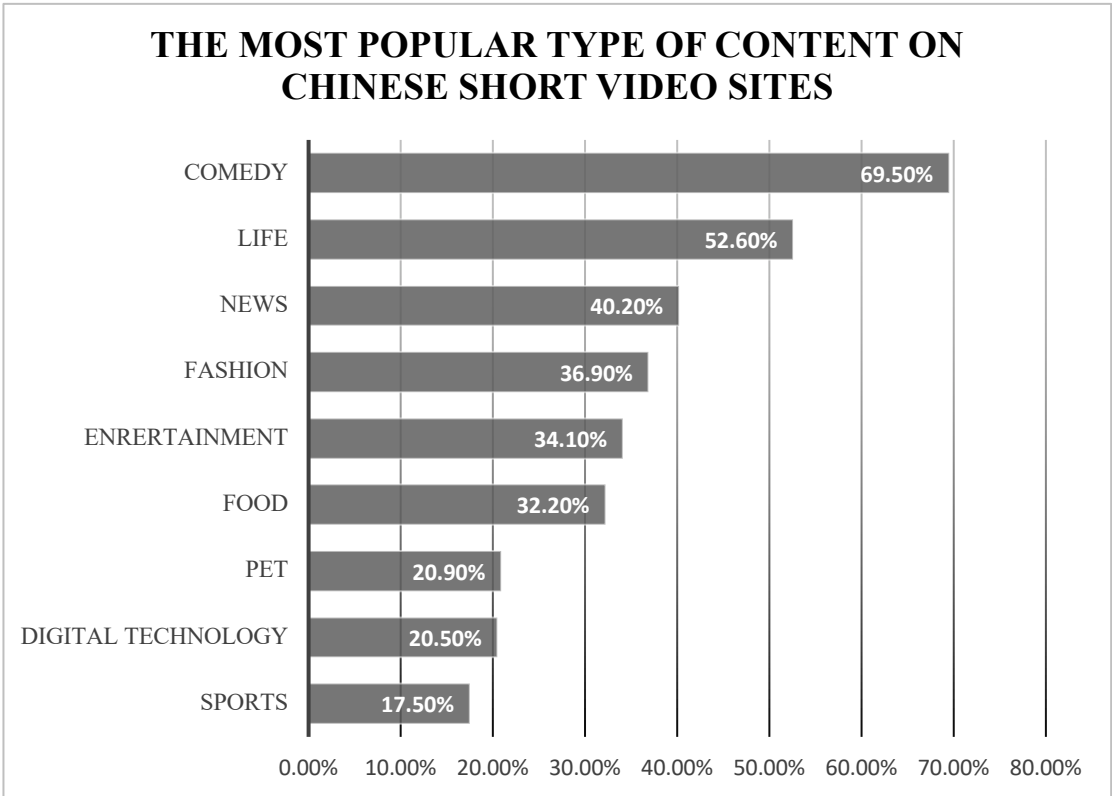
FIGURE 6.7 The Most Popular Type of Content on Chinese Short Video Sites

The application of 5G has brought the advantage of fast connection and high transmission rate, which has promoted the development of the short video industry. According to the data from the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology of China, the market size of China's short video industry was 46.7 billion yuan (≈5.14 billion pounds) in 2018, 100.6 billion yuan (≈11.07 billion pounds) in 2019 and 150.4 billion yuan (≈16.54 billion pounds) in 2020. Short videos are characterized by low production requirements and strong interactivity. Due to the

short duration, they are easy to be transmitted and shared in a fragmented time. Referring to the report from QuestMobile, by 2020, the average monthly active users of three major short video sites in China, Tik Tok, Kuaishou, and Bilibili, have all reached the level of 100 million. The number of Tik Tok reached 518 million, Kuaishou 443 million, and Bilibili 121 million. In addition, most of the Internet celebrities on short video sites have specific types of video content. According to the statistics of Strawberry Pie, the most popular content types are comedy, life, and news, accounting for 69.5%, 52.6% and 40.2% respectively; It is followed by fashion, entertainment and food, accounting for 36.9%, 34.1% and 32.2% respectively.
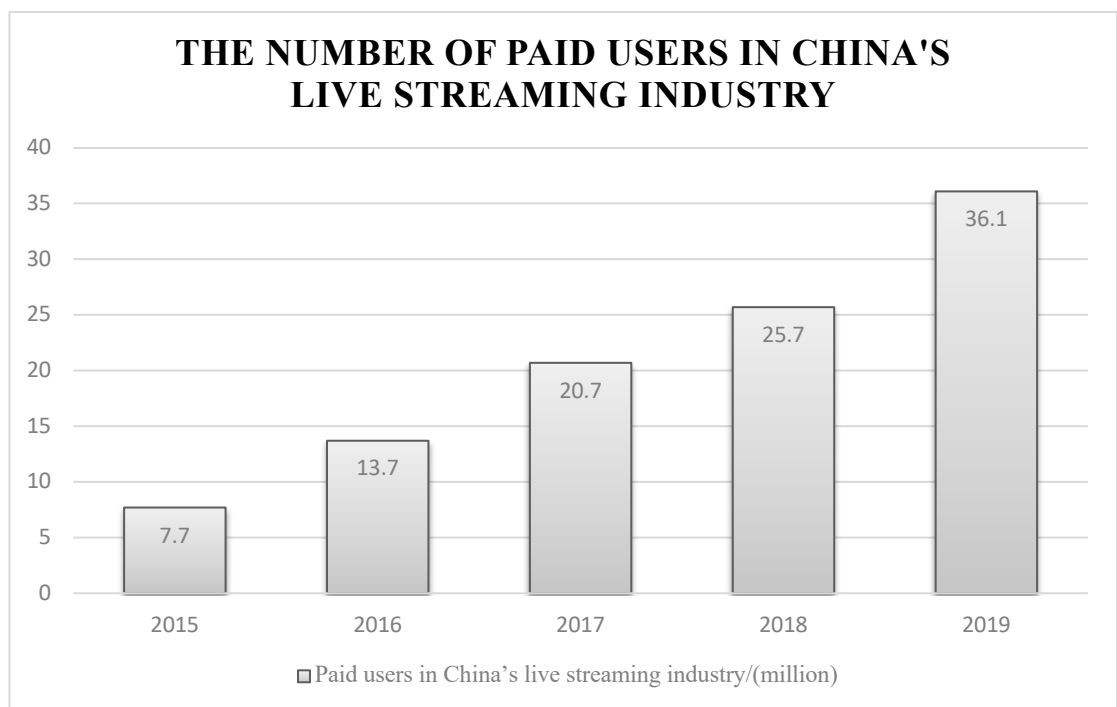
FIGURE 6.8 The Number of Paid Users in China's Live Streaming Industry

Different from the rapid development of short video sites in recent years, China's live streaming industry started in 2005. In the early years, Chinese live streaming platforms, such as YY, took live shows as their main operating mode; After 2014, with the development of the online games market, live streaming platforms such

as Douyu have gradually entered the public vinson; In 2017, the popularity of mobile networks further integrated live streaming and traditional industries, entering a stage of multi-dimensional development; Nowadays, China's live streaming industry has derived three operating modes: 'live streaming + advertisement', 'live streaming + reward', and 'live streaming + e-commerce' (Huang, Zheng & Liu, 2018). According to the data from Frost Sullivan, the market size of China's live streaming industry has increased from 6.4 billion yuan (≈704 million pounds) in 2015 to 108.2 billion yuan (≈11.9 billion pounds) in 2019, with a compound annual growth rate of 103%. Meanwhile, with the continuous growth of users' entertainment demand and disposable income, the paid users in China's live streaming industry increased from 7.7 million in 2015 to 36.1 million in 2019, with a compound annual growth rate of 47.2%. Furthermore, the revenue from advertising and e-commerce increased from 300 million yuan (≈33 million pounds) in 2015 to 76.9 billion yuan (≈8.46 billion pounds) in 2019, with a compound annual growth rate of 535.2%.

The second category is China's e-commerce platform. According to *The 46th China Statistical Report on Internet Development* released by China Internet Network Information Centre (CNNIC, 2020), China has been the world's largest online retail market for seven consecutive years since 2013. In the first half of 2020, the online retail sales of e-commerce platforms in China reached 5.1501 trillion yuan (≈566.5 billion pounds), with a year-on-year growth of 7.3%, among which the online retail sales of physical goods reached 4.348 trillion yuan (≈478.3 billion pounds), with a year-on-year growth of 14.3%, accounting for 25.2% of the total retail sales of consumer goods. The huge consumer market has promoted the rapid development of China's e-commerce platforms, while the online economy has provided opportunities for the digital transformation of traditional enterprises. From the perspective of China's e-commerce market structure, B2B e-commerce

occupies the main scale, accounting for 66.74%; B2C e-commerce accounts for 16.48%, C2C e-commerce accounts for 12.33%, and life-service e-commerce accounts for 4.45%.
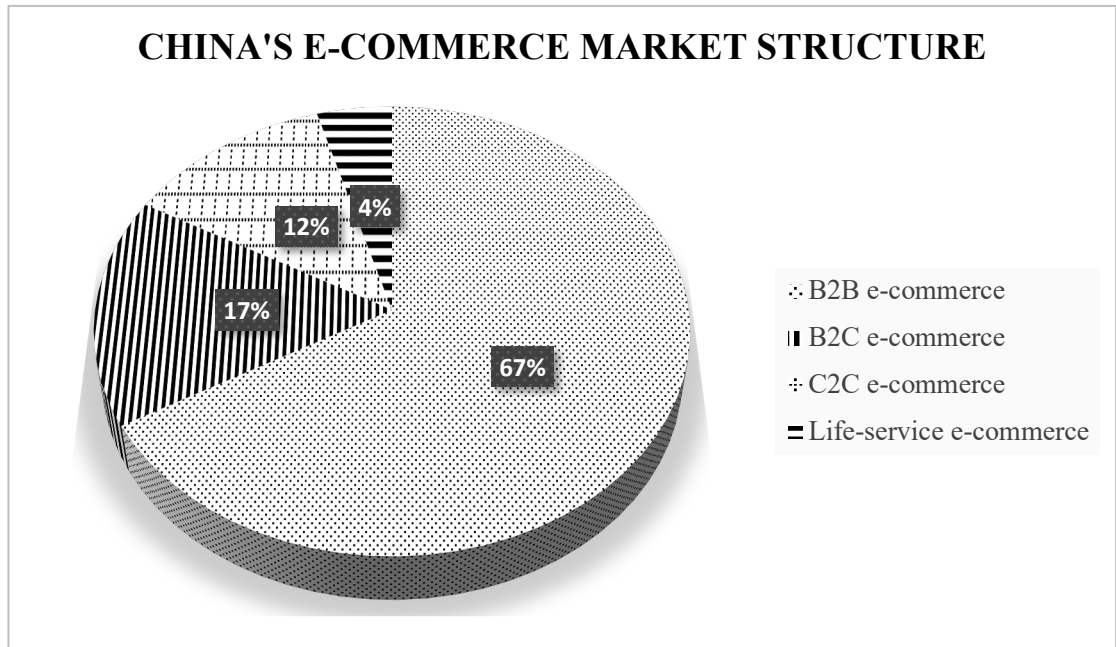
FIGURE 6.9 China's E-commerce Market Structure

By the end of 2019, there are 66 listed e-commerce enterprises in China, including 28 retail e-commerce platforms, 21 life-service e-commerce platforms, 10 industrial e-commerce platforms and 7 cross-border e-commerce platforms. Different from the tradition, e-commerce platforms in the new era, such as Taobao and RED, have the attributes of social interaction. With the participation of Internet celebrities, China's social e-commerce platforms have a very high purchase conversion rate. With the help of their Internet influence, Chinese Internet celebrities transform the fans accumulated in social media platforms, short video sites and live streaming platforms into product consumers, and at the same time convert the trust of fans into the recognition of the brand, which ultimately realizes the transformation of consumption and monetarization of social assets.

6.6. Fans

The commodification and monetarization of Internet celebrities require highly social assets, known as the fan economy. As the direct audiences of the Internet celebrity industry, the number and quality of fan groups are related to the popularity and development trend of Internet celebrities. According to *The 46th China Statistical Report on Internet Development* released by CNNIC (CNNIC, 2020), by June 2020, China has 940 million Internet users, and the Internet penetration rate has reached 67%. At the same time, China has 932 million mobile network users, which shows that 99.2% of users use mobile phones to access the Internet. The popularity of smartphones has accelerated the development of the Internet celebrity industry. In addition, it has also promoted the close connection between Internet celebrities and fans to a certain extent.
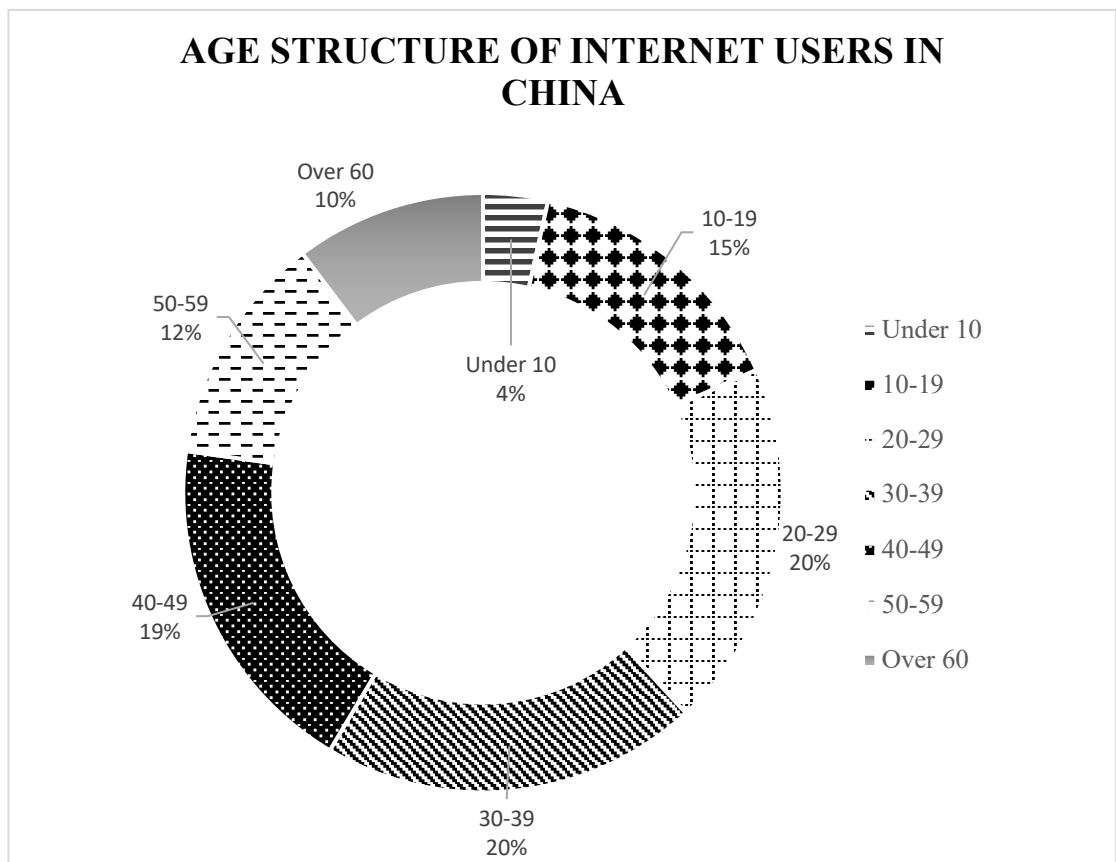
FIGURE 6.10 Age Structure of Internet Users in China

Also referring to *The 46th China Statistical Report on Internet Development* (CNNIC, 2020), from the perspective of the age structure of Internet users, by June 2020, the ratio of male to female Internet users in China is 51.0:49.0 (basically the same as the ratio of male to female in the national population), which shows that the gender structure of Internet users tends to be balanced. In terms of age, The majority of Chinese Internet users are 20-49 years old, accounting for 59% of the total. Among them, Internet users aged 30-39 account for the highest proportion, reaching 20.4%. Internet users aged 20-29 and 40-49 account for 19.9% and 18.7% respectively, while Internet users aged 50 and over rise to 22.8%, which indicates that although Chinese Internet users are mainly young and middle-aged, the elderly population is also gradually increasing.
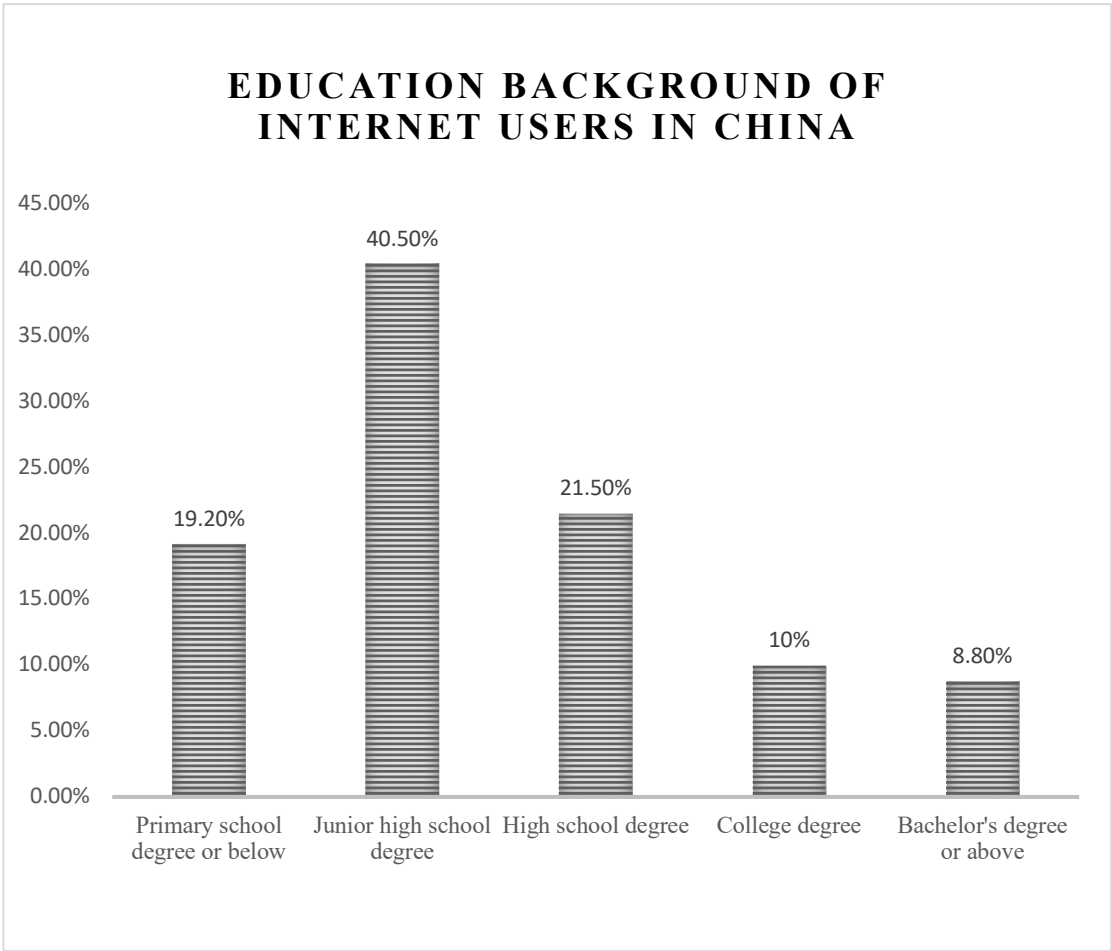
FIGURE 6.11 Education Background of Internet Users in China

According to CNNIC data, Chinese Internet users are generally not well-educated. Internet users with primary, middle and high school degrees respectively account for 19.2%, 40.5% and 21.5%. The proportion of Internet users with a college degree or above is 19.8%, among which 10% have a college degree and 8.8% have a bachelor's degree or above. The low education level of Internet users will cause the thinking ability of fans to be easily controlled and guided by Internet celebrities and advertisers, which will eventually lead to blind following and convergence behaviour.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF INTERNET USERS IN CHINA

Occupation	Percentage
Students	23.70%
Freelancers	17.40%
Farming, forestry, husbandry and fishing workers	15.30%
Rural migrant workers	11.40%
Employees of the enterprises	9.30%
Professionals	6.30%
Retirees	5.70%
Service personals	4.60%
Production personals	2.70%
Unemployed people	1.90%
Public servants	1.90%
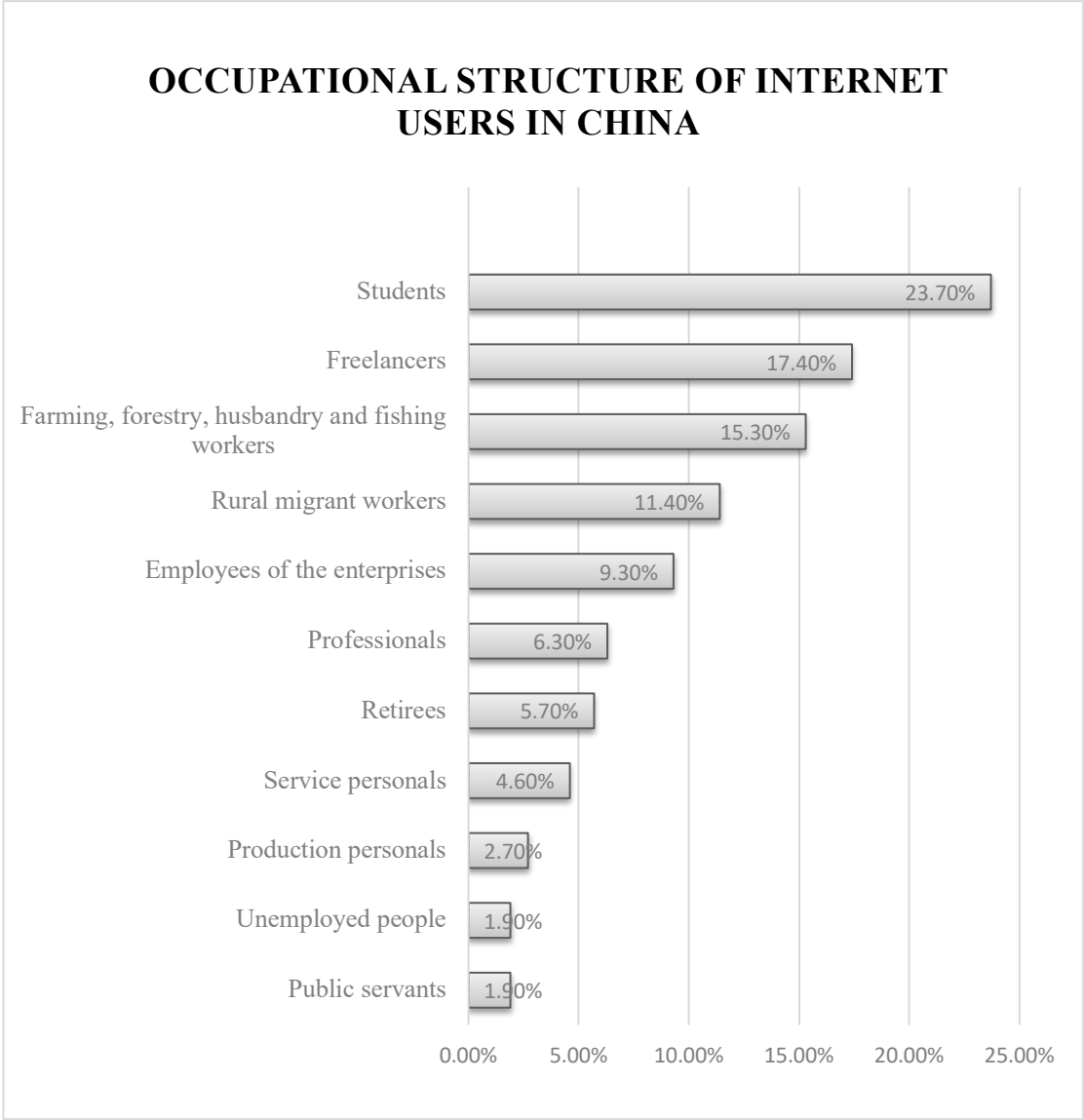
FIGURE 6.12 Occupational Structure of Internet Users in China

From the perspective of occupational structure, also according to CNNIC data, students account for the largest proportion of Internet users in China, accounting for 23.7%; Second are the freelancers, accounting for 17.4%; The following is the proportion of farming, forestry, husbandry, and fishing workers, accounting for 15.3%, and rural migrant workers account for 11.4%. It can be found that those who participate in Internet activities mostly belong to jobs with a relaxed atmosphere and free time. However, the relatively low salary of these jobs restricts their consumption level on the Internet to a certain extent.

INCOME STRUCTURE OF INTERNET USERS IN CHINA

Income Category	Percentage
MORE THAN 8000 YUAN	11.50%
5001-8000 YUAN	12.70%
3001-5000 YUAN	20%
2001-3000 YUAN	12.60%
1501-2000 YUAN	6.40%
1001-1500 YUAN	5.40%
501-1000 YUAN	7.20%
LESS THAN 500 YUAN	13.80%
NO INCOME	10.50%

■ 1yuan ≈ 0.11 pounds
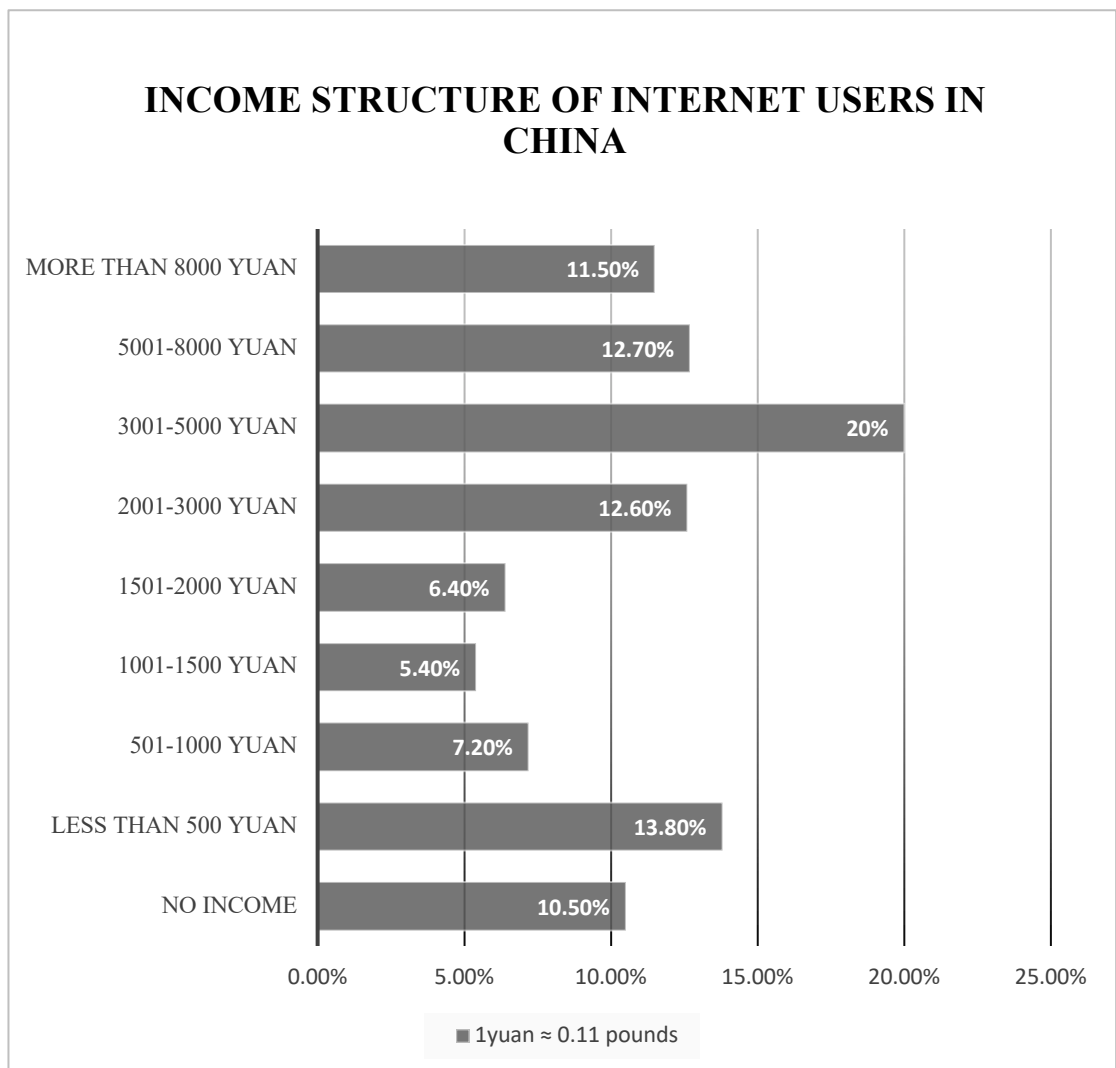
FIGURE 6.13 Income Structure of Internet Users in China

From the perspective of income structure, 32.6% of Internet users with a monthly income of 2001-5000 yuan (≈220-550 pounds), 24.2% of Internet users with a monthly income of over 5000 yuan (≈550 pounds), 21% of Internet users with a monthly income of 1000 yuan (≈110 pounds) or less, and 10.5% of Internet users with no income (Student income includes living expenses, scholarships, and other income provided by the family). It can be seen that the income level of Chinese Internet users is not very high, corresponding to the occupational structure, which reflects the characteristics of high freedom and low income.
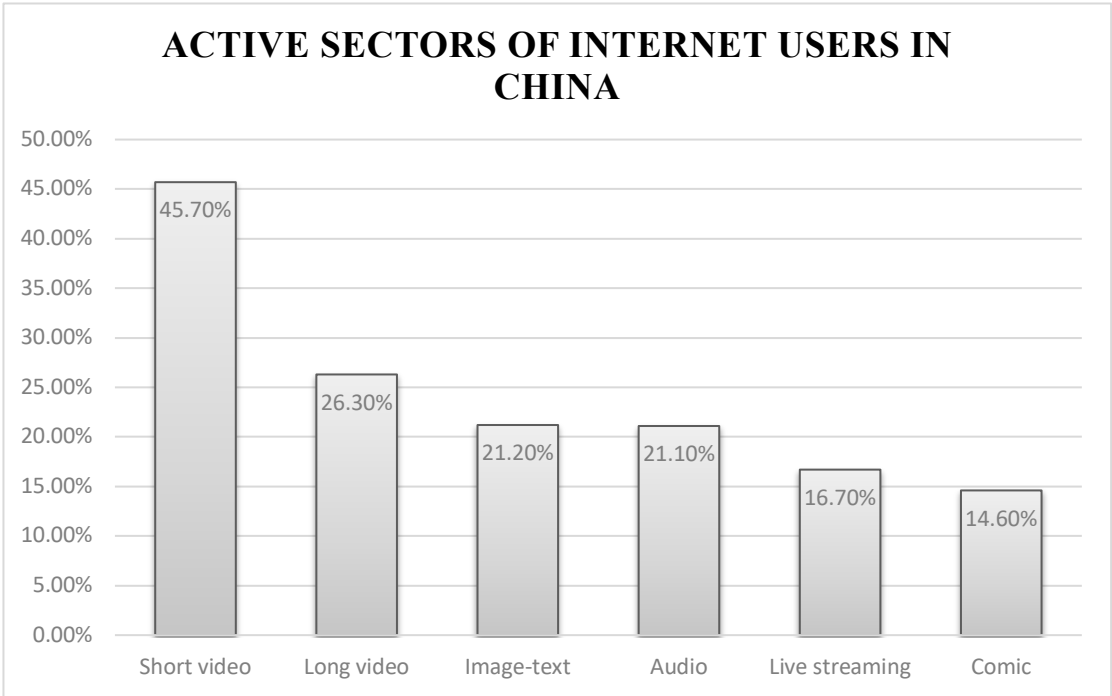
FIGURE 6.14 Active Sectors of Internet Users in China

As to the active sectors of Chinese Internet users, according to the *Annual Report of Content Industry* released by NewRank (NewRank, 2020), the active sectors of Chinese Internet users in 2020 mainly focus on five aspects: video, image-text, audio, live streaming, and comic. Among them, Chinese Internet users spend the longest time in the field of the short video, accounting for 45.9%; It is followed by long video, and image-text field, accounting for 26.3% and 21.2%; Audio, live

streaming and comic accounted for 21.1%, 16.7% and 14.6% respectively. Compared with other fields, the video field attracts Chinese Internet users and fans most with its advantages of sensuality and visuality, which also promotes the self-transformation of Chinese Internet celebrities.

6.7. Conclusion

Entering the new era, Internet technology has brought a wide range of cross-regional and cross-cultural connections in China, which has also promoted the development of the Internet celebrity industry. Relying on the communication power of the mobile Internet, a large number of ordinary people gather attention by publishing their works on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms. Under the specific packaging and marketing, these Internet celebrities have gradually attracted a huge fan base and eventually formed a completely new economic industrial chain. To better interpret the background and development of Chinese Internet celebrities, this chapter summarizes the development of the four main bodies of China's Internet celebrity industry based on the detailed interpretation of data from authoritative reports, thus concluding the overview of China's Internet celebrity industry.

First of all, it is a summary of the four main bodies of China's Internet celebrity industry: organizers (talent/MCN agencies), producers (Internet celebrities), disseminators (e-commerce/social platforms), and consumers (fans). Throughout the development history of China's Internet celebrity industry, since 1994, the rapid development of information technology in the Internet era has brought about the evolution of Internet celebrities in China, which can be summarized into four stages: the age of text, the age of picture, the age of symbol, and the age of new media.

In the text era, with the emergence of BBS and literature websites in the 1990s, early Chinese Internet celebrities, known as 'text celebrities', became popular on the Internet by writing online novels; After the 21st century, China's Internet speed has greatly improved. In the age of picture, Chinese Internet celebrities tended to be popular and personalized by uploading their pictures on the Internet, known as 'picture celebrities'; In the symbol era, social media platforms have brought unprecedented changes to the Internet celebrity industry in China. Distinguished by unique symbols and labels, Chinese Internet celebrities, known as 'symbol celebrities' have attracted a large number of followers and become an important force in the digital economy.

Entering the age of new media, Chinese Internet celebrities are no longer limited to traditional texts, pictures, and symbols, but are gradually stepping into the fields of video and live streaming. At present, according to the fields of expertise, Chinese Internet celebrities on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms could be classified into three different types: fashion-based Internet celebrities, video-based Internet celebrities, and live-based Internet celebrities. The rise of Internet celebrities has empowered the sector to develop and gradually form a complete value chain, which has led more and more ordinary people to take Internet celebrities as a career and devote themselves to different platforms. According to the authoritative data report, this group are mainly born in the 1980s, distributed in first-tier cities in China, and most of them have a bachelor's degree or above.

Talent/MCN agency refers to the core organization that manages Internet celebrities and serves as an intermediate bridge between advertisers and e-commerce/social platforms. According to the different domains of Internet celebrities, it can be divided into three categories: content MCN agencies, video

MCN agencies, and live/e-commerce MCN agencies (Yang, 2018). At present, to ensure the production of high-quality content, most Chinese Internet celebrities will sign contracts with MCN agencies to maximize economic value. Through a series of packaging, production, and marketing, talent/MCN agencies in China continue to develop, thus presenting a business model with Chinese characteristics: '*celebrity incubation→personnel management→marketing services→content production→advertising monetarization*' (Zhang, 2016).

With the continuous update of Internet infrastructure, China's new media platform has become an important monetarization carrier for the Internet celebrity industry. While delivering information and generating traffic, it also creates marketing opportunities for advertisers/online retailers. From the perspective of type division, China's new media platforms can be divided into two categories: e-commerce platforms, and social platforms. Among them, social platforms can be subdivided into social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms (Zhang, 2016). With the help of e-commerce/social platforms, Chinese Internet celebrities transform the fans into product consumers, and at the same time convert the trust of fans into the recognition of the brand, which ultimately realizes the transformation of consumption and monetarization of social assets.

As the direct audiences of the Internet celebrity industry, the number and quality of fan groups are related to the popularity and development trend of Internet celebrities. According to the survey data, Chinese fan groups are mainly between the ages of 20 and 49, with low education levels and income levels, and most of them are students. At present, China has 932 million mobile network users, which shows that 99.2% of users use mobile phones to access the Internet. The popularity of smartphones has accelerated the development of the Internet celebrity industry, which has also promoted the close connection between Internet celebrities and fans

to a certain extent. Compared with other fields, the video field attracts Chinese Internet users and fans most with its advantages of sensuality and visuality, which also promotes the self-transformation of Chinese Internet celebrities.

Under the momentum of mobile network and the packaging of talent/MCN agencies, Internet celebrities take e-commerce/social platforms as strategic media for rapid promotion, and build their IP brands through personalized content, which also give rise to the formation of a new industrial chain: '*production* → *dissemination* → *consumption*'. Under the special political, economic, and cultural conditions of China, this chapter makes an objective introduction to China's Internet celebrity industry based on authoritative data analysis, thus laying the groundwork for the interview results in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Commodification of Internet Celebrities in China

7.1. Introduction

In the era of new media, celebrity can be seen as "an industrial relationship" that connects with the public through the assistance of cultural intermediaries, "turning amorphous resources into symbols of public approval, desire, and recognition" (Rojek 2012a, 14). Under this background, emerging information technology has become the interface for the integration and development of traditional industries and new media. The new development model of 'Internet + traditional industries' has accelerated the transformation and upgrading of the new economy, and also triggered a new round of industrial reform, which has brought about the commodification of China's Internet celebrity industry.

The upgrading of mobile Internet has realized the reconstruction of the media communication model, the innovation of enterprise business logic, and the changes of consumer demand pattern. At present, there are four main bodies in China's Internet celebrity industry: organizers (talent/MCN agencies), producers (Internet celebrities), disseminators (e-commerce/social platforms), and consumers (fans). In the political economy of communication with Chinese characteristics, these subjects follow the industrial chain of '*production* → *dissemination* → *consumption*' and realize capital circulation and accumulation under the special political, economic, and cultural conditions of China.

As one of the most famous MCN (Multi-Channel Network) agencies, Ruhnn was founded in 2012 as a Taobao store, which was famous for its model Zhang Dayi. After two years of experience, Ruhnn figured out a way to boost business profits

by attracting fans through Internet celebrities. In November 2014, Ruhnn received a Series-A funding from SAIF Partners; In 2015, Ruhnn obtained a Series-B funding from Legend Capital; In 2016, Alibaba invested 300 million yuan (≈33 million pounds) in equity, while Ruhnn's marketing revenue reached 445 million yuan (≈49 million pounds) in the same year; In 2019, Ruhnn successfully made its IPO on Nasdaq and became the first Internet celebrity company in China to list in the United States. Today, Ruhnn manages more than 2,000 Internet celebrities and serves more than 500 well-known brands in China and abroad. Ruhnn's success is because it has grasped the business operation rules of China's Internet celebrity market and formed a complete industrial chain.

However, the blind worship of consumerism has led to the increasingly entertainment-oriented Internet celebrity industry in China, which has caused adverse consequences. Therefore, in this chapter, considering the representation of Ruhnn in Chinese talent/MCN agencies, I interviewed 9 influencers, 9 proletarianized platform workers and 15 fans in Ruhnn, and finally compiled an interview report of more than 130,000 words. Through an in-depth thematic analysis of the industry, commodification, and monetarization approach of China's Internet celebrity industry, the commodification process of Internet celebrities in China will be completely summarized.

Therefore, based on the thematic analysis of the interview report, this chapter will be divided into three parts: China's Internet Celebrity Industry (7.2), The Commodification of Chinese Internet Celebrities (7.3), and The Monetarization Approach of China's Internet Celebrity Industry (7.4). In the industry section, I will elaborate on the relationship between the upstream, midstream, and downstream of China's Internet celebrity industry, and summarize the ways of capital accumulation and circulation; In the commodification section, the

operation mode of the four main bodies in China's Internet celebrity industry will be presented by a detailed analysis of the three links: production, dissemination, and consumption; In the monetarization approach section, starting from three dimensions: advertising, e-commerce, and service, I will explore the monetarization methods of Internet celebrities, and summarize the development trend of China's Internet celebrity industry.

7.2. China's Internet Celebrity Industry

2016 is a year of breakthrough development for the Internet celebrity industry. Under the momentum of mobile networks and the packaging of talent/MCN agencies, Internet celebrities took social media platforms, short video sites and live streaming platforms as strategic media for rapid promotion, and built their IP brands through personalized content, which also gave rise to the formation of a new industrial chain.
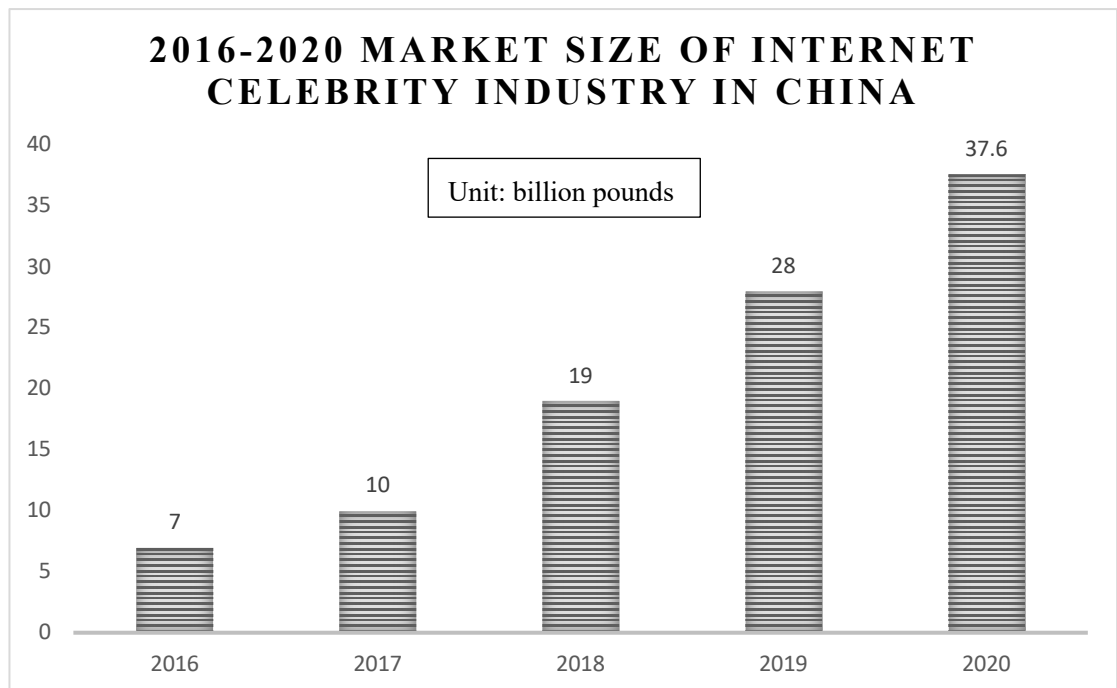
FIGURE 7.1 2016-2020 Market Size of Internet Celebrity Industry in China

According to the *Report of Market Size of Internet Celebrity Industry in China*

released by Frost & Sullivan (Frost & Sullivan, 2020), the market size of China's Internet celebrity industry was 63.6 billion yuan (≈7 billion pounds) in 2016, 91.4 billion yuan (≈10 billion pounds) in 2017, 172.3 billion yuan (≈19 billion pounds) in 2018 and 253.4 billion yuan (≈28 billion pounds) in 2019. In 2020, it reached 341.9 billion yuan (≈37.6 billion pounds). Among them, the market size of Internet celebrity advertising and marketing was 30 billion yuan (≈3.3 billion pounds) in 2018 and 49 billion yuan (≈5.4 billion pounds) in 2019, with a growth rate of 63.3%; In 2020, it reached 75 billion yuan (≈8.3 billion pounds), a year-on-year growth rate of 53.1%.

The fundamental reason for the rise of the Internet celebrity industry is that attention, as a scarce resource, creates new economic growth points (Jia, 2016). This emerging business model has provided a platform for ordinary people to show their personality and talents, which has also realized the monetarization of social assets. This process revolves around Internet celebrities, who are nurtured by talent/MCN agencies to become influential KOLs (Key Opinion Leaders). Further, with the help of e-commerce/social platforms, Internet celebrities deepen UGC (User Generated Content) or transform to PGC (Professional Generated Content) to strengthen the loyalty and social identity of fans, to realize the monetarization of advertisements and services with the guidance of psychological appeals.

To be specific, China's Internet celebrity industry chain takes Internet celebrities and fans as the core and forms three links: production, dissemination, and consumption, which exactly correspond to the three stages of upstream, midstream, and downstream (Yang, 2018). In these three links, different subjects of the Internet celebrity industry are involved: Internet celebrities, fans, talent/MCN agencies, e-commerce/social platforms and advertisers/online retailers, and capital will permeate each stage of production, dissemination, and consumption. At the

upper end of the industrial chain, talent/MCN agencies make marketing plans based on the characteristics of Internet celebrities and help them produce high-quality content; In the middle of the industrial chain, according to the requirements of advertisers/online retailers, Internet celebrities will post texts, pictures, videos, and livestreams on e-commerce/social platforms to attract fans' attention; In the downstream stage, the interaction between fans and Internet celebrities promotes consumption, and the user data generated by the interaction is sold as commodities to advertisers/online retailers in preparation for the next round of capital flows.
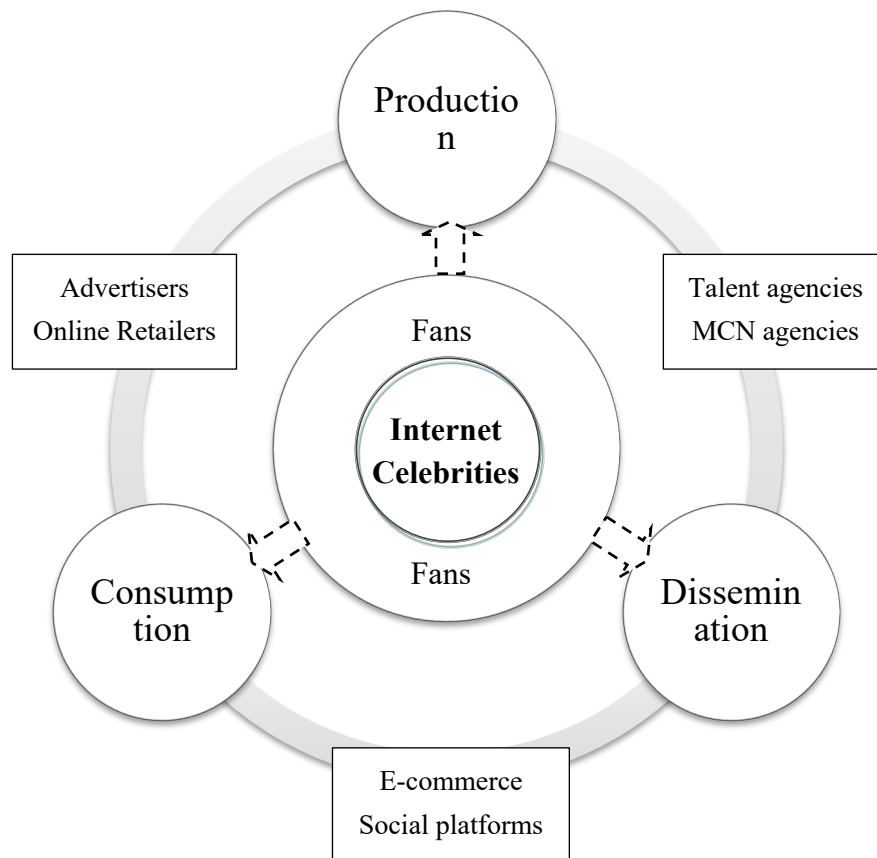
FIGURE 7.2 China's Internet Celebrity Industry Chain

In China's Internet celebrity industry, there are two ways to become an Internet celebrity: 'self-created' and 'other-created' (Zhang, 2016). 'Self-created' Internet celebrities are popular on their terms without the help of a team, while 'other-created' Internet celebrities need the help of a company or others to set the content

direction and marketing approach. To ensure high-quality production content and an efficient monetarization model, most 'other-created' Internet celebrities will sign up with talent/MCN agencies to maximize economic value through a series of packaging, production, and marketing.

Based on the thematic analysis of the interview report, 78% of the influencers I interviewed signed up with talent/MCN agencies, compared to 44% of the proletarianized platform workers. This means that the more influential Chinese Internet celebrities are, the more likely they are to cooperate with the talent/MCN agencies to operate the industry chain.

#1.2.3. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 22: "Signing the contract with MCN agency can help me save a lot of time, especially the time of business contact. The company will directly recommend suitable brand cooperation to me according to my situation, which can save me the step of communication and coordination."

However, Chinese Internet celebrities who sign up to talent/MCN agencies are required to follow the company's marketing plan, which has tight controls on everything from working hours to what they post. To facilitate the management, this mode of control under strict requirements is more common among proletarianized platform workers.

#2.2.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, July 28: "The advantage of MCN agency is that it has a guaranteed minimum wage, which is relatively stable for individual Internet celebrities. The downside is the limited freedom of content creation. The content is strictly vetted, and if the company has limited

resources, we need to do our own publicity and promotion."

#2.2.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, August 31: "I work for MCN company [...]. The advantage is that there are specialized personnel for business and operation, so there is no need to worry about it. The disadvantage is that there are many restrictions, for example, all the videos need to be reviewed by the company before we post online. If there is a problem with the video, it needs to be re-recorded until it meets the company's release guidelines."

There are also Internet celebrities who become influencers and start their own businesses, signing up, and managing other Internet celebrities. These Internet celebrities have independent control over the operating income of all their employees, but they also have to bear the costs and risks that come with it. At this time, their identity is not only digital labour but also take into account the identity of capitalists, which reflects the contradictory class position (capitalists and workers).

#1.1.2. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, August 20: "I have my own studio, sort of my own company. In addition to me, I have signed up several other Internet celebrities in the life and travel fields [...]. Running my own company gives me more creative freedom, a more cohesive team, and the ability to arrange my work on my own terms. But at the same time, I also need to bear all the costs of labour, site, publicity, and equipment, as well as the risk of operating failure."

#1.1.2. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020,

August 20: "On a daily basis, in addition to my own content planning and photography, I also manage the other bloggers who contract with the company [...]. Every week, I need to make their work plan and arrange business cooperation. At the same time, the assessment of the work effects of these bloggers is particularly important. I'm also responsible for solving their problems and guiding them in the right direction."

Whether influencers or proletarianized platform workers, the core job of these Internet celebrities is to create content and translate it into the purchasing power of their fans. And the role of talent/MCN agencies is to explore the characteristics of each Internet celebrity, to develop a publicity plan that fits their niche. However, the emerging Internet celebrity industry has created hundreds of billions of bonus markets but also brought a lot of uncontrollable factors.

The public demand for celebrities reflects "a disequilibrium between demand and supply". Specifically, overexposure occurs when the supply of celebrities exceeds the demand. Underexposure is the opposite when consumer demand exceeds supply (Rojek 2012a, 78). The growing demand of fans has led to the blind pursuit of economic benefits on various platforms, as well as the vicious competition among Internet celebrities and excessive exploitation of digital labour, which has caused adverse consequences.

#2.2.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 26: "The competition in our company is quite fierce. Internet celebrities with fast-growing fans and high clicks receive the most prize money, while Internet celebrities who continue to lose fans and have few interactive comments are likely to leave when their

contracts expire [...]. These are the basic rules of the industry."

#2.3.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 11: "There is a very common activity on China's live streaming platforms, where two Internet celebrities compete with each other in a live streaming room. The popularity of Internet celebrities is reflected in the value of gifts bought by fans. The more gifts fans buy, the higher the popularity of Internet celebrities [...] I've heard that to win the competition, some Internet celebrities even encourage their fans to buy unlimited virtual gifts to meet their company's performance targets."

To sum up, China's Internet celebrity industry can be seen as a dynamic industrial cycle system. In this system, the four main bodies of the Internet celebrity industry: organizers (talent/MCN agencies), producers (Internet celebrities), disseminators (e-commerce/social platforms), and consumers (fans) coordinate and adapt to each other and develop under the political economy of communication with Chinese characteristics. Under the operation of the links of production, dissemination, and consumption, China's Internet celebrity industry carries out self-regulation and self-circulation through the coordination of multiple participating subjects and finally realizes the stable industrial system under the political, economic, and cultural environment with Chinese characteristics. Next, combined with the semi-structured interviews, the commodification of Internet celebrities in China will be divided into three aspects for a detailed discussion.

7.3. The Commodification of Chinese Internet Celebrities

In the digital age, "social media allow people to become the curators of their own lives", and Internet celebrities' self-branding of their image is usually driven by

commercial interests (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 95). Under the role of Internet technology innovation, China's Internet celebrity industry chain can be summarized into three links: production, dissemination, and consumption. Around these three links, talent/MCN agencies, Internet celebrities, advertisers/online retailers, e-commerce/social platforms, and fans are all involved to jointly promote the accumulation and circulation of capital. Next, I will focus on these three links to explain the operation mode of capital in China's Internet celebrity industry.

7.3.1. The Production Process of China's Internet Celebrity Industry Chain

In the production process, the talent/MCN agency is the core organization to manage Internet celebrities and produce high-quality Internet content. As an intermediary, talent/MCN agencies sign up potential people and build their popularity through training, packaging, and marketing. After business cooperation with advertisers/online retailers, these Internet celebrities will split their revenue in proportion to their companies. Among them, influencers, as upper-level employees with huge fans, are the main source of the company's revenue. Some influencers even own shares of the company or become their own bosses, while proletarianized platform workers have less popularity, because of the lack of business cooperation, they are often at the bottom of the company with low income.

#1.3.1. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, July 21: "There are about 30 Internet celebrities at the top of our MCN agency. They are the main source of profit for our company and also the most intense working class (accounting for about 60% according to the finance department). As far as I know, everyone works more than 12 hours a day, and most of them work 365 days a year."

#1.3.1. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020,

July 21: "On the contrary, other Internet celebrities contracted by the company are assigned less business cooperation and activities due to their low visibility, and their working hours are mainly arranged between 8 p.m. and 2 a.m., with the day and night reversed to cater to some fans who have a habit of staying up late."

The cultivation of Internet celebrities by talent/MCN agencies has improved the quality of content production, thus realizing the transition from UGC (User Generated Content) to PGC (Professional Generated Content). According to Baker and Rojek, there is "a basic template for becoming an Internet celebrity/lifestyle guru": a) A carefully constructed persona; b) A compelling narrative story; c) Attractive images and social media profiles; d) Metrics accompanying the content (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 96-97). Under the packaging and marketing of talent/MCN agencies, Internet celebrities create real and attractive characters, thus shortening the emotional distance between the public face and fans.

In this process, talent/MCN agencies and influencers as entrepreneurs both act as capitalists, while the labour of proletarianized platform workers is alienated. Dominated by capital, these workers cannot decide the means or results of production and are forced to sell their labour-power as commodities and work in a low-paid and high-pressure environment. By searching the subject words 'company', 'training', and 'creation' in the interview report, it was found that all Internet celebrities signed by talent/MCN agencies receive unified management, training, and assessment and that their monthly salary is directly linked to their works and fans' feedback.

#2.3.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, October 23: "During the interview, the

company evaluated me based on my appearance, talent, aesthetic skills, stress tolerance, and other indicators, and designed a positioning for my personal style. After that, I received about a month of training, including courses such as model's pose, clothing matching and e-commerce operation [...]. After the training and assessment, I officially signed a contract to become a Taobao anchor."

#1.3.2. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 3: "I don't have a high degree of education, so the company has designed my personal identity as 'authenticity'. Later some fans sent me private messages after watching my live streaming shows, pointing out my repetitive words and lack of creativity [...]. After that, my company hired professional teachers as tutors, training me to tell stories and jokes. Now the fans all say that I have improved a lot and call me an 'intellectual'."

To improve the efficiency of content production, most of the contracted influencers are equipped with a team of managers for strict coordination. From daily life, role positioning to work content, the company will intervene in every link of production, to achieve optimal results. It can be concluded that while an influencer sounds as being self-determined but is in fact labour under the tight control of talent/MCN capital and management.

#1.3.3. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, November 16: "During the daytime, I will discuss with the team about the selected products, build the live streaming scene and design the live streaming process [...]; At 6 p.m., assistants and camera crews start preparing for the live streaming show, laying out the selection in

sequence and setting up the purchase link […]; After the live streaming show starts at 8 p.m., I will interact with fans, and my assistant will be in charge of distributing shopping allowance […]; When the live streaming show ends at 11 p.m., the team will review the purchase quantity and audiences' feedback together […]; Usually around 1 a.m., we finally call it a day's work."

By contrast, most of the proletarianized platform workers are self-employed. Although some of them have signed contracts with talent/MCN agencies, the complete production management model has not been formed due to the small scale of the company.

#2.2.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 26: "After joining the company, I was assigned an operation manager to manage my daily posts and assess the viewing and comment data of my videos every month […]. Whenever there is an advertising promotion, the operation manager will put forward some brand requirements, which requires me to adapt to their ideas for content creation […]. However, in terms of specific shooting and editing, I have to complete it by myself because there is no supporting team."

#2.1.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Social Media Platforms, 2020, August 26: "I usually have my personal affairs to deal with, so I need to squeeze out time to run my own social media platform, which often overwhelms me […]. I once thought about setting up a team to help me run the business, but I gave it up considering that it would be a huge expense if there was no support from the company."

7.3.2. The Dissemination Process of China's Internet Celebrity Industry Chain

In the dissemination segment, to quickly build brand awareness, Chinese advertisers and online retailers conduct targeted business cooperation with Internet celebrities. Combining the active and specialized fields of different Internet celebrities, business cooperation generally takes three forms: product placement, product recommendation, and product endorsement.

According to the interview content related to 'business cooperation' in the thematic analysis, non-physical products, such as courses and APPs, are generally promoted by product endorsement. Although this kind of cooperation will incur relatively high publicity costs, it is easier to establish the endorsement images of Internet celebrities, thus improving the trust of fans.

> *#1.1.3. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, October 3: "I am a psychological blogger, therefore, usually there will be some invitations of learning courses, psychological counselling, or Tarot divination for business promotion [...]. These non-physical courses, though expensive to promote, are harder to audit. Generally, I will first spend time investigating the qualifications of these courses and brands, and then choose the best to write an advertorial in my name and recommend it to my fans."*

In contrast, physical products, such as food, household, electronic products, etc., are generally based on product placement and product recommendation. The promotion cost in this way will be slightly lower but will also be limited by different platforms. Among them, Internet celebrities active on live streaming platforms mostly adopt product recommendation, while those active on social

media platforms and short video sites are more inclined to implant products into daily texts and videos.

> *#1.3.3. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, November 16: "Generally, we will conduct product trial before live streaming, and then write the key points of recommendation after personal experience. Subsequently, our team will communicate with the brand about the introduction of the products and the content of the live streaming, which needs to be reviewed and confirmed […]. After the live streaming, we will confirm the delivery process and after-sales system with the brand, to ensure the rights and interests of fans."*

> *#1.2.1. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, August 9: "I once worked with Siemens to promote a dishwasher product. Every time I shoot a food making video, a lot of kitchen utensils are used. After receiving the promotion invitation, I made a video in which I put all the utensils in the dishwasher after cooking and finished the housework in 30 minutes […]. Many fans originally came to watch my video, but after watching it, they were attracted to the dishwasher. To facilitate the purchase of fans, I posted a link in the comments section so that fans could make a quick purchase."*

To maximize the promotion of product value, most Chinese Internet celebrities need to follow the marketing requirements of brand owners and use designated advertising words when conducting business cooperation, which means that under the influence of contracts and economic interests, their external expression is controlled to a certain extent.

#1.2.3. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 22: "Once the company arranged for me to promote the advertisement of Dior. Although the price of the business cooperation was very high, the requirements of the brand were very complicated. It took me three days and several consultations before I finally met their publishing requirements […]. Generally, the more well-known brand, the higher the degree of strict cooperation."

For Internet celebrities with different numbers of fans, there are two main ways to calculate advertising fees: CPA (Cost Per Action) and CPS (Cost Per Sales). CPA is charged according to the actual advertising effect, such as the number of views and comments, while CPS is charged in line with the actual number of products sold. Based on these forms and standards, Internet celebrities incorporate the brand in their texts, pictures, videos, and livestreams, and hand over advertising fees to the company for performance calculation.

a) CPA (Cost Per Action)

By searching the keyword 'income' in the interview report, it can be concluded that the income calculation method of Chinese Internet celebrities who are active on social media platforms and short video sites is mostly CPA (Cost Per Action). Their main sources of income mainly consist of the brand cooperation project and the bonus/ viewing rewards, which will be evaluated according to the final promotion effect.

#1.1.2. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, August 20: "I have set up a studio with relatively mature personnel configuration, including writing, shooting, editing, business and other aspects, all of which can be decided by myself […]. At the moment, my

main source of income is the brand cooperation projects undertaken by my studio. Usually, the promotion fee of a project is 30,000-50,000 yuan (≈3300-5500 pounds), and the cost of staff, site and equipment is about 20,000 yuan (≈2200 pounds). After the cost, there is still 10,000-30,000 yuan (≈1100-3300 pounds) left."

#1.2.3. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 22: "I have signed a contract with an MCN agency, and I also run an online store. Therefore, my main sources of income are advertising cooperation, video viewing rewards and self-brand income […]. The advertising revenue will be calculated according to the proportion of business cooperation (usually 40%); The viewing rewards are calculated based on the number of views on various video sites; The self-brand income comes from my own online store, which also brings me some additional subsidies."

b) CPS (Cost Per Sales)

For Chinese Internet celebrities who are active on live streaming platforms, their income calculation method mainly refers to CPS (Cost Per Sales). In this aspect, there are obvious differences between the influencers and the proletarianized platform workers. According to the interview results, the income sources of influencers from live streaming platforms include signing fees, reservation fees, and sales commissions, which are based on the transmissibility and influence of well-known influencers.

#1.3.3. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, November 16: "As a live commerce anchor, my main income is the sum of signing fee, reservation fee and sales commission […]. The signing

fee is fixed. Every year, my company will sign a cooperation agreement with me, which requires me to do exclusive live streaming; The reservation fee is signed with the brand. After the payment, this brand can be qualified to do live commerce, and I can have 30% of the share; The sales commission is generally 20-30% of the sales of each live streaming show, depending on each agreement signed."

In contrast, the income sources of proletarianized platform workers who are active on live streaming platforms are relatively simple, consisting of base salary and commission. For commerce-oriented proletarianized platform workers, their commission is mainly based on sales volume, while the interaction-led proletarianized platform workers, their commission mainly refers to the virtual gifts tipped by fans.

#2.3.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, October 23: "I am a full-time Taobao anchor, and my current income is 5,000-yuan (≈550 pounds) base salary + 1% live streaming sales commission [...]. The Taobao store where I work has signed a contract with six anchors. The store owner evaluates our sales every month, which makes me nervous about my own performance."

#2.3.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 11: "My main source of income is my basic salary + live-streaming rewards. For each live streaming show, the platform and the company will draw a certain amount of commission for gifts tipped by fans, which will be automatically settled and paid to my account every month [...]. In general, the platform takes

40% and the company takes 30% of the gifts in each live streaming show.

In the end, only 30% comes to me, after deducting the tax and additional

handling fee, the actual income I receive was very low."

At the same time, in the process of dissemination, these texts, pictures, videos, and livestreams, which incorporate targeted advertising content, will be delivered on different e-commerce/social platforms. In China's popular social media platforms (such as Sina Weibo, RED), short-video sites (such as Tik Tok, Meipai), live-streaming platforms (such as Douyu, Huya), and e-commerce platforms (Such as Taobao, JD), users' clicks, retweets and comments are aggregated into a huge amount of user data, which is sold to advertisers to facilitate their marketing plans.

In fact, these 'prosumers' carry out much of the labour in the Internet celebrity industry, which enables platforms to efficiently collect, filter, and analyse data to sell target audiences to advertisers (Freedman, 2012). This kind of user-generated content has two characteristics, it is an innovative form of participation but also a means for capitalists to improve efficiency (Freedman, 2012). In this session, both advertisers and platforms are capitalists, while the labour of fans is alienated. Fans spend unpaid labour time generating online activities on platforms, and this user data is sold as commodities to advertisers, thereby converting surplus-value into monetary profits.

Amid fierce competition, to achieve the best marketing effect, 'paid promotion' has become especially important in China's Internet celebrity industry. According to the thematic analysis of 'paid promotion' in the interview report, most influencers will take this form, and the expenses will be paid by the company or brand. Under the mature operation mechanism, many brands will specify whether the paid promotion is included in their partnership agreements, to improve the

popularity of Internet celebrities in an open and transparent way.

> *#1.2.2. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, September 30: "My company used to buy the number of views and fan interactions for me. The number of views on Kuaishou is cheap to promote, with 1000-1300 views available for as little as 8 yuan (≈0.88 pounds); RED has a minimum view-count promotion of 50 yuan (≈5.5 pounds), which is a bit more expensive. When cooperating with the company, the brand would sometimes buy some promotions for me, to increase the views of the texts and videos [...]. This practice is common among Internet celebrities in China."*

> *#1.3.2. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 3: "At present, the ratio of real audiences and virtual audiences of Huya is about 1:5. The highest number of online viewers in my live streaming room is 600,000, so at least 100,000 people watch my live streaming show through mobile phones or computers every day. These virtual audiences are the 'robots' purchased by my company, to make the live streaming shows look more popular [...]. The more virtual audiences in the live streaming room, the more real audiences will be attracted to click and watch. It's a virtuous circle, and I think it makes sense."*

As for the proletarianized platform workers, whether they can get extra paid promotions depends on the company and their financial level. In the early stage of entering the industry, proletarianized platform workers with a certain economic basis will rely on paid promotions to attract the first batch of fans, while those without such conditions can only rely on their own efforts. In China's Internet

celebrity industry, a complete industry chain of paid promotion has been formed, where the number of fans, views, comments, and reposts can all be purchased on demand.

> *#2.1.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Social Media Platforms, 2020, August 26: "In the early days, I bought some paid promotions. At that time, I was new to the Internet celebrity industry. To get more views for my articles, I spent a lot of money on several promotions, and my earliest fans started following me because of this […]. In fact, it's hard to increase your visibility without some outside help. Therefore, I think this is an effective way to promote myself."*

> *#2.3.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 11: "When I first started as an anchor, I used to buy the number of fans on Taobao to increase my popularity. However, these fans are only filling the numbers in the live streaming room. They had no interactive features and were expensive, so after a few tries I gave up […]. As far as I know, Taobao has formed an industrial chain. Many Internet celebrities buy fans, reviews, and likes on Taobao, all of which are clearly priced."*

7.3.3. The Consumption Process of China's Internet Celebrity Industry Chain

According to Chris Rojek's Consumption and Leisure Theory, social media has spawned the rise of Internet celebrities/lifestyle gurus "who provide fans with tips on lifestyle values, emotional labour, and personality skills". At the same time, "commodified culture is expanding at a dramatic rate" (Rojek 2017, 524). In the consumption sphere, the interaction between fans and Internet celebrities on e-commerce/social platforms generates emotions and symbolic maintenance. Fans

choose to buy goods and services recommended by Internet celebrities, which constitutes the consumption process of the Internet celebrity industry chain.

Based on Randall Collins's Interaction Ritual Chains (IRS) theory (Collins, 2004), when targeted advertisements are promoted to specific fan communities, fans will focus on common products or activities and respond to the call of Internet celebrities for consumption to enhance group identity. According to my interviews, fans from social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms spend an average of 1-2 hours a day on fan activities to realize their social demands on the Internet.

> *#3.1.1. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 12: "I have joined the fan group and spend 1-2 hours a day watching Sina Weibo and videos of Internet celebrities, as well as reading the comments below […]. In my opinion, because of the social nature of human beings, it is necessary to seek the sense of identity through the collective, which also brings a way to communicate with the society for the modern young people with social phobia […]. However, human energy is limited, and if you spend too much time in the virtual world, you are bound to miss some of the interpersonal communication in real life."*

> *#3.1.2. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 27: "Every day after work, I would spend about 2 hours logging on to Sina Weibo, mainly to check the daily updates of some KOLs I follow, which is basically part of my daily life […]. In fact, being a fan has enriched my daily life and entertainment and made the social model more interesting. At present, I still enjoy this way of life. It is also a way*

to communicate with the outside world and keep myself young and energetic."

As a matter of fact, the process of fans' click-and-buy is the surplus-value realization process of advertisers (Fuchs, 2014a). Fans have no control over their process and product of labour, while monetary profits are controlled by capitalists: platforms and advertisers, which reflects the process of consumption and capital accumulation in the Internet celebrity industry. Through the thematic analysis of the interview contents, it can be found that the consumption behaviour of fans active on social media platforms and short video sites is mainly reflected in the purchase of goods. This consumption pattern takes advantage of fans' conformity psychology and triggers their consumption impulse through emotional guidance.

However, although the market society and leisure choices are formally self-determined, exaggeration and hard sell soon follow when you are faced with marketization and monetization. As Rojek said, "Ubiquitous access and inefficient models of regulation combine to encourage unethical practice on the parts of both producers and consumers." (Rojek 2017, 525). In China's Internet celebrity industry, Internet celebrities use e-commerce/social platforms to over-glamourize and exaggerate the value of commodities, while fans are easily encouraged to consume irrationally due to their emotional connections with Internet celebrities.

#3.2.2. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, November 7: "I have bought homemade snacks recommended in videos by Internet celebrities […]. I think fans' purchasing behaviour is mainly due to the over-promotion of Internet celebrities […]. Take me as an example. When I was a student, I was easily tempted by exaggerated admass and could not resist the temptation to consume. Later, when I began to work,

I would make a judgment based on my situation and choose goods that were really needed [...]. As I become more senior, I have become more rational in my consumption."

#3.1.3. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, December 15: "I have followed several Internet celebrities and purchased goods from their Taobao stores [...]. I think it is normal behaviour for fans to spend money on Internet celebrities [...]. It is the fans' personal choice to spend money on Internet celebrities appropriately. But if fans spend more money than they can afford, it is a pathological behaviour [...]. Many younger and less educated fans are induced by Internet celebrities due to lack of judgment, which is the result of blind consumption beyond their ability."

On the other hand, the consumption behaviour of fans active on live streaming platforms consists of the purchase of goods and the reward of virtual gifts. In the era of new media, live streaming has become a major front of scene consumption. Chinese Internet celebrities shorten the psychological distance with fans through talent shows and interactive communication, to drive consumption with an intimate atmosphere. However, some fans constantly display themselves through consumption to attract the attention of Internet celebrities, which will lead to excessive consumption.

#3.3.1. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, June 21: "I'm a huge fan of computer game live streaming. Sometimes, as a show of support, I tip gifts to anchors, with individual gifts ranging in price from 10 yuan to 500 yuan (≈1.1-55 pounds) [...]. In my opinion, this is a beneficial way to enhance feelings and interact with anchors, but we

must make rational consumption on the premise of personal economic ability. As long as it is within the limits, I think there is nothing wrong with it."

#3.3.2. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 28: "To interact closely with Internet celebrities, I once attended fan meetings, and tipped gifts to anchors while watching live streaming shows [...]. As an adult, I think fan consumption is not different from any other consumption, it's all about satisfying normal psychological demands [...]. If there is excessive consumption, they should consider whether they are not mentally mature enough. Fans need to take the consequences themselves."

Throughout the production, dissemination, and consumption link of China's Internet celebrity industry chain, it can be found that this includes not only the capital accumulation of talent agencies and advertisers but also the capital accumulation of social platforms. In this process, the role of capitalists is constantly changing among talent/MCN agencies, advertisers/online retailers, social platform owners, and even entrepreneurial influencers. As a result, the labour of proletarianized platform workers and fans is alienated, which constitutes the exploitation of digital labour by capital. In this case, every participant in the Internet space is working, and the working space for labour has been extended. Thus, the whole society has become a 'social factory' (Tronti, 1962). In the next section, the monetarization approach of Chinese Internet celebrities will be fully analysed, thus summarizing the commodification model of this industry.

7.4. The Monetarization Approach of China's Internet Celebrity Industry

The monetarization approach of the Internet celebrity industry can be understood as that Internet celebrities meet the different needs of fans through the dissemination of sustainable content production, to build their IP brands and realize the development of commodification. At present, there are three ways of monetarization in China's Internet celebrity industry: advertising monetarization, e-commerce monetarization, and reward monetarization (Jia, 2016).

7.4.1. Advertising Monetarization of Internet Celebrities in China

For Chinese Internet celebrities, advertising is the most direct and common way of monetarization. In daily interaction with fans, Internet celebrities with a large fan base and strong appeal can organically combine advertising and content, and finally realize monetarization by integrating commercial resources. In the Internet celebrity industry, advertising fees for Internet celebrities vary according to the number of fans. At present, the advertising forms of Internet celebrities can be divided into three types: product placement, product recommendation, and product endorsement. At the moment, the most popular type is the product placement of short videos. Internet celebrities will insert brand advertisements into their content in a soft, casual way, inadvertently serving as propaganda. The following table shows the advertising quotations of Internet celebrities on Tik Tok (Xiaohulu, 2021):

Number	Name	Fans	1-20 seconds Video Fees	21-60 seconds Video Fees
1	Hui Shuo Hua De Liu Er Dou	41.66 m	£57.2 k	£85.8 k
2	Yi Chan Xiao He Shang	40.99 m	£53.9 k	£75.4 k

3	Qi Jiu Nao Ye	27.77 m	£51 k	£71.1 k
4	Hei Lian V	24.9 m	£52.8 k	£69.5 k
5	Papi Jiang	22.61 m	£49.5 k	£68.3 k
6	Dai Gu La K	22.11 m	£50.1 k	£75.1 k
7	Shan Cun Xiao Jie	17.61 m	£48.4k	£69 k
8	Peng Shi Liu Elf	17.53 m	£45.1 k	£64.4 k
9	Zhong Ge	16.28 m	£42.9 k	£62.2k
10	Hui Zi Ssica	15.8 m	£41.8 k	£57.3 k
11	Tu Zi Ya	15.63 m	£39.2k	£56 k
12	Tian Tian Xiao Yuan	15.02 m	£33.8 k	£53.9 k
13	Hu Er	14.04 m	£32.5 k	£42.9 k
14	Ban Gong Shi Xiao Ye	13.28 m	£30.8 k	£41k
15	Mao Nv Lin	11.07 m	£31.5 k	£47.2 k
16	Zhang Xin Yao	10.77 m	£29.6 k	£44.2 k
17	Kai Gua De Mao Er Wai	10.54 m	£26.2 k	£42.4 k
18	Liu Yu	10.5 m	£25 k	£43.1 k
19	itsRae	9.65 m	£22.9 k	£40.5 k
20	AG Chao Wan Hui Meng Lei	9.61 m	£24.3 k	£36.5 k

FIGURE 7.3 Advertising Quotations of Internet Celebrities on Tik Tok

(Xiaohulu, 2021, 1yuan≈0.11 pounds)

According to the correlation analysis between the number of fans and advertising fees shown in the figure, it can be concluded that the more fans one has, the higher the advertising fees, which is positively correlated. This confirms Marx's labour

theory of value, assuming that those who watch and click the advertisements create value by forming an audience commodity. The larger the audiences of followers, the more time the users collectively spend watching, engaging with, and clicking on ad-accompanied texts, short videos, and live streaming, so their value is higher.
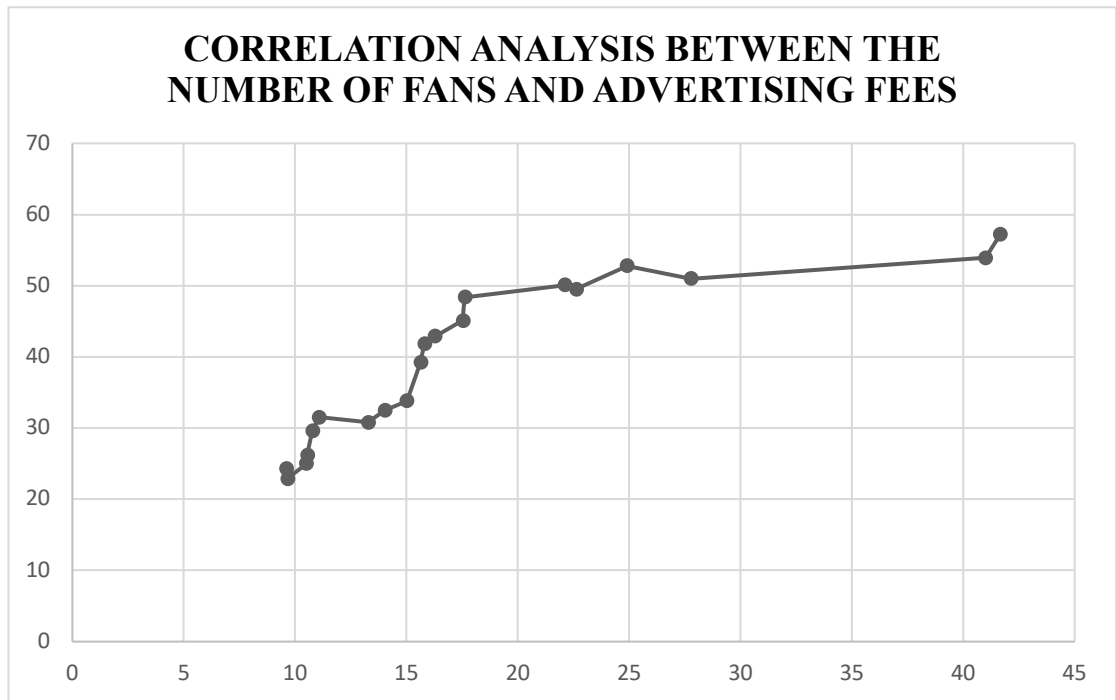
FIGURE 7.4 Correlation Analysis Between Fans and Advertising Fees

However, not all Chinese Internet celebrities have complete control over their work when it comes to advertising business cooperation. According to the interview results, most influencers will carefully check the quality and effect of the products before accepting the advertisement invitation, and they have the right to freely control the creation process of their works; In contrast, the proletarianized platform workers can only accept the company's work assignment, but cannot refuse the requirements of the brand, which often leaves them in a passive situation.

#1.3.1. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, July 21: "I once worked with a skincare brand. At that time, because of

the approaching shopping festival, they wanted me to publish a video and recommend it in a live streaming show within 3 days. However, after browsing the product introduction, I found that this skincare product needs to be used for at least 14 days to have any effect. Considering that I need to be responsible for my fans, I negotiated with the brand to have more time for the evaluation [...]. In the end, due to the failure of coordination, the brand cancelled the cooperation."

#2.2.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, August 31: "My company once arranged a promotion of a knife set for me. During the trial process, I found defects in the product. However, due to the work instruction of the company, I had to recommend this product, so I finally uploaded the video according to the requirements of the brand [...]. After some fans bought the products, they sent me private messages because of the product defects. I didn't know how to answer and can only reflect the situation with the company. In that case, I felt guilty for my fans."

In the advertising monetarization of Internet celebrities, the number of views of articles/videos and the amount of interaction between Internet celebrities and fans, are two important indicators to evaluate the effect of advertisements. According to my interview, most of the Internet celebrities cooperated closely with major brands and advertisers, which achieved good advertising results. Among them, product placement and product recommendation are generally carried out online, while product endorsement requires Internet celebrities to participate in brand activities for all-round promotion from online to offline.

Brand	Internet Celebrity	Method of Cooperation	Number of Views	Number of Interaction
Maybelline	Zhang Da Yi	Product Endorsement	6.2 m	1.4 m
Watson	Wen Wan	Product Endorsement	10 m	3 m
Unilever	Da Jin	Product Placement	18.3 m	6.74 m
DPC	Chong Chong	Product Placement	15.1 m	1.5 m
Notime	Yang Xia	Product Recommendation	3 m	1.36 m

FIGURE 7.5 Advertising Effects of Internet Celebrities in Ruhnn

(Xiaohulu, 2021)

Based on the thematic analysis of 'advertising' and 'monthly income' in the interview report, the advertising income of influencers with high attention can reach hundreds of thousands of yuan (tens of thousands of pounds) per month, while the income of proletarianized platform workers is basically a few thousand yuan (dozens of pounds) per month.

#1.2.2. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, September 30: "In the Internet celebrity industry, our advertising fees are all based on the number of fans and views. It's a common fact that if you don't get enough attention and views, you won't get advertisements [...]. My monthly income varies according to the number of holidays. In the months with intensive holidays, business cooperation will be relatively more, and the income can reach about 300,000 yuan (≈33 thousand

pounds) a month; If in the off-season, the income is about 150,000-
200,000 yuan (≈16.5-22 thousand pounds) a month."

#2.2.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video
Sites, 2020, August 31: "Our company has a weekly ranking of video
views, and high-ranking vloggers can get higher salaries and bonuses
[…]. My income is composed of basic salary and commission. The basic
salary is 5,000 yuan (≈550 pounds), and the monthly income will vary
according to the number of video views. If the number of views is
relatively high, the monthly income plus commission can reach 10,000
to 15,000 yuan (≈1100-1650 pounds); If the viewing number is not well
evaluated, my monthly salary is only about 6,000-8,000 yuan (≈660-880
pounds)."

7.4.2. E-commerce Monetarization of Internet Celebrities in China

With the popularity of online payment technology, the monetarization approach of
'Internet celebrity + e-commerce' has become another way to make profits, among
which GMV is the measurement index. GMV (Gross Merchandise Volume) refers
to the transaction amount of e-commerce platforms, including the amount paid and
unpaid. It represents the consumption level of fans and reflects the monetarization
ability of Internet celebrities, so it is an important reference index in the Internet
celebrity industry.

According to the *2020 Q3 Financial Results* released by Ruhnn, the
monetarization mode of e-commerce has realized GMV 727 million yuan (≈80
million pounds) in the third quarter of 2020, with a year-on-year growth of 249.35%
and a month-on-month growth of 56.68%. Among them, there are 145 Internet
celebrities in Ruhnn participating in this monetarization mode, and the number of

cooperating brands has reached 961, which has become the main source of the company's profits.
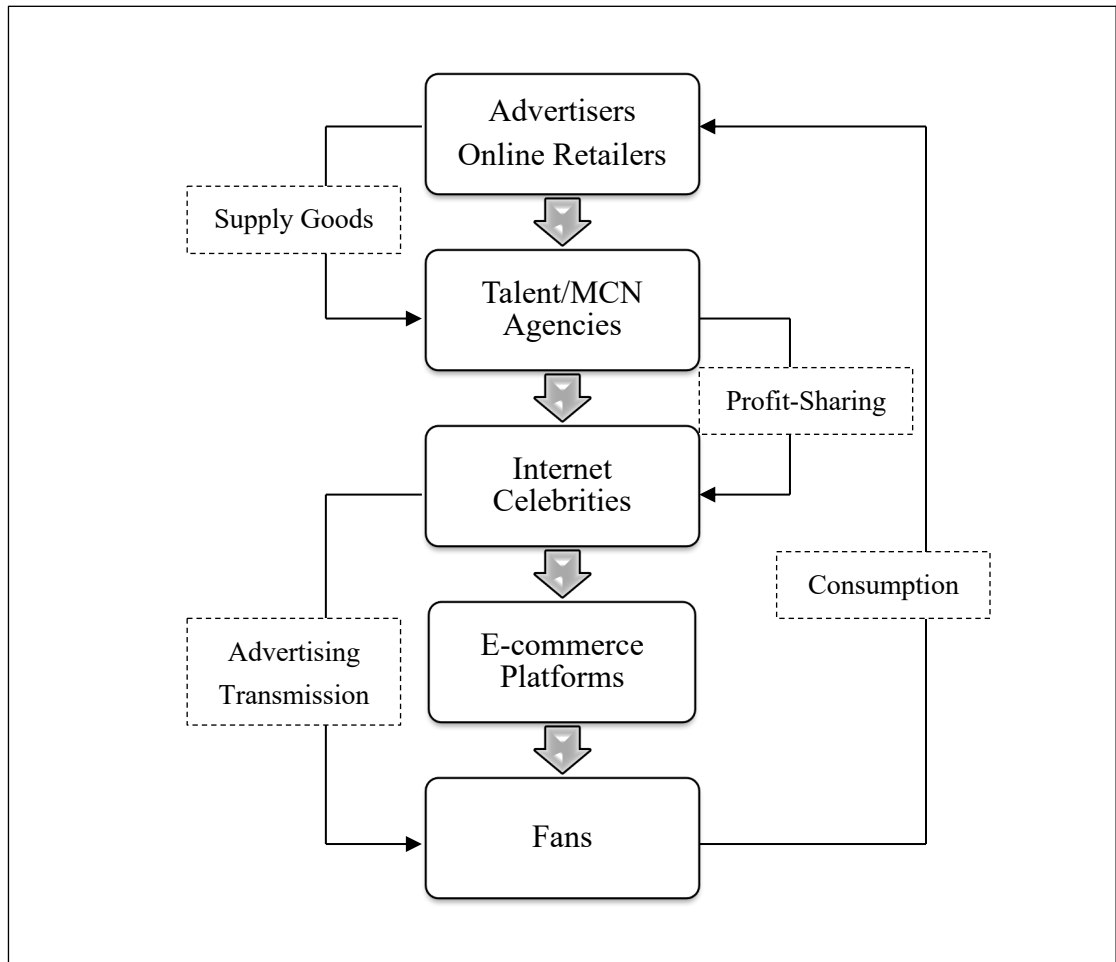
FIGURE 7.6 E-commerce Monetarization in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

E-commerce monetarization of the Internet celebrity industry depends on the incitement ability of Internet celebrities and the purchasing power of fans. First of all, through in-depth investigation, talent/MCN agencies will accurately grasp the market changes and fan needs. Secondly, a high frequency of interaction will shorten the distance between Internet celebrities and fans, which will also stimulate fans' consumption potential. When the setting has reached a certain level, Internet celebrities will enter the e-commerce platforms and set up 'celebrity shops' in their own names. According to the semi-structured interviews, some of the

influencers have established their own brands after accumulating a certain fan base, which is not common among the proletarianized platform workers.

> *#1.2.1. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, August 9:*
> *"My main sources of income are advertising cooperation and my own Taobao store, which sells tableware and kitchenware that I think are useful in daily life [...]. I started this online business because some of my fans didn't know how to shop for kitchen utensils, so I came up with the idea of sharing what I thought was really useful."*

> *#1.2.3. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 22:*
> *"I have an online store of my own independent brand. Usually, after careful evaluation, I will select suitable products and place my store/product link at an appropriate position in my videos [...]. Through my certification, these products are of high quality and cost-effective. I have a responsibility to my fans, and that's what I promised when I started my own brand."*

To attract attention, these Internet celebrities will personally design, select, produce, and operate their stores with unique styles. What's more, according to the interview report, some Internet celebrities will adopt the model of C2B (Customer to Business) and make full use of the pre-sale mechanism. There are also some Internet celebrities who increase the purchasing power of fans through live commerce. The deep involvement of Internet celebrities in the business process makes the fans of e-commerce platforms have the dual characteristics of high conversion rate and high repeat purchase rate.

> *#2.3.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live*

Streaming Platforms, 2020, October 23: "In the Taobao live streaming industry, the speed of updating anchors is particularly fast, and pressure is very common for us. If the anchor doesn't have good sales or business skills, it's easy to be replaced by the store owner […]. For every extra piece of clothing I sell, I get an extra cent of my income, so I have to sell as much as I can during every live streaming show."

#1.3.3. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, November 16: "Some of the products I recommend in the live streaming shows are directly supplied by the brands, while others I actively contacted the brands to seek cooperation. Whatever the means, I would choose the products to be recommended in a professional manner […]. Although the price cannot be the lowest among all the quotations, I would try my best to provide pre-sale and after-sale guidance and serve consumers with my professional knowledge."

7.4.3. Reward Monetarization of Internet Celebrities in China

To quickly accumulate popularity and reduce transaction costs, some Internet celebrities start to take content and service as the breakthrough point and realize monetarization through paid reading, and the reward of live streaming. Paid reading refers to paid questions and fans' rewards when reading articles, while the reward of live streaming refers to fans tipping gifts to Internet celebrities during live streaming shows. Internet celebrities with paid reading as the main monetarization channel are mostly 'we media' content creators. Relying on their creative ability, they accumulate popularity on various platforms and obtain profits through likes and rewards.

At present, paid question function and fans' reward of Sina Weibo, WeChat, Zhihu

are the main approaches of this monetarization model. Among them, the paid question is paid before reading, and fans' reward is paid after reading. No matter what form it is, knowledgeable Internet celebrities can present their professional and valuable content to give fans a good reading experience. Based on the thematic analysis of 'paid reading' in the interview report, it is concluded that Chinese Internet celebrities active on social media platforms are the main group of this monetarization method, who rely on their professional knowledge to gain praise and income.

#2.1.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Social Media Platforms, 2020, August 26: "After I started writing a column on Zhihu, I started getting letters from my fans. They would ask me questions and sometimes pay me to answer them [...]. This is a feeling of being needed and recognized, which makes me feel that I can help others with my major and knowledge, thus gaining a full sense of achievement."

#1.1.2. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, August 20: "The stories I share on Sina Weibo are mostly inspired by the interesting things that happen in my life and travel. For example, in the process of travelling, I will share my strategies with fans, so that we can see the beauty of the world together through the Internet [...]. Sometimes these fans will tip me rewards as a compliment, which is a kind of encouragement for me."

Internet celebrities whose main monetarization channel is the reward of live streaming are mostly with the outstanding appearances or have unique talents in computer games. When these Internet celebrities enter the live streaming platforms, the platforms will sell virtual gifts to fans in the form of top-ups. During the

process of watching the live streaming shows, fans will express their support for Internet celebrities by 'tipping gifts', and the gifts received by Internet celebrities will eventually be discounted by a certain proportion and converted into profits.

Platform	Top-up Proportion	Special Gift	Most Expensive Gift
Douyu	1 yuan≈0.11 pounds =1 Shark's fin	Victory =0.1 Shark's fin Failure =0.2 Shark's fin 666=6 Shark's fin	Super rocket =2000 Shark's fin
Huya	1 yuan≈0.11 pounds =700 Gold doug	Old hand =100 Gold doug Lovely =100 Gold doug Like you=900 Gold doug	Treasure map =5000000 Gold doug
Inke	1 yuan≈0.11 pounds =10 Diamond	Cherry blossom =1 Diamond Cucumber =1 Diamond Red lip =33 Diamond	Yacht =13140 Diamond
Panda TV	6 yuan≈0.66 pounds =40 Panda coins	Rice balls =2 Panda coins Grilled fish =50 Panda coins Lobster =1000 Panda coins	Buddha Jumps over the Wall =9999 Panda coins
Momo	1 yuan≈0.11 pounds =10 Momo coins	Applause =1 Momo coins Kiss =19 Momo coins Gold microphone =99 Momo coins	Rocket of love =18888 Momo coins
Yi	1 yuan≈0.11 pounds =70 Gold coins	Sunflower =10 Gold coins Fairy wand =10 Gold coins Sun shower =10000 Gold coins	Cruise =131400 Gold coins

FIGURE 7.7 List of Virtual Gifts of Major Live Streaming platforms in China (Xiaohulu, 2021, 1yuan≈0.11 pounds)

According to interviews with Internet celebrities in the field of live streaming, their income varies due to their popularity and the financial power of their fans. It is common for influencers to receive large gifts for a single live streaming show, but it is rare for proletarianized platform workers.

#2.3.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, December 28: "I sometimes sing songs and tell jokes while doing computer games commentary, and my fans would tip me some small gifts when they are amused. Occasionally, when I celebrated my birthday in the live streaming room, I could receive a few more expensive virtual gifts [...]. I've always been grateful to my fans for their support."

#1.3.2. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 3: "When I was a computer game anchor on Huya, I once received virtual gifts from fans totalling 130,000 yuan (≈14.3 thousand pounds). For these live streaming rewards, the platform takes 50%, my company takes 10%, and the rest is about 50,000 yuan (≈5500 pounds) [...]. In each live streaming show, I will receive such tipped gifts, but the amount is variable, which mainly depends on the performance of the show and the feedback of fans. Generally, a live streaming show with more than 100,000 yuan (≈11 thousand pounds) is a good performance."

At present, the sharing rules of live streaming platforms in the market all follow the basic rules: a) The commission ratio is in direct proportion to the fame and number of fans of Internet celebrities; b) The sharing proportion of live streaming platforms exceeds 50% of the total value of gifts; c) The income tax shall be borne by Internet celebrities themselves; d) The settlement period of the gift varies from one to three months. According to the IPO report of Kuaishou, from 2017 to 2019, the revenue of live streaming awards is 7.9 billion yuan (≈869 million pounds), 18.6 billion yuan (≈2 billion pounds) and 31.4 billion yuan (≈3.5 billion pounds) respectively, accounting for 95.3%, 91.7% and 80.4% of the total revenue. It can be said that in most live streaming platforms in China, reward business has become

the absolute main force.

7.5. Conclusion

With the advent of the new economic era, the Internet has overturned the traditional business model, which has triggered cultural transformation and social innovation. As an important part of the digital economy, China's Internet celebrity industry contains the unique economic value and cultural connotation. Its industrial attribute has promoted the rapid rise of the Internet celebrity industry chain, but the excessive commodification has also brought about the crisis of vicious competition and labour exploitation.

Therefore, considering that political economy is a major perspective in communication and media research, this chapter summarizes the industry chain, commodification, and monetarization approach of China's Internet celebrity industry based on the semi-structured interviews with influencers, proletarianized platform workers, and fans, thus concluding the commodification of Internet celebrities in China.

Under the momentum of mobile networks and the packaging of talent/MCN agencies, Internet celebrities take e-commerce/social platforms as strategic media for rapid promotion and build their IP brands through personalized content. This emerging business model has provided a platform for ordinary people to show their personality and talents, which has also realized the monetarization of social assets. To be specific, China's Internet celebrity industry chain consists of three links: production, dissemination, and consumption, which exactly correspond to the three stages of upstream, midstream, and downstream (Yang, 2018). In these three links, different subjects of the Internet celebrity industry are involved: Internet celebrities, fans, talent/MCN agencies, e-commerce/social platforms, and

advertisers/online retailers, and capital will permeate each stage of the industry chain.

In the production process, talent/MCN agencies sign up potential people and build their popularity through training, packaging, and marketing. After business cooperation with advertisers/online retailers, these Internet celebrities will split their revenue in proportion to their companies. Among them, influencers are the main source of the company's revenue, while proletarianized platform workers are often at the bottom of the company with low income. In general, all Internet celebrities signed by talent/MCN agencies will receive unified management, training and assessment, and their monthly salary will be directly linked to their work effect and fans' feedback.

In the dissemination segment, according to the requirements of advertisers/online retailers, Internet celebrities will post texts, pictures, videos, and livestreams on e-commerce/social platforms to attract fans' attention. Combining the active and specialized fields of different Internet celebrities, business cooperation generally takes three forms: product placement, product recommendation and product endorsement. At the same time, users' clicks, retweets, and comments are aggregated into a huge amount of user data, which is sold as commodities to advertisers/online retailers to facilitate their marketing plans.

In the consumption sphere, the interaction between fans and Internet celebrities generates emotions and symbolic maintenance, thus forming a fan culture with organizational thoughts. when targeted advertisements are promoted to specific fan communities, fans will focus on common products or activities and respond to the call of Internet celebrities for consumption to enhance group identity. In fact, the process of fans' click-and-buy is the surplus-value realization process of

advertisers (Fuchs, 2014a). Fans have no control over their process and product of labour, while monetary profits are controlled by capitalists: platforms and advertisers.
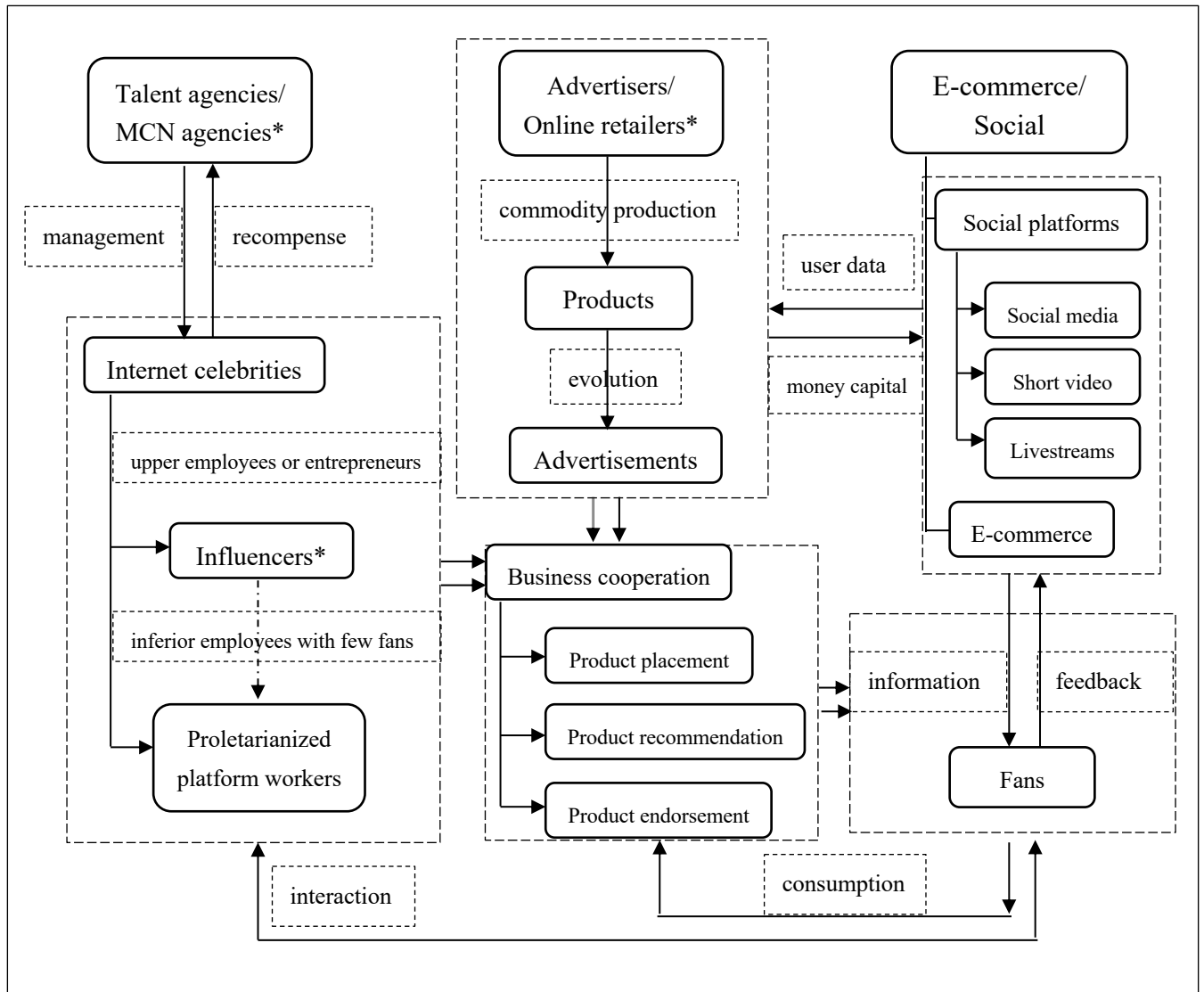
FIGURE 7.8 Capital Accumulation in the Internet Celebrity Industry

It can be said that in this model of production, dissemination, and consumption, talent/MCN agencies and Internet celebrities use various strategies on e-commerce /social platforms to attract fans' attention, support, likes, and engagement, and sell these users' attention in aggregated form as commodities to advertisers/online

retailers. In this case, Internet celebrities make profits from users' support behaviour. Fans' digital labour creates the economic value of the Internet celebrity industry.

Specific to the monetarization approach, at present, there are three ways of monetarization in China's Internet celebrity industry: advertising monetarization, e-commerce monetarization, and reward monetarization (Jia, 2016). Regardless of the monetarization approach, Chinese Internet celebrities will meet the different needs of fans through the dissemination of sustainable content production to build their IP brands and realize the development of commodification.

As for advertising monetarization, Internet celebrities with a large fan base and strong appeal can organically combine advertising and content, and finally realize monetarization by integrating commercial resources; E-commerce monetarization of the Internet celebrity industry depends on the incitement ability of Internet celebrities and the purchasing power of fans. To attract attention, these Internet celebrities will personally design, select, produce, and operate their stores to stimulate fans' consumption potential; In addition, to quickly accumulate popularity and reduce transaction costs, some Internet celebrities take content and service as the breakthrough point and realize monetarization through paid reading and reward of live streaming.

In conclusion, China's Internet celebrity industry can be seen as a dynamic industrial cycle system. Under the operation of the links of production, dissemination, and consumption, China's Internet celebrity industry carries out self-regulation and self-circulation through the coordination of multiple participating subjects and develop under the political economy of communication with Chinese characteristics.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Working Conditions in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

8.1. Introduction

In the digital age, the Internet and social media have empowered traditional audiences and expanded the boundaries of their work. Digital technology is imperceptibly embedded in politics, economy, and culture, which has a great impact on the large social system including capital and labour. As Rojek says, "leisure is becoming a social site in which multifarious lifestyle tips are sought after and accumulated" (Rojek 2017, 524). Labour is no longer just seen as an element of the labour-capital relationship, but as a broader concept, which is used to analyse many aspects of daily life, especially on the Internet (Burston, Dyer-Witheford & Hearn, 2010).

An important term emerging from the digital age is 'digital labour', which is characterized by the fact that the boundaries between play and labour, work time and leisure time, production and consumption, public and private life tend to blur (Fuchs, 2014a). In 2014, Christian Fuchs extended this concept based on his book *Digital labour and Karl Marx* (Fuchs, 2014a). In this context, the notion of digital labour became more to be understood as "all labour/activities that contribute to the production of digital media technologies and contents" (Fuchs 2014a, 351-352). This interpretation has expanded the conceptual scope of digital labour, thus opening a new chapter of the Marxist labour theory of value.

As a specific category of digital labour, Internet celebrities proactively receive their moment of fame, which is aimed to cater to the public appetite for a character type that sums up the times. As an important indicator to determine the life cycle

of Internet celebrities, the number of fans determines the popularity of Internet celebrities. In China's Internet celebrity market, popular influencers have millions of followers. They can grasp most of the economic interests in the market, develop their own businesses and even hire employees, while proletarianized platform workers have a small fan base. Most of their income consists of a low base salary and a 20-50% activity/platform share, leaving them to work under severe exploitation by talent/MCN agencies.

According to the circuit of capital accumulation described by Karl Marx (Marx, 1885:109), the first stage of capital accumulation requires the investment of capital to purchase the productive forces, that is, money (M) is used to buy labour-power as commodities (C) (Marx, 1885:110). The second stage enters the labour process and produces (P) a new commodity (C') that contains more value greater than the sum of its parts, and this surplus-value needs to be realized by selling the commodities in the market and converted into more money (M') (Marx, 1885:125). Therefore, the circuit of capital accumulation can be described by the following figure:
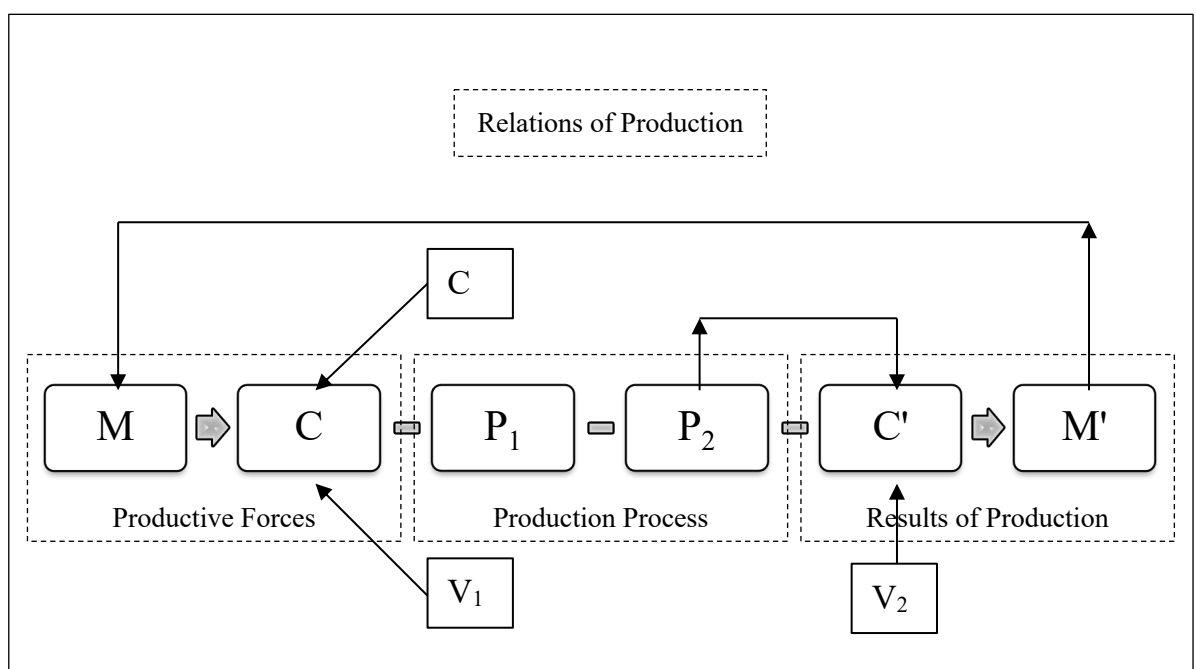
FIGURE 8.1 The Circuit of Capital Accumulation (based on Fuchs 2014a, 97)

This figure identifies four areas that shape working conditions throughout the process of capital accumulation: productive forces, production process, results of production, and relations of production. The productive forces include means of production and labour-power, reflected in its external impact and internal experiences; The production process involves specific aspects of work, including labour spaces, work activity, work experiences, and control mechanism; The results of production is the labour product that includes the workers' time and energy; Relations of production are the relations between capital and labour, which is reflected in wages, struggles, and labour contracts (Fuchs, 2014d).

Throughout the production, dissemination, and consumption process of China's Internet celebrity industry chain, it can be found that this includes not only the capital accumulation of talent agencies and advertisers but also the capital accumulation of social platforms. In this process, the role of capitalists is constantly changing among talent agencies, advertisers, social platform owners, and even entrepreneurial influencers. As a result, the labour of proletarianized platform workers and fans is alienated, which constitutes the exploitation of digital labour by capital.

Therefore, to clarify the labour relations among various subjects in China's Internet celebrity industry, based on the report of semi-structured interviews, this chapter will select the most core areas in the circuit of capital accumulation to conduct a thematic analysis of the working conditions of those who work in China's Internet celebrity industry.

Section 8.2 is Relations of Production in China's Internet Celebrity Industry, which

mainly focuses on the class relations understood as aspects of the wages and labour contracts; Section 8.3 is Labour-power in China's Internet Celebrity Industry, mainly about the subjectivity and variable capital (ideology and psychology) of labour-power; Section 8.4 is Production Process in China's Internet Celebrity Industry, mainly including labour spaces, work activity, work experiences, and control mechanism. With the combination of interviews and analyses, the current situation of digital labour in China's Internet celebrity industry will be fully displayed, thus finally summarizing the political economy of Internet celebrities in China.

8.2. Relations of Production in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

In capitalist relations of production, the capitalists buy labour-power as a commodity, which establishes the relationship between capital and labour (Fuchs, 2014d). In practice, wages and benefits are the most important means of living for workers, and also the main reason why they enter the labour relations of production. Thus, it can be concluded that the capitalists' purchase of labour-power is expressed through wages.

According to Chris Rojek's Leisure Theory, "the positioning of individuals is related to scarce political, economic, social, and cultural resources" (Rojek 2006, 476). In China's Internet celebrity industry, the level of salaries and the number of followers constitute the basic criteria to measure the success of an Internet celebrity. Those who have a large number of resources and followers, known as influencers, are the main source of income for talent/MCN agencies. Those who lack resources and fail to become famous in the Internet celebrity market, usually called proletarianized platform workers, are mostly at the bottom of the company because of their small number of followers and lack of attention.

According to the *2020 Research Report on the Career Development Status of China's Live Streaming Industry* released by iiMedia Research (iiMedia, 2020b), in the first quarter of 2020, 45% of Chinese Internet celebrities have an average monthly income of less than 10,000 yuan (≈1100 pounds), with those earning between 4,500 and 6,000 yuan (≈495-660 pounds) taking up the highest proportion of 23.5%. In addition, Chinese Internet celebrities earning over 10,000 yuan (≈1100 pounds) accounted for 54.9%, and those earning over 50,000 yuan (≈5500 pounds) accounted for 4.1%, ranking among the top performers in the industry.

2020 Monthly Income Distribution of Internet Celebrities in China

- Below 330 pounds 1%
- 330-495 pounds 4%
- 495-660 pounds 24%
- 660-880 pounds 12%
- 880-1100 pounds 4%
- 1100-2200 pounds 11%
- 2200-3300 pounds 22%
- 3300-5500 pounds 18%
- Above 5500 pounds 4%
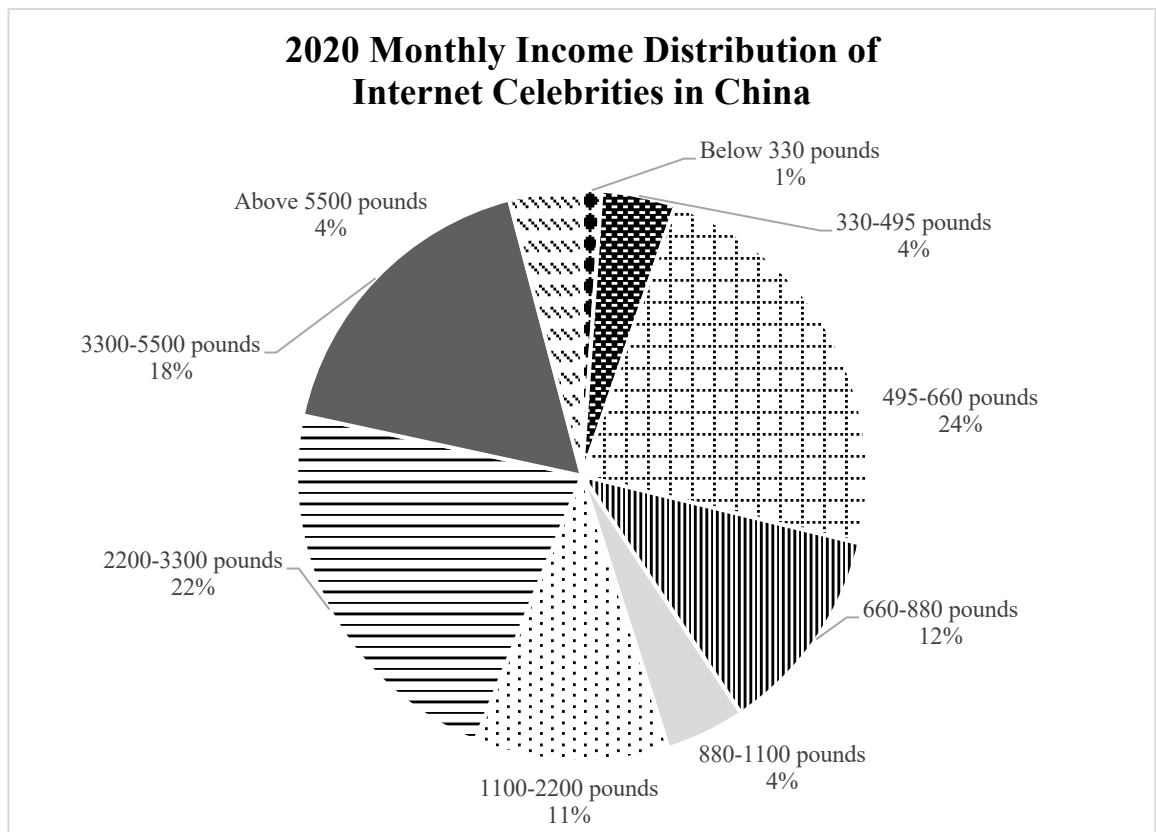
FIGURE 8.2 2020 Monthly Income Distribution of Internet Celebrities in China (iiMedia, 2020b, 1 yuan≈0.11 pounds)

#1.1.1. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, July 17: "As a contracted Internet celebrity, my main sources of income are the rewards of page views (likes, views, and forwards) on social media

platforms and revenue sharing from business cooperation [...]. On average, the monthly income is mainly determined by the number of projects and promotions involved, which generally ranges from 200,000 to 300,000 yuan (≈22-33 thousand pounds)."

#1.3.1. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, July 21: "My main sources of income are the signing fees given by the company, the advertising fees for brand cooperation, and the sharing of fans' gifts. The signing fees are paid by the contract, which will be renewed every three years. Advertising and gift sharing are paid every month [...]. My signing fee is 1 million yuan (≈110 thousand pounds) before tax. Monthly income is variable every month, general after-tax in 150,000 - 250,000 yuan (≈16.5-27.5 thousand pounds)."

According to the report of semi-structured interviews, the income of influencers mostly consists of signing fees, advertising fees, and sharing of fans' gifts. Among them, the signing fees range from 800,000 to 3,000,000 yuan (≈88-330 thousand pounds), and the monthly income can reach 150,000 to 300,000 yuan (≈16.5-33 thousand pounds). By contrast, proletarianized platform workers are paid at a lower level, consisting of basic salary and bonus. The basic salary ranges from 4,000 yuan to 6,000 yuan (≈440-660 pounds), and the bonus is based on individual performance, which leads to brutal competitive pressure in the industry.

#2.2.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, July 28: "As for the source of my income, it is usually in the form of salary + bonus. The basic salary is 5,000 yuan (≈550 pounds), and the bonus is based on the number of views and likes of my videos per month. If I complete the KPI task as required by the company, the

general bonus is 2,000-3,000 yuan (≈220-330 pounds) [...]. Due to the low income from short videos, I once considered running an online store, but the idea died due to lack of capital and labour."

#2.3.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, December 28: "Since I signed the contract with MCN company, my income is calculated according to the monthly assessment and the company's salary system [...]. As long as you complete the stipulated live streaming time, you can get a basic salary (about 4,500 yuan, ≈495 pounds). The commission is calculated based on the value of gifts received [...]. Sometimes I can earn more than 10,000 yuan (≈1100 pounds) a month for good performance, but it would make me very tired."

The relationship between capital and labour is established through wages and is formalized through labour contracts (Fuchs, 2014d). The wage level is the core factor of working conditions, and the labour contracts stipulate the conditions under which labour and capital enter such a relationship, including working hours, income sharing, job responsibilities etc. According to the interview report, the signed influencers can occupy a dominant position in labour contracts. Because of stable labour relations, the sharing revenue of each business cooperation can reach 40-50%.

#1.2.2. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, September 30: "After I signed up as a blogger, business cooperation became my main source of income. In the partnership agreement, the company is responsible for contacting the brand and selecting the appropriate products according to my video style; I'm responsible for shooting

videos based on the requirements of the brand [...]. According to the contract, I can get about 40-50% of the revenue from each promotion, which is acceptable to me."

#1.3.2. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 3: "As a senior anchor, my main sources of income are signing fees and reward gifts, and the company will also pay bonus every month according to the performance of live streaming [...]. Take reward gifts as an example, according to the contract, the live streaming platform will share 50% of the gift amount, my company will take 10%, and the rest for me is about 40% [...]. Generally, a live streaming show with more than 100,000 yuan (≈11 thousand pounds) is a good performance."

On the contrary, although the proletarianized platform workers signed the talent/MCN agencies, their working hours and income sharing are strictly restricted by regulated labour contracts. Stripped off the sharing revenue of social platforms and companies, these platform workers' share of income is only 20%-30% or less. They work in low-paid, high-intensity jobs under unequal treaties and face the risk of being fired at any time.

#2.2.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 26: "In my opinion, an unknown blogger like me will have a basic salary and guaranteed business promotion after signing a contract with an MCN company [...]. However, there are many restrictions. According to the rules of the contract, the proportion of the business cooperation I participate in is relatively small (20%-30%). But no company, no resources, that's a fact of life."

#2.3.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, October 23: "I am a Taobao anchor, and my current income is 4,000-yuan (≈440 pounds) base salary plus 1% of the sales commission of live streaming. The more goods I sell during a live streaming show, the higher my commission will be [...]. Every month the boss will evaluate my performance, sometimes ranking, usually according to the number of goods sold. If I don't perform well, I'll be fired."

To sum up, in China's Internet celebrity industry, the capitalists' purchase of labour-power is expressed through wages. According to the semi-structured interviews, influencers can occupy a dominant position in the labour contracts, while the working hours and income sharing of the proletarianized platform workers are strictly restricted. Therefore, it can be said that capital and labour are opposite in the production relations of China's Internet celebrity industry.

Given that the main subjects of the labour process are the workers, next, another important area in the circuit of capital accumulation—productive forces (labour-power) will be fully analysed in the context of China's Internet celebrity industry.

8.3. Labour-power in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

In the age of digital capitalism, the rise of Internet celebrities can be seen as "part of the trajectory of conferring fame on ordinary individuals" (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 88). The Internet allows ordinary people to wrest control of fame from social media, creating Internet celebrities with the click of a mouse. The huge commercial value has led more and more ordinary people to take Internet celebrities as a career and devote themselves to different platforms. However,

along with it, the boundaries between work and everyday life of those who work in the Internet celebrity industry is blurred, which has an impact on their daily life, ideology, and mental health.

To better explain the impact of capitalist logic on the labour-power in China's Internet celebrity industry, this section will start from two aspects: ideology and psychological conditions, with specific cases to carefully analyse the real labour life in China's Internet celebrity industry.

8.3.1. The Ideological Influence of Internet Celebrities in China

Under the influence of neoliberalism, the communication structure of Chinese media has undergone a global transformation, which has also opened a new era of prosperity in China's Internet celebrity industry. In this context, the improvement of Chinese residents' consumption power and the diversification of demand structure have gradually popularized subcultures such as fan culture and celebrity culture (Yang, 2018), but it has also brought about the emergence of Internet celebrity capitalism as ideology. Specific to China's Internet celebrity industry, these ideologies that benefit from exploitation and domination are individualism ideology, risk-free business ideology, and beauty ideals ideology.

8.3.1.1. The Ideology of Individualism

According to Chris Rojek's interpretation of the relationship between Internet celebrities and self-identity, one of the defining features of contemporary liberal democracies is "the cultural emphasis on self-actualization" (Baker & Rojek 2020b, 391). In contrast to the traditional self-discourse, the democratic necessity of self-actualization values choice and reflection (Baker & Rojek 2020b, 391). The stories of ordinary people who become household names overnight conclude that with the help of the Internet, anyone can become an Internet celebrity if they work

tirelessly enough.

This perception expresses the ideology of individualism, which is to package oneself as a personalized, multi-business personal brand through continuous identity building. However, this ideology obscures the fact that this identification-building process is conditional on spending enough money or time to ensure the production of content and the attention of fans, which is difficult for most ordinary people to achieve without the help of capital and talent/MCN agencies.

> *#1.1.1. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, July 17: "To facilitate the marketing and publicity, the company determined a 'personal setting' for me, and all the work and media plans were arranged according to this setting [...]. For example, my personal setting is 'model wife', and my articles, photos and business promotion will focus on our daily life as a couple, to build the brand image and let my fans remember my characteristics."*

> *#1.2.1. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, August 9: "In the food-centric field of short videos, there is fierce competition among Internet celebrities. Some Internet celebrities are famous for eating a lot, and there are people like me who specialize in food making videos [...]. To stand out from the rest of the industry, the company has invested time and money in building a personal brand that is tailored to each Internet celebrity and requires that we always maintain a defined personal image."*

> *#2.3.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, December 28: "In the field of online games*

live streaming, there are many personalities and talents of popular anchors, who have a strong individualistic style [...]. Sometimes the company would ask me to deliberately imitate the commentary style and speaking way of these famous anchors to attract fans. However, due to limited funds, lack of marketing and training, I can only rely on my own, but therefore has not made much progress."

8.3.1.2. The Ideology of Risk-Free Business

The rapid development and access to digital technology have lowered the barriers to entry into the Internet celebrity industry, enabling more people to participate online, but "it does not guarantee influence, visibility, or attention" (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 143). The emergence of China's Internet celebrity industry provides new business opportunities, but only a few lucky influencers can become famous. Most of the proletarianized platform workers remain unknown and have to engage in low-paid or even unpaid and unstable labour. The risk-free business ideology overemphasizes the opportunities of the Internet celebrity industry while ignoring the inequalities and risks of digital capitalism, as well as the special backgrounds of successful influencers from privileged classes.

#2.1.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 9: "After working as an Internet celebrity, the unstable state of work has taken over my whole life. There will always be situations where you have to stay up late, get up early, or sacrifice your time [...]. In fact, those who can stand out in the Internet celebrity industry basically rely on good luck and capital, while most people try hard but never become famous."

#2.2.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video

Sites, 2020, August 31: "Before signing the contract, I was told that being a blogger was an easy job and paid well. As long as you follow the company's arrangement and complete tasks on time, your income level will be much higher than ordinary jobs […]. What they didn't tell me was the risks of the Internet celebrity industry: lack of ideas, high levels of homogeneity, and the possibility that some people may never become famous in their lifetime."

#2.3.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 11: "I started as an anchor on the recommendation of a friend. Before that, I saw people around me easily earning tens of thousands a month, which made me think that if I became an anchor, a lot of people would follow me […]. But it was not until I entered the Internet celebrity industry that I felt the pressure of this profession. The truth is, if you don't have compelling content or special skills, you won't have fans; If you don't have fans, the company won't reward you."

8.3.1.3. The Ideology of Beauty Ideals

To cater to the public's increasingly beauty ideals, most Chinese Internet celebrities have similar appearances and behaviour, which makes the entire Internet celebrity industry increasingly homogeneous. This beauty ideal refers to the aesthetic orientation of entertainment, homogeneity, and kitsch, including the pursuit of perfection, addiction to plastic surgery and excessive dieting (Yang, 2018). Such unrealistic beauty ideals have misled the development path of Internet celebrities and even led to distorted values among teenagers, such as appearance anxiety, anorexia, and eating disorders.

According to the *2021 National Mental Health Analysis*, more than 85% of people in China's Internet celebrity industry have been influenced by the ideology of beauty ideals, and 71% of them have experienced serious psychological problems, resulting in low self-esteem, anxiety, and fear of communicating with others (DXY, 2021). At the same time, Chinese Internet celebrities create hegemony based on their aesthetic ideals and reproduce this ideology through their work. As a result, under the control of ideology, those who in China's Internet celebrity industry have become victims of the ideological beauty ideals.

#3.1.5. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2021, September 7: "Internet celebrities' faces are increasingly similar to the products manufactured on an assembly line, and many young people's aesthetics are suffering as a result. These standard, perfect faces create the illusion that everyone on the Internet has a super-high level of appearance. But the truth is, most people in reality are average-looking […]. The gap between virtual and reality can easily lead to appearance anxiety, which makes people feel inferior and dare not face their real selves."

#3.2.4. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2021, August 23: "It is no exaggeration to say that the current Internet celebrity industry is riddled with unrealistic beauty ideals. Girls are considered to be 'pale, delicate and thin', while boys take pride in being 'sissy' […]. This pathological aesthetic ideology has misled the formation of teenagers' values. They blindly pursue the appearance and figure of Internet celebrities but ignore the falsity and inducement of the Internet. Sometimes they even indulge in excessive dieting and cosmetic surgery, which has negative effects on physical and mental health."

#3.3.5. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2021, September 4: "Many people believe that as long as Internet celebrities are good-looking, they can attract fans based on their appearance. This prejudice misleads many young people to care only about their appearance and abandon their inner self and abilities. They mindlessly engage in the live streaming industry, hoping to gain popularity and become rich overnight [...]. However, anchors without personal charm and skills will soon be eliminated by the industry. People who cannot accept such a gap often find it difficult to return to their normal lives."

8.3.2. The Psychological Conditions of Internet Celebrities in China

At present, the neoliberal subjectivization has brought about the pursuit of the beauty economy in China's Internet celebrity industry, which has also triggered changes in the psychological conditions of Internet celebrities in China. It can be said that the pragmatism of 'body capital' has promoted the objectification and commodification of the body (Dippner, 2018), which is reflected in two aspects: gender prejudices and psychological problems.

8.3.2.1. The Gender Prejudices in China's Internet celebrity industry

Marxist historical materialism laid the foundation for feminism, and its most important theoretical breakthrough is to restore 'women' and 'gender' to sociological categories, revealing that gender distinction is not only a biological fact, but a social construction reflecting power relations. In the sociological sense, gender is not only a tangible system construction, but also an invisible ideology. The gender prejudice as class oppression has made the oppressed generally assimilated by the values of the oppressor, which makes women unconsciously become the defenders of the patriarchal culture.

In China, male Internet celebrities are mainly engaged in the field of games and electronics, while female Internet celebrities mostly belong to the field of beauty makeup and fashion. To cater to the public aesthetic orientation, Chinese female Internet celebrities have become victims of cosmetic surgery lines. Through the thematic analysis of the keyword 'prejudice' in the interview report, it can be found that 90% of the interviewed Internet celebrities have suffered prejudice due to their gender, which is prevalent in China's Internet celebrity industry.

> *#1.1.2. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, August 20: "When it comes to Internet celebrities, there are many negative comments on this profession, which is regarded as an industry of sensationalism. Many people think of male Internet celebrities as playing computer games instead of doing real work, while female Internet celebrities have plastic surgery and live off their faces. This is a misconception. Actually, we work on our ability […]. Fortunately, as the Internet celebrity industry gets better and better, the prejudices are slowly diminishing."*

> *#1.3.1. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, July 21: "Many people have prejudices about Internet celebrities, especially beauty bloggers. They believe that Internet celebrities all have good skin, high noses, big eyes, and pointed chins. These people have no ability to work, and they can get attention by their looks and easily make money by blinking their eyes in front of the camera […]. But the reality is that even working with looks requires talent and hard work. Every job is not easy."*

In order to stand out in an oversaturated market, some Internet celebrities have

jumped out of their comfort zones to carve out a niche in their opposite gender. Male Internet celebrities, such as Li Jiaqi, have started recommending beauty products; Female Internet celebrities, such as Miss, have started to enter the game industry, taking advantage of gender contrast to gain legions of fans. However, such bold attempts are often accompanied by failure. Due to the lack of experience and promotion, most Internet celebrities have to be defeated by reality and return to the realm of traditional fields fettered by gender, with the exception of a few cross-field successes.

Under the effect of capitalization and gender prejudice, women's appearance has become the direct object of capital. As a commodity, it can be produced or exchanged symbolically for clicks that help capitalists profit. China's traditional patriarchal culture emphasizes the moral authority and power dominance of men, which has exacerbated the prevalence of body/capital fetishism in the Internet celebrity industry. It is worth noting that this fetishism is more obvious among proletarianized platform workers.

#2.1.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Social Media Platforms, 2020, August 26: "The excessive pursuit of beauty ideals has had a negative impact on the Internet celebrity industry […]. In the past, I have undergone plastic surgery because of anxiety about my appearance and low self-esteem, but when the surgery failed, I had no place to protect my rights. Some young people, even teenagers, have secretly accepted injections to follow the aesthetics of Internet celebrities, which is bad for their growth and development."

#2.2.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 26: "In many people's eyes, the social status of

female Internet celebrities is very low, especially like our proletarianized platform workers. To prevent fans from leaving, we will try our best to meet their requirements [...]. However, the quality of fans varies. Some male fans will make excessive demands, such as asking the bloggers to show their faces/bodies in the videos, and if the bloggers don't comply, they will post malicious comments."

8.3.2.2. The Psychological Problems of Internet celebrities in China

According to the semi-structured interviews, many people have undergone psychological changes after entering the Internet celebrity industry. In general, most of the influencers have a positive attitude towards this new digital work despite the highly competitive labour spaces, which reflects the profound impact of the neoliberal work psychology on the Chinese labour market.

#1.2.3. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 22: "One of the biggest changes after becoming an Internet celebrity is the freedom from the traditional work environment [...]. I used to work in an Internet company where there were so many rules and regulations that I was too tired to talk after work. Now I work mostly from home, which gives me the freedom to live my life without being forced to socialize in the office and do exactly what I like."

#1.3.3. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, November 16: "Since I started working in the Internet celebrity industry, I have undergone a psychological transformation [...]. I used to have a structured job with a guaranteed income. After I became an Internet celebrity, I needed to study every day to figure out how to recommend products and how to communicate with advertisers. It can be said that I

went from a 'passive worker' to an 'active learner'."

However, there are also some Internet celebrities, especially the proletarianized platform workers who are severely exploited and under great pressure. These people have a pessimistic attitude towards the development of the Internet celebrity industry and are experiencing some negative psychological problems.

#2.1.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 9: "The biggest change for me is that becoming an Internet celebrity has turned my hobby into a way to earn money. However, as interest becomes work, pressure comes along with it [...]. Since I haven't signed a contract with a company, the amount of business cooperation could not be guaranteed. Sometimes I had no income for a whole month and couldn't even pay the rent, which made me very anxious and couldn't sleep for a while."

#2.3.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 11: "This job has allowed me to expand my friendships and meet people from all over the world. But at the same time, being open on social platforms has brought me a lot of trouble [...]. Some netizens even insult me for no reason or send private messages threatening me to go back to China. Sometimes I break down and cry when I just can't take it anymore. These bad experiences make me very depressed."

In summary, under the influence of digital capitalism, the labour-power in China's Internet celebrity industry has been controlled and alienated, which is reflected in both ideology and psychological conditions. On the one hand, the emergence of

Internet celebrity capitalism has led to the prevalence of exploitation and domination, manifested as individualism ideology, risk-free business ideology, and beauty ideals; On the other hand, women's appearance has become the direct object of capital, which has exacerbated the prevalence of body/capital fetishism in the Internet celebrity industry. According to interview reports, it is worth noting that this fetishism is more obvious among proletarianized platform workers.

The production process is an important factor in assessing working conditions, and working conditions depend on how the production process is carried out. Therefore, in the next part, based on the four subdivisions of the production process, the working conditions of China's Internet celebrity industry will be comprehensively analysed.

8.4. Production Process in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

Based on Baker and Rojek's Celebrity Theory, social media have increased trust levels and emotional investment in para-social relationships, and "user-generated content is a means of building trust and intimacy because communication online appears to be direct and unmediated by commercial interests" (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 171). Under constant development, the production process of China's Internet celebrity industry can be seen as a model in which Internet celebrities gather popularity through targeted marketing and content promotion, and eventually convert audiences into purchasing power relying on their huge fan base.

However, the celebration of digital praxis fails to notice "the ravages of renewed competitive individualism and round-the-clock accumulation that it brings in its wake" (Rojek 2017, 527). In the hyper-competitive Internet celebrity market, survival of the fittest is a fundamental law of digital labour. Driven by economic interests, Internet celebrities in China have to overwork under the exploitation of

capitalists in exchange for more attention and business opportunities. Next, our analyses will focus on the production process in China's Internet celebrity industry, and the current working conditions will be elaborated from the following four aspects: labour spaces, work activity, work experiences, and control mechanism.

8.4.1. The Labour Spaces of China's Internet Celebrity Industry

According to *The 46th China Statistical Report on Internet Development* released by China Internet Network Information Centre (CNNIC, 2020) in September 2020, the number of users on social media platforms in China reached 550 million. Video sites have 888 million users, and the number of live streaming users reached 562 million. The huge user market has led more and more ordinary people to take Internet celebrities as a career and devote themselves to different platforms, but it has also brought fierce competition and increasing work pressure in the labour spaces.

> *#1.2.1. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, August 9: "Stress is a very common problem in the Internet celebrity industry. There are too many people who want a piece of the action, but the audiences are limited, which naturally leads to competition and pressure […]. I have several friends who are also Internet celebrities. No matter how many fans they have, the company always evaluates them with the number of likes, views, and other indicators. As a result, they often have to work all year round to achieve KPIs."*

> *#1.2.3. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 22: "My company team pays close attention to the data of each of my videos and urges me to achieve the desired results. In addition, I have been working from home since I became an Internet celebrity, and living*

alone makes me less sociable, which sometimes affects my mood [...].
As a blogger who works on the Internet, although I am not a star, I still
need to expose my life and privacy to the public in many cases. The more
attention I get, the more pressure I feel."

#1.3.3. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020,
November 16: "In the Internet celebrity industry, no job means no
income. Even if you have a job, you will be eliminated by the industry
with few fans and low attention [...]. For example, at the end of each
month, the company will evaluate the data of the signed anchors, and
the anchors with persistently low popularity will be forced to leave the
company after the expiration of their contracts. This is a common and
helpless fact."

Based on Baker and Rojek, "social media are associated with democratic
participation in the popular imagination", thus enabling Internet celebrities to
enhance their para-social appeal as 'authentic', 'trustworthy', and 'real' (Baker &
Rojek 2020b, 402). According to the *Survey Report on the Ecology of Internet
Celebrities in China* (Topklout, 2019), to establish trust and para-social
relationships, influencers at the top of the Internet celebrity industry are under
enormous pressure to maintain their popularity and not be replaced by others. In
contrast, the labour spaces of the proletarianized platform workers are relatively
simple, with the characteristics of less attention, low income, and homogeneity.

#2.2.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video
Sites, 2020, August 31: "As far as I know, the phenomenon of
homogenization and plagiarism is quite serious in the Internet celebrity
industry [...]. Take the video assessment field as an example. There are

many assessment bloggers of the same type, but their assessment methods and video styles are quite similar, so it is difficult for an ordinary blogger like me with a small number of followers to stand out from the crowd."

#2.3.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, December 28: "Because of my own reasons, I was not as skilled as some professional game anchors when doing live streaming. But given the company's limited resources, there are few opportunities for learning and advancement [...]. In the field of live streaming, there are tens of thousands of live streaming rooms on the air every night, but only a few are popular and highly watched. Except for a few lucky anchors, most of the ordinary anchors like me are buried in the crowd and ignored."

At the same time, in China's state-dominated Internet labour market, the government has consolidated its political-economic dominance by establishing its authority in ideological and cultural spheres, which means that it will not only intervene in the Internet industry through relevant industrial policies but also regulate the daily behaviour of digital workers on the Internet (Perry, 2007).

To guide and regulate the orderly development of China's Internet celebrity industry, since the beginning of 2016, the Chinese government has issued several notices, regulations, and measures for the Internet celebrity industry, gradually elaborating the management and regulation of each platform. For example, *Provisions on the Administration of Internet Live Streaming Services (2016)*, and *Measures for the Administration of Cyber Performance Business Operations (2016)*, which clearly defined the management and norms of China's Internet

celebrity industry. These rules and regulations cover all aspects of the production, dissemination, and consumption of the Internet celebrity industry, including qualifications, rights, obligations, and other aspects, especially the limits of speech and the content of the publication, which reflects the characteristics of authoritarian informationalism (detailed in Chapter Four).

#1.3.2. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 3: "At present, the live streaming industry is strictly controlled. In addition to the requirements on the individual behaviour of anchors, the content and advertisements of live streaming are also regulated […]. In the early days, my live streaming room was shut down twice because of smoking. I've also heard of a well-known anchor being permanently banned for singing the national anthem. Therefore, we are very cautious in doing live streaming."

#2.1.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Social Media Platforms, 2020, September 15: "As a blogger, you need to pay special attention to your words and expression when you make comments on Sina Weibo […]. Once I reposted a video of a protest on Weibo without verification, and the same day I received a notice to delete it and a warning not to comment. Later, I learned that this was malicious fake news to incite public opinion. Fortunately, my fans were not affected by my random forwarding."

8.4.2. The Work Activity of China's Internet Celebrity Industry

Under the influence of neoliberalism, "online communication permits greater control for the users". The implications of long-distance communication mean that "online communication tends to be highly edited, managed, and rehearsed in

textual and visual form" (Baker & Rojek 2020b, 402). The development of the Internet has brought about the commercialization of media and communication, and a variety of work activities have been derived due to the diversification of platforms. In China's Internet celebrity industry, Internet celebrities who are active on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms have different work activities with different focuses.

Internet celebrities on social media platforms focus mainly on articles and photos, so their work activities revolve around creative writing and commentary interaction; Short video sites generally attract attention for the excellent creativity and editing of works, so Internet celebrities active on this platform need to have the ability of writing, video shooting, editing, and post-production at the same time; Internet celebrities on live streaming platforms are usually assigned regular working hours to interact with fans. In addition, if the live streaming involves e-commerce, they also need to communicate with advertisers and take charge of the complete industrial chain.

#1.1.3. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, October 3: "As a weibo blogger, my job is mainly divided into two parts: one is the creation of articles, and the other is the interaction with fans […]. The creation of articles is at the heart of my work. Nowadays, only meaningful articles can attract clicks, which requires me to collect a lot of material every day. Secondly, considering the characteristics of social media platforms, I need to respond to the questions and comments of fans regularly to increase the stickiness of fans and consolidate my fan base."

#2.2.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video

Sites, 2020, July 28: "Nowadays, there are so many bloggers active on the short video sites, so if you want to stand out from the crowd, you have to be creative and have good editing skills [...]. Due to the small scale of the company, I learned a lot of skills by myself after becoming an Internet celebrity, including scriptwriting, video shooting, post-editing, dubbing and so on. At the same time, I am responsible for business cooperation and communication with advertisers. Sometimes, to increase popularity, I also interact with other bloggers and co-shoot videos for mutual benefit."

#1.3.1. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, July 21: "I'm signed to MCN company and I run my own brand at the same time, so my work activity is a little more complicated [...]. At the company level, I need to confirm the topic selection and complete the video shooting with the cooperation of the team. In addition, I need to attend some business activities and interact with fans on the live streaming platforms every night. In terms of my own brand, I need to be responsible for all aspects of product production, marketing, after-sales service and so on, which is really tiring for me."

According to the thematic analysis of the keywords 'creation of works' in the interview report, whether on social media platforms, short video sites or live streaming platforms, the creation cycle of an original work usually takes 3-5 days, sometimes more than a week. In this process, influencers who are at the top of their companies or become their own entrepreneurs usually have full control of the creation of works. After meeting the commercial requirements of advertisers, these Internet celebrities can decide the theme, content, and dissemination methods of their works independently, thus forming their personal styles through the works.

#1.2.2. Anonymous Influencer from Short Video Sites, 2020, September 30: "The inspiration for my works is usually from my life experience and the stories around me. Current affairs are also my focus, and I will incorporate interesting topics into my works [...]. In the process of creation, I can completely control all aspects of topic conception, video shooting, post-editing and so on, which is to present the best result in the end, and to make my fans satisfied."

#1.3.1. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, July 21: "In communication with companies and advertisers, I can independently control the creation and release process of my own works [...]. First of all, in the early stage, I will select the brands and products that meet my positioning based on full research. Secondly, I will recommend products according to my personal style during the live streaming. If some advertisers have a bad attitude and make excessive demands, I will refuse directly and cancel the cooperation."

By contrast, the proletarianized platform workers have no control over their process and product of labour, and the activity of their work is strictly regulated, while monetary profits are controlled by capitalists, which reflects the process of capital accumulation in the Internet celebrity industry.

#2.2.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, July 28: "In my daily work, there is not much business cooperation to be assigned to me. Once a deal is received, the video must be shot in accordance with the content and duration requested by the advertiser. Customers with high requirements will put forward

suggestions for repeated modifications, which is really common in our industry [...]. Internet celebrities who sign up with companies have to listen to what they do."

#2.3.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, October 23: "Since I signed with the company, I have lost control of the live streaming content. In each live streaming show, the clothes I recommend should meet the style of the store and the requirements of the boss [...]. The boss will stipulate the specific link of each time point of the live streaming, and we are required to strictly follow it. I work for this company, and I definitely need to meet their rules, which is my professionalism."

8.4.3. The Work Experiences of Internet Celebrities in China

In the digital age, advanced mobile technology has reshaped the nature of work. With low barriers to entry and abundant opportunities in the Internet celebrity industry, talent/MCN agencies and platforms use the name of 'combining interest with work' to attract Internet users to contribute cheap or even free labour. This kind of labour mobilization seems to have no compulsory requirements, but blurs the boundaries between life and work, which seriously affects the work experiences of Internet celebrities in China.

In Rojek's emotional labour theory, "the accumulation of emotional intelligence and the management of emotional labour does not stop when a person leaves the workplace" (Rojek 2010, 27). Specific to China's Internet celebrity industry, the living space of Internet celebrities has been replaced by the round-the-clock undertaking. Even after work, Internet celebrities have to manage their image and maintain fan relationships through emotional labour, which makes "the work-life

balance and distinctions between work and leisure, disciplined time and time off become untenable" (Rojek 2010, 27).

#1.1.3. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, October 3: "In an industry where everyone can be a celebrity, work and life are inherently inseparable. It can be said that life is also a process of accumulating experience for work [...]. Sometimes I would stay indoors for a week, cut off from the outside world and pull several all-nighters to meet deadlines. I know that staying up late is very bad for my health, but inspiration comes and goes, and I have to capture those moments of inspiration."

#1.3.2. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 3: "When I started live streaming at midnight, my routine was reversed, and work became my whole life [...]. For me, there is no vacation or regular diet anymore. To maintain constant interaction with fans, I can even work 365 days a year without any rest [...]. Sometimes I have to skip meals because of so many tasks of live streaming. I don't want my fans to misunderstand me as unprofessional and undedicated."

#2.1.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Social Media Platforms, 2020, September 15: "As a full-time blogger, it's really hard to strike a work-life balance. Take me as an example. Meals, parties, dates all turn into work, and life becomes a different scene of work [...]. Sharing my experiences on social platforms is my job and the spice of my life. In the process of communication and interaction with fans, I can understand their ideas and answer their puzzles, which is also a realization of self-value."

#2.2.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, July 28: "As you can see, in the Internet celebrity industry, work is life. Because our job is to record and share our lives [...]. Sometimes the video didn't work well enough to meet the company's requirements, so I would re-record it over and over again, which affected my daily life [...]. Due to my small number of followers and lack of a team, I had to sacrifice more of my free time to improve the quality of my videos."

Due to the imbalance between work and life, the original free working mode turns into a disguised restricted mechanism. This kind of cultural consciousness has subverted the traditional Chinese work ethic, which incarnates the characteristics of neoliberalism-led work values. However, the abnormal and exploitative working conditions of China's Internet celebrity industry have brought great harm to Internet celebrities both psychologically and physically. According to the thematic analysis of the interview report, nearly 60% of the interviewed Internet celebrities have suffered from insomnia, hair loss, depression, and other diseases due to the pressure of work, while the negative effects of the industry are often overlooked.

#1.1.3. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, October 3: "In my second year as an Internet celebrity, I suffered from depression. During that time, I was inexplicably grumpy and cried for no reason. Later I went to the hospital and was diagnosed with severe depression [...]. I've heard that many Internet celebrities suffer from mental illness. There are so many 'trolls' on the Internet, these people use the Internet as a shelter to abuse everywhere, which can break

people's psychological defences. What I'm trying to say is, we're not public figures, we're all ordinary people."

#1.3.2. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 3: "When I first started as a game anchor, I began to suffer from insomnia due to the low number of views, and sometimes I needed to drink to fall asleep [...]. In addition, because of sitting in front of the computer for a long time without exercise, I gained nearly 20 kilograms a year, which seriously affected my health. It was also around that time that I started smoking. At my worst, I smoked two or three packs a day."

#2.2.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 26: "Having quit my stable financial job and the relative insecurity of being an Internet celebrity, I sometimes felt anxious about the lack of video views and fans interaction [...]. At the worst, due to the pressure of mortgage and rent, I started losing my hair and insomnia. I couldn't sleep all night and needed melatonin to fall asleep. It was not until my work got on the right track that I gradually got better."

8.4.4. The Control Mechanism of China's Internet Celebrity Industry

At present, to ensure the production of high-quality content, most Chinese Internet celebrities will sign contracts with talent/MCN agencies to maximize economic value. Through a series of packaging, production, and marketing, professional talent/MCN agencies will develop publicity plans according to the characteristics of different Internet celebrities, to enhance the loyalty of fans.

However, the involvement of talent/MCN agencies in the Internet celebrity industry has transformed the traditional resource-intensive industry model based

on wage labour into a demand-oriented platform model based on tacit labour (Ao, 2017). In China, Internet capitalists such as talent/MCN agencies and e-commerce/social platforms obscure the legal relationship with Internet celebrities and carry out covert labour control through incentive systems and product management systems, which illustrates the characteristics of strict control and hidden exploitation.

#1.1.1. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, July 17: "For me, there are no workdays or days off. I need to work almost every day […]. Usually around 8 a.m., the operation specialist of my company starts to communicate with me about the schedule of the day, including the posting of the weibo and the shooting plan. The formal work begins in the afternoon and usually lasts 6-8 hours, with occasional short breaks. If there are jobs or activities in other cities, the team will travel with me, usually 2-3 times a month. These tasks are all based on strict specifications."

#2.2.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Short Video Sites, 2020, August 31: "After signing the contract with MCN Company, they will make work plans and assessment standards for me every week. However, due to limited resources and staff, I had to complete all the tasks by myself […]. In the morning, I will sort out the products and try them out one by one to record my experience. To achieve the best effect, I will write the script first in the afternoon and then shoot repeatedly 3-4 times to choose the best one. The evening is the time for editing and post-production […]. Typically, every step of the work will be reviewed by the company."

The uninterrupted production brought about by information technology has given Chinese Internet celebrities a value of unlimited labour, and talent/MCN have forced them to work overtime in the face of huge economic benefits, which is particularly common in the Internet celebrity industry. According to the interview report, Internet celebrities who are active on social media platforms and short video sites are constantly at work, with detailed tasks scheduled for each period. In contrast, most Internet celebrities on live streaming platforms suffer from irregular lifestyles to adapt to the viewing habits of audiences, which will have a negative impact on their living conditions.

#1.3.2. Anonymous Influencer from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 3: "I'm a late-night live streaming game anchor, so the reversal of the day and night is the norm for me […]. According to the company's work rules, at 11 p.m. every night, I wake up to wash, eat, and get ready for the live streaming show. The live streaming starts at 0 a.m., with a 1-2-hour break, and then goes on until 9-10 a.m. After the show, I would have lunch or go out to meet my friends, and go home to bed at 4 p.m. I've been following these work rules for three years."

#2.3.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, October 23: "I am the anchor and model of the Taobao store. Although the company is not big, the competition between anchors is very fierce […]. In general, I will rest in the morning. After lunch, I will choose the products for live streaming according to the requirements of the boss. Usually, work starts at 6 p.m., and the live streaming lasts for 3-4 hours, including style recommendation and interaction, until it finishes around 11 p.m. To improve my performance and ranking, sometimes I have to change more than 20 sets of clothes

for a live streaming show, which makes me very tired."

Compared to those who sign with talent/MCN agencies, Internet celebrities who run their own businesses or work part-time are relatively free in what they do. This type of Internet celebrity has no restrictions stipulated by the companies and can flexibly control their working activity and working time, which incarnates the characteristics of neoliberal work values.

> *#1.1.2. Anonymous Influencer from Social Media Platforms, 2020, August 20: "Since I have my own company and team, my workday usually revolves around my studio, which means more responsibility and flexibility [...]. In the morning, I usually attend the regular meeting of the company to discuss the plan and progress of some projects, to get to know the employees' work conditions. In the afternoon, original articles and videos will be created. Evenings are usually filled with parties and events, both corporate and private, and the overall schedule of the day is quite full."*

> *#2.1.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker from Social Media Platforms, 2020, August 26: "My main business is my own company, and being a blogger is my side job, so it doesn't stress me too much [...]. During the workday, business and client meetings are my priority, followed by answering questions and interacting with fans on social media platforms. In my spare time, I will learn some courses of writing, operation management and video editing to improve my social media accounts."*

Overall, in the hyper-competitive market, Internet celebrities gather popularity

through targeted marketing, which drives audiences towards purchasing the commodities they promote on their profiles. In the context of fierce competition and increasing work pressure of the labour spaces, a variety of work activities have been derived due to the diversification of platforms.

However, the involvement of talent/MCN agencies has brought strict control and hidden exploitation, which has seriously affected the work experiences of Internet celebrities in China. Based on the analysis of semi-structured interviews, influencers usually have full control of the creation of works, while the proletarianized platform workers have no control over their process and product of labour, which results in precarity.

8.5. Conclusion

With the rapid development of information and communication technology, networking and digitalization have become important forces to promote social and economic changes. On a global scale, the industrial economy is gradually transforming to the digital economy, and the labour mode is also changing from collectivization and factory system to the open and independent system in the digital age.

In this context, the digital workers in China's Internet celebrity industry: influencers, proletarianized platform workers, and fans, rely on the social platforms and the labour tools derived from mobile network technology and carry out digital labour production under the guidance of advertisers and talent/MCN agencies. However, as the driving force, digital technology has changed the labour mode and labour form of the Internet celebrity industry and reshaped the position of Internet celebrities and fans in the production relations, but it has not changed the basic logic of digital capitalism to obtain surplus-value through exploitation.

Therefore, based on the Marxist labour theory, this chapter focuses on the relations of production, labour-power, and production process in China's Internet celebrity industry. Through the thematic analysis of the semi-structured interviews, the working conditions and daily life of those who work in China's Internet celebrity industry are thoroughly explained, thus summarizing the labour status of China's Internet celebrity industry from the perspective of the political economy of communication.

In the part of relations of production in China's Internet celebrity industry, the capitalists buy labour-power as a commodity, which establishes the relationship between capital and labour (Fuchs, 2014d). In China's Internet celebrity industry, the wage level is the core factor of working conditions, and the labour contracts stipulate the conditions under which labour and capital enter such a relationship. Those who have large followings, known as influencers, are the main source of income for talent/MCN agencies and occupy a dominant position in the labour contract. Those who fail to become famous in the Internet celebrity market, usually called proletarianized platform workers, are mostly at the bottom of the company because of their small number of followers and lack of attention. They work in low-paid, high-intensity jobs under unequal treaties and face the risk of being fired at any time.

In the segment of the labour-power in China's Internet celebrity industry, the boundaries between work and daily life of those who work in the Internet celebrity industry is blurred, which has an impact on their daily life, ideology, and mental health. Regarding the ideological influence, the fan culture and celebrity culture has brought about the emergence of Internet celebrity capitalism as ideology, including individualism ideology, risk-free business ideology, and beauty ideals

ideology. According to the interviews, these ideologies that benefit from exploitation and domination overemphasizes the opportunities of the Internet celebrity industry, while ignoring the inequalities and risks of digital capitalism.

Ideological Influence	Psychological Conditions
Individualism	Gender Prejudices
Risk-free Business	Body Fetishism
Hegemonic Beauty Ideals	Psychological Problems

Labour-power in Industry
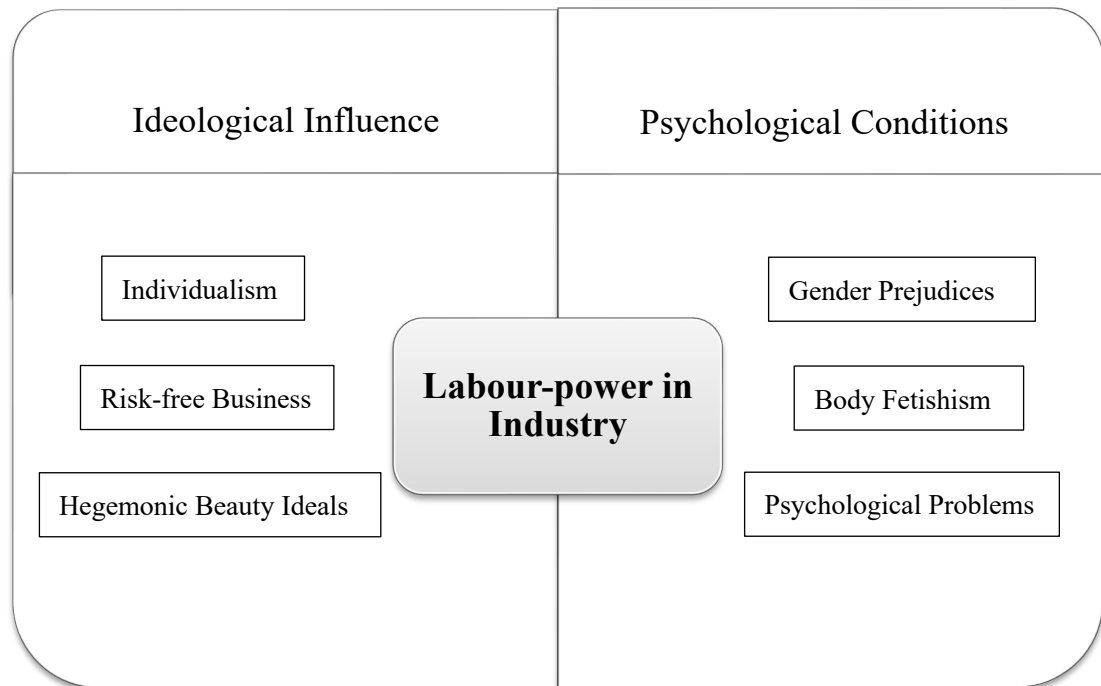
FIGURE 8.3 The Labour-power in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

Concerning the psychological conditions, the pragmatism of 'body capital' has promoted the objectification and commodification of the body. Under the effect of capitalization and gender prejudice, China's traditional patriarchal culture emphasizes the moral authority and power dominance of men, which has exacerbated the prevalence of body/capital fetishism in the Internet celebrity industry. In addition, many people have undergone psychological changes after entering the Internet celebrity industry, which is particularly prominent among proletarianized platform workers, reflecting pessimistic attitudes and negative psychological problems.

In the section of the production process in China's Internet celebrity industry,

Chinese Internet celebrities have to overwork under the exploitation of capitalists in exchange for more attention and business opportunities. In terms of the labour spaces, Internet celebrities are under enormous pressure to maintain their popularity. At the same time, rules and regulations that cover all aspects of production, dissemination, and consumption have been issued, which reflects the characteristics of authoritarian informationalism.
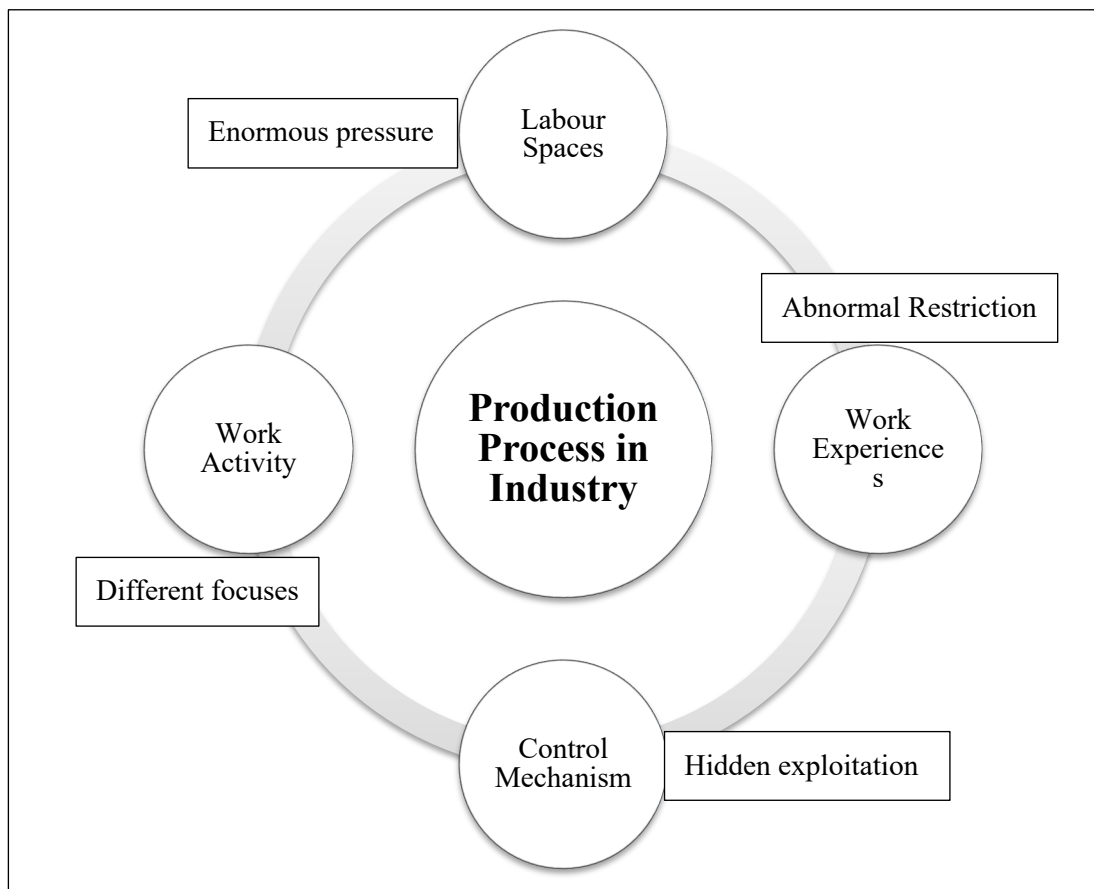
FIGURE 8.4 The Production Process in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

In the part of the work activity, Internet celebrities who are active on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms have different focuses. For the work experiences, the original free working mode turns into a disguised restricted mechanism. As a result, the abnormal and exploitative working conditions of China's Internet celebrity industry have brought great harm to Internet celebrities. Regarding the control mechanism, the involvement of

talent/MCN agencies in China's Internet celebrity industry has transformed the traditional wage labour into tacit labour, which illustrates the characteristics of strict control and hidden exploitation. In this process, influencers usually have full control of the creation of works, while the work activity of proletarianized platform workers is strictly regulated.

In the hyper-competitive Internet celebrity market, survival of the fittest is a fundamental law of digital labour. Driven by economic interests, Chinese Internet capitalists obscure the legal relationship with Internet celebrities and fans and carry out covert labour control through incentive systems and product management systems. However, those who work in China's Internet celebrity industry are still unaware of the fact that they are being exploited and alienated. Dominated by capital, these workers cannot decide the means or results of production and are forced to sell their labour-power as commodities and work in a high-pressure environment.

CHAPTER NINE

The Identity Construction of Fans
in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

9.1. Introduction

The word 'identity' reveals the relationship between the individual and society. Manuel Castells believes that identity is the source from which people get the meaning of their lives, and it is the consistent experience of status, interest, and belonging (Castells, 2004). In the specific cultural context, individuals need to establish an identity relationship with others, groups, and societies, and gradually determine their role in the social and cultural order.

According to the Self-Presentation Theory proposed by Irving Goffman, individuals can be seen as actors on the stage, with a desire to control the impression that others form about them (Goffman, 1959). When interacting in social settings, people use 'impression management' to show others how they hope to be perceived. In this theory, 'self' is the product of the situation, especially the dramaturgical effect that 'self' as a performed character, generates diffusely in the situation (Goffman, 1959).

In the process of impression management, the differences and interactions between cultural subjects lead to the transmutation of identity, which is called identity construction. Identity construction can be regarded as a psychological process of the individual's identification of self and cognition of the group and society to which he/she belongs. During this process, identity is developed gradually. Individuals need to meet the needs of cognition, emotion, and action, which is reflected in the changes of identity status from individual identity to group identity,

and then to social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

From a cultural perspective, in the process of identity construction, the power operation of cultural institutions promotes individuals to participate in cultural practices actively or negatively (Barker, 2000). Individual identity is individual-centred and emphasizes an individual's physical and psychological experience; Group identity originates from the sense of collective belonging and emphasizes the affirmation of shared values and beliefs; Social identity consists of three basic processes: categorization, identification, and comparison, and emphasizes the social attributes of human beings (Tao, 2004). From individuals, groups to societies, the construction of identity reflects the process of constantly contacting external and improving oneself in social life.
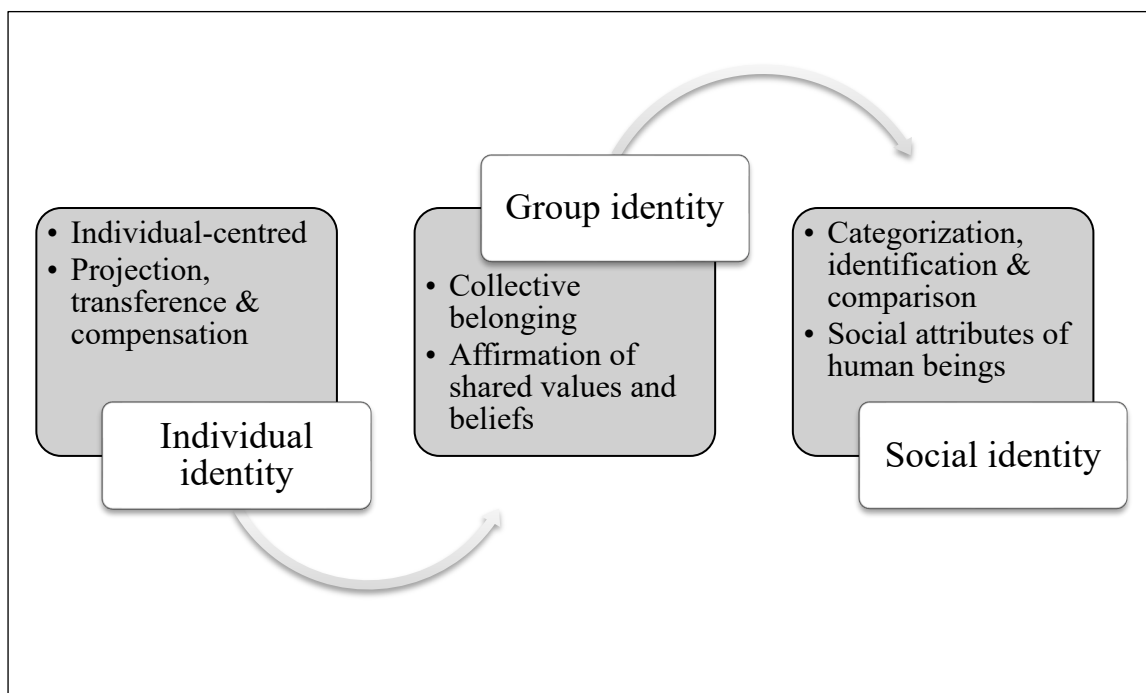
FIGURE 9.1 The Process of Identity Construction

According to Chris Rojek's Celebrification Theory, "the identity formation and forms of social interaction are influenced by celebrity culture". It can be said that

"celebrities embody social types and provide role models for ordinary people" (Rojek 2004, 16). In the digital age, the Internet and social media have empowered traditional audiences. As the direct audiences of the Internet celebrity industry, fans are related to the popularity and development trend of Internet celebrities. At the same time, as opinion leaders on social platforms, the comments and behaviour of Internet celebrities will cause symbiotic attachment among fans, which will affect their daily life, identity construction, and psychological development.

In fact, the transition from ordinary people to fans of Internet celebrities is a process of identity construction from individual identity, group identity to social identity. Under the role model effect, fans associate fandom with their personal experiences, which can be seen as the construction of individual identity due to emotional projection; Fans interact with Internet celebrities and imitate their behaviour, to integrate into the fan groups with collective behaviour, which is the construction of group identity; With the deepening of commodity fetishism, the social identity of fans is the role as consumers in the Internet celebrity industry, to share common emotions and values in the social context.

At the same time, the interaction between fans and Internet celebrities generates emotions and symbolic maintenance, thus forming a fan culture with organizational thoughts. Fans view, click, share, and comment on what is posted on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms, to help spread the content and create attention for it. In this context, such labour of fans can also be seen as digital labour. Fans spend unpaid labour time generating online activities on platforms, and the user data is sold as commodities to advertisers, thereby converting surplus-value into monetary profits.

Therefore, considering the important role of fans in the Internet celebrity industry,

combined with the in-depth interviews of 15 fans from social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms, this chapter will start from the three stages of identity construction of fans, to summarize the influence of Chinese Internet celebrities on fans. Section 9.2. is The Construction of Fans' Individual Identity in China's Internet Celebrity Industry; Section 9.3 is The Construction of Fans' Group Identity in China's Internet Celebrity Industry; Section 9.4 is The Construction of Fans' Social Identity as Consumers in China's Internet Celebrity Industry. Under the comprehensive analysis of the three levels, the identity construction process of fans in China's Internet celebrity industry will be fully displayed.

9.2. The Construction of Fans' Individual Identity in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

The meaning of identity includes two aspects: one is identification, the other is sameness. In addition to the dual connotation of 'difference' and 'similarity', identity also has the meaning of recognition and approval (Allport, 1937). Erik Erikson's Individual Identity Theory suggests that individual identity is the mental process of making sure that I am who I am, which is the central task of adolescence. Individual identity, as the essence of personality, contains a commitment to ideology, roles, and values (Erikson, 1968).

The theory of individual identity emphasizes the continuity and unity of the self. However, the Internet social platforms have broken this consistent self-perception. Those individuals who are addicted to the Internet will show another way of living different from their real life, and even derive another self, resulting in the value conflict of role alienation and the duality of human nature. Specific to China's Internet celebrity industry, it presents different characteristics.

9.2.1. The Role Model Effect of Chinese Internet Celebrities on Fans

The construction of individual identity begins with reflective questioning of the self, which fans often do in the process of finding and following their favourite Internet celebrities. When choosing who to follow, fans need to connect with their circumstances and actively seek out Internet celebrities who match their preferences and life experiences. Based on Rojek's Fame Theory, 'fame attack' is "the result of ordinary social and economic practices getting out of control", leading to the growth of a therapy culture in which "more and more people turn to strangers to seek guidance and role models" (Rojek 2012a, 6).

At the same time, in the process of growing up, teenagers need to gain recognition through autonomous activities and the approval of others, and Internet celebrities who attract public attention are easy to become role models for teenagers to learn and imitate. However, under the influence of neoliberalism and consumerism, Internet celebrities only show their beautiful appearance and enviable work content on social platforms, while concealing the uncertainty and high risk of labour, which contributes to teenagers' insecurity about their appearances and mental health issues and has a profound impact on their careers and lives.

> *#3.1.2. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 27: "The commercial operation of social networks makes 'Internet celebrities' and 'economic value' directly equal, which makes many young fans around me hope that they can become rich overnight without studying or working […]. In fact, in the current environment, very few people can be famous all the time. So-called 'Internet celebrities' may only get quick attention for a short period, but they soon go unnoticed. However, these facts are not clear to teenagers."*

#3.2.2. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, November 7: "I've heard of teenagers who dropped out of school early to become anchors or bloggers because they envied the lifestyles of Internet celebrities. However, due to the lack of education, these teenagers can only imitate the speech and dress of Internet celebrities at first, but it is often difficult for them to form their own styles and become part of plagiarism [...]. In addition, if there is no external promotion or special events, I think it's very difficult for ordinary people to become Internet celebrities."

#3.3.2. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 28: "Nowadays, there is almost no threshold or age limit for the Internet celebrity industry, so many young people begin to flock to live streaming platforms, hoping to become Internet celebrities quickly through a video or a live streaming show [...]. However, once teenagers enter the Internet celebrity industry too early, without judgment and control, they are easy to be misled by wrong values and go astray."

#3.1.4. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2021, August 19: "In the Internet celebrity industry, there are no barriers to entry, and no restrictions on academic qualifications or professional status, which leads many poorly educated teenagers astray [...]. Many fans will imitate the behaviour of Internet celebrities, especially some young girls, who mistakenly believe that revealing clothes and words will be noticed, so they do some outrageous behaviour, but ultimately affect their lives."

Driven by economic interests, more and more young people have tried to enter the Internet celebrity industry, dreaming of quick riches and easy fame. According to

The Career Choice of the Post-1995 Generation in China released by Tencent, 55% of young people born after 1995 are willing to find a job through mobile networks, and 58% are interested in becoming Internet celebrities, among which the main types are anchors and computer games players (Tencent, 2016). However, the homogenization of Internet celebrities has gradually led to aesthetic fatigue among the audiences, and the over-saturated Internet celebrity market has also brought the crisis of unemployment and extinction to the young generation.

In addition, under the influence of the role model effect, the social values presented by Chinese Internet celebrities have influenced the aesthetic standards, consumer psychology and daily life of the younger generation. As role models, Internet celebrities have been imitated by many teenagers for their perfect appearance, extravagant consumption habits and reversed life schedule, which has also caused anxiety about appearance, excessive consumption, and potential health problems, especially among young fans, many of whom suffer from Celebrity Worship Syndrome, Star Paranoia, eating disorders, and depression.

According to Chris Rojek, Celebrity Worship Syndrome (CWS) is "the tendency to formulate an over-close identification with celebrities", while Star Paranoia refers to "the emotional conviction that celebrities behave in unreasonable ways" (Rojek 2012a, 4). CWS and Star Paranoia are most prevalent among vulnerable, isolated fans who "develop harmful attachments, dependencies, or irrational hostilities due to illusory relationships with celebrities" (Rojek 2012a, 5). In some cases, fans acquire their identification by imitating the appearance, cultural values, and political beliefs of the celebrities, which can manifest as extreme behaviour such as excessive plastic surgery and value collapse.

#3.1.3. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, December

15: "Many fans around me want to imitate Internet celebrities because they admire their good looks and slim bodies. But in fact, the beautiful appearance of Internet celebrities is mostly achieved through Photoshop and plastic surgery [...]. I've heard that some fans become anxious about their appearance and body shape, some try to imitate plastic surgery but fail, and some even get depressed and ill because of excessive dieting, which finally leads to irreversible consequences."

#3.2.1. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 12: "Some Internet celebrities usually show their luxurious life on the platforms, such as high-end clothes, designer bags and mansions, which unconsciously stimulates fans' desire of consumption [...]. I have heard that some teenagers embezzled their parents' credit cards to tip gifts to Internet celebrities, and some students fell into a borrowing trap because they were addicted to luxuries. These are all examples of the distorted values of Internet celebrities that mislead their fans about consumption."

#3.3.1. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, June 21: "Internet celebrities who are active on live streaming platforms usually stay in front of their computers for a long time, sometimes doing intense work at midnight to attract fans [...]. I used to stay up until 3 o' clock for a year to watch live streaming, and finally my health suffered. Furthermore, some fans delayed their study and work, and even affected their family life to watch live streaming of Internet celebrities, which is not worth the cost."

#3.2.5. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2021, September 23:

"The more dividends from the Internet celebrity industry, the more fans want to become Internet celebrities […]. However, not all fans have the chance to become famous. Some fans who want to follow their 'role models' but feel bad about their looks and bodies turn to diet and weight loss, eventually falling into eating disorders, anorexia, and depression […]. It can be said that the glamorous life of Internet celebrities on the online platforms can sometimes become a nightmare for fans."

9.2.2. The Construction of Fans' Individual Identity in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

Becoming a fan from an ordinary person requires a transition from other identity of an Internet celebrity to the individual identity of a fan. In this process, there are three different psychological needs: projection, transference, and compensation. According to Carl Jung's Projective Identification Theory in his work *The Psychology of The Transference*, projection is a psychological behaviour in the unconscious state, and a process of seeking and exploring the uniqueness of self (Jung, 1983). In the emotional projection of Internet celebrities, fans find similar traits in Internet celebrities and project their growing and emotional experiences in real life and make their judgments.

#3.1.2. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 27: "I follow these Internet celebrities because they have opinions and attitudes that not only present a value to the public but also convey a cultural ethos. They may not be perfect, but they are willing to be true to themselves […]. Sometimes in the face of some major social issues, they will use their own power to speak up for the people and show their sense of social responsibility, which I really appreciate."

#3.2.3. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, December 27: "Since I've got married, I will pay extra attention to some Internet celebrity couples and enrich myself through their daily lives. Their daily updates range from video clips of life and travel, to elaborate gifts and anniversary surprises [...]. They do not have outstanding wealth and appearance, but I can see the happiness of ordinary couples from them, which also gives me the motivation to manage my life with heart."

#3.3.3. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, November 11: "I really appreciate people who have strong ability of self-discipline and self-control. They know what they want, and they work hard to get it [...]. Some of the anchors I follow are very hard working. They have to do live streaming for 8-10 hours a day or even longer, almost 365 days without a break. But they still broadcast non-stop every day, trying to show a positive side to set an example to their fans."

After self-archiving the life experiences, fans will transfer their feelings and attitudes toward family and friends to Internet celebrities, which is known as transference. In reality, some fans will impose their will on the Internet celebrities they follow, thereby achieving self-achievement through the success of the Internet celebrities. However, as the degree of transference increases, some fans would appear to have excessive indulgence and lose control of their emotions, which will seriously affect their mental health development.

#3.1.3. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, December 15: "I regularly participate in the Sina Weibo fan community and click to watch the daily updates of Internet celebrities for about 1-2 hours

every day, just like spending time with my family [...]. I heard that some fans are too addicted to fan activities, which will do harm to their life and health. Fans' excessive psychological dependence on Internet celebrities can affect their normal social and family life, and attending fan activities day and night can put a physical strain on them."

#3.2.2. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, November 7: "As a loyal fan, I participate in fan activities both online and offline. I usually spend 2-3 hours a day watching updated videos and commenting positively. If there is an offline fan meeting, I'll go no matter how far away, just like meeting an old friend [...]. In my opinion, excessive addiction to Internet celebrities mainly stems from fans' conformity mentality. Driven by fans around them, it's easy for people to do similar things to fit in."

#3.3.1. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, June 21: "I'm active on the live streaming platforms, and I watch almost every show of the anchors I like. Every day after work, I spend about 2 hours watching the live streaming, sometimes tipping gifts, and interacting with the anchors, which has become my regular habit [...]. I think the overcommitment to fan activities may stem from psychological emptiness and the need for recognition. In addition, spending too much time on the Internet can lead to isolation from real social groups, which can also have an impact on physical health."

Compensation refers to the phenomenon that fans use the images and behaviour of Internet celebrities to fill their hearts and vent their emotions because of inner emptiness. In this process, fans will fill in the missing part of information through

the individual imagination. When the other identity of Internet celebrities is transformed into individual identity, the emotional viscosity of fans to Internet celebrities is greatly increased, thus forming the identity attachment, and completing the construction of individual identity in the compensation.

#3.1.1. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 12: "Internet celebrities must have something unique that makes them stand out from ordinary people, and fans follow them precisely because these Internet celebrities can satisfy their fantasies and make up for their own deficiencies [...]. This is a complementary relationship, with Internet celebrities relying on their fans for attention, and fans achieving inner satisfaction because of Internet celebrities."

#3.2.1. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 12: "Becoming a fan of an Internet celebrity has changed my life a lot. In the past, I did not have any entertainment hobbies, now I start to wait for the updates every day. Sometimes when I encounter difficulties, I will find their videos to relieve my pressure. Their words seemed to have magic power [...]. Although they are thousands of miles apart on the Internet, they give me great spiritual support and encouragement."

#3.3.2. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 28: "Once I experienced some injustice, I will try to speak up. But ordinary people are so weak that no one pays attention. After becoming a fan, I once sent a personal message to the anchor to ask for help. I thought there was no response, but the anchor helped me actively and solved my problem [...]. It seems to me that they can do something that I cannot do, and they can help others through their own strength,

which is very remarkable."

In general, under the influence of neoliberalism and consumerism, Internet celebrities as role models have influenced the aesthetic standards, consumer psychology, and daily life of the younger generation. At the same time, from projection, transference to compensation, fans explore their uniqueness of self in the process of following Internet celebrities, while shifting their internal emotions and forming identity attachment, thus transforming other identity into individual identity.

According to the semi-structured interviews, fans find similar traits in Internet celebrities and fill in the missing part of information through the individual imagination. However, some of them would appear to have excessive indulgence and lose control of their emotions, which will seriously affect their mental health development. Next, after the construction of individual identity is completed, the second stage of fan identity construction: group identity will be fully analysed.

9.3. The Construction of Fans' Group Identity in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

A group is a dynamic entity formed through continuous communication and interaction. To understand the individual behaviour of fans, it is necessary to recognize the importance of groups. According to George Herbert Mead, the generation of identity is the result of the interaction within the group (Mead, 1934). Based on his Symbolic Interactionism Theory, the process of identity construction could be divided into three stages: a) Preparation stage: individuals unconsciously imitate others; b) Imitation stage: individuals imitate an important character and see himself/herself from others' perspectives; c) Social role stage: individuals play themselves as a role of social value (Mead, 1934).

On this basis, Charles Horton Cooley (Cooley, 1902) proposed the Looking Glass Self Theory (Cooley, 1902). Cooley believed that the evaluation and attitude of others towards oneself is like a mirror, through which individuals can recognize themselves and obtain identity. For fans, the fan group's evaluation of its members is their 'mirror'. In social networking, to be recognized and accepted by the group, fans will take collective actions and internalize the norms and mechanisms of the group into individuals, but this could be easily misled by false values and have negative effects.

9.3.1. The Daily Life of Fans in Group in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

According to Baker and Rojek's Celebrity Theory, "authenticity is a fundamental component of Internet celebrity, as well as a self-branding skill" (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 109). Through selective self-disclosure practices, Internet celebrities can "build trust and meaningful relationships with their fans" (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 110). In China, the fan phenomenon is the result of fans' desire for group identity. Fan activities can be seen as a kind of visibility and aspirational labour of building relationships with Internet celebrities, as they have desires and fantasies to be seen and validated by others.

Compared with traditional celebrities, Internet celebrities usually achieve fame by revealing their personal lives and information online. "This emphasis on self-disclosure and the ability to communicate directly with their followers, promotes the perception of intimacy among fans" (Baker & Rojek 2020b, 394). Specifically, most of the fans who are active on social media platforms have their own requirements for knowledge in a specific field. When the demand for content in a particular area increases, they will respond to high-quality texts and pictures. Compared with dynamic video interaction, fans in the group of this type are more

inclined to static text interaction, usually expressing their group consciousness and feelings through interaction within the fan groups, as well as likes, comments, and retweets on social media platforms.

#3.1.1. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 12: "I like the subject of criminal investigation and crime very much, so I pay close attention to all fields of this type. Scrolling through social media platforms, I have found some 'treasure bloggers' and joined some fan groups. Some of the group members are in the judicial system and tell inside stories; Some are experts in the field of criminal investigation and share their tips with other fans […]. Joining the fan group not only satisfies my interests but also gives me a lot of skills and knowledge, which makes me feel that even entertainment is meaningful."

#3.1.3. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, December 15: "In my spare time, I like to cook food at home. By accident, I joined the fan group, and chatting with other fan members became my inspiration […]. Usually, I learn to cook every day based on the recipes they post. Sometimes, some fans will post their restaurant recommendations and I will try to follow suit. If there is a product recommended by other members, I will support it with my own actions […]. My cooking is improving every day, and I feel a sense of achievement."

#3.1.4. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2021, August 19: "Due to my poor self-control ability, I paid attention to some learning bloggers and joined their reading groups […]. After joining the fan group, I was reminded to participate in fan activities every day. For

example, daily study report, fan-tan reading, etc. We need to post our own learning experience to the fan group, which is called 'hand in homework'. With this supervision, I am more motivated to study."

In the Internet era, everyone can create and share information, and the rise of short video sites is catering to the psychological needs of young people to pursue the trend. Fans of short video sites are mostly used to the fragmented way of reading and browsing, and their fan groups have the same characteristics. Short video fans make full use of their spare time from work and life to obtain video information and disseminate it quickly, thus reducing the time cost of entertainment and bringing more profit channels to advertisers.

#3.2.1. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 12: "In my daily job as a video editor, I need to watch various short videos and study their music, subtitles, and special effects. Gradually, I've unearthed several Internet celebrities who fit my aesthetic taste and joined their fan groups […]. Members of the fan groups often post high-quality videos, which sometimes give me the inspiration to solve my work problems; Sometimes they can improve my editing level and make me progress in my study. For me, it's a way to learn with entertainment."

3.2.2. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, November 7: "I prefer to stay in the house rather than go out, so the only way for me to relax and enjoy myself is to watch TV series at home […]. To gather more resources, I joined a group of film fans by chance. In particular, these group members not only recommend the TV series but also analyse the content. Their interpretation of movies and TV dramas was very interesting, with prominent points, which immediately hit my heart. Now

watching videos and chatting in the fan groups has become a part of my daily routine."

#3.2.5. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2021, September 23: "To better learn photography knowledge, I joined the fan group. Sometimes the blogger shares his latest work with group members, and sometimes he just chats and exchanges ideas with us […]. Fans all get along well with each other, and we often organize group outings to take photos or organize support at the video barrage […]. I love the feeling of being close to my favourite blogger and fans, just like friends and family members."

Different from social media platforms and short video sites, fans active on live streaming platforms are mainly to satisfy their needs for emotional interaction in the virtual space. During the live streaming shows, fans can take the initiative to attract the attention of anchors by tipping gifts and leaving real-time messages, which is used to shorten the emotional distance. Therefore, groups of live streaming fans are more communicative and interactive and can maintain a high degree of discipline and obedience in fan activities.

#3.3.1. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, June 21: "For a game fan, watching games live streaming is one of the most relaxing moments of the day. Different from the video, the live streaming gives me a more authentic feeling. Anchors can chat with fans about their daily lives, and fans can interact with anchors in the comments section […]. Whenever the live streaming begins, members of my fan group would show up at the show room on time to maintain order and enliven the atmosphere. Listening to the game commentary not only

decompress but also help me learn some great skills."

#3.3.2. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 28: "All girls love beauty, and I am no exception. But my makeup skills are not good enough, so I've found some interesting anchors and got to know a group of like-minded fans while searching for beauty live streaming. In the fan group I joined, we would not only share practical makeup skills but also talk about daily life and support anchors under the direction of the group leader […]. Although we are far away from each other, live streaming brings us very close, just like bosom friends on the other side of the network."

#3.3.4. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2021, August 30: "As an active fan on live streaming platforms, I have formed the habit of entering the live streaming room and watching the show on time […]. The fan group has a fixed group name, strict rules, and a complete code of conduct, and if you break them, you'll be kicked out […]. The members of the fan group are very united, not only sharing live streaming information but also organizing some group activities to enhance the cohesion of the team, which makes me feel a sense of belonging."

9.3.2. The Construction of Fans' Group Identity in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

Human identity is not invariable but is gradually constructed for different interests and purposes. Identity is a kind of inherent reflexivity, which needs to think, evaluate, and construct oneself through others. In the construction of group identity, people need to join communities and participate in collective action.

Internalization occurs when an individual's values are aligned with the goals, beliefs, and values shared by other members of the community. If the internalization degree of group norms is high, the members will have a higher mutual agreement, which will trigger the desire to participate in collective action.

As a result, joining the fan community is a journey of group identity construction for fans in China's Internet celebrity industry. Fans follow Internet celebrities to embody their aesthetics and taste and transform themselves as qualities into unique styles to highlight their identity in the fan community. According to the interview results, fans will join the fan community for group identity based on their own conditions, including age, educational background, personality, social ability, work status, active platforms, and other factors, which are finally reflected in external life and internal psychology.

#3.1.1. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 12: "To get more information about Internet celebrities, I joined the fan group. The group manager has made a lot of requirements to cooperate with fans activities, such as reporting in the group at a regular time every day, leaving comments on the specified content and so on [...]. At first, it was hard for me to find time for activities every day, but as I got used to it, it became a regular part of my day."

#3.2.3. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, December 27: "I have a stable job with a decent salary, so after joining the fan community, I acted as group manager and administrator [...]. To enhance the cohesion of the community, I regularly hold online and offline activities, group support activities or fans travel together. The work of organizing and managing is completely voluntary and being with the fans makes me

feel relaxed and fulfilled."

#3.3.3. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, November 11: "I major in media, so I have certain skills in video and photo editing. After joining the fan support club, I took the initiative to undertake the work of media editor. I usually collect some live streaming and videos of anchors for processing and creation, and also make some propaganda posters and pictures for support [...]. Although these are voluntary work, I feel a sense of accomplishment when I see other fans forwarding my videos and pictures."

In the fan community of Internet celebrities, fans must abide by the norms and show respect for the group if they want to be a part of the community and be recognized, which is reflected in the fact that the members of the fan community generally follow a variety of codes of conduct when acting as fans. In this case, fans unify their ideas and share a common identity through group activities, thus constructing and maintaining an orderly group identity with fan culture that accommodates their behaviour.

#3.1.3. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, December 15: "After joining the fan group, I need to follow the rules of the group and complete the task on time, which is the code of conduct of every fan. For example, every day I go to the Weibo community to support my favourite Internet celebrities [...]. These guidelines are not mandatory, but each fan will follow them voluntarily. Sometimes if I'm too busy at work, I even set an alarm clock to remind myself. It has become a routine for me to participate in fan activities every day."

3.2.2. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, November 7: "My fan community has a very strict management system, one of which is to follow the rules of the group leader to 'control the comments', that is, fans are organized and disciplined to post the same words in the video comment section in support of Internet celebrities they follow [...]. When we find malicious slander from other fans, we also stand together and fight back. It seems to be our responsibility to maintain and support those we follow."

#3.3.1. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, June 21: "The fan group I joined is only accessible to 'loyal fans'. Not only do we have a unified group name, but each fan also has a special nickname. When the anchor begins to do live streaming, fans will prepare in advance and show their support by leaving messages and tipping gifts at the first moment [...]. When the anchor has a brand promotion, the group leader will lead by example and call on the fans to buy the products. We will also actively recommend to the surrounding relatives and friends to support them with practical actions."

On the psychological level, social media endows fans with the desire for self-disclosure and urges them to record, share and show themselves in the process of following Internet celebrities. Fans gather in a group to create an 'identity space'. However, not every fan is capable of judging the behaviour of Internet celebrities. Some immature fans will mistakenly define themselves as blind 'believers' or righteous 'guardians', which is manifested in learning good qualities but blindly following wrong behaviour, thus affecting the construction of group identity.

#3.1.2. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November

27: "In fact, Internet celebrities are not stars, their fame is attached to a certain event. However, many fans will 'deify' the identity of Internet celebrities due to their over-indulgence and give their unconditional support to everything they do [...]. These fans identify themselves as faithful 'believers' and respond to the calls of Internet celebrities but may end up with psychological problems due to the collapse of their faith."

#3.2.1. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 12: "Stars are too far away from real life, while Internet celebrities can make up for this defect and shorten the distance with fans. However, some young or immature fans will blindly imitate the behaviour and actions of Internet celebrities [...]. Fans see Internet celebrities as role models and have a psychological attachment to them, such as imitating drunk driving and taking drugs, which may affect their physical and mental health."

#3.3.2. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 28: "The threshold of live streaming platforms is not high, so there are many 'mindless fans', who define themselves as 'guardians' and abuse indiscriminately whenever they hear opposition [...]. Some fans around me are addicted to cyberbullying, and they often curse each other in the rival live streaming rooms. They see it as an act of justice to defend the Internet celebrities they follow, but actually bring harm to innocent people."

As a whole, to be recognized and accepted by the group, fans join the community and take part in collective actions, thus generating a high level of mutual

identification among members and internalizing the orderly fan culture by following a variety of codes of conduct. As a result, fans follow Internet celebrities to embody their aesthetics and taste and transform themselves as qualities into unique styles to highlight their identity in the fan community.

In the Internet era, the interaction between fans and Internet celebrities on the platforms generates emotions and symbolic maintenance. However, based on the interview reports, some immature fans will blindly follow influencers' behaviour due to lack of judgment, which is manifested as blind obedience. After the construction of group identity, individuals gradually realize that they not only belong to a specific group but also have emotional and value significance in the society, thus entering the third stage—social identity construction.

9.4. The Construction of Fans' Social Identity as Consumers in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

Social identity refers to self-image identity derived from the social category to which an individual belongs (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This theory is based on some general assumptions: A) Individuals strive to maintain and achieve positive distinctiveness and self-esteem; B) The status of social category members can improve or reduce their positive distinctiveness and self-esteem; C) Individuals compare the positive or negative characteristics of their own group with those of other groups, such as status and prestige (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

From these assumptions, the general theoretical principles that can be derived are: a) Individuals strive to achieve and maintain a positive social identity; b) Positive social identity is generated based on the comparison between individuals' in-groups and out-groups; c) If social identity is unsatisfactory, individuals will try to leave their current groups and join a more advantageous one, or they will try to

improve their current groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Thus, it can be seen that the construction of social identity often directly affects the development and results of a group, which has an important impact on their values, ideas, and practices. In China's Internet celebrity industry, fans are not only the workers who produce the data but also the main force of consumption. Under the influence of consumer culture and commodity fetishism, fans as consumers experience the differences between in-groups and out-groups when seeking positive social identity and self-esteem, which are reflected in practical and emotional aspects.

9.4.1. The Commodity Fetishism of Fans in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

Through the research on celebrity culture, Baker and Rojek found that the para-social relationships between fans and celebrities are constantly expanding, which reflects "the inflation of celebrity in contemporary culture" (Baker & Rojek 2020b, 396). According to Rojek, "celebrity culture is irrevocably bound up with commodity culture" (Rojek 2004, 14). In 'low-trust societies', "public faith in the traditional authority and power of the state and professionals is diminished" (Rojek 2017, 527). People are more willing to establish emotional connections with 'familiar strangers' on the Internet, thus ultimately "forming a network of cultural and economic values" in society (Rojek 2017, 527).

Under the tide of consumerism, fan culture is an intensified form of mass culture in modern industrialized society. According to John Fiske, fans are discerning and productive excessive consumers (Fiske, 1989). Compared with ordinary audiences of mass culture, fans invest more time, energy, and emotion in cultural products. They create the higher intensity of meaning and build closer relationships with the

Internet celebrities they follow, thus forming their own unique in-group social identity.

In China's Internet celebrity industry, the commodification of Chinese Internet celebrities has formed an industrial chain of information transmission and traffic monetarization. This capitalist business model attempts to impose the logic of commodity on wide areas of culture and daily life, which universalizes consumerism and thereby reduces users and fans to the status of consumers. As a result, the fetishism of commodity blurs the boundaries between creative content and advertising and encourages fans to embrace consumption as a way of life, thereby replacing the space for political and cultural communication.

> *#3.1.2. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 27: "On China's social media platforms, the content posted by Internet celebrities is closely tied to the consumption of fans. Some are commodity links hidden in the texts, some are product recommendations published with pictures, if not carefully discernable, fans can hardly distinguish between advertising and creative content […]. As a result, fans will be unwittingly guided to consume, while Internet celebrities will not take any responsibility, which makes it difficult to guarantee the quality of products."*

> *#3.2.3. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, December 27: "There are some fans around me who buy expensive products every month to support their Internet celebrities. According to news reports, some students even embezzle their parents' bank cards to spend money on Internet celebrities and end up losing all their money […]. In my opinion, many of the products recommended by Internet celebrities have*

consumption inducement. When fans have been brainwashed for a long time, it is easy to turn consumption into a habit."

#3.3.3. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, November 11: "Nowadays, many Internet celebrities implant advertisements in their videos and live streaming. To attract fans, most Internet celebrities adopt the form of recessive advertising, cleverly hiding advertisements in creative content [...]. However, I think it is a form of fraud to release advertisements without making it clear to fans. Many fans are attracted by the content but unwittingly buy the product. This consumption is not spontaneous, but deliberately guided."

To strengthen emotional connection and build a sense of community, fans complete the construction of social identity through two stages: interaction and consumption. In the interaction phase, users' clicks, retweets, and comments on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms are aggregated into a huge amount of user data, which is sold to advertisers to facilitate their marketing plans. In this session, both advertisers and platforms are capitalists, while the labour of fans is alienated. Fans spend unpaid labour time generating online activities on platforms, and the user data is sold as commodities to advertisers, thereby converting surplus-value into monetary profits.

At the same time, Internet celebrities profit from the emotional connection to their fans by inducing them to conduct unpaid digital labour. Under the influence of capitalist ideology, Internet celebrities become capitalists and exploit their fans, who don't mind being used and even enjoy this kind of organized form of exploitation. But even if fans think their activity is not labour, it still is labour because it helps create value and profit, which is fully reflected on different

platforms. Whether something is labour or not depends not on workers' assessment of something as labour but the question of whether a commodity is produced as labour in political economy is the production of commodities and value.

#3.1.5. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2021, September 7: "As a 'stan', it is very proud to be able to help my favourite bloggers through personal actions. Sometimes when bloggers cooperate with brands on social platforms, they will call on fan groups to retweet, comment or buy products, to increase the exposure of advertisements. At this time, we will actively participate to show our efforts [...]. In my opinion, it is reasonable to participate in fan activities normally without affecting work and life. Moreover, it is not free labour, but voluntary work of fans."

#3.2.4. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2021, August 23: "My fan group often organizes collective fan activities, such as posting the same content in the comment area or expressing support in the bullet screen section [...]. Sometimes, to achieve a better publicity effect, I will use my spare time to re-edit the bloggers' previous videos and re-disseminate them on social platforms. These bloggers also retweet and comment on my work sometimes, which makes it all worth it [...]. For those fan activities that I attend, it will not become a burden to me but can greatly enhance my inner satisfaction."

#3.3.5. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2021, September 4: "The anchors I follow are so friendly that they often mingle with their fans. Sometimes in the PK competitions, the anchors would call on fans to tip gifts to them in the live streaming room [...].

Those with the highest cumulative spending, known as 'Bangyi', are given several privileges. By contrast, fans with average spending levels, like me, will post as many supportive words as we can in the comment section [...]. Although participating in fan activities takes up a lot of my personal time and creates a few extra tasks, I thoroughly enjoy the process and have no regrets."

In the consumption part, when targeted advertisements are promoted to specific fan communities, fans will focus on common products or activities and respond to the call of Internet celebrities for consumption to enhance group identity. In fact, the process of fans' click-and-buy plays a decisive role in capital accumulation (Fuchs, 2014a), which realizes the surplus-value of those advertisers that promote their commodities to consumers. Fans feel happy and satisfied by buying commodities and see such consumption as 'normal', but they have no control over their process and product of labour, while monetary profits are controlled by capitalists: platforms and advertisers, which reflects the process of consumption and capital accumulation under the commodity fetishism in the Internet celebrity industry.

#3.1.1. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 12: "I think it's a consensual thing for fans to spend money on Internet celebrities. In China, the Internet celebrity industry is bound to be commoditized at a certain stage [...]. If the product quality is up to standard and the fans have the financial ability, I think the normal consumption is beyond reproach. Sometimes the products recommend by Internet celebrities that are just right for me, I will be willing to buy them, which can be regarded as a kind of support."

#3.2.3. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, December 27: "I have bought some products recommended by Internet celebrities, mainly daily necessities and snacks, because they are not high in amount and can be used for daily use [...]. I think it is normal to spend money on Internet celebrities, just like buying gifts or concert tickets for stars. This is the inevitable result of marketization. But now many people blindly spend money on Internet celebrities when they cannot afford it, which may be due to the lack of social identity."

#3.3.3. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, November 11: "During the live streaming, some anchors will thank fans who tip gifts and call out their names in the live streaming room. Sometimes to interact with the anchors, I will buy some virtual gifts and feel satisfied when my name appears on the screen [...]. I think it is normal entertainment and consumption behaviour for fans to spend money on Internet celebrities. As long as it does not exceed the necessary limits of daily life, there is nothing wrong with it."

9.4.2. The Construction of Fans' Social Identity as Consumers in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

Social identity theory introduces the concept of social identity as a way of explaining intergroup behaviour (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to social identity theory, the construction of social identity consists of three basic processes: social categorization, social identification, and social comparison.

Social categorization refers to the way individuals organize themselves into a social community; Social identification is the universal trait of identifying oneself as a member of a social community; Social comparison is the evaluation of the

superiority, status, and reputation of one's identified community relative to other communities. Through these three processes, individuals raise their value and self-esteem and ultimately construct their social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

We know ourselves by what category we belong to in society, and appropriate behaviour is defined by the social norms of our communities. In China's Internet celebrity industry, fans who go through the first stage of social categorization will automatically divide others into in-groups and out-groups. At the same time, fans will conform to the characteristics of the in-groups to the self, which is a process of self-stereotyping. Under the influence of social categorization, individuals belong to various groups according to their own choices. In different situations, it reflects a variety of identity salience.

#3.1.3. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, December 15: "Becoming a fan has led to a series of changes in my personal identity. At work, I am a competent employee; At home, I do my duty as a family member; In the community, I am a fan of following the rules and supporting with all my strength […]. To prevent negative effects, I keep fan activities separate from my work and family. The boundaries between entertainment and life have allowed me to handle all areas better."

#3.2.2. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, November 7: "In the past, I used to surf the Internet for no purpose, just for recreation. After joining the fan group, entertainment has become a meaningful activity […]. Although we are still a small group, the out-groups know little about this field. But with the efforts of fans, we want this non-mainstream culture to be seen by more people, to gain social recognition

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and at the same time make this group more valuable."

#3.3.1. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, June 21: "I was confused for a long time because I didn't know my value or my place in society. It was becoming a fan that gave me a sense of belonging to the group for the first time. I realize that although I am insignificant to the huge world, I still have the meaning of existence and can bring value to the group [...]. This has even influenced my attitude towards others, and I have become more optimistic to accept the challenges of life."

As the core of social identity construction, social identification includes three levels: cognition, emotion, and action. When there is conflict among these three levels, there will be identity crisis and identity anxiety. When fans in the Internet celebrity industry identify with a group, it creates an emotional significance, and their self-esteem is tied to the group's membership. However, when the behaviour of fans is not recognized by the group and society, the prejudice caused by the conflict will come into being, which will bring negative impacts to the life of fans.

#3.1.2. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 27: "Previously, work and family were the focus of my entire life. Since I joined the community, my values and self-esteem have all been associated with fan identity. When members of the group are facing difficulties, I will try my best to help them; When fan activities end successfully, I also feel proud and honoured, which is unprecedented [...]. Being a fan gives me the satisfaction of feeling accepted, validated, and even needed by the group."

#3.2.1. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, October 12: "In the beginning, I started as a fan to learn the skills of video editing, and the fan group really helped me a lot [...]. Gradually, the quality of some videos deteriorated as the bloggers posted more frequently, so I made suggestions within the group. However, the act of giving advice was attacked and abused by some mindless fans, who even sent me private messages asking me to leave the group. I felt a loss of identity and a sense that good intentions were misunderstood."

#3.3.2. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, September 28: "I come from a very traditional family, and as a result, there is always some opposition and scepticism about my becoming a fan of Internet celebrities. Most of these biases stem from stereotypes about extreme fans, as well as misunderstandings about fan culture [...]. Sometimes my parents would forbid me to participate in fan activities and even argue with me about consumption, which made me increase my psychological burden and even felt anxiety about becoming a fan."

Any particular identity can only show its positive social identity through social comparison. Social comparison satisfies the individual's need to seek positive self-evaluation through the principle of positive distinction. Fans of Internet celebrities tend to exaggerate the differences between in-groups and out-groups on certain dimensions in social comparison while giving more positive evaluations to members of the in-groups to obtain high self-esteem, which leads to asymmetric group evaluations and behaviour. It can be said that in the social comparison stage, the competition between fan groups is not only the allocation of resources but also the result of identity comparison.

#3.1.1. Anonymous Fans from Social Media Platforms, 2020, November 12: "In the Internet celebrity industry, competition is fierce among Internet celebrities, as well as among fan groups. To gain social recognition and expand their popularity, Internet celebrities will make great efforts in content and creativity, while fans will formulate strict rules and systems to regulate the behaviour of each group member […]. After joining the fan group, I have more opportunities to communicate but also a responsibility to promote the social development of the group."

#3.2.3. Anonymous Fans from Short Video Sites, 2020, December 27: "As for me, the biggest change since becoming a fan is that the boundaries between groups are much clearer. After joining the fan group, I have fixed daily fan activities, exclusive fan nicknames, and close friends with the same hobbies […]. In this group, I can express myself honestly without outside judgment. From my point of view, in the era of new media, fans are not just a group of people, but the creators of a culture."

#3.3.3. Anonymous Fans from Live Streaming Platforms, 2020, November 11: "In my opinion, there is a development process of fans from being misunderstood to being accepted by society. At first, fans were seen as 'rabbles', the victims of the entertainment industry. Nowadays, fans can drive consumption and create labour through practical actions, to reflect their social value […]. Competition among fan groups has driven the innovation and development of the industry, which has also promoted the allocation and restructuring of social resources."

To sum up, the construction of social identity often directly affects the development and results of a group. However, the fetishism of commodity blurs the boundaries between creative content and advertising and encourages fans to embrace consumption as a way of life. According to the analysis of semi-structured interviews, Internet celebrities become capitalists and exploit their fans, who don't mind being used and even enjoy this kind of organized form of exploitation, which is fully reflected in fan activities on different platforms.

Under the influence of consumer culture and commodity fetishism, fans as consumers choose to belong to different groups through social categorization, social identification, and social comparison and identify with group characteristics from three levels of cognition, emotion, and action. On this basis, fans satisfy the individual's need to seek positive self-evaluation through the principle of positive distinction, thus raising their value and self-esteem and ultimately constructing their social identity.

9.5. Conclusion

In modern society, time and space are closely related to identity, which is the main field and basic condition of identity construction. Comparatively speaking, the space-time field of traditional society is relatively stable. Under the influence of the group and social environment, the integration and stability of identity construction are maintained at a high level. In the Internet era, the rapid transmission of information has greatly enhanced the frequency and speed of group gathering and dispersion, which is reflected in the great changes in the construction of identity, resulting in corresponding differentiation and conflict.

Specific to China's Internet celebrity industry, due to the virtual characteristics of the network, fans can selectively 'perform' in the network space. Compared with

the passivity and attribution of traditional identity construction, the identity of fans in the digital era is proactive and constructive. When the number of positive identities increases, the individual identity and group identity construction of fans have taken on more diverse dimensions. At the same time, the social identity construction of fans has become more decentralized, which makes it more difficult to integrate.

Specifically, this chapter makes a detailed discussion from the three dimensions of identity construction: individual identity, group identity, and social identity. Combined with the reports of semi-structured interviews, it analyses the cognitive framework, emotional attitude, and behavioural performance of fans in China's Internet celebrity industry, thus showing the mechanism of identity construction under the characteristics of decentralization.

The construction of individual identity begins with reflective questioning of the self, which fans often do in the process of finding and following their favourite Internet celebrities. At the same time, under the influence of the role model effect, the social values presented by Chinese Internet celebrities have influenced the aesthetic standards, consumer psychology, and daily life of the younger generation. Driven by economic interests, the homogenization of Internet celebrities has gradually led to aesthetic fatigue among the audiences, and the over-saturated Internet celebrity market has also brought the crisis of unemployment and extinction to the young fans.

Becoming a fan from an ordinary person requires a transition from other identity of an Internet celebrity to the individual identity of a fan. In this process, there are three different psychological needs: projection, transference, and compensation. Projection is a process of seeking and exploring the uniqueness of self (Jung, 1983).

After self-archiving the life experiences, fans will transfer their feelings to Internet celebrities, which is known as transference. Compensation refers to the phenomenon that fans fill in the missing part of information through the individual imagination. When the other identity is transformed into individual identity, the emotional viscosity of fans is greatly increased, thus forming the identity attachment, and completing the construction of individual identity.
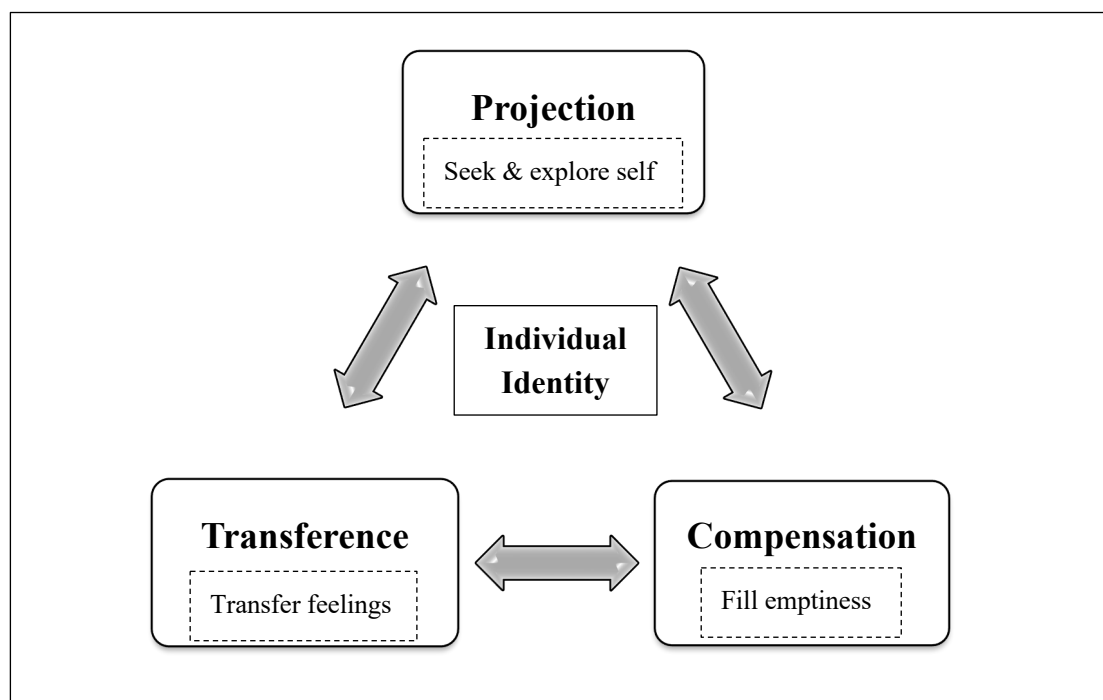
FIGURE 9.2 The Construction of Fans' Individual Identity

In China, the fan phenomenon is the result of fans' desire for group identity. Fan activities can be seen as a kind of visibility and aspirational labour, as they have desires and fantasy to be seen and validated by others. In this case, fans who are active on different platforms will attend fan activities in different areas. Fans who are active on social media platforms are more inclined to static text interaction; Fans of short video sites are mostly used to the fragmented way of reading and browsing; Different from social media platforms and short video sites, fans active on live streaming platforms are mainly for the needs of emotional interaction in

the virtual space.

As a result, joining the fan community is a journey of group identity construction for fans in China's Internet celebrity industry. On the external level, fans follow Internet celebrities to embody their aesthetics and taste and transform themselves as qualities into unique styles to highlight their identity in the fan community. In this case, fans unify their ideas and share a common identity through group activities, thus constructing and maintaining an orderly group identity with fan culture that accommodates their behaviour. On the psychological level, fans gather in a group to create an 'identity space'. However, some immature fans will mistakenly define themselves as blind 'believers', thus affecting the construction of group identity.
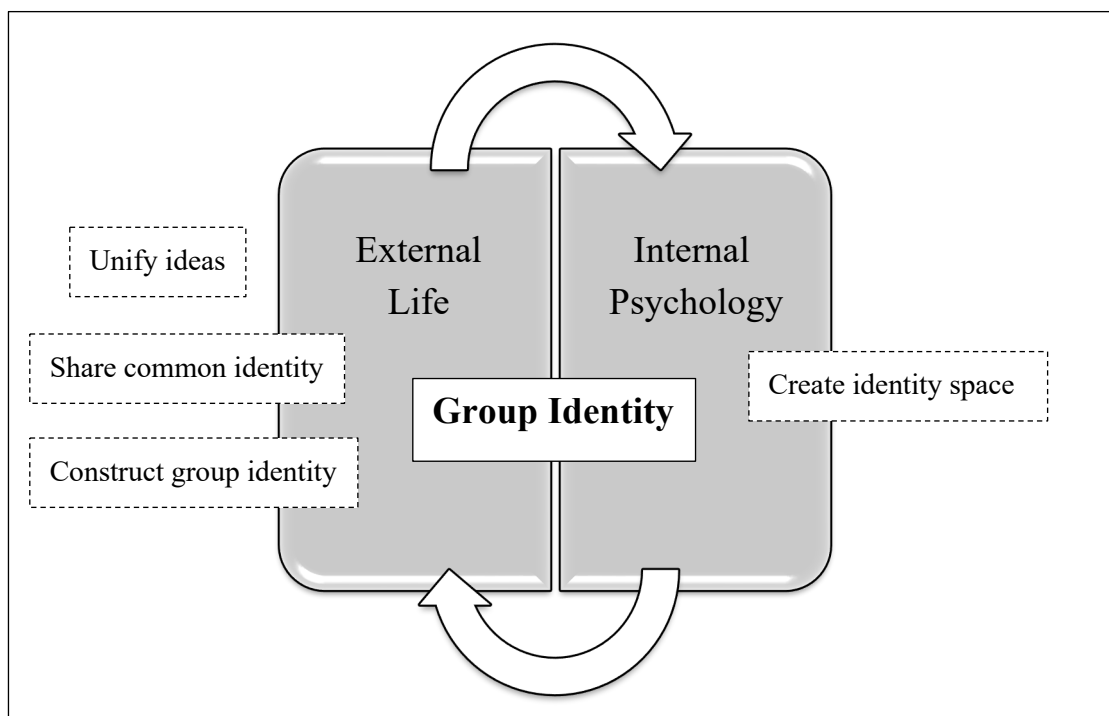
FIGURE 9.3 The Construction of Fans' Group Identity

The construction of social identity often directly affects the development and results of a group, which has an important impact on their values, ideas, and practices. In China's Internet celebrity industry, the commodification of Chinese

Internet celebrities has formed an industrial chain of information transmission and traffic monetarization, which universalizes consumerism and thereby reduces users and fans to the status of consumers. At the same time, Internet celebrities profit from the emotional connection to their fans by inducing them to conduct unpaid digital labour. Under the influence of consumer culture and commodity fetishism, fans embrace consumption as a way of life, thereby replacing the space for political and cultural communication.
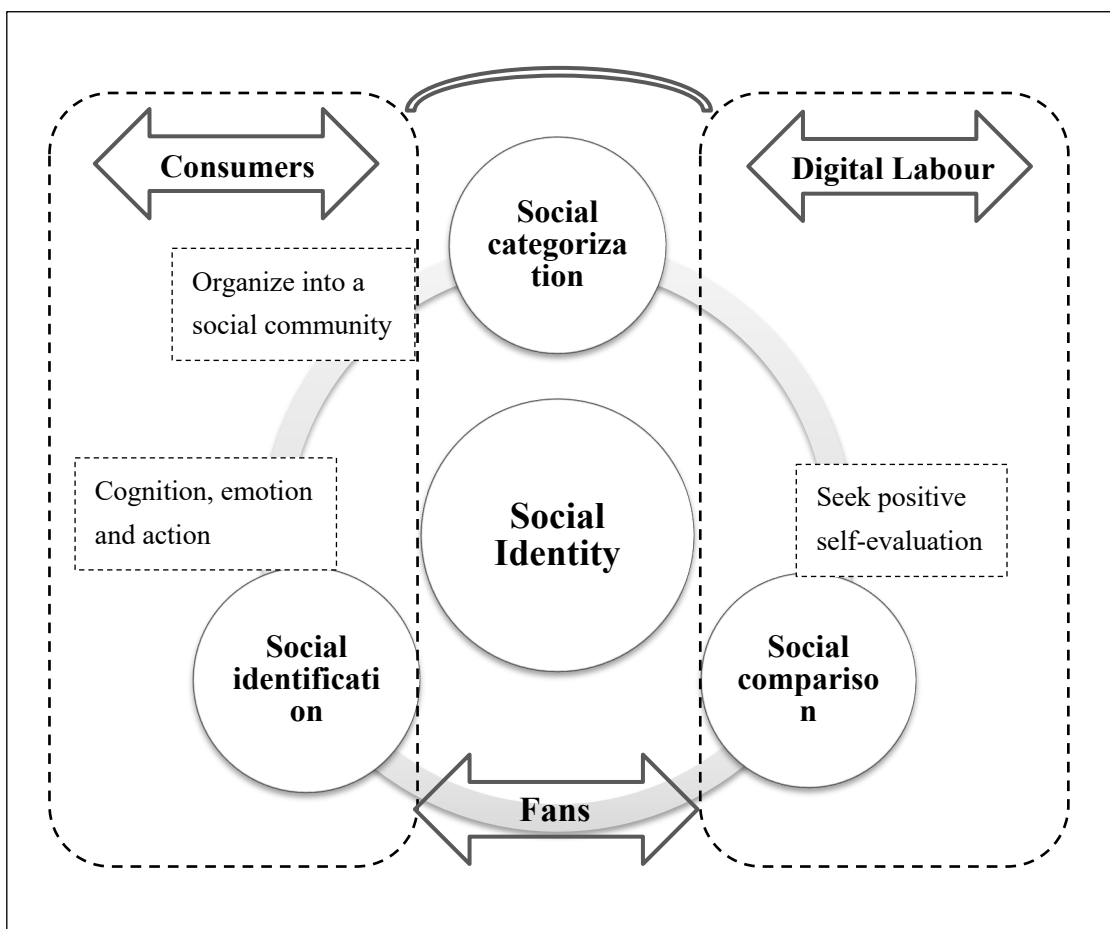
FIGURE 9.4 The Construction of Fans' Social Identity

According to social identity theory, the construction of social identity consists of three basic processes: social categorization, social identification, and social comparison. Social categorization refers to the way individuals organize themselves into a social community. Fans conform to the characteristics of the in-

groups to the self, which is a process of self-stereotyping. Social identification includes three levels: cognition, emotion, and action. When fans identify with a group, it creates an emotional significance, and their self-esteem is tied to the group's membership. Social comparison satisfies the individual's need to seek positive self-evaluation through the principle of positive distinction. Through these three processes, individuals raise their value and self-esteem and ultimately construct their social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

From individuals, groups to societies, the construction of individual identity, group identity and social identity reflects the process of constantly contacting external and improving oneself in social life. Under the tide of consumerism, fans experience the differences between in-groups and out-groups when seeking positive identity and self-esteem, which are reflected in practical and emotional aspects.

CHAPTER TEN
Conclusion

10.1. Introduction

In the digital age, the Internet and social media have empowered traditional audiences and expanded the boundaries of their work. Digital technology is imperceptibly embedded in politics, economy, and culture, which has a great impact on the large social system including capital and labour. Labour is no longer just seen as an element of the labour-capital relationship, but as a broader concept, which is used to analyse many aspects of daily life, especially on the Internet (Burston, Dyer-Witheford & Hearn, 2010).

An important term emerging from the digital age is 'digital labour', which is characterized by the fact that the boundaries between play and labour, work time and leisure time, production and consumption, public and private life tend to blur (Fuchs, 2014a). This interpretation has expanded the conceptual scope of digital labour, thus opening a new chapter of the Marxist labour theory of value. As a specific category of digital labour, Internet celebrities proactively receive their moment of fame, which is aimed to cater to the public appetite for a character type that sums up the times.

Driven by new media technology, Chinese Internet celebrities in the new era continue to develop their potential commercial value, thus broadening the channels of diversified capital accumulation. Different from traditional celebrities who rely on mass media, "Internet celebrities strategically shorten the distance with fans" on social media through "the perceived feelings of connection, and the impression

of accessibility and responsiveness", and gain popularity and status through self-broadcasting of niche topics (Baker & Rojek 2020a, 87).

At present, there are four main bodies in China's Internet celebrity industry: organizers (talent/MCN agencies), producers (Internet celebrities), disseminators (e-commerce/social platforms), and consumers (fans). In the political economy of communication with Chinese characteristics, these subjects follow the industrial chain of '*production → dissemination → consumption*' and realize capital circulation and accumulation under the special political, economic, and cultural conditions of China.

Therefore, to clarify the labour relations among various subjects in China's Internet celebrity industry, combined with Marxist critical theory and the critical political economy of communication, this research introduces a theoretical framework for a critical understanding of social media in the context of political economy and use it as theory based on the social research for studying Internet celebrities in China. As the conclusion of this research, this chapter will start from the key findings of the study to provide complete answers to the research questions. Through a detailed review of the whole research, the limitations of the study will be excavated, and the issues to be solved will also become the direction of future research.

10.2. Key Findings of the Study

According to the research theme—the political economy of Chinese Internet celebrities, I analysed the research questions in detail and chose the corresponding method according to each subdivided question, which will be analysed from four aspects: commodification, working conditions, everyday life, and identity construction. Specific questions are as follows:

Main research question:

How does the political economy of Internet celebrities look like in China?

The main research question can be subdivided into four sub-questions:

RQ1: How does commodification work in the political economy of Chinese Internet celebrities?

RQ2: How do the working conditions look like in China's Internet celebrity industry?

RQ3: How does the everyday life of those who work in the Internet celebrity industry look like in China?

RQ4: How does the identity construction of fans of Internet celebrities look like?

Based on the interview report of Internet celebrities in China, Chapter Seven, Eight and Nine are the analysis chapters of this study, which correspond to the answers to four sub-questions. In addition, it is worth noting that throughout the capital accumulation process, the labour-power and production process is closely related to everyday life. Therefore, RQ2 and RQ3 will be unified in Chapter Eight (Working Conditions) for analysis to make it more in line with the labour logic of the Internet celebrity industry.

10.2.1. The Commodification of Internet Celebrities in China

With the advent of the new economic era, the Internet has overturned the traditional business model, which has triggered cultural transformation and social innovation. As an important part of the digital economy, China's Internet celebrity industry contains the unique economic value and cultural connotation. Its industrial attribute has promoted the rapid rise of the Internet celebrity industry

chain, but the excessive commodification has also brought about the crisis of vicious competition and labour exploitation.
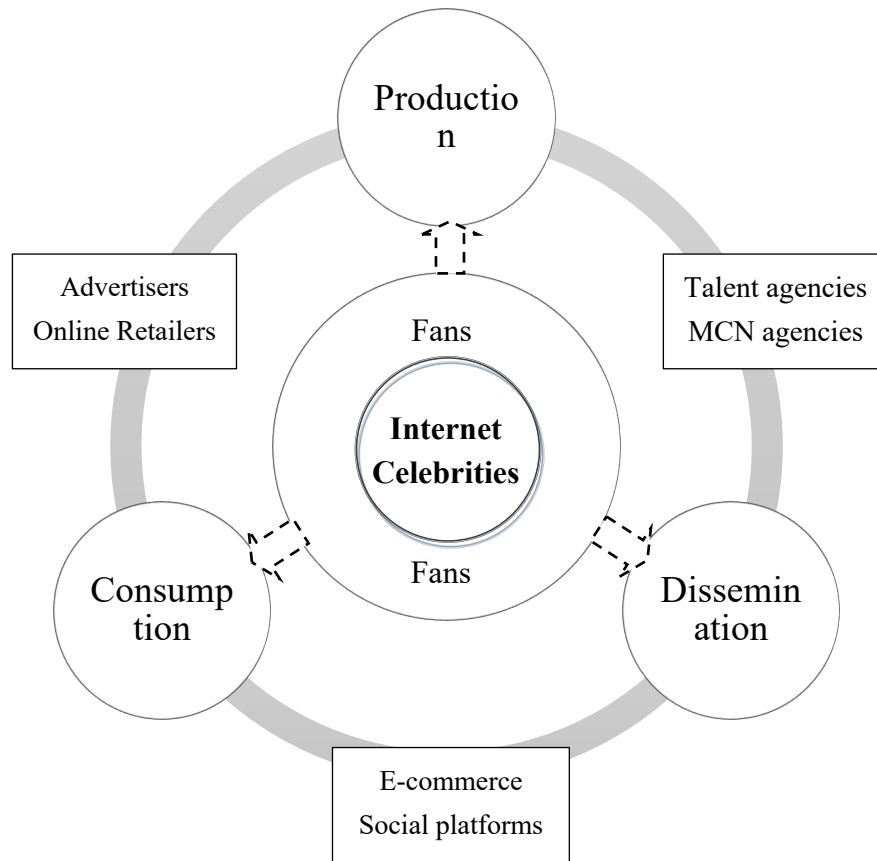
FIGURE 10.1 China's Internet Celebrity Industry Chain

Under the momentum of mobile networks and the packaging of talent/MCN agencies, Internet celebrities take e-commerce/social platforms as strategic media for rapid promotion and build their IP brands through personalized content. This emerging business model has provided a platform for ordinary people to show their personality and talents, which has also realized the monetarization of social assets. To be specific, China's Internet celebrity industry chain consists of three links: production, dissemination, and consumption, which exactly correspond to the three stages of upstream, midstream, and downstream (Yang, 2018). In these three links, different subjects of the Internet celebrity industry are involved: Internet celebrities, fans, talent/MCN agencies, e-commerce/social platforms, and

advertisers/online retailers, and capital will permeate each stage of the industry chain.

In the production process, talent/MCN agencies sign up potential people and build their popularity through training, packaging, and marketing. In the dissemination segment, according to the requirements of advertisers/online retailers, Internet celebrities will post texts, pictures, videos, and livestreams on e-commerce/social platforms to attract fans' attention. In the consumption sphere, fans will focus on common products or activities and respond to the call of Internet celebrities for consumption to enhance group identity. In fact, the process of fans' click-and-buy is the surplus-value realization process of advertisers (Fuchs, 2014a). Fans have no control over their process and product of labour, while monetary profits are controlled by capitalists: platforms and advertisers.

It can be said that in this model of production, dissemination, and consumption, talent/MCN agencies and Internet celebrities use various strategies on e-commerce /social platforms to attract fans' attention, support, likes, and engagement, and sell these users' attention in aggregated form as commodities to advertisers/online retailers. In this case, Internet celebrities make profits from users' support behaviour. Fans' digital labour creates the economic value of the Internet celebrity industry.

Specific to the monetarization approach, at present, there are three ways of monetarization in China's Internet celebrity industry: advertising monetarization, e-commerce monetarization, and reward monetarization (Jia, 2016). Regardless of the monetarization approach, Chinese Internet celebrities will meet the different needs of fans through the dissemination of sustainable content production to build their IP brands and realize the development of commodification.

In conclusion, China's Internet celebrity industry can be seen as a dynamic industrial cycle system. Under the operation of the links of production, dissemination, and consumption, China's Internet celebrity industry carries out self-regulation and self-circulation through the coordination of multiple participating subjects and develop under the political economy of communication with Chinese characteristics.

10.2.2. The Working Conditions in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

With the rapid development of information and communication technology, networking and digitalization have become important forces to promote social and economic changes. On a global scale, the industrial economy is gradually transforming to the digital economy, and the labour mode is also changing from collectivization and factory system to the open and independent system in the digital age.

In this context, the digital workers in China's Internet celebrity industry rely on the social platforms and the labour tools derived from mobile network technology and carry out digital labour production under the guidance of advertisers and talent/MCN agencies. However, as the driving force, digital technology has changed the labour mode and labour form of the Internet celebrity industry and reshaped the position of Internet celebrities and fans in the production relations, but it has not changed the basic logic of digital capitalism to obtain surplus-value through exploitation.

Specifically, in the part of relations of production in China's Internet celebrity industry, the capitalists buy labour-power as a commodity, which establishes the relationship between capital and labour (Fuchs, 2014d). In China's Internet

celebrity industry, the wage level is the core factor of working conditions, and the labour contracts stipulate the conditions under which labour and capital enter such a relationship. Those who have large followings, known as influencers, are the main source of income for talent/MCN agencies and occupy a dominant position in the labour contract. Those who fail to become famous in the Internet celebrity market, usually called proletarianized platform workers, are mostly at the bottom of the company because of their small number of followers and lack of attention. They work in low-paid, high-intensity jobs under unequal treaties and face the risk of being fired at any time.


FIGURE 10.2 The Production Process in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

In the section of the production process in China's Internet celebrity industry, Chinese Internet celebrities have to overwork under the exploitation of capitalists in exchange for more attention and business opportunities. In terms of the labour spaces, Internet celebrities are under enormous pressure to maintain their popularity. At the same time, rules and regulations that cover all aspects of production, dissemination, and consumption have been issued, which reflects the characteristics of authoritarian informationalism.

In the part of the work activity, Internet celebrities who are active on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms have different focuses. For the work experiences, the original free working mode turns into a disguised restricted mechanism. As a result, the abnormal and exploitative working conditions of China's Internet celebrity industry have brought great harm to Internet celebrities. Regarding the control mechanism, the involvement of talent/MCN agencies in China's Internet celebrity industry has transformed the traditional wage labour into tacit labour, which illustrates the characteristics of strict control and hidden exploitation. In this process, influencers usually have full control of the creation of works, while the work activity of proletarianized platform workers is strictly regulated.

Overall, in the hyper-competitive market, Internet celebrities gather popularity through targeted marketing, which drives audiences towards purchasing the commodities they promote on their profiles. In the context of fierce competition and increasing work pressure of the labour spaces, a variety of work activities have been derived due to the diversification of platforms.

10.2.3. The Everyday Life in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

In the age of digital capitalism, the Internet allows ordinary people to wrest control of fame from social media, creating Internet celebrities with the click of a mouse. The huge commercial value has led more and more ordinary people to take Internet celebrities as a career and devote themselves to different platforms. However, along with it, the boundaries between work and everyday life of those who work in the Internet celebrity industry is blurred, which has an impact on their daily life, ideology, and mental health.
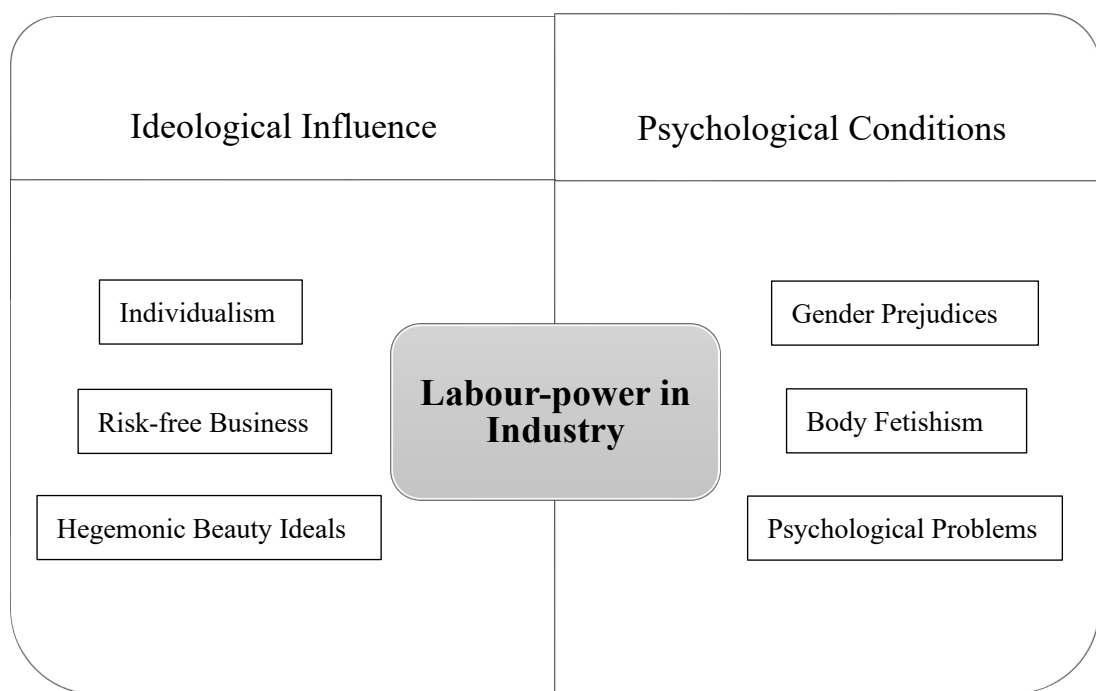
FIGURE 10.3 The Labour-power in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

Under the influence of neoliberalism, the communication structure of Chinese media has undergone a global transformation, which has also opened a new era of prosperity in China's Internet celebrity industry. In this context, the improvement of Chinese residents' consumption power and the diversification of demand structure have gradually popularized subcultures such as fan culture and celebrity culture (Yang, 2018), but it has also brought about the emergence of Internet celebrity capitalism as ideology. Specific to China's Internet celebrity industry,

these ideologies that benefit from exploitation and domination are individualism ideology, risk-free business ideology, and beauty ideals ideology.

According to the interviews, these ideologies that benefit from exploitation and domination overemphasizes the opportunities of the Internet celebrity industry, while ignoring the inequalities and risks of digital capitalism. Concerning the psychological conditions, at present, the neoliberal subjectivization has brought about the pursuit of beauty economy in China's Internet celebrity industry, which has also triggered changes in the psychological conditions of Internet celebrities in China.

In China, the pragmatism of 'body capital' has promoted the objectification and commodification of the body. Under the effect of capitalization and gender prejudice, women's appearance has become the direct object of capital. As a commodity, it can be produced or exchanged symbolically for clicks that help capitalists profit. China's traditional patriarchal culture emphasizes the moral authority and power dominance of men, which has exacerbated the prevalence of body/capital fetishism in the Internet celebrity industry.

In addition, many people have undergone psychological changes after entering the Internet celebrity industry. In general, most of the influencers have a positive attitude towards this new digital work despite the highly competitive labour spaces, which reflects the profound impact of the neoliberal work psychology on the Chinese labour market. However, there are also some Internet celebrities, especially the proletarianized platform workers who are severely exploited and under great pressure. These people have a pessimistic attitude towards the development of the Internet celebrity industry and are experiencing some negative psychological problems.

In the hyper-competitive Internet celebrity market, survival of the fittest is a fundamental law of digital labour. Driven by economic interests, Chinese Internet capitalists obscure the legal relationship with Internet celebrities and fans and carry out covert labour control through incentive systems and product management systems. However, those who work in China's Internet celebrity industry are still unaware of the fact that they are being exploited and alienated. Dominated by capital, these workers cannot decide the means or results of production and are forced to sell their labour-power as commodities and work in a high-pressure environment.

10.2.4. The Identity Construction of Fans in China's Internet Celebrity Industry

In modern society, time and space are closely related to identity, which is the main field and basic condition of identity construction. Compared with the passivity and attribution of traditional identity construction, the identity of fans in the digital era is proactive and constructive. When the number of positive identities increases, the individual identity and group identity construction of fans have taken on more diverse dimensions. At the same time, the social identity construction of fans has become more decentralized, which makes it more difficult to integrate.

Becoming a fan from an ordinary person requires a transition from other identity of an Internet celebrity to the individual identity of a fan, and the construction of individual identity begins with reflective questioning of the self. At the same time, under the influence of the role model effect, the social values presented by Chinese Internet celebrities have influenced the aesthetic standards, consumer psychology and daily life of the younger generation. In this process, there are three different psychological needs: projection, transference, and compensation. When the other

identity is transformed into individual identity, the emotional viscosity of fans is greatly increased, thus forming the identity attachment, and completing the construction of individual identity.

In China, the fan phenomenon is the result of fans' desire for group identity. Fan activities can be seen as a kind of visibility and aspirational labour, as they have desires and fantasies to be seen and validated by others. As a result, joining the fan community is a journey of group identity construction for fans in China's Internet celebrity industry. On the external level, fans follow Internet celebrities to embody their aesthetics and taste and transform themselves as qualities into unique styles. In this case, fans unify their ideas and share a common identity through group activities, thus constructing and maintaining an orderly group identity with fan culture. On the psychological level, fans gather in a group to create an 'identity space'. However, some immature fans will mistakenly define themselves as blind 'believers', thus affecting the construction of group identity.
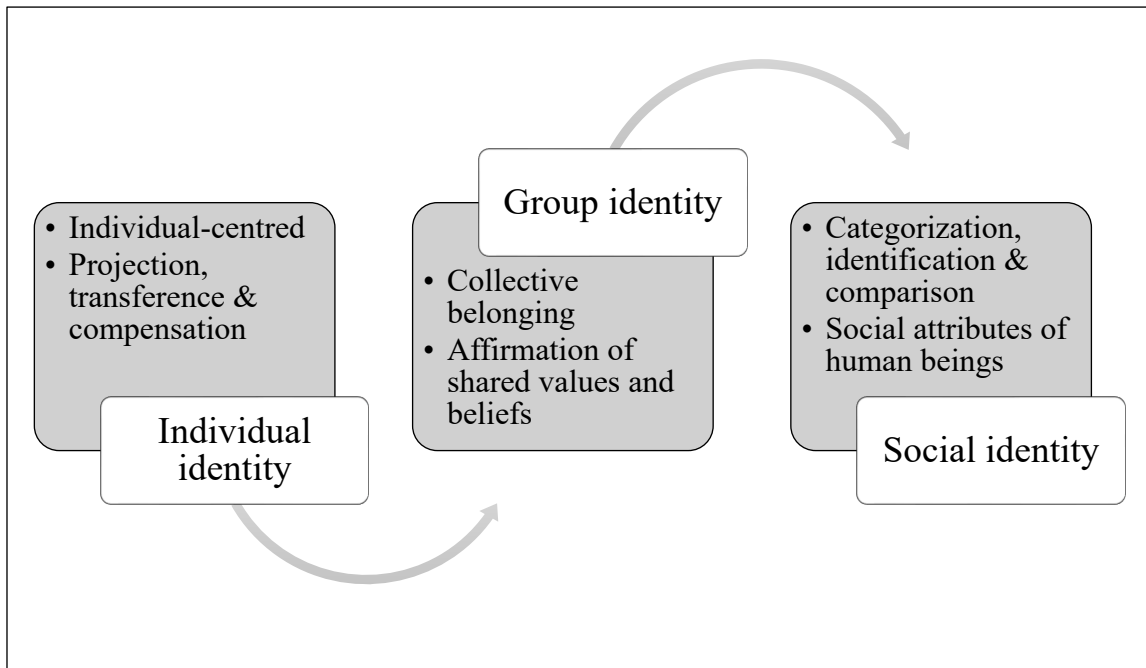

FIGURE 10.4 The Process of Identity Construction

According to social identity theory, the construction of social identity consists of three basic processes: social categorization, social identification, and social comparison. The construction of social identity often directly affects the development and results of a group, which has an important impact on their values, ideas, and practices. In China's Internet celebrity industry, the commodification of Chinese Internet celebrities has formed an industrial chain, which universalizes consumerism and thereby reduces users and fans to the status of consumers. At the same time, Internet celebrities profit from the emotional connection to their fans by inducing them to conduct unpaid digital labour. Under the influence of consumer culture and commodity fetishism, fans embrace consumption as a way of life, thereby replacing the space for political and cultural communication.

From individuals, groups to societies, the construction of individual identity, group identity, and social identity reflects the process of constantly contacting external and improving oneself in social life. Under the tide of consumerism, fans experience the differences between in-groups and out-groups when seeking positive identity and self-esteem, which are reflected in practical and emotional aspects.

10.3. Contributions of the Study

10.3.1. Theoretical Contribution of the Study

In the digital age, Marxism with profound historical influence still has strong vitality. After the full understanding of labour and digital labour theory and a complete analysis of China's unique communication disciplines, the theoretical contribution of this study is to expound the political economy of digital labour in China, to establish an analytical framework for this exploited class.

In the context of the socialist market economy, I construct four theoretical frameworks: Chinese Labour Market on the Internet, Digital Labour with Chinese Characteristics, Political Economy of Digital Labour in China, and Political Economy of Internet Celebrities in China. Under the special national conditions of China, this research starts from the background of social transformation of contemporary China, and discusses the political, economic, and cultural aspects, to summarize the theory of digital labour with Chinese characteristics.
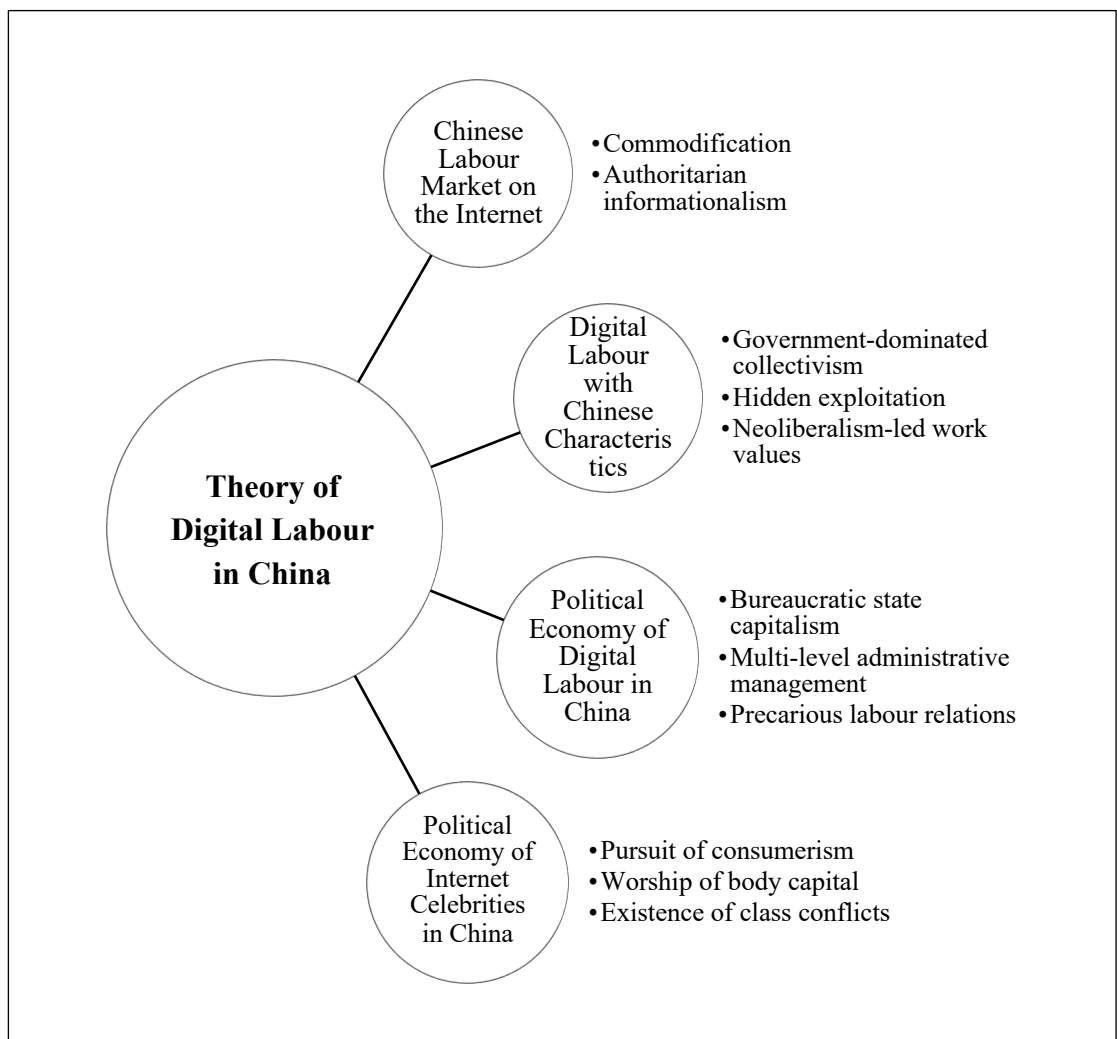

FIGURE 10.5 Theoretical Framework of Digital Labour in China

In terms of the 'Chinese Labour Market on the Internet', at present, the development of the Internet has brought about the commercialization of media and

communication. However, under the influence of China's unique communication disciplines, the Chinese government has consolidated its political-economic dominance by establishing its authority in ideological and cultural spheres to maintain the stability of the Internet information society, which reflects a model of the Chinese labour market on the Internet that combines the unique characteristics of commodification and authoritarian informationalism.

In the aspect of the 'Digital Labour with Chinese Characteristics', due to the multi-level censorship and covert labour control through incentive systems, Chinese digital labour cannot control their labour-power and be hampered by implicit labour mobilization. Competition drives different companies to maximise surplus-value by exploiting labour to increase capital accumulation, which shows the characteristics of government-dominated collectivism, hidden exploitation, and neoliberalism-led work values.

In regard to the 'Political Economy of Digital Labour in China', the information and communication technologies have overcome the spatial distance and temporal barriers to communication. In China, the bureaucrat capitalist class have the power to control the production while the digital labour relations with Chinese characteristics are promoted by the administration. In addition, Due to the temporary nature of digital work, Chinese digital workers cannot gain protection by labour rules, which indicates that Chinese digital workers are subject to the rule of bureaucratic state capitalism, multi-level administrative management, and precarious labour relations.

In relation to the 'Political Economy of Internet Celebrities in China', the improvement of Chinese residents' consumption power and the diversification of demand structure have gradually promoted the celebrity consumerism culture. At

the same time, with the professionalization of Internet celebrities, influencers as entrepreneurs gradually become Internet capitalists, while proletarianized platform workers gradually stand in the opposite class. Therefore, the political economy of Internet celebrities in China is influenced by both socialism and digital capitalism, thus presenting unique Chinese characteristics: the pursuit of consumerism, the worship of body capital, and the existence of class conflicts.

Combing with Marxist critical theory and the critical political economy of communication, we can conclude that the social background of digital labour is the current stage of capitalist development, that is, the stage of information capitalism. Specific to the digital labour in China, although China is a socialist country, considering the relationship between the unequal distribution of the control systems of communication and the wider unequal distribution of wealth and power, it is obvious that in the field of Internet communication in China, Chinese digital labour is subject to capitalist domination and exploitation.

10.3.2. Empirical Contribution of the Study

Entering the new era, Internet technology has brought a wide range of cross-regional and cross-cultural connections to China. Under the special political, economic, and cultural conditions, the empirical contribution of this study is to creatively explain the operation mode of capital in China's Internet celebrity industry chain. Following the three links of production, dissemination, and consumption, talent/MCN agencies, Internet celebrities, advertisers/online retailers, e-commerce/social platforms, and fans are all involved to jointly promote the accumulation and circulation of capital.

In the production process, the talent agency is the core organization to manage Internet celebrities and produce high-quality Internet content. After business

cooperation with advertisers, the cultivation of Internet celebrities by MCN agencies has improved the quality of content production, thus realizing the transition from UGC (User Generated Content) to PGC (Professional Generated Content). In this process, MCN agencies and influencers as entrepreneurs both act as capitalists, while the labour of proletarianized platform workers is alienated. Dominated by capital, these workers cannot decide the means or results of production and are forced to sell their labour-power as commodities and work in a low-paid and high-pressure environment.

In the dissemination segment, to quickly build brand awareness, Chinese advertisers and online retailers conduct targeted business cooperation with Internet celebrities. Combining the active and specialized fields of different Internet celebrities, business cooperation generally takes three forms: product placement, product recommendation, and product endorsement. At the same time, Internet celebrities will post texts, pictures, videos, and livestreams on e-commerce/social platforms, and users' clicks, retweets, and comments are aggregated into a huge amount of user data. In this session, both advertisers and platforms are capitalists, while the labour of fans is alienated. Fans spend unpaid labour time generating online activities on platforms, and the user data is sold as commodities to advertisers, thereby converting surplus-value into monetary profits.

In the consumption sphere, when targeted advertisements are promoted to specific fan communities, fans will focus on common products or activities and respond to the call of Internet celebrities for consumption to enhance group identity. In fact, the process of fans' click-and-buy is the surplus-value realization process of advertisers (Fuchs, 2014a). Fans have no control over their process and product of labour, while monetary profits are controlled by capitalists: platforms and

advertisers, which reflects the process of consumption and capital accumulation in the Internet celebrity industry.
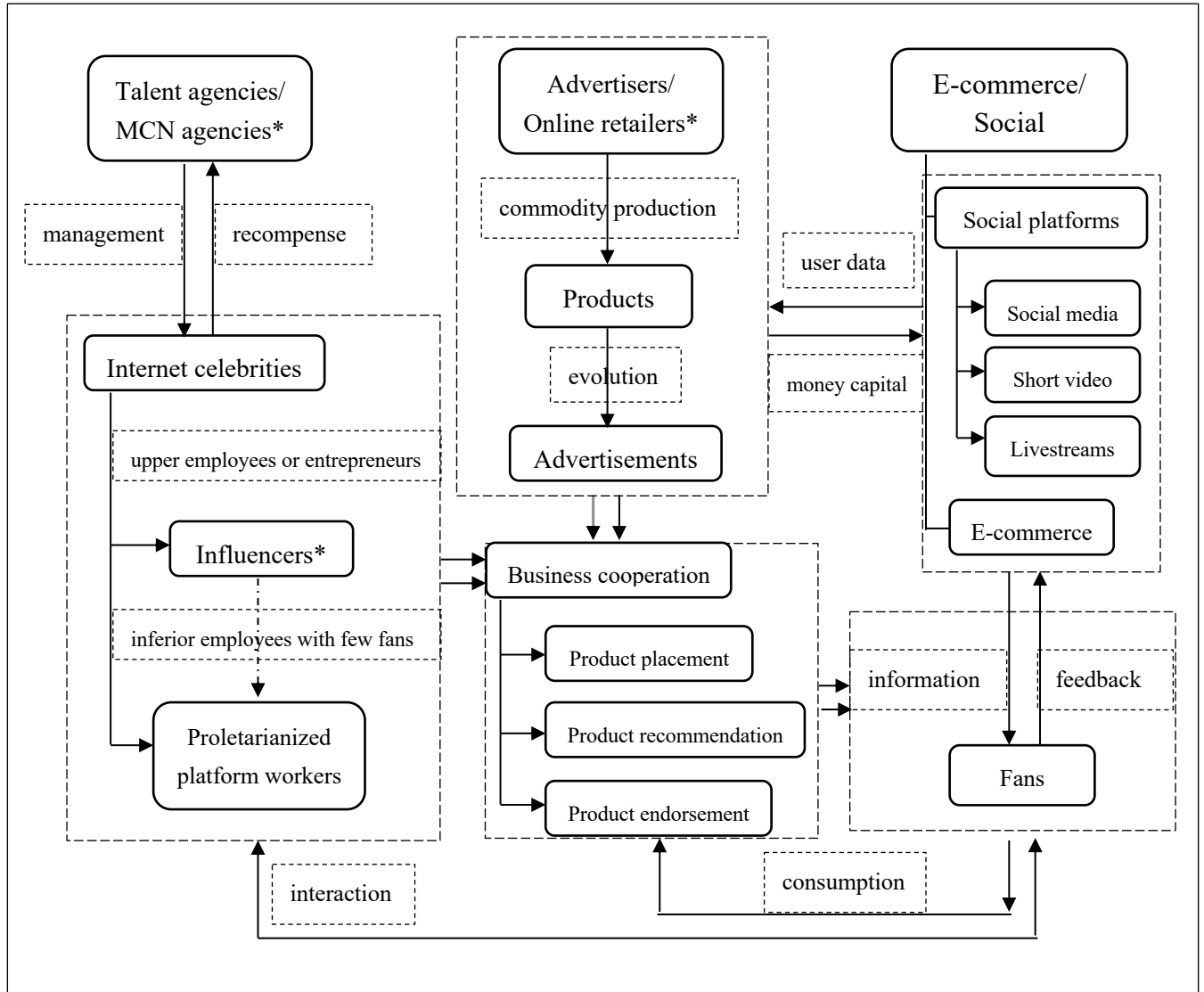
FIGURE 10.6 Capital Accumulation in the Internet Celebrity Industry

Throughout the production, dissemination, and consumption process of China's Internet celebrity industry chain, it can be found that this includes not only the capital accumulation of talent agencies and advertisers but also the capital accumulation of social platforms. In this process, the role of capitalists is constantly changing among talent agencies, advertisers, social platform owners,

and even entrepreneurial influencers. As a result, the labour of proletarianized platform workers and fans is alienated, which constitutes the exploitation of digital labour by capital.

10.3.3. Methodological Contribution of the Study

Under the research framework with clear steps and rigorous logic, this research adopts the method of semi-structured interviews according to the pattern of '*observation → analysis → explanation*'. In particular, it is worth noting that the methodological contribution of this study is reflected in the process of sample selection. In 2014, developed by Tsinghua University, *GSData* first proposed the '*Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0*' evaluation model. Through the collection of Chinese Internet data, I creatively adopt the '*OCI V2.0*' model, supplemented by the list of employees in Ruhnn to evaluate the transmissibility and influence of Internet celebrity groups.

To be specific, transmissibility is mainly used to evaluate the dissemination of content released by Internet celebrities on Weibo, WeChat, or other social media platforms. It is quantified by traffic data such as page views, forward rates, and the number of comments; Influence is used to evaluate the popularity and online attention of Internet celebrities on major online platforms, mainly through evaluation of the number of fans, degree of social concern, and other indicators.

To select the most representative interviewees, I refer to the ranking results of the '*Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0*' evaluation model of *GSData*, and combine the categories and development status of different Internet celebrities, thus adding 9 influencers (Internet celebrities with high *OCI* Index and popularity on Internet platforms), 9 proletarianized platform workers (Internet workers with low *OCI* index and no reputation), and 15 fans on social media platforms, short video sites,

and live streaming platforms to the interview list, to conduct detailed analyses of their working conditions, everyday life, and identity construction through semi-structured interviews.

Dimension	Index	Weight (Wi)	Calibration (Ui)
Transmissibility (60%)	Weibo Communication Index (BCI)	35%	Ln (BCI+1)
	WeChat Communication Index (WCI)	25%	Ln (WCI+1)
Influence (40%)	Number of Web Searches (X1)	10%	Ln (X1+1)
	Number of News Searches (X2)	10%	Ln (100*X2+1)
	Number of Weibo Searches (X3)	10%	Ln (100*X2+1)
	Number of WeChat Searches (X4)	10%	Ln (100*X4+1)
OCI = 100 × $\sum$ (Wi×Ui)			

FIGURE 10.7 'Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0' Evaluation Model

According to the '*Online Celebrity Index (OCI) V2.0*' evaluation model, we can select the most suitable samples of influencers. However, due to the low level of transmissibility and influence, we need to adopt another sample selection method for proletarianized platform workers.

The sample selection of proletarianized platform workers mainly relies on Ruhnn, the largest Internet celebrity company in China. To choose the best samples, I take advantage of my working relationship and choose those willing to communicate according to different platforms. As for the sample selection of fans, I select fans active on different platforms from Sina Weibo, Tik Tok, and Xiaohulu according to the selected Internet celebrities and choose the most suitable samples of fans for interviews based on their interactions. Through the optimal sample selection, the most representative groups in the Internet celebrity industry are selected for in-depth analysis, which can ultimately summarize the political economy of Internet celebrities in China.

10.4. Limitations of the Study

Through the research method of semi-structured interviews, the commodification, working conditions, everyday life, and identity construction of Chinese Internet celebrities and fans will be fully analysed. Nevertheless, like the majority of studies, the findings of this research should be explained with caution and some limitations should be considered. There are two main limitations of this study that can be attempted to address in the future:

The limitation is firstly reflected in the lack of academic literature on political economy of Internet celebrities due to the emerging nature of the Internet celebrity industry. When conducting research, the literature on a specific theme can serve as the frontier of the research, and the literature review can provide a theoretical basis for the research framework. Therefore, if there is no corresponding literature as support, the theoretical basis of the study will be limited.

However, throughout the research on celebrities by Chinese and Western scholars, the critical political economy approach is minoritarian in both geographical

regions. At present, most of the research on celebrities in China focuses on the social and psychological aspects, while the political economy research on celebrities is rare. Some issues, such as the role of celebrities in the public sphere, the influence of celebrity culture on ideology, and the capitalist exploitation of celebrities and fans, are of great research significance. These topics and perspectives are rarely discussed, leaving many research gaps in the future.

The second limitation concerns the sample selection of semi-structured interviews. Currently, this study focuses on the Internet celebrities and fans in China, but due to the limited scope of the research, the interviews and analysis of the staff from talent/MCN agencies and e-commerce/social platforms have not been involved, which provides more directions for in-depth research in the future.

At present, there are four main bodies in China's Internet celebrity industry: organizers (talent/MCN agencies), producers (Internet celebrities), disseminators (e-commerce/social platforms), and consumers (fans). In the political economy of communication with Chinese characteristics, these subjects follow the industrial chain of '*production → dissemination → consumption*' and realize capital circulation and accumulation under the special political, economic, and cultural conditions of China. Unfortunately, given the limitations of PhD research, only the two most important subjects: Internet celebrities and fans, can be selected for political economy analysis. In the future, it is worthwhile for scholars to conduct further research in the agencies and platforms of the Internet celebrity industry.

10.5. Issues to be Explored in the Future

Considering the limitations of this study, there are still many new issues about China's Internet celebrity industry that deserve to be studied and discussed in the future. With the rapid development of the Internet and live streaming technology,

the industrial structure of Internet celebrities in China will become more complex in the future, which will lead to closer cooperation and linkage between different subjects, and the resulting new business system will make the industrial chain more complete.

According to the research theme—the political economy of Chinese Internet celebrities, this research adopts the main method of semi-structured interviews with the help of political economy, and interviews 9 influencers, 9 proletarianized platform workers, and 15 fans on social media platforms, short video sites, and live streaming platforms to conduct a detailed analysis of their commodification, working conditions, everyday life, and identity construction. It can be seen that these interviews and analyses are all focused on Internet celebrities and fans. Although we can summarize the operation modes of talent/MCN agencies, advertisers/online retailers, and e-commerce/social platforms from the current interview reports, there is a certain risk of one-sidedness in information collection due to the lack of interviews with employees of relevant enterprises.
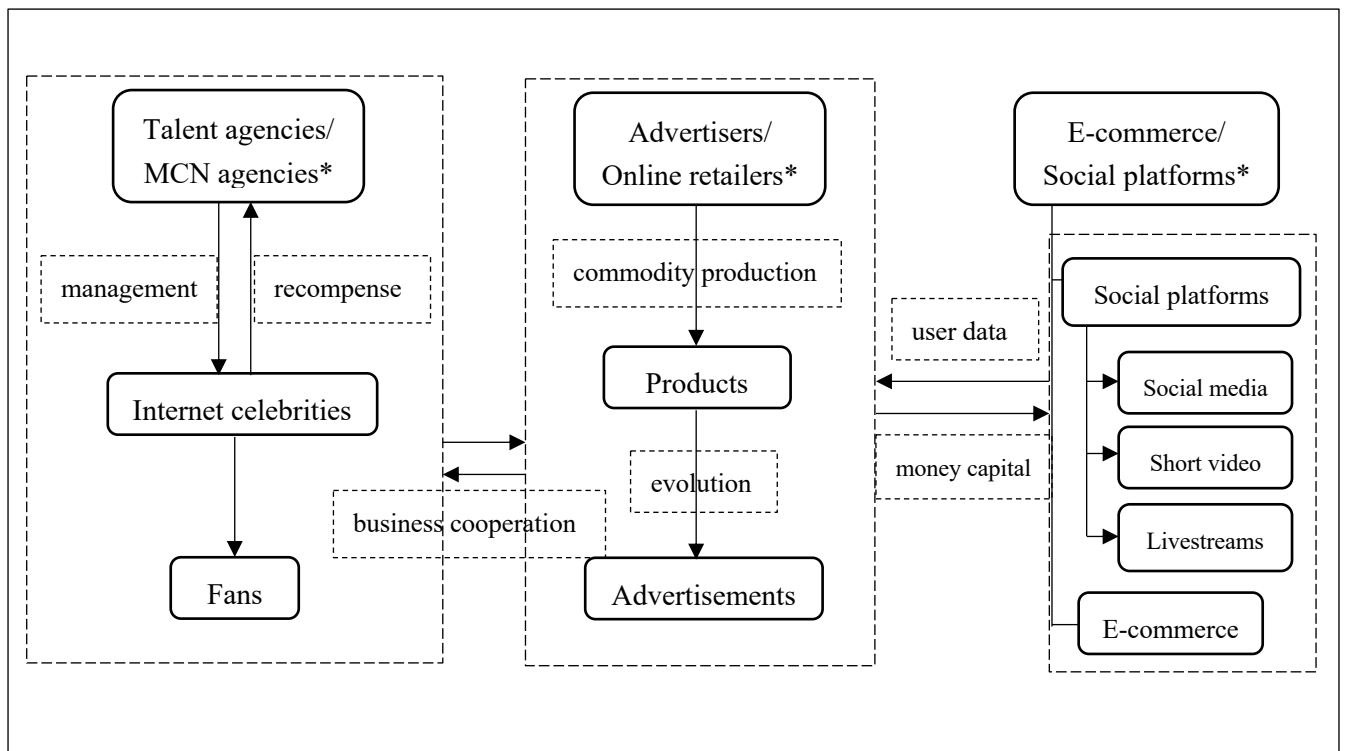
FIGURE 10.8 Capital Accumulation of Enterprises

in the Internet Celebrity Industry

Therefore, the research direction of the next stage can focus on the three major enterprises of the Internet celebrity industry: talent/MCN agencies, advertisers/online retailers, and e-commerce/social platforms. Through in-depth interviews with employees and employers of these companies, the business cooperation and capital accumulation mode of capitalists in the different industrial chains will be completely explained, which can also confirm the commodification and working conditions of digital labour in the Internet celebrity industry from another aspect.

Meanwhile, the governance, regulation, and reform of the Internet celebrity industry will also be the focus of the next stage. Given the existing issues of commodification and exploitation, based on the common democratic principles, further collaborative governance from the government, enterprises, and individuals are essential for the vigorous development of the Internet celebrity industry (Freedman, 2008). Relevant research topics, such as the marketing strategies of talent/MCN agencies, the soft advertising implantation of advertisers/online retailers, the algorithm analysis of user data by e-commerce/social platforms, and the policymaking of the Internet celebrity industry, these research themes can be regarded as a supplement to the political economy of Internet celebrities in China, which is worthy of an in-depth discussion in the future.

10.6. Conclusion

China's Internet celebrity industry chain takes Internet celebrities and fans as the core and forms three links: production, dissemination, and consumption, realizing

capital circulation and accumulation under the special political, economic, and cultural conditions of China. However, the blind worship of consumerism has led to the increasingly entertainment-oriented and commodified Internet celebrity industry in China. In the context of fierce competition and increasing work pressure, the working conditions and everyday life of Internet celebrities and fans have changed along with the logic of digital capitalism, which ultimately has an impact on their identity construction.

Specifically, the contribution of this study is reflected in three aspects: theoretical contribution, empirical contribution, and methodological contribution. In terms of theoretical contribution, this research starts from the background of social transformation of contemporary China, and discusses the political, economic, and cultural aspects, to summarize the theory of digital labour with Chinese characteristics; Following the three steps of '*production → dissemination → consumption*', the empirical contribution of this study is to creatively explain the operation mode of capital in China's Internet celebrity industry chain; In the aspect of methodological contribution, with the help of '*OCI V2.0*' in sample selection, the most representative groups in the Internet celebrity industry will be selected for in-depth analysis, which can ultimately summarize the political economy of Internet celebrities in China.

Nevertheless, like the majority of studies, there are two main limitations of this study that can be attempted to address in the future. The limitation is firstly reflected in the lack of academic literature on the political economy of Internet celebrities due to the emerging nature of the Internet celebrity industry. The second limitation concerns the sample selection of semi-structured interviews. Currently, this study focuses on the Internet celebrities and fans in China, but the interviews

of the staff from talent/MCN agencies and e-commerce/social platforms have not been involved, which provides more directions for in-depth research in the future.

Considering the limitations of this study, there are still many new issues about China's Internet celebrity industry that deserve to be studied and discussed in the future. In the next phase, the research direction can focus on the three major enterprises of the Internet celebrity industry: talent/MCN agencies, advertisers/online retailers, and e-commerce/social platforms. Through in-depth interviews with employees and employers of these companies, the business cooperation and capital accumulation mode of capitalists will be completely explained.

Meanwhile, the governance, regulation, and reform of the Internet celebrity industry will also be the focus of the next stage. Given the existing issues of commodification and exploitation, based on the common democratic principles, further collaborative governance from the government, enterprises, and individuals are essential for the vigorous development of the Internet celebrity industry (Freedman, 2008), which can be regarded as a supplement to the study of the political economy of Internet celebrities in China and is worth in-depth discussion in the future.

APPENDIX

Interviews

	Influencers	Proletarianized Platform Workers	Fans
Social Media Platforms	3	3	5
Short Video Sites	3	3	5
Live Streaming Platforms	3	3	5

An explanation of the numbering of the interview report:

The interview report is divided into three-digit numbers according to the interviewees on different platforms, which is reflected in the analysis chapters of the study. Specifically, the first number represents the type of interviewee: No.1 is an influencer, No.2 is a proletarianized platform worker, and No.3 is a fan; The second number is the representation of different platforms: No.1 is the social media platform, No.2 is the short video site, and No.3 is the live streaming platform; The third number shows the order of the interviewees, with No.1 is the first interviewee, No.2 is the second, and No.3 is the third.

Take '1.3.2' as an example. According to the above numbering rules, No.1 refers to an influencer, No.3 represents the live streaming platform, and No.2 is the second interviewee, which together is the second influencer on the live streaming platform. The numbering of other interview reports can follow this understanding.

1. Influencers

Question Classification	Interview Questions
Introductory Questions [基本问题]	How long have you been active on social media platforms? [您从事这一行多久了？]
	What social media platforms are you primarily active on? [您主要活跃在哪些平台？]
	What motivated you to start this kind of work? [是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？]
Work Experiences [工作经历]	How does your typical working day look like? [您工作日的一天是什么样的？]
	What are your main tasks and responsibilities? [您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？]
	How much time do you spend at work every day? [您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？]
	Apart from work, what do you mainly do in your daily life? [除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？]
	How do you feel about work-life balance in this industry? [您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] Can you talk about your own experience? [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？]
	Do you feel that sometimes it is difficult to combine work as an influencer with private and family lives? If so, can you give me examples? [您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] Why do you think the situation is like that?

	[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]
	Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation? [您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]
	Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it? [您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]
	What are the best aspects of your work? Can you give a concrete example? [您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	Can you tell me about a work situation that you found really difficult? What did you do in this situation? [您是否在工作中遇到过难题？您是如何克服的？能举个具体的例子吗？]
Work Activity [工作内容]	How long does it usually take you to create a new original work that you post on your social media profile(s)? [当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？]
	Normally, where do the ideas for your videos, images, texts, etc. come from? Can you give me an example? [您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？]

	Can you give me an example of where you have been paid for creating certain content or promoting certain goods? How frequently do such promotions take place?
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？]
	In such cases, do you feel that you have full control of the creative process or not? Can you give me a concrete example?
	[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]
	Have there been cases where you felt you were not really in control of the creative process? If so, can you talk a bit more about an example? How did you feel about not having full control of this process?
	[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？]
	Have you ever paid for increasing your visibility and reputation on social media platforms? If so, can you give me a concrete example?
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？]
	Why do you think some influencers pay for increasing their reputation?
	[您如何看待一些影响者/网红会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？]
	Do you think that influencers experience competition with others as a problem and concern? If so, why? How do you feel about the competition with other influencers?

	[您觉得影响者/网红会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他影响者/网红的竞争关系？]	
Labour Spaces [工作环境]	Do you have your own company or are you working for a talent agency? [您有自己的公司吗？还是在 MCN 公司工作？]	
	Self-employed [自雇]	What advantages and disadvantages do you see of having your own company and being self-employed? [您认为自己开公司/自雇有什么优点和缺点？]
	Employed [受雇]	What advantages and disadvantages do you see of working for a talent agency? [您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？]
	How is it decided what work and how much work you do per week? And who assess the quality of the work? And how is this done? [您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）]	
	Are there any assistants who help you? Can you rely on help from others? In what respects? If yes, who decides that you can use certain people or resources as help? [您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？]	
Income, Payment, Revenues [收入情况]	What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they? [您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？]	

		Do you have your own brand, product or online store? Tell me about how you started and are running your business. [您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？]
	Self-employed [自雇]	According to the agreements you make with clients, how much do you earn on average from one project? Can you maybe show me an example and talk about it? [根据您与商家/客户签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以赚多少钱？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	Employed [受雇]	According to the agreement between the talent agency and you, what percentage of the profits or revenues will you receive when you complete one project? [根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？]
		Can you tell me how much money you earn on average per month? [您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？]
	Self-employed [自雇]	If the influencer has his own company that employs others: [如果您拥有自己的公司并雇佣他人]: How much money do you typically make in total from one project? And how much of it are the costs for your employees? How much remains for you? How much do your

		employees earn on average per month and for what kind of activities? Do you think their remuneration is justified? [通常一个推广项目能够赚多少钱？您的员工成本是多少？除去成本，还剩多少？您公司的员工每月平均收入是多少？具体从事哪些活动？您认为他们的报酬合理吗？]
		If the influencer works as a one-person company: [如果您是个体户，未雇佣他人]： Do you feel the remuneration you typically get for one project is rather fair or rather unfair? Why? [您认为目前推广项目中的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
	Employed [受雇]	Do you feel the remuneration is rather fair or rather unfair? Why? [您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
Psychological Changes [心理变化]	What do you think has changed you most since you started this kind of work? How have you adapted to these changes? [您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？]	
	What do your family members or friends think about this kind of work? [您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？]	

	As a woman/man, do you think you have certain disadvantages and/or advantages in this industry? If yes, in what respects? Can you give me some examples? [作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？]
Gender Prejudices [性别问题]	Do you think that certain gender prejudices exist in the influencer industry? If yes, can you give me some examples? Why do you think these prejudices exist? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on those working in the industry? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on fans? [您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] [您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？] [probe into topics such as women and beauty standards, men and computer games (shooter games, car racing, etc.), etc.] [探讨女性与审美标准，男性与电脑游戏(射击游戏、赛车等)等话题]

1.1. Influencers from Social Media Platforms

1.1.1. Anonymous Influencer, 2020, July 17

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2017 年开始，已经有四、五年的时间了
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 新浪微博，小红书，哔哩哔哩，抖音

	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？]
	一开始是做新媒体这个行业的助理，后来慢慢的受到启发和鼓励就开始自己创作内容了。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] How does your typical working day look like? 我没有工作日和休息日之分，几乎每天都保持着工作的状态。一般早晨 8 点左右，就会有公司的运营专员开始和我沟通当天行程，包括文案发布以及拍摄计划。像这样的行程一般提前一周就会通知我，并由工作人员安排好交通和住宿。下午会正式开始工作，通常会持续 6-8 个小时，中间偶尔会有短暂休息。如果有外地的工作或活动，团队和随同我一起出差，一般一个月会有 2-3 次。这些任务都是基于严格的规范进行的。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.4*) For me, there are no workdays or days off. I need to work almost every day. Usually around 8 a.m., the operation specialist of my company starts to communicate with me about the schedule of the day, including the posting of the weibo and the shooting plan. The formal work begins in the afternoon and usually lasts 6-8 hours, with occasional short breaks. If there are jobs or activities in other cities, the team will travel with me, usually 2-3 times a month. These tasks are all based on strict specifications.
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] 基本上从写文案到拍摄照片、录制视频，再到后期的剪辑和上传，都是我需要负责的内容。
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？] 忙的时候，每天要工作十多个小时。
	[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？]

	休息、旅行。
	[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] 自媒体行业工作时间虽然比较自由，但实际上也很难将生活和工作剥离开，尽量保持自己的身心健康吧，努力在工作中有所成就，在生活中也有所享受。 [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] 我一般会强制自己在固定的时间段内尽量完成好工作，然后每个月留出一段时间来出去旅行或是宅在家休息，让自己放松。
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] 偶尔是会这么觉得，经常会和同事或是客户沟通对接工作，有的时候一件事确定不下来，不管是工作日还是休息的时候可能一整天都需要拿着手机回消息。 [您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？] 很多时候可能是因为计划不如变化大吧，突然出现不在计划内的问题，就需要多费点心思去解决它。
	[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?] 是，压力肯定是会有的；我在生活中其实是一个比较内向的人，可能有的时候线下出差会接触不熟的人，我就会比较有压力。只能是慢慢的习惯，调整自己的心态，平时多认识一些新朋友，锻炼自己的交际和沟通能力。
	[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]

	应该算是普遍的问题吧，大家就做认真做好自己的内容吧，有灵感的时候就多更新一下，没有的时候也别太强迫自己，粉丝都是很好的，大家都很体谅人。
	[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最棒的部分就是认识了很多很多特别好的粉丝朋友们，有些大家可能都没有见过面，但是大家都非常的爱你关心你，就感觉世界很温暖。
	[您是否在工作中遇到过难题？您是如何克服的？能举个具体的例子吗？] 写脚本、写文案的时候构思不出来好的内容，自己一个人闷头像就会焦虑。这个时候我一般会调整自己的心情，和同事们一起探讨一下怎么才能突破，想出更好的点子。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 一般需要一周左右的时间。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 就是记录自己生活中觉得美好的东西吧，比如双十一我购物车里的东西买回来以后，用了一段时间觉得很好，可能就会录一期视频给大家分享等等。
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] 一般品牌找过来，公司会筛选一遍，然后我自己再筛选一遍，如果确实是我自己很喜欢的，或者是我用过后觉得值得推荐的给大家就会接。 一般这样的商务合作不定时，有时遇到节日会多一些。

[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？] 我自己的内容百分之九十以上都是我自己掌控的，可能在有些作品创作过程中为了呈现出更好的效果会和大家一起集思广益，但是最终确定的话还是我来拍板。
[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？] 一般没有这样的情况出现。
[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？] 一开始刚做的时候会有去购买推广的情况，但是慢慢的做起来以后就没有了。
[您如何看待一些影响者/网红会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] 我觉得很正常吧，大家选择了这条路肯定是想发展的更好，这个过程也必定会选择一些外界的帮助。
[您觉得影响者/网红会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他影响者/网红的竞争关系？] 紧张倒是没有，不过现在相对于之前来说可能竞争是激烈了一些，我感觉踏踏实实做好自己的内容还是最重要的吧。

[工作环境]	[您有自己的公司吗？还是在 MCN 公司工作？] 我是和 MCN 公司签约的。	
	[自雇]	[您认为自己开公司/自雇有什么优点和缺点？]
	[受雇]	[您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] 平台会给予你很多帮助。

	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）]
	How is it decided what work and how much work you do per week? And who assess the quality of the work? And how is this done?
	目前，每周需要更新的视频内容是已经固定了的，由公司和我商议决定。为了方便营销宣传，公司会给我确定一个人设，所有的工作内容、宣传计划都会按照这个人设来安排。比如我的人设是"模范妻子"，我日常发布的文章、照片以及商务推广，都会以我和我丈夫的日常生活为中心。虽然这个过程花了一定的时间，但粉丝就会因此记住我的特点。
	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.1.1*) To facilitate the marketing and publicity, the company determined a 'personal setting' for me, and all the work and media plans were arranged according to this setting. For example, my personal setting is 'model wife', and my articles, photos and business promotion will focus on our daily life as a couple, to build the brand image and let my fans remember my characteristics.
	工作质量由我自己把控，公司也会每月评估一下文案/照片/视频的点击量和观看数，从而制定下月目标。
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？]
	有，目前就是运营和剪辑，有团队帮我处理。我可以自己决定我的团队设置。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？]

	What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they?
	对于签约博主来说，我主要的收入来源是社交媒体平台上的浏览量（点赞、观看、转发）奖励以及商务合作的项目分成。
	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) As a contracted Internet celebrity, my main sources of income are the rewards of page views (likes, views, and forwards) on social media platforms and revenue sharing from business cooperation.

	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？]
	暂时还没有，正在筹划中。

	[自雇]	[根据您与商家/客户签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以赚多少钱？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	[受雇]	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] According to the agreement between the talent agency and you, what percentage of the profits or revenues will you receive when you complete one project? 一般是 40%。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) On average, a promotion generates about 40% of the revenue.
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？]	

	Can you tell me how much money you earn on average per month? 这个很难说，每月收入状况还是主要根据参与的项目和推广的数量而定。一般正常在 20-30 万不等。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) The monthly income is mainly determined by the number of projects and promotions involved, which generally ranges from 200,000 to 300,000 yuan (≈22-33 thousand pounds).	
	[自雇]	[如果您拥有自己的公司并雇佣他人]: [通常一个推广项目能够赚多少钱？您的员工成本是多少？除去成本，还剩多少？ 您公司的员工每月平均收入是多少？具体从事哪些活动？您认为他们的报酬合理吗？]
		[如果您是个体户，未雇佣他人]: [您认为目前推广项目中的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
	[受雇]	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 还算公平。因为公司也提供了运营和推广的相关帮助。当然我的分成比例还是不算高的，希望可以逐渐提高。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] 影响就是给我开启了人生的另外一条路 ，如果不做博主的话，我可能会找一份很传统行业里的工作，或许不会有这么多的惊喜。就慢慢的习惯了，时间会让一切都变适应。 [您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？]	

	家人和朋友都觉得挺好的。
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 在美妆、生活方便可能会相对经验稍微丰富一些，消费面比较广，分享的好物也就比较多。
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] 我感觉大家现在都很包容，大家都各具特色，各有各的美丽，大部分都可以接受。可能对于女性博主，会有一些刻板印象，认为都是靠颜值、长相出名的。这多少是一种偏见。 [您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？] 可能这是行业的通病，有流量、赚眼球才能走红。 肯定会产生影响，身边不少朋友为了迎合粉丝审美，也会去整容、医美。但这是主流趋势，只能接受。

1.1.2. Anonymous Influencer, 2020, August 20

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2010 年开始，已经 10 年了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 新浪微博，哔哩哔哩
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 我从小就热爱旅行。去世界各地走走看看，一直是我的理想。看了太多美景，也有很多故事，就想把它们记录下

	来，分享给我周围的朋友，因此萌生了做旅行博主、记录各地美景的想法。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] How does your typical working day look like? 因为有自己的公司和团队，我工作日的一天一般都围绕着工作室展开。责任更多，也相对更灵活自由。早晨我通常会参加公司的例会，讨论一些项目的计划和进度，了解员工的工作情况。下午会进行原创内容的撰写和拍摄。晚上一般会有一些聚会和活动，有公司组织的，也有私人的。一天下来行程还是比较满的。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.4*) Since I have my own company and team, my workday usually revolves around my studio, which means more responsibility and flexibility. In the morning, I usually attend the regular meeting of the company to discuss the plan and progress of some projects, to get to know the employees' work conditions. In the afternoon, original articles and videos will be created. Evenings are usually filled with parties and events, both corporate and private, and the overall schedule of the day is quite full.
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] What are your main tasks and responsibilities? 在工作室里，除了我自己账号的内容策划、摄影摄像等工作，我还要兼顾管理公司签约的其他博主。每周，我需要制定他们的工作计划，安排商务合作，并对大家的工作完成情况、作品效果进行评估和分析，指出他们的问题，并引导他们朝正确的方向发展。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.2*) On a daily basis, in addition to my own content planning and photography, I also manage the

other bloggers who contract with the company. Every week, I need to make their work plan and arrange business cooperation. At the same time, the assessment of the work effects of these bloggers is particularly important. I'm also responsible for solving their problems and guiding them in the right direction.

[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？]

一般 8-10 个小时，忙的时候大概十几个小时吧。

[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？]

休息，玩游戏，聚餐，和朋友们一起出去旅行。

[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？]

我们这个行业应该比较难把工作和生活平衡好吧，只能是尽量把工作和生活的事分开做计划，提前安排好。

[是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？]

我会提前做好计划，在规定的时间内把工作完成，然后留出休息的时间，尽量让生活和工作达到相对的平衡。

[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？]

确实有这样的感觉。有的时候会根据同事或者是客户的时间来沟通工作上的事，比如我可能完成了我这一部分工作内容，但是等待客户反馈的时候已经到晚上 10 点多了。虽然已经到了休息的时间，为了保证作品质量，让客户满意，也只能再继续沟通相关的事项。

[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]

这算是我们这一行的普遍状态吧。如果说原因的话，这一行业近几年才刚刚起步，行业规范还不完善，并没有像传统工作一样有朝九晚五的时间限制。为了更好地完成工作，我们这一行的人可以始终处于工作状态，来应对一些突发状况。

	[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?] 压力肯定是有的，可能就会有点焦虑，多和优秀的同行、前辈们交流沟通，向他们取经学习，慢慢的有些事自己也就知道该怎么解决了。
	[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？] 我感觉无论做什么工作都会有压力吧，尤其是在竞争激烈的网红行业。不过有压力就有动力，想着自己想要实现的目标，一步一步向前才是现在应该做的。
	[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最棒的部分，可能是我因为工作的原因走遍了世界，看到了数不胜数的美景，也认识了很多相伴一生的好朋友。
	[您是否在工作中遇到过难题？您是如何克服的？能举个具体的例子吗？] 遇到过，出去旅行的时候经常会挑战一些极限的项目，我就会有点克服不了自己的心理障碍，不敢去尝试。在身边好朋友的鼓励下，从比较简单的项目开始玩，慢慢的就更有勇气了。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 一般需要一周左右的时间吧。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] Normally, where do the ideas for your videos, images, texts, etc. come from? Can you give me an example?

我在微博上分享的干货、问答，灵感来源基本上就是生活、旅行中碰到的有趣的事。比如我在旅行的过程中，会把自己的旅行攻略分享给大家，让大家通过互联网一起看看世界的美景。有时这些粉丝会给我"打赏"，对我来说也是一种鼓励吧。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.3*) The stories I share on Sina Weibo are mostly inspired by the interesting things that happen in my life and travel. For example, in the process of travelling, I will share my strategies with fans, so that we can see the beauty of the world together through the Internet. Sometimes these fans will tip me rewards as a compliment, which is a kind of encouragement for me.

[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？]

比如有一次商务合作是和一个露营帐篷的品牌推广。收到合作邀约后，我和我的团队收到了商家寄来的产品，进行了非常细致的试用，并记录了我自己的使用感受。一周后，我将我的使用心得编辑成了一篇长文发到新浪微博上，吸引了不少粉丝点击购买。

一般像这种合作一个月会有 2-3 次，如果遇到旅游旺季或者节假日，会更多一些。

[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]

可以，拍摄和分享的内容都是我自己想要传递给粉丝的东西，我可以完全掌控。

[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？]

	还没有碰到过这种情况。	
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？]	
	早期我会购买一些推广，那时候粉丝数量还不够多。现在我的微博浏览量和互动都比较稳定，就不需要额外去提升流量购买推广了。	
	[您如何看待一些影响者/网红会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？]	
	我觉得很正常吧。选择了这一行就肯定要通过一些正规合法的方式来提高自己的知名度，只要渠道是正规的，我觉得无可厚非。	
	[您觉得影响者/网红会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他影响者/网红的竞争关系？]	
	我觉得不会，大家自己做好自己的内容，活跃在各自的领域，不存在因为竞争而关系紧张的情况。	
[工作环境]	[您有自己的公司吗？还是在 MCN 公司工作？] Do you have your own company or are you working for a talent agency? 我有自己的工作室，可以算是自己的公司吧。除了我之外，我还签约了另外几个生活、旅游领域的博主。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.2*) I have my own studio, sort of my own company. In addition to me, I have signed up several other Internet celebrities in the life and travel fields.	
	[自雇]	[您认为自己开公司/自雇有什么优点和缺点？] What advantages and disadvantages do you see of having your own company and being self-employed?

		自己开公司在创作上会更自由，团队的凝聚力更高，且可以随心所欲安排自己的工作。但与此同时，也需要承担所有的人工、场地、宣传、器材成本，以及需要面临运营失败的风险。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.2*) Running my own company gives me more creative freedom, a more cohesive team, and the ability to arrange my work on my own terms. But at the same time, I also need to bear all the costs of labour, site, publicity, and equipment, as well as the risk of operating failure.
	[受雇]	[您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？]

[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 每周的工作量一般是我自己决定的。我会和团队提前把工作计划做好，尽量按照计划去实施。评估工作质量的方式，主要是看微博的浏览量和视频的观看数吧。
[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] Are there any assistants who help you? Can you rely on help from others? In what respects? If yes, who decides that you can use certain people or resources as help? 有的，我自己组建了一个人员配置算是比较成熟的工作室，包括文案、拍摄、后期、商务等方面，都可以由我自己来决定。

	(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) I have set up a studio with relatively mature personnel configuration, including writing, shooting, editing, business and other aspects, all of which can be decided by myself.

	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] 主要收入来源就是商务广告合作。
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 暂时没有，未来可能会涉足。

[收入情况]		
	[自雇]	[根据您与商家/客户签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以赚多少钱？能举个具体的例子吗？] 不同品牌的推广费用都不太一样，平均一个推广在 3-5 万左右。
	[受雇]	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] 一般来说在 20 万左右吧。	
	[自雇]	[如果您拥有自己的公司并雇佣他人]: If the influencer has his own company that employs others: [通常一个推广项目能够赚多少钱？您的员工成本是多少？除去成本，还剩多少？您公司的员工每月平均收入是多少？具体从事哪些活动？您认为他们的报酬合理吗？]

		How much money do you typically make in total from one project? And how much of it are the costs for your employees? How much remains for you? How much do your employees earn on average per month and for what kind of activities? Do you think their remuneration is justified?
		目前我的主要收入来源就是工作室承接的品牌合作项目。通常一个项目推广费在 3-5 万，员工、场地、器材成本 2 万左右，除去成本还剩 1-3 万。
		(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) At the moment, my main source of income is the brand cooperation projects undertaken by my studio. Usually, the promotion fee of a project is 30,000-50,000 yuan (≈3300-5500 pounds), and the cost of staff, site and equipment is about 20,000 yuan (≈2200 pounds). After the cost, there is still 10,000-30,000 yuan (≈1100-3300 pounds) left.
		工作室员工平均工资在 1 万/月左右，具体文案、拍摄、后期、商务都会涉及。工资水平在我们目前所处的城市，属于中等偏上了，报酬还是合理的。
		[如果您是个体户，未雇佣他人]: [您认为目前推广项目中的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]

	[受雇]	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
[心理变化]		[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] 最大的影响是，我发现把自己热爱的事情做好也能获得回报。周游世界可以成为一份工作，是我小时候想都不敢去想的，但现在居然梦想成真了。
		[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 身边的家人朋友都觉得还挺不错的。
[性别问题]		[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 优势的话，作为一名男性旅游博主，我在旅行时相对会更安全一些，也更能去尝试一些具有挑战性的项目。我的生活和旅行经验丰富，不仅可以分享自己男性视角的观点，还可以提供一些男性旅行建议。
		[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] Do you think that certain gender prejudices exist in the influencer industry? If yes, can you give me some examples? 早前社会上对网红的刻板印象，还是比较负面的。提到网红，大家好感度都比较低，认为是哗众取宠的行业。很多人一想到男网红，就是打游戏、不务正业；想到女网红，就是整容、靠脸为生。这其实对我们来说是一种误解，也曾让我的家人感到困扰。不过现在这个行业发展得越来越好了，这种负面印象也在慢慢减少了。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.2.1*) […] When it comes to Internet celebrities, there are many negative comments on this profession, which is regarded as an industry of sensationalism.

	Many people think of male Internet celebrities as playing computer games instead of doing real work, while female Internet celebrities have plastic surgery and live off their faces. This is a misconception. Actually, we work on our ability. Fortunately, as the Internet celebrity industry gets better and better, the prejudices are slowly diminishing.
	[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]
	Why do you think these prejudices exist? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on those working in the industry? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on fans?
	可能一开始大家都不太能接受新兴的事物吧，加上网红的负面新闻很多，都是涉黄、涉暴的信息，所以让人觉得很反感。这种反感肯定会对网红产生影响，很长一段时间都是低俗工作的代名词。不过现在已经好多了，也是依靠各行各业优秀博主的努力吧，已经把这一刻板印象改观了。

1.1.3. Anonymous Influencer, 2020, October 3

Question Classification	Interview Questions
	[您从事这一行多久了？]
	2015 年开始，差不多五年了。
[基本问题]	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？]
	新浪微博，知乎
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？]
	我很小的时候，希望 20 岁可以在一个名牌大学里面念书。等我真正到了 20 岁了，完成了小时候的梦想，却又不那么

	满意，而是希望自己可以成为一个有影响力、为别人发声的人。当时我还是一个学生，声音还很弱小，为了实现这个目标，我开始在微博上写文，成为了一个自媒体人、情感博主。刚开始，关注我的只有 1000 多个粉丝，他们有时会给发私信投稿，说一些自己的烦恼。我就会把他们的故事整理成文字，匿名发布在网上，希望引起大家的关注和讨论。慢慢的，我开始有了第 1 万个，10 万个，100 万个关注者，声音也开始有了重量。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] 我习惯晚上写文。当夜幕降临的时候，我会更有安全感，也会拉近我和粉丝之间的距离。这个时候适合倾诉，也适合聆听。因此，我的工作时间一般从晚上开始，一只持续到凌晨。白天则是在家休息，或者外出寻找灵感。
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] What are your main tasks and responsibilities? 作为一个微博情感博主，我的工作内容主要分为两大块：一是创作文案，二是回应粉丝。创作文案是我工作的核心，在这个大数据时代，我必须通过有创意、令人耳目一新的文案来吸引点击量，这需要我每天收集大量的素材。其次，社交媒体平台的互动性一般，因此我需要在评论区与粉丝定期互动，增加粉丝粘性，巩固我的粉丝基础。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.2*) As a weibo blogger, my job is mainly divided into two parts: one is the creation of articles, and the other is the interaction with fans. The creation of articles is at the heart of my work. Nowadays, only meaningful articles can attract clicks, which requires me to collect a lot of material every day. Secondly, considering the characteristics of social media platforms, I need to respond to the questions and comments

	of fans regularly to increase the stickiness of fans and consolidate my fan base.
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？] 一般 10 个小时左右。
	[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？] 看书，写文，晒太阳。
	[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] How do you feel about work-life balance in this industry? 身在一个自媒体行业，工作和生活本质上是分不开的。生活也是为工作积累经验的过程。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) In an industry where everyone can be a celebrity, work and life are inherently inseparable. It can be said that life is also a process of accumulating experience for work. [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] 我是一个情绪压力比较大的人，经常会给自己制定严格的目标，并且逼迫自己去按时完成。在这种状态下，比较难实现工作和生活的平衡。
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] Do you feel that sometimes it is difficult to combine work as an influencer with private and family lives? If so, can you give me examples? 确实很难区分吧。有时为了赶稿，我会一周时间不出门，切断和外界的联系，一连熬几个通宵。我明白熬夜非常伤身体，但灵感来得快，消失得也快，我必须抓住这些灵感的瞬间。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) Sometimes I would stay indoors for a week, cut off from the outside world and pull several all-nighters to meet deadlines. I know that staying up late is very bad for my health, but inspiration comes and goes, and I have to capture those moments of inspiration.

[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]

主要还是文字工作者的通病吧。文字要做到吸引人，必须有独创性、有灵气、有真情实感，而要达到这一水准，必须付出比常人更多的努力。

[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]

Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation?

成为自媒体博主的第二年，我得了重度抑郁症。那天正好是工作日的早上，我把我需要发的微博都定时好发送之后，突然发现我的眼睛特别的痛，我感觉我下一刻就要失明了。然后情绪极端暴躁，虽然没有任何事情出现，我就是非常想哭。我觉得我应该是抑郁了，后来去医院确诊过的，是重度抑郁。我把这个事实告诉了我的粉丝们，他们都来安慰我，给我鼓励。我也开始听从医嘱，按时吃药，并把治疗的过程发到网上。现在我已经走出了那时的阴影，是粉丝们给了我希望。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) […] In my second year as an Internet celebrity, I suffered from depression. During that time, I was inexplicably grumpy and cried for no reason. Later I went to the hospital and was diagnosed with severe depression […].

	[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？] Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it? 我听说有很多博主、网红、自媒体人，都深受心理疾病的困扰。现在网络上"喷子"太多了，这些"键盘侠"人肉他人、肆意抹黑，铺天盖地的恶评，会让很多人的心理防线瞬间崩溃。说到底，博主不是明星，不是公众人物，我们都是普通人。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) I've heard that many Internet celebrities suffer from mental illness. There are so many 'trolls' on the Internet, these people use the Internet as a shelter to abuse everywhere, which can break people's psychological defences. What I'm trying to say is, we're not public figures, we're all ordinary people.
	[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最棒的是能够被信任，有机会倾听别人的故事，给予他人帮助吧。
	[您是否在工作中遇到过难题？您是如何克服的？能举个具体的例子吗？] 抑郁症算是一个比较大的槛吧。我知道自己得了抑郁症之后，我的第一个想法是太好了，终于可以休息了。一直以来我把自己逼得太紧了，觉得自己跑得太快了。当时最严重的时候，我整宿睡不着，也不能去人流特别密集的地方，会觉得喘不上来气，心跳加速。后来是我的妈妈和男友一只陪着我，粉丝不断鼓励我，我才慢慢走出来。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？]

	如果是简短的推文，大概 1 天左右就可以完成；如果是长篇文字，需要 3-5 天，有时需要一周以上。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 灵感来源是粉丝们的投稿，以及我自己的亲身经历。粉丝们遇到困惑、烦恼，都会私信我。有时是学习、工作上的担忧；有时是情感、生活上的难题，我都会一一回复，并整理成文字，给其他同样困惑的人一些建议。
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] Can you give me an example of where you have been paid for creating certain content or promoting certain goods? How frequently do such promotions take place? 我是情感博主，因此会有一些学习课程、心理咨询、塔罗占卜找我来做推广。这些无实物的课程虽然推广费很高，但比较难审核。一般我都会先花时间了解好这些课程、品牌的资质，再以我的名义择优写一篇软文，推荐给我的粉丝。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) I am a psychological blogger, therefore, usually there will be some invitations of learning courses, psychological counselling, or Tarot divination for business promotion […]. These non-physical courses, though expensive to promote, are harder to audit. Generally, I will first spend time investigating the qualifications of these courses and brands, and then choose the best to write an advertorial in my name and recommend it to my fans. 一般这样的商务合作每月会有 5-6 次。

	[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]	
	可以完全掌控。我没有公司的限制，因此可以自由发声。	
	[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？]	
	暂时没有。	
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？]	
	没有购买过推广，都是粉丝们自发地评论和转发。	
	[您如何看待一些影响者/网红会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？]	
	我觉得可以接受。都是为了账号运营得更好，可以理解。	
	[您觉得影响者/网红会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他影响者/网红的竞争关系？]	
	相同类型、路线的网红/博主之间，会存在竞争关系。现在都讲究个人 IP，想要受到关注，必须在同类中脱颖而出，竞争就出现了。	
[工作环境]	[您有自己的公司吗？还是在 MCN 公司工作？]	
	没有签约，也没有自己的公司，我是个人博主。	
	[自雇]	[您认为自己开公司/自雇有什么优点和缺点？]
		自由自在吧，可以随时停更、休息。
	[受雇]	[您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？]
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）]	
	一般都是我自己决定的，也没有人来考核。	

	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？]	
	没有，都是我自己独立运营的。	
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？]	
	主要收入来源一般是我写书的稿费，以及商务推广。	
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？]	
	有出过自己的书。	
	[自雇]	[根据您与商家/客户签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以赚多少钱？能举个具体的例子吗？]
		一般 2-5 万一个推广吧。
	[受雇]	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？]	
	这个不方便透露。	
	[自雇]	[如果您拥有自己的公司并雇佣他人]： [通常一个推广项目能够赚多少钱？您的员工成本是多少？除去成本，还剩多少？您公司的员工每月平均收入是多少？具体从事哪些活动？您认为他们的报酬合理吗？]
		[如果您是个体户，未雇佣他人]： [您认为目前推广项目中的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]

		我是个人博主，因此没有收益分成的问题。
	[受雇]	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] 最大的影响，还是自己的成长吧。做自媒体博主之前，我只想安稳过一辈子；现在，我有了自己的目标，想要帮助更多的人。	
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 妈妈之前不太接受，认为我是叛逆，几次三番让我回家找一份轻松、稳定的工作。但我不想就浑浑噩噩过一辈子，也想给妈妈做出点成绩来。几年过去，妈妈也慢慢接受了。	
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 情感博主领域，女性还是有一些优势的，更感性、更懂得倾听，也更容易被信任吧。	
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] 会有一些刻板印象。比如很多人认为网红/博主都会为了赚钱不顾利益，割粉丝的"韭菜"。虽然不可否认，一些博主确实利益熏心，粉丝也深受其害，但也有很多三观正、有良知的博主，也希望大家不要因为少数风评，而用有色眼镜看待这个职业。 [您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]	

可能还是了解不够吧。自媒体毕竟是一份新兴职业，与传统工作相差甚远，负面报道加上一些不良博主的消极行为，就会让大众产生偏见。

1.2. Influencers from Short Video Sites

1.2.1. Anonymous Influencer, 2020, August 9

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2015 年开始，差不多六年了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 新浪微博，知乎，哔哩哔哩，抖音，YouTube
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 22 岁时，我毕业投入大城市工作，并开始尝试创业。然而，越来越快的生活节奏以及创业的失败，让我放弃了大城市的生活、辞去了工作，搬到郊区找了一栋老房子，开始了独居生活。因为喜欢美食，又热爱记录生活，开始萌生了做一名美食博主的想法。很幸运，这些视频能够让大家喜欢，也让我收获了 500 多万粉丝。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] 一般我会提前一天准备好第二天需要拍摄的脚本、道具和食材。拍摄当天清晨，我就会起来进行拍摄准备。考虑到上午的阳光最好，我会让助理和摄影师在上午就完成拍摄。到了下午，我会回放上午的视频，并有针对性地进行补拍补录。确认无误后，后期团队会开始剪辑制作，上传各个渠道。这段时间里，我会浏览各个平台，查看粉丝留言，并收集粉丝们感兴趣的食谱，策划下一次的拍摄。

	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] 我主要负责每一个视频的内容策划，并亲自出镜进行视频录制。当然，和粉丝互动也是我的主要工作内容。每天和粉丝聊天，是我寻找灵感的渠道之一。
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？] 每天都在 10-12 个小时左右。
	[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？] 剩余时间我还是个"动物园园长"，需要饲养我养的一只狗，两只猫和两只鹦鹉。
	[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] 做我们这一行，我想工作和生活是一体的，分不开的。我可以在工作中找到生活的乐趣，也会从生活发掘工作的灵感。有时我并不觉得自己在工作，而是把我真实的生活，呈现给我的粉丝。 [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] 我自己的经历，应该是做好自我调节吧。我工作室的助手、摄影师和后期，是我的工作伙伴，也是我的朋友家人。因此和他们在一起工作，更像是朋友在一起生活，让我不会有太大的压力。
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] 还是比较难区分的。比如我的视频，就带有我个人的生活色彩。我喜欢的食物、中意的餐具，都是我自己最日常、最生活的写照。拍摄视频虽然是我的工作，但我从来没有把工作和生活割裂开来。 [您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？] 一方面是我的工作性质，本身就很难与生活区分。另一方面是我个人的选择，这也是我愿意接受的生活方式。

	[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?] 压力一定会有。我刚开始转行做视频博主的时候，没有房没有车，没有钱，更没有工作室的朋友帮我，我还要照顾一大家子宠物，开销真的非常大。但是这是我喜欢的事情，我也乐意为这件事付出，虽然前期很艰难，但也一步一步走来了。
	[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？] Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it? 在博主这一行，压力是非常普遍的问题。这个行业有太多人想挤破头进来，受众就这么多，自然会有竞争和压力。我有几个同行业的朋友，无论粉丝数多少，都会有点赞量、观看数等各项指标的考核，经常为了达到 KPI 而常年无休。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.1*) Stress is a very common problem in the Internet celebrity industry. There are too many people who want a piece of the action, but the audiences are limited, which naturally leads to competition and pressure. I have several friends who are also Internet celebrities. No matter how many fans they have, the company always evaluates them with the number of likes, views, and other indicators. As a result, they often have to work all year round to achieve KPIs. 如果要改善这一情况，我觉得还是提高准入门槛吧。不是所有人都能称之为博主，至少要把抄袭、破坏行业规则的人拒之门外，才能有更好的发展。

	[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最棒的是这份工作让我过上了我想要的生活。可以分享我的厨艺，推荐我爱的美食，有人听我唠叨，本身就是一件很棒的事情了。
	[您是否在工作中遇到过难题？您是如何克服的？能举个具体的例子吗？] 有收到过一些恶评和质疑吧，一度让我很沮丧，有过怀疑自己。之前一度有人质疑我的视频，做的是中餐，但厨具摆设都是欧式的，有不伦不类的嫌疑。我当时又好气又好笑，做什么餐食，用什么厨具，都是我自己的喜好，为什么还有人要恶意中伤？现在我已经不太在意这些恶评了。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 一般需要 3-5 天来策划构思。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 灵感来源主要是我家乡的美食。我是广东人，广东的美食非常多；我又很贪吃，总能挖掘好吃的食谱。因此可以说我的灵感，都是来源于生活吧。
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] Can you give me an example of where you have been paid for creating certain content or promoting certain goods? How frequently do such promotions take place? 我曾经和西门子合作推广一款洗碗机。作为美食博主，每次拍摄我都会用到不少餐具和厨具。收到推广邀约后，我

为西门子策划了一期视频，内容是烹饪完美食后将所有的厨具放进洗碗机，30 分钟轻松完成家务。很多粉丝是冲着我的美食视频来的，看完视频却被洗碗机"种草"了。为了方便粉丝否买，我在评论区发布了商家的购买链接，粉丝点击链接就可以快速购买。这次合作费用我就不方便透露了，但效果听商家反馈还是不错的。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) I once worked with Siemens to promote a dishwasher product. Every time I shoot a food making video, a lot of kitchen utensils are used. After receiving the promotion invitation, I made a video in which I put all the utensils in the dishwasher after cooking and finished the housework in 30 minutes. Many fans originally came to watch my video, but after watching it, they were attracted to the dishwasher. To facilitate the purchase of fans, I posted a link in the comments section so that fans could make a quick purchase.

一般这样的商务合作，一个月会有 2-3 次吧。我也不会过度接推广，需要考虑内容的质量和粉丝的接受度。

[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]
这个当然可以的。每一次视频创作，我都会亲自确定主题、内容和脚本，确保最终的呈现效果。

[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？]
一般来说不会有。公司也会尊重我的内容创作，不会过多干涉。

[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？]

	购买过。一些和商家合作的推广，公司会帮我购买一些平台的"热门推荐"，来保证曝光度和销量。这是对商家负责的方式，也能让产品更好地推广。
	[您如何看待一些影响者/网红会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] 很正常。购买推广，也是展示、推销自己的一种方式。我觉得只要不涉及虚假宣传，都是合理的运作模式。
	[您觉得影响者/网红会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他影响者/网红的竞争关系？] Do you think that influencers experience competition with others as a problem and concern? If so, why? How do you feel about the competition with other influencers? 会有一点吧。比如美食短视频领域，博主的竞争就很激烈。有靠大胃王出名的，有靠美食打卡出名的，也有像我一样，拍摄美食制作视频的。为了在同行中脱颖而出，公司会投入时间和精力，根据每个博主的特点打造个人品牌，并要求我们十年如一日地保持设定好的个人形象。我觉得竞争激烈，也侧面反映出这一行的社会关注度高。有压力才有动力嘛。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.1.1*) In the food-centric field of short videos, there is fierce competition among Internet celebrities. Some Internet celebrities are famous for eating a lot, and there are people like me who specialize in food making videos. To stand out from the rest of the industry, the company has invested time and money in building a personal brand that is tailored to each Internet celebrity and requires that we always maintain a defined personal image […].

[工作环境]	[您有自己的公司吗？还是在 MCN 公司工作？] 我签约了 MCN 公司。	
	[自雇]	[您认为自己开公司/自雇有什么优点和缺点？]
	[受雇]	[您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] MCN 公司的优点还是很多的。比如运营方面，公司就帮助了我很多。也会有很多商业活动、颁奖典礼，公司会帮我做好安排。
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 一般我会和我的团队进行商议讨论，提前确定下一周的工作安排。质量方面我会自己把控，保证视频创作保持应有的水准。	
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 我有一个助理，一个摄影/摄像，一个后期人员。这些成员都是我自己面试挑选的，我们彼此之间已经非常有默契了。	
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they? 主要是广告合作和自己的淘宝店铺吧。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.2*) My main sources of income are advertising cooperation and my own Taobao store.	

	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] Do you have your own brand, product or online store? Tell me about how you started and are running your business. 有的。我有一个自己经营的淘宝店铺，会出售一些我认为比较实用的餐具和厨具。开始运营这家店铺，也是有粉丝反映不知道购买什么样的厨房用具，我就萌生了这个念头，把自己觉得真实好用的，分享给大家。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.2*) I have my own Taobao store, which sells tableware and kitchenware that I think are useful in daily life. I started this online business because some of my fans didn't know how to shop for kitchen utensils, so I came up with the idea of sharing what I thought was really useful.
[自雇]	[根据您与商家/客户签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以赚多少钱？能举个具体的例子吗？]
[受雇]	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] 40-50%，根据不同推广情况而定。
[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] 这个每个月都不太一样，推广项目多，收入也会高一些。	
[自雇]	[如果您拥有自己的公司并雇佣他人]: [通常一个推广项目能够赚多少钱？您的员工成本是多少？除去成本，还剩多少？您公司的员工每月平均收入是多少？具体从事哪些活动？您认为他们的报酬合理吗？]

		[如果您是个体户，未雇佣他人]:
		[您认为目前推广项目中的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
	[受雇]	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
		公司也为项目推广付出了成本，我觉得是公平的。
[心理变化]		[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？]
		对我最大的影响，是我有勇气可以开始做自己喜欢的事情了。从前我在大城市工作，受制于很多桎梏。现在我有了自己的团队，自己的工作室，也终于可以从事自己热爱的领域。我想从"食"为出发点，打造对生活充满热爱、有自己独特生活态度的个人 IP，这是我的目标和态度。
		[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？]
		他们都支持并认可的。我母亲每天还等着我更新视频。
[性别问题]		[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？]
		我是一名女性博主，但外貌并不非常出众。在这一行，女性的外貌可以成为亮点，也会成为别人攻击的对象。但我本人并不是很在意，毕竟生活是自己的，不需要靠别人的评价而活。
		[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准]
		如果说审美标准的话，我觉得是有的。很多粉丝都会把外貌作为评定的标准。想要成为一名博主，除非是不露脸的，首先颜值要过关，这已经成为了行业准入守则。

	[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]
	我觉得是大众审美的一致性。所有人都喜欢美的事物，我也不例外。只不过人不是商品，我觉得不能简单把人作为一个审美商品来看待，否则也会产生不良后果。

1.2.2. Anonymous Influencer, 2020, September 30

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2016 年左右开始，差不多 5 年了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 知乎 快手 小红书
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 大四考托福，成绩还不错，于是萌生了把积累的经验分享大家的想法。有了第一批 2000 多粉丝之后，我就开始走上了分享博主的路线，想把自己觉得不错的，都和大家分享。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] 写文案和做视频的话会有一些区别。 写文案的话，一般上午开始写文章，下午 6 点左右完成，抢占 6-8 点的黄金时间。视频的话一般分成两天，一天配音，一天剪辑，基本上全天都在工作。
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] 我主要负责文案撰写，实地探店、好物测评，然后拍摄视频，后期配音，剪辑发布。
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？]

	不固定。每天 8-10 个小时。
	[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？] 烘焙，旅游。我是一个语言爱好者，空余时间我会去学习德语、法语等小语种，充实自己。
	[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] 很难去平衡。有时候会接一些美食探店的商务合作，表面上是玩乐，但会非常的累，吃一顿饭需要拍照、记录很多内容，更像是工作而不是在生活。 [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] 我自己工作和生活就很难区分，经常熬夜，有时为了产出更好的内容，11-1 点还在工作。
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] 很难区分。比如我的工作主要是分享经验和推荐好物，那我在生活中碰到的好店、好物我都会有意识地去积累、保存，这样就占用了我很多私人时间。 [您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？] 还是想多赚钱吧。因为做博主收入非常可观，如果想要更高的收入，就需要产出更优质的内容，因此付出的也会更多。
	[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?] 当然有。生活中的压力，涨粉的压力，还有产出内容的压力，这些都经常有。一般商务合作不是很多的时候，就会压力很大，会很焦虑，会反思自己的内容是不是存在缺陷。

	[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？] Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it? 是的，在我们这一行，广告费都是根据粉丝数和观看数来评定的。如果关注度和浏览量不够，就接不到广告，这是一个普遍的事实。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.1*) In the Internet celebrity industry, our advertising fees are all based on the number of fans and views. It's a common fact that if you don't get enough attention and views, you won't get advertisements. 想要改善这一问题，关键还是提高自己的创作能力吧，粉丝数量上去了，压力自然就小了。
	[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最棒的是会有很多不错的体验。比如探店类，我可以吃遍各地的美食，并且全部免费，商家会把自己最好的食材呈现给我，我也会把自己的真实感受分享给大家。
	[您是否在工作中遇到过难题？您是如何克服的？能举个具体的例子吗？] 遇到过一些难题。比如在创作干货类的视频时，选题方面我都会很谨慎，会做很多调查。有时跟品牌方沟通，他们的要求很高，做起来也会很吃力，会跟品牌方进行反复地沟通。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 文案一天，视频两天左右。

[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？]

Normally, where do the ideas for your videos, images, texts, etc. come from? Can you give me an example?

我创作作品的灵感来源一般是我的生活经历和身边的故事，最近的时事热点我也会关注，将有意思的话题融入到我的作品中去。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.2*) The inspiration for my works is usually from my life experience and the stories around me. Current affairs are also my focus, and I will incorporate interesting topics into my work

比如最近的疫情，就是一个很好的话题，我也做了很多跟疫情相关的文案和视频，点击量都很可观。

[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？]

有一次收到了一个餐厅老板的私信，邀请我去他们家探店，试吃 520 套餐。我就带着自己男朋友去了，拍摄了 10 分钟左右的探店视频，最终效果很好，这家餐厅 520 当天的生意非常不错。

还有一次接了一个扫地机器人的推广，商家寄给我 6 台机器进行测评，我花了一周的时间进行试用，最终视频有 10 万播放量，商家也卖出去了不少产品，效果挺好的。

[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]

In such cases, do you feel that you have full control of the creative process or not? Can you give me a concrete example?

在创作中，我可以完全掌握话题构思、视频拍摄、后期剪辑等所有的过程，这也是为了呈现最佳效果，以及对我的粉丝们负责。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.2*) In the process of creation, I can completely control all aspects of topic conception, video shooting, post-editing and so on, which is to present the best result in the end, and to make my fans satisfied.

[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？]

有一次和某品牌的眼霜合作推广，他们要求我在视频中介绍自己经常熬夜、生活不规律，用了这款产品以后就大大改善了。我觉得产品很好，但与我自己的实际情况不符，经协商也没有达成一致，我就取消了这次合作。

[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？]

Have you ever paid for increasing your visibility and reputation on social media platforms? If so, can you give me a concrete example?

公司有帮我购买过观看数和粉丝互动。快手上的流量推广成本低，8 元就可以有 1000-1300 播放量。小红书的流量推广最低 50 元，成本会稍高一些。品牌方在和公司对接商务合作时，有时也会帮我购买一些推广，最终都是为了提高文案和视频的浏览量。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) My company used to buy the number of views and fan interactions for me. The number of views on Kuaishou is cheap to promote, with 1000-1300 views available for as little as 8 yuan (≈0.88 pounds); RED has a minimum view-count promotion of 50 yuan (≈5.5 pounds), which

	is a bit more expensive. When cooperating with the company, the brand would sometimes buy some promotions for me, to increase the views of the texts and videos.	
	[您如何看待一些影响者/网红会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] Why do you think some influencers pay for increasing their reputation? 这个在圈子里挺常见的，属于锦上添花吧。因为这些平台也会进行后台审核，不过关的文案和视频他们也不会进行强推。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) This practice is common among Internet celebrities in China.	
	[您觉得影响者/网红会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他影响者/网红的竞争关系？] 这个根据情况而定。如果是一家 MCN 公司的，竞争会比较激烈。如果是个人博主，我觉得竞争很少，反而会在机缘巧合下成为很好的朋友。	
[工作环境]	[您有自己的公司吗？还是在 MCN 公司工作？] 我签约了 MCN 公司，因为小红书有相关机制，粉丝数达到一定数量的博主必须要挂靠 MCN 公司。	
	[自雇]	[您认为自己开公司/自雇有什么优点和缺点？]
	[受雇]	[您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] 公司可以提供一些资源方面的支持。
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）]	

	可以由我自己决定，工作质量一般公司会有专人评估，参考观看数和推广情况吧。
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 我有一个摄影摄像、后期剪辑的团队，主要帮我做一些技术方面的工作。有时我也会自己动手参与，这样效果自己可以把控。我自己可以决定团队设置和人员安排的。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they? 签约成为博主后，公司派给我的商务合作成为了我主要的收入来源。我们签署了一个合作协议，公司负责联络各大品牌，并根据我的视频风格挑选合适的推广产品；我负责结合品牌要求，拍摄相关推广视频。根据协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得 40%-50%左右的收入，内容大多我可以直接掌握。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) After I signed up as a blogger, business cooperation became my main source of income. In the partnership agreement, the company is responsible for contacting the brand and selecting the appropriate products according to my video style; I'm responsible for shooting videos based on the requirements of the brand. According to the contract, I can get about 40-50% of the revenue from each promotion, which is acceptable to me. 一般来说，像课程、app、留学机构，这些没有实物产品的推广，推广费用会高一些；反而有实物的产品推荐，推广费会略低一些。

	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 暂时没有。	
	[自雇]	[根据您与商家/客户签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以赚多少钱？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	[受雇]	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] 一般来说在 40-50%左右，每个活动的形式不太一样。
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] Can you tell me how much money you earn on average per month? 我每月的收入根据节假日多少还不太一样。节假日较密集的月份，商务合作相对会多一些，一个月可以达到 30 万左右；节假日不多的淡季，一般一个月在 15-20 万。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.1*) My monthly income varies according to the number of holidays. In the months with intensive holidays, business cooperation will be relatively more, and the income can reach about 300,000 yuan (≈33 thousand pounds) a month; If in the off-season, the income is about 150,000-200,000 yuan (≈16.5-22 thousand pounds) a month.	
	[自雇]	[如果您拥有自己的公司并雇佣他人]: [通常一个推广项目能够赚多少钱？您的员工成本是多少？除去成本，还剩多少？]

		您公司的员工每月平均收入是多少？具体从事哪些活动？您认为他们的报酬合理吗？]
		[如果您是个体户，未雇佣他人]： [您认为目前推广项目中的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
	[受雇]	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 可以算是公平的吧。我了解过其他 MCN 公司，基本都是这样的分成比例。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] 最大的影响是生活会更加充实，会有更多经历，会更充分去利用时间，并让我想要成为更优秀的人。如果适应的话，我自己会做好自我调节，努力进步吧。	
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 一开始不了解的时候，会有些存疑。现在已经完全接受了。	
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 会有一些优势吧。比如女性优势可以更感性，多分享自己的内心想法和感受，更能抓住粉丝的内心。	
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] 会有刻板印象，毕竟网红也算是明星的缩影嘛。现在很多人认为网红就是靠颜值、抓流量的，这已经是这一行业的基本印象了。但现在也有很多网红博主不靠颜值靠才华和内容出位，也在用行动逐渐改变这样的刻板印象吧。	

Question Classification	Interview Questions
	[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？] 主要是一些报道的影响。肯定会产生影响，现在很多网红都趋于同质化了，互相抄袭模仿，形成了一些不良风气。

1.2.3. Anonymous Influencer, 2020, October 22

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2017 年开始做博主，已经四年多了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 抖音，快手，小红书
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 2017 年我在英国读书，但生活费比较紧张，于是萌生了想拍视频赚外块的想法。当时不知道拍视频会改变我的生活，是抱着试一试的心态做的，结果就一步一步发展成了全职博主，也签约了公司。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] 早上 7 点起床，写视频文案并与商家沟通。下午开始拍摄视频，反复调整和修改。晚上会把当天的素材进行整理，并进行剪辑，大约 10 点左右休息。当然如果工作任务多，也会经常熬夜，有时甚至会通宵制作视频内容。
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] 写视频脚本、拍摄和剪辑，我都会参与。
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？] 基本上一天工作 12-15 个小时，包括商务接洽、公司对接、视频制作等等。

	[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？]
	饲养宠物。我养了一只猫，非常可爱，工作之余就是和小动物互动也算是一种放松吧。
	[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] 稀松平常吧。选择了这一行，意味着我必须放弃掉一些生活和娱乐的时间，将工作变成生活的一部分。 [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] 我会尽量把工作都安排在工作日，这样周末就可以和朋友出去放松一下。
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] 很难区分。比如成为博主之后，工作日都被工作排满了，甚至有时周末也会被公司安排商务活动，挤占了我很多私人的时间。 [您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？] 可能也是随着粉丝数量的增长吧，影响力大了，商务合作也就多了。从前可能一周只有一单广告项目，现在单子多了，休息时间自然就只能被缩减了。
	[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?] Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation? 我一直压力都比较大。团队和公司比较关注我每一条视频的数据，包括播放量、粉丝留言数等。如果数据不理想，我就容易失眠，整宿睡不着，情绪也会比较低落。其次，

	成为博主后我一直在家工作，独居的状态会让我减少社交，对情绪造成影响。
	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.1*) My company team pays close attention to the data of each of my videos and urges me to achieve the desired results […]. In addition, I have been working from home since I became an Internet celebrity, and living alone makes me less sociable, which sometimes affects my mood.
	[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]
	Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it?
	是的。在这一行我有一些博主朋友，都曾经有过抑郁症、躁郁症的情况。作为一个网红/博主，虽然不是明星，但很多情况下也需要把自己的生活、隐私暴露到公众视野。受到的关注越多，压力就越大。因此，只能提高自己的心理素质，通过自我调节来解决吧。
	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.1*) As a blogger who works on the Internet, although I am not a star, I still need to expose my life and privacy to the public in many cases. The more attention I get, the more pressure I feel.
	[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	最棒的部分，是这份工作是我真正喜欢、愿意去做的。我大学和研究生读的就是影视编导专业，因此视频拍摄、剪辑都是我专业范围内、喜欢做的事情。
	[您是否在工作中遇到过难题？您是如何克服的？能举个具体的例子吗？]

	难题有两个。一个是时间分配上的困难，经常会有工作积压，需要协调好相关任务的安排；另一个是原创内容的设计，因为每天都有更新任务，既要高点击量、又要原创的视频脚本，通常都需要耗费我很多时间来讨论和修改。
	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 一般要 3-4 天完成。有时灵感来了，最快 1 个小时完成过任务；最慢的时候要一周左右的时间。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 平时我也会多关注一些热门的话题，从中吸取一些灵感。我会比较在意自己的粉丝在关注什么样的内容，然后尽量满足粉丝的需要。
[工作内容]	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] Can you give me an example of where you have been paid for creating certain content or promoting certain goods? How frequently do such promotions take place? 有一次接了 Dior 的广告，虽然推广费用很高，但是品牌方的要求和条款也非常多。我整整修改了三天，沟通了十几次，才符合他们的内容和发布要求。一般越是知名的品牌，对推广的严格程度也越高。这样的推广一周有 1-2 次吧。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) Once the company arranged for me to promote the advertisement of Dior. Although the price of the business cooperation was very high, the requirements of the brand were very complicated. It took me three

		days and several consultations before I finally met their publishing requirements. Generally, the more well-known brand, the higher the degree of strict cooperation.
		[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？] 我可以完全掌控自己作品的创作过程。因为我的团队都是我亲自挑选的，因此从文案到拍摄到剪辑，我都可以按照我的意愿来安排。
		[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？] 没有这样的情况。
		[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？] 我会去购买一些推广。有时视频在高峰时间段发布，会受到其他流量的冲击。因此我会去购买一些推广，帮助我来提高自己作品的曝光度。
		[您如何看待一些影响者/网红会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] 这是很正常的。因为作品最终是否会被关注，还是取决于作品的质量和内容，因此推广只是一种辅助的工具。
		[您觉得影响者/网红会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他影响者/网红的竞争关系？] 肯定会的。我觉得每一个行业都会有竞争和压力，无论是网红行业，还是传统行业。想要在行业立足，就必须提升自己的能力，更勤奋、更上进，才能出人头地。
[工作环境]		[您有自己的公司吗？还是在 MCN 公司工作？] 我签约了 MCN 公司。

	[自雇]	[您认为自己开公司/自雇有什么优点和缺点？]
	[受雇]	[您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？]
		What advantages and disadvantages do you see of working for a talent agency?
		签约 MCN 公司，可以帮助我节约不少时间，尤其是商务接洽的时间。公司会根据我的情况，直接将合适的品牌合作推荐给我，这能省去我从中沟通、协调的步骤。
		(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.2*) Signing the contract with MCN agency can help me save a lot of time, especially the time of business contact. The company will directly recommend suitable brand cooperation to me according to my situation, which can save me the step of communication and coordination.

[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）]

都是我自己决定的。公司会参照每个月的商务数量，通过专门的部门来评判我的工作质量。

[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？]

我有一个团队来辅助我的工作。包括项目组长、内容运营、商务对接、视频拍摄和后期剪辑等。这些人员和团队都是公司安排的，当然我也可以选择合得来的员工一起合作。

[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they? 我签约了一家 MCN 公司，同时运营一家网店，因此我的主要收入来源是广告合作，流量奖励和自营品牌收入。广告会根据商单的分成比例计算收入；流量是根据各个视频网站的播放量来计算的，公司会给我发放奖金；自营品牌来自我自己开的网店，同样也会给我一笔收入。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.2*) I have signed a contract with an MCN agency, and I also run an online store. Therefore, my main sources of income are advertising cooperation, video viewing rewards and self-brand income. The advertising revenue will be calculated according to the proportion of business cooperation; The viewing rewards are calculated based on the number of views on various video sites; The self-brand income comes from my own online store, which also brings me some additional subsidies.
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] Do you have your own brand, product or online store? Tell me about how you started and are running your business. 我有一个自己独立品牌的网上店铺。通常经过仔细的测评后，我会挑选合适的产品，在自己的视频中某一个位置放置我的店铺/产品链接。经过我的认证，这些产品都是高质量和高性价比的。我要对我的粉丝们负责，这也是我创办自营品牌时所承诺的。

	(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.2*) I have an online store of my own independent brand. Usually, after careful evaluation, I will select suitable products and place my store/product link at an appropriate position in my videos. Through my certification, these products are of high quality and cost-effective. I have a responsibility to my fans, and that's what I promised when I started my own brand.
[自雇]	[根据您与商家/客户签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以赚多少钱？能举个具体的例子吗？]
[受雇]	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] 一般在 40%左右，不会超过 50%。

[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？]
这个和公司签订了协议，不太方便透露，只能说个大概，在 20-30 万之间。

[自雇]	[如果您拥有自己的公司并雇佣他人]: [通常一个推广项目能够赚多少钱？您的员工成本是多少？除去成本，还剩多少？ 您公司的员工每月平均收入是多少？具体从事哪些活动？您认为他们的报酬合理吗？]
	[如果您是个体户，未雇佣他人]: [您认为目前推广项目中的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
[受雇]	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]

		还是比较公平的。因为我的商务资源都来源于公司，并且相关团队的费用和管理也是公司来安排，在这一方面给我减轻了不少压力。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] What do you think has changed you most since you started this kind of work? How have you adapted to these changes? 成为博主后，最大的影响是从传统的工作环境中解放出来了吧。我原来是在一家互联网公司上班，条条框框非常多，下班以后就累得不想说话。现在基本是在家里办公，生活很自由。也不用被迫参加办公室社交，可以完全做自己喜欢的事情。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.2.2*) One of the biggest changes after becoming an Internet celebrity is the freedom from the traditional work environment. I used to work in an Internet company where there were so many rules and regulations that I was too tired to talk after work. Now I work mostly from home, which gives me the freedom to live my life without being forced to socialize in the office and do exactly what I like.	
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 他们都很尊重和支持我的这份工作，爸爸妈妈甚至会帮我一起点赞转发，让我很感动。	
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 我是一名美妆博主，在这一行业中还是有一定优势的。比如女性化妆品方面，会有很多爱美的女生关注我，成为我的粉丝，并且愿意购买我推荐的产品。	

	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准]
	刻板印象还是存在的。比如很多人会给网红贴标签，说我们吃的是"青春饭"，花期很短。也有人会给我们安上一些负面词汇。
	[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]
	可能是一些网红为了博人眼球，做出过一些极端行为，导致整个行业的风评受到了影响。比如我所在的平台快手，就有很多网红靠炒作出名，无形中也影响到了我们其他博主的形象。这一点还需要平台多管理吧。

1.3. Influencers from Live Streaming Platforms

1.3.1. Anonymous Influencer, 2020, July 21

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2016 年入行，大约五年左右。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 快手，斗鱼，哔哩哔哩
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 在 B 站上传第一个视频的时候，我还在上海念研究生，主修汉语国际教育专业。有一节课上，老师让我们自荐上台分享自己的化妆过程，我就被推上了讲台。这是我第一次当着这么多人的面分享自己的美妆心得，意外的反响还不错。从那时起，我就萌生了成为一名美妆博主的想法。也

	是在那个时候，我鼓足勇气上传了我的第一个视频，也收获了我的第一批粉丝。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] How does your typical working day look like? 早晨我会花 3-4 个小时拍摄视频，下午我会和公司的商务对接，商议最近的日程安排和广告合作。晚上我会将录制好的视频发给后期团队进行剪辑，并择定时间发布。22 点左右，我会和粉丝互动直播，一般持续 2-3 个小时，每天都要 0 点以后才会入睡。 I spend 3-4 hours shooting videos in the morning. In the afternoon, I will communicate with the company to discuss the recent business cooperation. At night, I discuss the video with the editing team. Around 10 p.m., I will do live streaming for 2-3 hours to interact with my fans and finish my day's work after 0 a.m.
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] What are your main tasks and responsibilities? 我签约了 MCN 公司，同时又要运营自己的美妆品牌，因此负责的工作内容会相对复杂一些。 公司层面，我需要构思视频选题，并在团队的配合下完成视频的拍摄、剪辑。此外，我需要出席客户的一些商务活动，并完成广告合作。每晚固定时间，我会和粉丝在直播间互动聊天，保持人气。自主品牌层面，我需要负责商品生产、营销宣传、售后服务等方方面面，基本是连轴转的。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.2*) I'm signed to MCN company and I run my own brand at the same time, so my work activity is a little more complicated. At the company level, I need

	to confirm the topic selection and complete the video shooting with the cooperation of the team. In addition, I need to attend some business activities and interact with fans on the live streaming platforms every night. In terms of my own brand, I need to be responsible for all aspects of product production, marketing, after-sales service and so on, which is really tiring for me.
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？] How much time do you spend at work every day? 基于我目前的安排，每天我通常都要工作 15-16 个小时。如果是双十一等特殊节日，经常会和团队通宵工作。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) Based on my current schedule, I usually work 15-16 hours a day. In case of special festivals such as Singles Day, it is common to work all night.
	[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？] 我有自己的淘宝店铺和彩妆品牌，因此空余时间都会投入到公司的运营中去。
	[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] 对于博主来说，无论是哪一类型的，应该都很难做到工作和生活的平衡。 [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] 尽可能在工作中提高效率，在身体释放疲惫信号时及时休息吧。经过这几年的打拼，我会更看重和家人的相处，因此也会有意识地陪伴家人。
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] 确实会有这样的感觉。就我而言，除了日常的工作拍摄，公司还会给我安排很多商业路演，经常会奔波不同的城

市，出席不同品牌商的活动。基本上除了我自己提出因为身体原因想要休假，很少会有完整的假期。

[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]

一方面公司有公司的规划和安排，我可以理解。另一方面，也是想趁年轻多打拼一点，因此主动牺牲了一些休息的时间。

[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]

压力肯定会有。2018 年的时候，因为遇到了内容瓶颈，我开始出现了脱发、失眠的症状。工作强度很大，加上一些黑粉的攻击，让我一度产生了放弃成为主播的念头。后来我换了一家 MCN 公司，开始经营自己的美妆品牌，才慢慢好起来。

[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]

Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it?

算是一个普遍的问题。我们公司的头部网红大约有 30 个，是公司盈利的主要来源（听财务说大约占 60%），也是工作强度最大的阶层。据我所知，大家每天的工作时间都在 12 小时以上，大部分都是 365 天全年无休的。

相反，公司其他签约的网红由于知名度低，被分配到的商务合作和活动就相对较少，且工作时间被主要安排在晚上 8 点到凌晨 2 点，为了迎合一些有熬夜习惯的粉丝而昼夜颠倒。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1*) There are about 30 Internet celebrities at the top of our MCN agency. They are the

	main source of profit for our company and also the most intense working class (accounting for about 60% according to the finance department). As far as I know, everyone works more than 12 hours a day, and most of them work 365 days a year. On the contrary, other Internet celebrities contracted by the company are assigned less business cooperation and activities due to their low visibility, and their working hours are mainly arranged between 8 p.m. and 2 a.m., with the day and night reversed to cater to some fans who have a habit of staying up late.
	[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最棒的是可以接触很多大品牌，并且把自己的心得体会分享给大家。如今，审美的特殊性，满足了多元用户的需求。现代女性在尽可能地接纳自己，因此化妆仍然是刚需。我的工作，就是让那些和我一样普通女生，能够通过化妆变得更自信、更美。
	[您是否在工作中遇到过难题？您是如何克服的？能举个具体的例子吗？] 难题的话，还是选题和原创内容的创作。目前在美妆界，直播和视频已经越来越趋于同质化。想要留住粉丝、在同类博主中脱颖而出，就需要有持续的内容输出，这也是最难的部分。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 一般短视频在 2-3 天左右，长视频或者商务推广需要一周时间。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？]

会结合时下的热点，也会去借鉴其他美妆博主的拍摄灵感。比如我最喜欢看的是 Kathleenlights（美国的美妆博主），她给人一种轻松自在的感觉，诚实分享，不管是她生活中的正面还有负面。有的时候她可能生活中遇到一些问题，这个视频没有按时拍出来，她就会拍一个聊天的视频，聊一下她的近况，诚实地分享视频没有拍摄出来的原因。看视频的人，我觉得大部分都会被她的真诚打动。这也是吸引我的地方之一。

[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？]

Can you give me an example of where you have been paid for creating certain content or promoting certain goods? How frequently do such promotions take place?

我非常喜欢国货美妆，因此公司也会帮我对接一些国产化妆品牌。

比如之前和一家国货品牌合作，因为临近购物节，品牌方想要三天内出视频并在直播中推荐。但我在浏览产品介绍后发现，品牌方想推广的是护肤品，需要至少使用 14 天才会有效果变化。秉持着对粉丝负责的态度，我和公司协商，希望能争取更多的测评时间。然而最后没有谈拢，品牌方取消了这次合作。也是比较遗憾的一次经历。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.1*) I once worked with a skincare brand. At that time, because of the approaching shopping festival, they wanted me to publish a video and recommend it in a live streaming show within 3 days. However, after browsing the product introduction, I found that this skincare product needs to be used for at least 14 days to have any effect. Considering that I

need to be responsible for my fans, I negotiated with the brand to have more time for the evaluation. In the end, due to the failure of coordination, the brand cancelled the cooperation.

一般这样的商务合作，我会控制数量，防止粉丝反感，一般一周在 1-2 个。

[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]

In such cases, do you feel that you have full control of the creative process or not? Can you give me a concrete example?

在和公司、广告商的沟通中，我一般可以独立掌握自己的作品创作以及发布过程。首先，在前期与商务部的对接中，我会挑选符合自己定位的品牌和产品，并做好产品试用和调研。其次，直播中我会根据自己的直播风格进行产品推荐。如果遇到态度强硬、无理取闹的品牌方，我会直接拒绝，取消合作。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.2*) In communication with companies and advertisers, I can independently control the creation and release process of my own works. First of all, in the early stage, I will select the brands and products that meet my positioning based on full research. Secondly, I will recommend products according to my personal style during the live streaming. If some advertisers have a bad attitude and make excessive demands, I will refuse directly and cancel the cooperation.

[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？]
暂时没有这样的情况。

[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？]

	我没有购买过，但公司有时会购买。现在行业运作机制成熟后，很多品牌方也会在合作协议中注明是否包含流量购买的费用，用一种公开透明的方式提升流量。	
	[您如何看待一些影响者/网红会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] 不管是品牌方、公司、网红还是粉丝，都希望展现出来的数据是好看的、领先的，因此购买流量只要不是虚假营销，我认为都无可厚非。	
	[您觉得影响者/网红会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他影响者/网红的竞争关系？] 一定程度上会。以我所在的公司为例，每个层级的网红/博主都存在竞争机制，通过奖金的形式激励流量变现。这种竞争关系我认为是良性的，也是保证公司合理运转的方式。	
[工作环境]	[您有自己的公司吗？还是在 MCN 公司工作？] 我在 2017 年签约了 MCN 公司。	
	[自雇]	[您认为自己开公司/自雇有什么优点和缺点？]
	[受雇]	[您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] 优点是能够帮我和品牌方沟通，筛选商务合作，减轻我的工作量。缺点是不够自由吧，很多活动需要听从公司安排。
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 基本由我自己决定，由我和团队成员商议执行。 公司会有相应的测评机制，来评估我们的工作质量。	

	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 有一个公司配备的团队，包括商务、摄像、文案编辑、后期和助理。我自己可以进行人员的挑选。	
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they? 我主要的收入来源是是平台给我的签约费+品牌合作的广告费+粉丝打赏礼物的分成。其中签约费是按合约支付的，每三年续签一次，广告费和礼物分成按月结算。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) My main sources of income are the signing fees given by the company, the advertising fees for brand cooperation, and the sharing of fans' gifts. The signing fees are paid by the contract, which will be renewed every three years. Advertising and gift sharing are paid every month.	
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 我有自己的淘宝店铺，也经营着自己的彩妆品牌。开始做这份事业，也是想把自己的一些创意、想法付诸实践。毕竟创新才是生存的根本。	
	[自雇]	[根据您与商家/客户签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以赚多少钱？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	[受雇]	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] 一般在 40-50%。

	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] Can you tell me how much money you earn on average per month? 我的签约费税前是 100 万。月收入每月不定，一般税后在 15-25 万左右。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) My signing fee is 1 million yuan (≈110 thousand pounds) before tax. Monthly income is variable every month, general after-tax in 150,000 - 250,000 yuan (≈16.5-27.5 thousand pounds).	
	[自雇]	[如果您拥有自己的公司并雇佣他人]: [通常一个推广项目能够赚多少钱？您的员工成本是多少？除去成本，还剩多少？您公司的员工每月平均收入是多少？具体从事哪些活动？您认为他们的报酬合理吗？]
		[如果您是个体户，未雇佣他人]: [您认为目前推广项目中的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
	[受雇]	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 还算是公平的。除了运营成本，团队成本也是公司承担的，因此我认为目前的分成比例是公平的。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] 最大的影响，是从一个普通人，到拥有了一定的流量，成为别人关注和支持的"榜样"。	

	与此同时，成名带来了满足感和成就感，但这种感受也会变得越来越复杂，因为面临的工作还有挑战会越来越多。如果你不够努力的话，在这个行业里就会被渐渐超越和遗忘，这是一个现实的问题。
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 家人和朋友都很支持我，也会来看我的视频和直播。
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 作为一名美妆博主，小时候觉得皮肤黑会让我感到自卑，认为这是我的劣势。后来接触到美妆行业，我发现其实不需要因为自己肤色而退缩，每一种皮肤、样貌都有它的美，这也是我拍视频、直播的出发点，想要给类似情况的女生提供一些参考。
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] Do you think that certain gender prejudices exist in the influencer industry? If yes, can you give me some examples? 肯定会有。就像我之前说的，很多人会对网红，尤其是美妆博主有偏见，认为博主都是白皮肤高鼻梁、大眼睛尖下巴，他们没有能力，靠脸就可以吃饭，镜头前眨眨眼睛就可以赚钱。但实际上，就算是靠脸工作，也需要有天赋和努力的加持。每一份工作都不容易。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.2.1*) Many people have prejudices about Internet celebrities, especially beauty bloggers. They believe that Internet celebrities all have good skin, high noses, big eyes, and pointed chins. These people have no ability to work, and they can get attention by their looks and easily make money by blinking their eyes in front of the camera. But the

	reality is that even working with looks requires talent and hard work. Every job is not easy.
	[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]
	Why do you think these prejudices exist? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on those working in the industry? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on fans?
	可能是这一行业的准入门槛太低，一些没有底线、毫无限度的网红，拉低了整个行业的档次。我们亟待改变这样的刻板印象，也希望外界不要把网红妖魔化，还我们一个客观的评价。

1.3.2. Anonymous Influencer, 2020, September 3

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2014 年至今，有七年了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 虎牙，斗鱼
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 2013 年，毕业后我考上了公务员。这是一份稳定，却看不到未来的工作。工资低，工作枯燥乏味，却是父母眼中的"铁饭碗"。坚持了一年不到，我就辞掉了公务员的工作，和父母大吵一架后离开了家。2014 年 9 月，我在新的城市租了一间屋子，开始做起了全职游戏主播。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] How does your typical working day look like?

我做的是午夜档游戏直播，因此经常昼夜颠倒。按照公司规定，每天晚上 11 点，我起床洗漱、吃饭，做开播准备。午夜 0 点开始直播，中间休息 1-2 个小时，随后一直播到早上 9-10 点。下播以后就去吃午饭，或者出门和朋友聚一聚，到下午 4 点再回家睡觉。这样的工作形式我已经持续了三年。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.4*) I'm a late-night live streaming game anchor, so the reversal of the day and night is the norm for me. According to the company's work rules, at 11 p.m. every night, I wake up to wash, eat, and get ready for the live streaming show. The live streaming starts at 0 a.m., with a 1-2-hour break, and then goes on until 9-10 a.m. After the show, I would have lunch or go out to meet my friends, and go home to bed at 4 p.m. I've been following these work rules for three years.

[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？]
在平台上直播打英雄联盟，有时也会进行游戏解说。

[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？]
一般 10-12 个小时。

[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？]
打游戏，和朋友聚餐，休息。

[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？]
How do you feel about work-life balance in this industry?
在这一行，我觉得成功没有捷径，只能靠自己一步一个脚印打拼。工作和生活，对我来说已经很难区分了。尤其是做午夜档直播以后，我的作息就完全颠倒了，工作就是我的生活。

	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) […] When I started live streaming at midnight, my routine was reversed, and work became my whole life. [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] Can you talk about your own experience? 就我而言，已经没有假期和三餐的概念了。为了保持互动频率，我可以坚持一年基本不休息，365天工作。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) For me, there is no vacation or regular diet anymore. To maintain constant interaction with fans, I can even work 365 days a year without any rest
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] Do you feel that sometimes it is difficult to combine work as an influencer with private and family lives? If so, can you give me examples? 很难区分吧。有时直播工作多，我就不吃饭。我不想让我的粉丝看到我在吃饭或者休息，这会让粉丝觉得我不专业、不敬业。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) Sometimes I have to skip meals because of so many tasks of live streaming. I don't want my fans to misunderstand me as unprofessional and undedicated. [您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？] 主要是竞争激烈，压力比较大，不敢松懈。现在游戏直播领域更新换代很快，如果技术不过硬或者解说不够吸引人，很容易被粉丝遗忘，只能多投入一些，提升粉丝粘性。

[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]

Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation?

会。刚开始做全职游戏主播的时候，我只知道打高峰战，全神贯注去打游戏，而忽视了和粉丝的互动，因此数据很不理想。于是我就开始失眠，有时需要喝酒才能睡着。伴随着失眠，由于长期坐在电脑前不运动，我一年胖了近 20 公斤，身体也受到了影响。

(Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3) When I first started as a game anchor, I began to suffer from insomnia due to the low number of views, and sometimes I needed to drink to fall asleep […]. In addition, because of sitting in front of the computer for a long time without exercise, I gained nearly 20 kilograms a year, which seriously affected my health.

[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]

是一个普遍问题吧。以英雄联盟为例，为了维持全国技术榜单的排名，我需要不停地练习，否则成绩很容易下滑，也会因此丢失粉丝。其他所有游戏主播，都面临着这样的压力。如果排名下滑，热度也会慢慢减退。

[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]

最棒的是摆脱了之前枯燥乏味的公务员生活，终于做了自己想做的事情。

	[您是否在工作中遇到过难题？您是如何克服的？能举个具体的例子吗？] Can you tell me about a work situation that you found really difficult? What did you do in this situation? 刚开始直播的时候，因为不懂里面的门道，我几乎赚不到钱。直播的第一个月，我赚到 325 元，第二个月 217 元，第三个月 400 元，差点吃不起饭。为了躲避父母的质疑，那段时间我没有回过一次家，就连除夕夜也是在朋友家吃年夜饭。也是在那个时候，我开始学会抽烟。最严重的时候，一天能抽两三包烟。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) […] It was also around that time that I started smoking. At my worst, I smoked two or three packs a day.
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 通常 1-2 天吧，可以录好一个游戏解说。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 灵感来源一般是我自己的游戏心得，以及一些外网大神的操作技巧。
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] Can you give me an example of where you have been paid for creating certain content or promoting certain goods? How frequently do such promotions take place? 我在虎牙直播的时候，有一次收到 13 万元的打赏礼物。这笔钱虎牙平台拿走 50%，公司拿走 10%，到手差不多有 5

万。像这样的打赏，每次直播都会有，但金额不定，主要看直播当天的表现以及粉丝的反馈。10 万以上属于表现比较好的。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.3*) When I was a computer game anchor on Huya, I once received virtual gifts from fans totalling 130,000 yuan (≈14.3 thousand pounds). For these live streaming rewards, the platform takes 50%, my company takes 10%, and the rest is about 50,000 yuan (≈5500 pounds). In each live streaming show, I will receive such tipped gifts, but the amount is variable, which mainly depends on the performance of the show and the feedback of fans. Generally, a live streaming show with more than 100,000 yuan (≈11 thousand pounds) is a good performance.

[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]

In such cases, do you feel that you have full control of the creative process or not? Can you give me a concrete example?

可以完全掌控，但原则是不能违反《互联网直播服务管理规定》。现在直播行业的管控非常严，除了对主播个人行为的要求，直播的内容、广告等也受到严格监管。我早期因为抽烟被观众举报，直播间被封停了两次。我也听说过某个知名主播因为乱唱国歌被永久禁播，因此现在做直播都很谨慎。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.1*) At present, the live streaming industry is strictly controlled. In addition to the requirements on the individual behaviour of anchors, the content and advertisements of live streaming are also regulated. In the early days, my live streaming room was shut down twice because

	of smoking. I've also heard of a well-known anchor being permanently banned for singing the national anthem. Therefore, we are very cautious in doing live streaming.
	[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？] 不会，只要不违反未定，都可以自己控制直播的内容。
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？] Have you ever paid for increasing your visibility and reputation on social media platforms? If so, can you give me a concrete example? 公司购买过。虎牙平台目前真实观众与虚拟观众比约为1:5，我直播间的在线观看人数最高是 60 万，所以每天至少有 10 万人通过手机或电脑屏收看我的直播。这些虚拟观众就是公司购买的流量'机器人'，为了让直播间看上去人气更高。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) At present, the ratio of real audiences and virtual audiences of Huya is about 1:5. The highest number of online viewers in my live streaming room is 600,000, so at least 100,000 people watch my live streaming show through mobile phones or computers every day. These virtual audiences are the 'robots' purchased by my company, to make the live streaming shows look more popular.
	[您如何看待一些影响者/网红会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] Why do you think some influencers pay for increasing their reputation?

	这个很正常。直播间的虚拟观众越多，越能吸引真实观众点击观看。这是一种良性循环，我觉得是合理的。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) The more virtual audiences in the live streaming room, the more real audiences will be attracted to click and watch. It's a virtuous circle, and I think it makes sense.
	[您觉得影响者/网红会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他影响者/网红的竞争关系？] Do you think that influencers experience competition with others as a problem and concern? If so, why? How do you feel about the competition with other influencers? 肯定会。现在电竞直播圈经常会有排名和 PK，目的也是逼着现有的主播提升自己，不断增加新的内容。 我读书不多，文化水平也不高，之前公司给我的定位就是"真性情"、"接地气"。后来有粉丝看了我的直播后给我发私信，说我用词重复、没有新意。公司知道后，还帮我请了专业的老师做家教，培训我讲故事和说段子。现在粉丝都说我比以前进步很多，是个"文化人"了。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1*) I don't have a high degree of education, so the company has designed my personal identity as 'authenticity'. Later some fans sent me private messages after watching my live streaming shows, pointing out my repetitive words and lack of creativity. After that, my company hired professional teachers as tutors, training me to tell stories and jokes. Now the fans all say that I have improved a lot and call me an 'intellectual'.
[工作环境]	[您有自己的公司吗？还是在 MCN 公司工作？] 我是 2015 年和 MCN 公司签约的。

	[自雇]	[您认为自己开公司/自雇有什么优点和缺点？]
	[受雇]	[您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] 主要是可以帮我做好营销规划，提供培训以及商务对接。缺点是工作时间比较固定，自由度不高。
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 公司会制定规划，具体内容由我自己决定。公司也会有相关部门记录直播数据。	
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 我有一个商务，一个运营，一个培训老师。都是公司安排的。	
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they? 作为资深主播，我主要的收入来源是签约费和打赏礼物，公司每月也会根据直播数据发放奖金。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) As a senior anchor, my main sources of income are signing fees and reward gifts, and the company will also pay bonus every month according to the performance of live streaming.	
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 没有这样的打算。	

	[自雇]	[根据您与商家/客户签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以赚多少钱？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	[受雇]	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] According to the agreement between the talent agency and you, what percentage of the profits or revenues will you receive when you complete one project? 以直播打赏为例，根据合同，一场直播获得的礼物金额平台会分 50%，公司会拿走 10%，我到手大概 40%。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) Take reward gifts as an example, according to the contract, the live streaming platform will share 50% of the gift amount, my company will take 10%, and the rest for me is about 40%.
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] 每月 25-30 万左右，看直播的数据。	
	[自雇]	[如果您拥有自己的公司并雇佣他人]: [通常一个推广项目能够赚多少钱？您的员工成本是多少？除去成本，还剩多少？您公司的员工每月平均收入是多少？具体从事哪些活动？您认为他们的报酬合理吗？]
		[如果您是个体户，未雇佣他人]:

		[您认为目前推广项目中的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
	[受雇]	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 是公平的。我也是和公司一起成长的，现在的粉丝量和关注度都离不开公司的包装和培养。
[心理变化]		[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] 最大的影响还是价值观的变化吧。 从前在我父母眼里，公务员、老师就是最好的工作。只要踏实上班，一辈子也就过去了。做了主播之后，我有了想要打拼、去闯一闯的想法。不满足于现状，想要赚更多的钱，给父母更好的生活。同样的，我也要更多地提升自己，对粉丝负责，成为更好的人。
		[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 我母亲一开始是非常反对的，甚至刚离开家时扬言要跟我断绝关系（笑）。现在她反而成了我粉丝团的一员，偶尔会出现在我的直播间，给我送些小礼物。
[性别问题]		[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 我是一名男主播，在电竞行业里男性还是比较占优势的。一方面粉丝对男主播的电竞技术信任度会高一些，另一方面我也可以熬夜，午夜档的直播也可以胜任。
		[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] 刻板印象是有的。说实话我不太愿意把自己是主播的事情说出来，哪怕我是真的赚到钱了也不愿意承认。网络主播

	有另外一种说法是网络乞丐，虽然我们没有要过礼物，但这种偏见始终都有。
	[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]
	主要还是某一些主播，金钱至上，经常会为了利益做出一些出格、无下限的事情，也给整个网红行业带来了负面影响。

1.3.3. Anonymous Influencer, 2020, November 16

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2018 年开始入行，两年多了吧。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 快手，抖音，淘宝直播间
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 我是播音主持科班出生，曾经做过记者、主持人。2017 年，我开始创业，创立了一家新媒体公司，负责新媒体平台的业务推广。虽然积累了一些人脉和资源，但一直不温不火，经营状况也不太理想。2018 年，创业失败的我遇到了直播元年，一批又一批的素人通过直播、短视频一炮而红。机缘巧合，曾经看过我节目的一个粉丝给我发私信，让我试试发挥自己的特长优势，做主播。抱着试一试的心态，我在快手注册了账号，开始分享我的日常。 随着粉丝数的增长进入了瓶颈期，我开始思索如何转型。2019 年直播带货模式的出现，给我提供了灵感。靠着自身的流量基础，加上播音主持的基本功，我慢慢闯出了一片

	天。最开始是主动找商家合作，推广水果零食、生活用品；后来逐渐有品牌来寻求合作，推广美妆护肤、电子产品。我在签约 MCN 公司后终于有了一个属于自己的团队，也在 2020 年收获了自己的第 200 万个粉丝。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] How does your typical working day look like? 我的直播一般在晚上，8-11 点。白天我会和团队一起讨论选品，搭建直播环境，设计流程脚本。有时也会和品牌方对接，商议具体的广告文案。到了晚上 6 点，直播助理、拍摄团队就开始做直播准备，按流程顺序摆放选品，并在后台设置好购买链接。晚上 8 点直播正式开始，我会负责每一个环节的推广口号，粉丝的互动和品牌的衔接，助理则会负责发放购物津贴、红包，吸引粉丝观看。一场直播一般要推 15-20 件选品，晚上 11 点直播结束后，团队会一起复盘直播间的情况，后台购买数量以及观众的反馈。一般凌晨 1 点左右，结束一天的工作。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1*) During the daytime, I will discuss with the team about the selected products, build the live streaming scene and design the live streaming process […]; At 6 p.m., assistants and camera crews start preparing for the live streaming show, laying out the selection in sequence and setting up the purchase link […]; After the live streaming show starts at 8 p.m., I will interact with fans, and my assistant will be in charge of distributing shopping allowance […]; When the live streaming show ends at 11 p.m., the team will review the purchase quantity and audiences' feedback together […]; Usually around 1 a.m., we finally call it a day's work.
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？]

	主要还是负责直播的部分，也会参与一些产品的选款。
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？] 一般 10-12 个小时。遇到节假日商家活动比较多的，会达到 14-16 个小时。
	[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？] 我喜欢跳拉丁舞，直播之余，我都会去练习舞蹈，放松自己。
	[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] 我一直都在媒体行业打拼，无论是做主持人还是主播，出差、熬夜、作息颠倒都是常态。在这一行，工作就是生活，生活也是工作。止步不前，就会被其他人替代；越努力越幸运，你走的每一步都会有所回报。 [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] 在做带货主播的一年多的时间里，"夜猫子"的生活模式就是我工作的常态。我接受也在习惯了这样的生活状态，不会特意去平衡，但也会做好自我调节。毕竟生活是自己的，归根到底身体是革命的本钱。
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] 会有这样的感觉。有时公司会安排去其他城市出差，和当地企业、商家合作带货直播，这种出差的频率基本一周就有一次，虽然有团队跟随、公司订好所有住宿日程，但还是非常累且辛苦。长期奔波在外，和家人的相聚也很少，基本都是靠视频通话保持联系。 [您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？] 一方面是需要遵循公司的规定，在运营的规划下完成每日、每周的工作任务；另一方面自己也不敢松懈，只有不断往上走才能站稳脚跟。

	[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]
	Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation?
	压力还是比较大的。在这个行业里，没有工作就意味着没有收入；就算有了工作，流量少、销量差也会被行业淘汰。因此，不仅仅是我，我们公司签约的所有主播都会有很强的危机意识，互相之间竞争也比较激烈。
	比如每月月末，公司都会对签约的主播进行数据评估，人气持续走低的主播就会在合约到期后被迫离开公司，这是一个普遍又无可奈何的事实。
	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.1*) In the Internet celebrity industry, no job means no income. Even if you have a job, you will be eliminated by the industry with few fans and low attention. Therefore, all the anchors contracted by our company have a strong sense of crisis, and the competition among us is fierce.
	For example, at the end of each month, the company will evaluate the data of the signed anchors, and the anchors with persistently low popularity will be forced to leave the company after the expiration of their contracts. This is a common and helpless fact.
	[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]
	是一个普遍问题。目前直播带货门槛很低，个人和商家想要进入直播带货圈非常容易。然而，在这个圈子里，能赚钱的参与者只有 1%，99%都是不赚钱甚至赔钱的。现在我

有了团队、固定粉丝和流量，就必须通过不断的营销来维持热度，否则很容易就掉出"上位圈"。

[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]

What are the best aspects of your work? Can you give a concrete example?

最棒的是可以真正帮助到大家，给大家筛选出最棒的产品吧。我带货的产品有的是商家主动推给我的，也有我主动找品牌方联系的。无论哪种方式，我都会以专业态度筛选。价格虽然无法做到"全网最低"，但我会尽我所能提供售前及售后的使用辅导，用自己的专业知识为消费者服务。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.2*) […] Some of the products I recommend in the live streaming shows are directly supplied by the brands, while others I actively contacted the brands to seek cooperation. Whatever the means, I would choose the products to be recommended in a professional manner. Although the price cannot be the lowest among all the quotations, I would try my best to provide pre-sale and after-sale guidance and serve consumers with my professional knowledge.

[您是否在工作中遇到过难题？您是如何克服的？能举个具体的例子吗？]

遇到过。早期进行带货直播的时候，遇到过一些其他公司的主播恶意打价格战。同一件或类似商品，我们和商家谈下来 15 元，一些主播为了吸引眼球，会推出大量"9.9 元包邮"的低价产品，导致很多不明所以的粉丝会指责我们价格虚高，转而去购买低廉产品。而当粉丝购买这些产品后，会发现质量低劣且无法退货退款，受伤的最终还是粉丝。

	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？]
	看具体的品牌。一般小品牌、种类少的产品提前 1-2 天准备，大品牌、种类多的产品需要提前一周，提前做好功课和调研。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？]
	灵感来源是我自己的使用心得吧。虽然选品团队会帮我一起挑选、设计带货文案，我也会主动参与进来，自己亲身试用，在直播带货时也更有说服力。
[工作内容]	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？]
	之前公司安排给我一个售卖营养谷物的商家进行直播合作，前期沟通时寄给我们的样品，包装、质量、口感都非常好，我们也提前演练了产品推荐、直播口号。直播当天，卖出了 8000 多份产品，商家也很满意。结果直播结束后，我们陆续收到了客户的投诉，说收到的产品有品控问题，口感也名不副实，我们联系商家，也始终逃避问题不予回复。最终只能由我们团队出面进行补偿，才平息了粉丝的怒火。这次直播给我带来了很多负面舆论，很多粉丝认为我们把关不严，兜售"三无"产品，算是一次事业的冲击。
	[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]
	In such cases, do you feel that you have full control of the creative process or not? Can you give me a concrete example?
	我可以掌握创作过程，但也要通过甲方的允许。

一般我们在直播前，都会先进行产品试用，亲身体验后撰写心得体会和推荐重点。随后，我们团队会和品牌方沟通产品的出场顺序、直播的发言内容以及宣传介绍，经过审核并确认无误后再直播。直播结束后，我们会和品牌方确认具体的发货流程和售后制度，从而确保粉丝的权益。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) Generally, we will conduct product trial before live streaming, and then write the key points of recommendation after personal experience. Subsequently, our team will communicate with the brand about the introduction of the products and the content of the live streaming, which needs to be reviewed and confirmed. After the live streaming, we will confirm the delivery process and after-sales system with the brand, to ensure the rights and interests of fans.

[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？]
一般只要在品牌方的允许范围内，都可以控制创作过程。

[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？]
这个公司应该是购买过的，但仅限于提高直播间人气，销量数据绝对是真实有效的。比如直播刚开始的时候，为了活跃气氛，公司一般会安排一些粉丝在直播间提问、抢红包，吸引其他路过的观众点击进入。开场一段时间后，直播间基本都是真实观众了。

[您如何看待一些影响者/网红会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？]

	都是提高曝光度的合理做法吧。只要销售数据不造假，活动效果有保障，我认为前期的购买推广进行预热都是合理的。	
	[您觉得影响者/网红会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他影响者/网红的竞争关系？] 竞争是肯定的。现在在直播带货圈子里，真正赚钱的主播并不多，大部分主播还处于不赚不赔甚至是赔钱状态。直播带货涉及商家、机构、平台、主播等多方主体，包括前期的选品、流量运营、售后服务等，整个产业链比较长、环节多，哪一环掉链子都会影响结果。不同的主播优势各有侧重，竞争也相对激烈。	
[工作环境]	[您有自己的公司吗？还是在 MCN 公司工作？] 我签约了 MCN 公司。	
	[自雇]	[您认为自己开公司/自雇有什么优点和缺点？]
	[受雇]	[您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] 优点还是比较多的。比如公司会主要负责对接供应链、提供线下场地、配备团队、提供资金和行业资源，这些都可以为我省下不少事。
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 基本都是公司决定的，会有团队和运营和我对接，制定每周工作计划，评估营销效果。	
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？]	

	我有一个 7 人的直播团队，分别是助理、选款师、摄像师、剪辑师、场务、后期和商务。都是公司安排给我的。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they? 作为一个带货主播，我的主要收入来源是签约费+坑位费+销售佣金的总和。签约费是固定的，每年公司会和我签一份独家合作协议，要求只能在本公司进行直播带货；坑位费是和品牌方签约的，付过坑位费后品牌可以获得带货资格，这里我可以有 30%的分成；佣金一般为销售额的 20-30%，根据每次签订的协议而定。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) As a live commerce anchor, my main income is the sum of signing fee, reservation fee and sales commission. The signing fee is fixed. Every year, my company will sign a cooperation agreement with me, which requires me to do exclusive live streaming; The reservation fee is signed with the brand. After the payment, this brand can be qualified to do live commerce, and I can have 30% of the share; The sales commission is generally 20-30% of the sales of each live streaming show, depending on each agreement signed.
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 暂时没有。

	[自雇]	[根据您与商家/客户签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以赚多少钱？能举个具体的例子吗？]

	[受雇]	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] 平均一个直播活动可以拿到 20-30%的销售额，平台会扣除 6%的服务费，电商平台再扣除 10%的中介费。
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] 这个公司有规定，不方便透露哦。	
	[自雇]	[如果您拥有自己的公司并雇佣他人]: [通常一个推广项目能够赚多少钱？您的员工成本是多少？除去成本，还剩多少？ 您公司的员工每月平均收入是多少？具体从事哪些活动？您认为他们的报酬合理吗？]
		[如果您是个体户，未雇佣他人]: [您认为目前推广项目中的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
	[受雇]	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 这个收益分成还是比较公开透明的，因此我认为是公平的。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] What do you think has changed you most since you started this kind of work? How have you adapted to these changes? 最大的影响还是心态方面的变化吧。从前我是有编制的工作，固定工资，收入也有保障。现在成为主播后，我需要每天思考、提升自己，让自己更懂市场、懂消费者、懂营	

	销，知道如何拉近产品与消费者的距离。这就要求我每天都要钻研，琢磨产品的推荐方式，磨合和品牌方之间的沟通。我从一个"被动工作"的人，转变成了一个"主动学习"的人。
	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.2.2*) Since I started working in the Internet celebrity industry, I have undergone a psychological transformation. I used to have a structured job with a guaranteed income. After I became an Internet celebrity, I needed to study every day to figure out how to recommend products and how to communicate with advertisers […]. It can be said that I went from a 'passive worker' to an 'active learner'.
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 家人都很支持，朋友有时也会光顾我的直播间，给我冲一冲销量。有好的选品，我也会第一时间推荐给身边的人。
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 作为带货主播，我觉得男主播或女主播在这一行的区别不大，主要还是和选品相关。如果是美妆护肤、零食家居，女主播会更有亲和力；如果是电子产品、数码配件，男主播会更有话语权。侧重点不同，优势也不一样。
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] 刻板印象还是存在的。比如很多粉丝会认为带货主播都是"拿钱办事"，不管选品质量，只要品牌方付钱了就会推广。实际上我们有专业的选款师，也会有合作的标准和底线。在市场上存在大量同质化产品的情况下，主播可以帮助消费者筛选，更快捷地匹配最好的产品。

Question Classification	Interview Questions
	[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？] 主要还是直播带货这一行业刚刚兴起，监管滞后、行业门槛低带来了产品质量差、售后服务跟不上、乱收费等问题。一些主播不坚守行业准则，向金钱低头，就会带来负面影响。

2. Proletarianized Platform Workers

Question Classification	Interview Questions
Introductory Questions [基本问题]	How long have you been active on social media platforms? [您从事这一行多久了？]
	What social media platforms are you primarily active on? [您主要活跃在哪些平台？]
	What motivated you to start this kind of work? [是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？]
Work Experiences [工作经历]	How does your typical working day look like? [您工作日的一天是什么样的？]
	What are your main tasks and responsibilities? [您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？]
	How much time do you spend at work every day? [您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？]
	Apart from work, what do you mainly do in your daily life? [除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？]
	How do you feel about work-life balance in this industry? [您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] Can you talk about your own experience?

	[是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？]
	Do you feel that sometimes it is difficult to combine work as an influencer with private and family lives? If so, can you give me examples? Why do you think the situation is like that? [您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] [您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]
	Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation? [您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]
	Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it? [您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]
	What are the best aspects of your work? Can you give a concrete example? [您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	What are the worst aspects of your work? Can you give a concrete example? [您认为这份工作最困难的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]
Work Activity	How long does it usually take you to create a new original work that you post on your social media profile(s)?

[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？]
	Normally, where do the ideas for your videos, images, texts, etc. come from? Can you give me an example? [您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？]
	Can you give me an example of where you have been paid for creating certain content or promoting certain goods? How frequently do such promotions take place? [能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？]
	In such cases, do you feel that you have full control of the creative process or not? Can you give me a concrete example? [您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]
	Have there been cases where you felt you were not really in control of the creative process? If so, can you talk a bit more about an example? How did you feel about not having full control of this process? [是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？]
	Have you ever paid for increasing your visibility and reputation on social media platforms? If so, can you give me a concrete example? [您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？]

	Why do you think some ordinary platform workers pay for increasing their reputation? [您如何看待一些网红/平台工作者会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？]
	Do you think that ordinary platform workers experience competition with others as a problem and concern? If so, why? How do you feel about the competition with other proletarianized platform workers? [您觉得网红/平台工作者会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他网红/平台工作者的竞争关系？]
Labour Spaces [工作环境]	Are you working for a talent agency? What advantages and disadvantages do you see of working for a talent agency? [您在 MCN 公司工作吗？您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？]
	How is it decided what work and how much work you do per week? And who assess the quality of the work? And how is this done? [您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] [Note: questions of management, control, available resources, etc.] [注：公司的管理、控制、可用资源等问题]
	Are there any assistants who help you? Can you rely on help from others? In what respects? If yes, who decides that you can use certain people or resources as help? [您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？]

Income, Payment, Revenues [收入情况]	What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they? [您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？]
	Do you have your own brand, product or online store? Tell me about how you started and are running your business. [您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？]
	According to the agreement between the talent agency and you, what percentage of the profits or revenues will you receive when you complete one project? [根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	Can you tell me how much money you earn on average per month? [您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？]
	Do you feel the remuneration is rather fair or rather unfair? Why? [您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
Psychological Changes [心理变化]	What do you think has changed you most since you started this kind of work? How have you adapted to these changes? [您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？]
	What do your family members or friends think about this kind of work? [您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？]

	As a woman/man, do you think you have certain disadvantages and/or advantages in this industry? If yes, in what respects? Can you give me some examples?
	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？]
Gender Prejudices [性别问题]	Do you think that certain gender prejudices exist in the influencer industry? If yes, can you give me some examples? Why do you think these prejudices exist? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on those working in the industry? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on fans? [您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] [您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？] [probe into topics such as women and beauty standards, men and computer games (shooter games, car racing, etc.), etc.] [探讨女性与审美标准，男性与电脑游戏(射击游戏、赛车等)等话题]

2.1. Proletarianized Platform Workers from Social Media Platforms

2.1.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker, 2020, August 26

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2018 年开始，差不多三年了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 新浪微博，知乎

	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？]
	2018 年从英国谢菲尔德大学毕业后，我创办了自己的公司，致力于建立中英人才合作和招聘求职平台。为了扩大公司知名度，也是宣传自己的业务，我在知乎上开辟了专栏，没想到也收获了一点粉丝。虽然不多（7.9 万），但也让我感到到了被关注、被需要的感觉。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] How does your typical working day look like? 我的主业是自己的公司业务，博主是兼职的副业，因此不会有太大压力。工作日我会先处理公司的事项，以及客户的商务会谈。随后会登陆我的社交平台，回答微博、知乎上网友/粉丝的提问，与他们互动。时间充裕的话，我会学习一些文案编辑、运营管理、视频剪辑的课程，来完善自己的社交媒体账号。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.4*) My main business is my own company, and being a blogger is my side job, so it doesn't stress me too much. During the workday, business and client meetings are my priority, followed by answering questions and interacting with fans on social media platforms. In my spare time, I will learn some courses of writing, operation management and video editing to improve my social media accounts.
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] 主要就是在微博、知乎上发布一些专业性文章和视频，以及挑选一些粉丝的问题进行回答和互动。同时，我工作的另一个重点就是推广我们公司的业务，通过运营社交媒体平台，吸引粉丝前来咨询。
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？] 通常在 10-12 小时左右。

[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？]

旅游、看书，更多的是学习新媒体运营的相关知识。我虽然已经做了三年，但毕竟没有团队辅助，一个人处理还是比较吃力的，因此还要多学习。

[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？]

我们做这一行的，工作和生活本来就是交织在一起的。我想提高自己的粉丝量，想提升公司的知名度，这就需要我在生活中有所牺牲。

[是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？]

我自己的工作和生活都是分不开的，不算平衡，但我也享受这个过程吧。有自己在进步，不断成长的感觉。

[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？]

有时会这么觉得。比如在休息时突然想到一个很好的点子，我也会马上投入到工作中，忘记了休息。我觉得这是很正常的事情。

[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]

与其说是我对自己的高要求，不如说是行业的压力吧。现在各行各业竞争都很激烈，要想获得更多，只能自己多努力。

[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]

Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it?

有时确实压力会很大。平时我还有自己的公司事务要处理，因此需要挤出时间来运营自己的社交媒体平台，经常

忙不过来。曾经我也想过去组建一个团队帮我运营，但考虑到又是一笔很大的开支，就放弃了。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.2*) I usually have my own personal affairs to deal with, so I need to squeeze out time to run my own social media platform, which often overwhelms me. I once thought about setting up a team to help me run the business, but I gave it up considering that it would be a huge expense if there was no support from the company.

[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]

在这一行业里，竞争很激烈，压力肯定是有的。主要还是看自己怎么去调节吧。

[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]

What are the best aspects of your work? Can you give a concrete example?

开始在知乎上开辟专栏后，我开始逐渐收到粉丝们的来信。他们会向我提问，有时会付费让我回答问题。这是一种被需要、被认可的感觉，让我觉得自己的专业、学识是可以帮助别人，从而收获满满的成就感。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.3*) After I started writing a column on Zhihu, I started getting letters from my fans. They would ask me questions and sometimes pay me to answer them. This is a feeling of being needed and recognized, which makes me feel that I can help others with my major and knowledge, thus gaining a full sense of achievement.

[您认为这份工作最困难的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]

	最困难的是刚开始起步的时候，没人关注我吧。每天无论发什么内容，也没有互动和评论，让我一度很沮丧。后来渐渐的公司业务起来了，我发布的内容也多了，粉丝也就慢慢积累了。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 这个时快时慢，有时 3-4 个小时就可以创作完成，有时需要一周时间。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 一般来源于我自己的生活履历、经验和感悟。我非常喜欢旅游，也经周游过世界，做过背包客；也曾经举办过 100 多场线上线下活动，这些视频和文字都是来源于我真实的生活和感悟。
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] 我比较少接到推广，一般都是为自己的公司业务服务。 有一次和一个求职机构合作进行了推广，我发布了相关文章推荐他们的求职平台。我写了详细的平台推介，也介绍了一些自己的粉丝过去。费用在 1 万左右。一般 3-4 个月，我会接到一次这样的商务推广。
	[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？] 我是自己独立运营账号，因此可以完全掌握作品的创作过程的。
	[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？]

一般我都可以自行决定作品内容和创作过程，因此不存在这种情况。

[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？]

Have you ever paid for increasing your visibility and reputation on social media platforms? If so, can you give me a concrete example?

早期的时候，我购买过一些付费推广。当时我刚入行，为了给自己的文章增加阅读量，我前前后后购买了几次推广，也花了不少钱。这确实是有成效的，我最早期的粉丝也是因为这些推广开始关注我的。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) In the early days, I bought some paid promotions. At that time, I was new to the Internet celebrity industry. To get more views for my articles, I spent a lot of money on several promotions, and my earliest fans started following me because of this.

[您如何看待一些网红/平台工作者会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？]

Why do you think some influencers pay for increasing their reputation?

我觉得这个很正常。事实上，不借助外力是很难提高曝光度的，因此我觉得这也是一种推广自己的方式。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) In fact, it's hard to increase your visibility without some outside help. Therefore, I think this is an effective way to promote myself.

[您觉得网红/平台工作者会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他网红/平台工作者的竞争关系？]

这个因人而异吧。我不会过于紧张。

	因为我不是那种大网红，也没有几百几千万的粉丝，我做这一行，纯粹是因为自己喜欢，并且想借机推广一下自己公司的业务，因此我也不存在和其他人的竞争关系。 当然行业竞争是很激烈的，我也听说有一些头部网红竞争关系很微妙，但像我这种小博主，一般不会有这种烦恼。
[工作环境]	[您在 MCN 公司工作吗？您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] 我是个人博主，没有签约 MCN 公司。
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 每周工作内容和工作量都是我自己决定的。因为我是独立运营，也没有人监督我，因此工作质量一般就自己评定了。当然我也会统计一下每周的粉丝互动情况，查找自己的不足。
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 没有相关团队或助手。对我来说这块成本太高了，只能选择自己运营。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] 收入来源主要是自己公司的盈利，这是主业。运营社交媒体平台是我的副业，但每月也会有一笔收入，加上不定期的广告 商务合作，以及粉丝的提问打赏，收入方式还是比较多元的。
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？]

	前面提到的，我有一个文化交流公司，这也是我在各个社交媒体平台上推广的人才交流平台。
	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] 我没有签约 MCN 公司，因此每一个推广活动，我都可以获得全部收入，这也是一个比较好的方面。
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] 加上公司的盈利收入，每月大约在 3 万左右。
	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 因为我是独立运营，因此不涉及收益分成，没有不公平的说法。我对现在的商务合作模式还是很满意的。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] 最大的影响，是我从一个比较内向的人，由于在社交媒体上收获了一批粉丝，而逐渐变得外向、开朗起来。原来我不喜欢社交，也不喜欢展示自己，但成为博主之后，我每天的心情、遇到的事情、收获的经验，我都想和粉丝们分享，这成了我生活的一部分。
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 他们都很支持我做这一份工作，不仅拓宽了自己的公司业务，也让我积攒下来了一些人脉。
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 我是一名女性。在这个行业中，男女比例其实差不多的，但颜值高的，肯定更占优势，也更吸引粉丝注意。我自认为自己是走实力路线的（笑），颜值虽然是我的短板，但也让我坚定了充实自己内心的道路。

[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？

例如：审美标准]

Do you think that certain gender prejudices exist in the influencer industry? If yes, can you give me some examples?

肯定会有刻板印象，比如女网红就是靠身材相貌走红，男网红就是靠电子竞技发家，在入这行之前我也是这么认为的。但自己真正接触了这一行的工作后，我发现其实网红有很多种类型，三百六十行都会涉及。确实有一些靠外貌一炮而红的，但也有很多人是靠自身实力获得粉丝喜爱的。我也想成为这样的人。

[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]

Why do you think these prejudices exist? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on those working in the industry? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on fans?

应该是新闻报道、还有舆论的影响吧，让很多不了解行业的人都有这样的想法。从我身边事例来说，这种过度追求美的意识形态的确给行业带来了负面影响。我曾经因为容貌焦虑和自卑，偷偷去做了整形。结果效果不尽人意，却无处维权，这一度让我十分后悔。还有一些年轻人，甚至是青少年，会为了追随网红审美而去偷偷打针，这对他们成长和发展都是不利的。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.2.1*) […] The excessive pursuit of beauty ideals has had a negative impact on the Internet celebrity industry. In the past, I have undergone plastic surgery because of anxiety about my appearance and low self-esteem, but when the surgery failed, I had no place to protect my rights. Some young people, even teenagers, have secretly accepted injections

	to follow the aesthetics of Internet celebrities, which is bad for their growth and development.

2.1.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker, 2020, September 15

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2018 年到现在，差不多两年多。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 新浪微博，小红书
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 我是一个全职妈妈，有两个非常可爱的宝宝。五年前，为了照顾孩子，我放弃了外出工作的机会，成了一名家庭主妇。虽然陪伴孩子让我很充实，但总想靠自己的努力有一份自己的事业。于是两年前，我开始把自己居家生活的小经验分享到平台上。有厨艺展示，有宝宝用品推荐，有收纳小技巧，居然也收获了一些粉丝。为了孩子，也为了支持我的粉丝们，我开始经营起自己的平台账号，也算是补贴家用吧。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] 早晨 7 点左右起床，吃完早饭后让孩子爸爸送大宝上幼儿园。8 点左右，会带着二宝去买菜遛弯，回家准备午饭。下午二宝午睡后，会有一段休息的时间，这时候我可以拍照、写文案，上传作品。有时会花费 1-2 天的时间。4 点左右二宝醒了，我也开始准备晚饭。晚饭后我会打扫整理一下屋子，陪大宝做功课，和二宝游戏一会，一般要忙到晚

上 10 点。10 点以后孩子睡着，我会看一下平台上粉丝们的回复，构思接下来的文案内容。

[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？]
主要是写文案，拍照片，上传平台。

[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？]

因为我时间有限，一般花在平台/工作上的时间大概每天 2-3 小时。

[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？]

照顾孩子，照顾家庭，做家务。其实两个孩子的家庭，经营起来已经非常辛苦，很少会有自己的个人时间。

[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？]

How do you feel about work-life balance in this industry?

作为全职博主的话，工作和生活确实很难达到平衡，需要顾虑的事情太多了。成为博主后，吃饭、聚会、约会，都变成了工作，生活成了不同的工作场景。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) As a full-time blogger, it's really hard to strike a work-life balance. Take me as an example. Meals, parties, dates all turn into work, and life becomes a different scene of work.

[是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？]

Can you talk about your own experience?

对我而言，我的工作就是照顾孩子和家庭，同时这也是我的生活。在社交平台上分享我的经验，是我的一份"兼职"，也是我生活的调味剂。在和粉丝沟通互动的过程中，我能够了解他们的想法，解答他们的困惑，这也是一种自我价值的实现吧。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) Sharing my experiences on social platforms is my job and the spice of my life. In the

process of communication and interaction with fans, I can understand their ideas and answer their puzzles, which is also a realization of self-value.

[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？]

我觉得我还是比较能平衡工作和生活的，至少能维持一个家人比较舒服的生活节奏。

[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]

主要还是自己内心的调节方式吧，我会通过出游、和家人玩乐的方式放松，调节工作中的压力。

[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]

有时粉丝催更，内容创作又想不到好的点子，会有压力。因为我不是全职博主，没有业务指标，遇到压力很大的时候我就会停更一段时间，让自己彻底放松。

[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]

对于全职博主来说，压力时不可避免的。因为这是他们在社会上安身立命、养家糊口的工作。改善只方式因人而异吧，比如听歌、读书、休闲、旅游，都是不错的找寻灵感、自我调节的方式。

[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]

最棒的是把我从一个以家庭为中心的全职妈妈，转变为一个有自己事业、有粉丝支持的兼职博主。当然也给我带来了一些收入，这也是我坚持下来的动力。

	[您认为这份工作最困难的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]
	最困难的是没有团队运营和辅助，自己需要承担所有的工作，包括商务对接、文案构思。这些是我比较欠缺，也在不断努力的地方。
	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 一般需要 1-2 天时间。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 灵感就来源于生活吧。比如生活中的一些烹饪小技巧，带娃小技能，我都会做好记录、拍摄照片，分享给像我一样的宝爸宝妈们。
[工作内容]	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] 有一次接了一个温奶器的推广，价格是 5000 元，需要拍摄使用照片，附上心得体会，并发到微博上。但收到商家寄来的产品后，我发现产品有些名不副实，使用感并不好。于是我和品牌方进行了沟通，最终取消了这样的合作。 一般我接到的商务推广不多，但也会有自己的选择底线，真正好用的产品，才会推荐给大家。
	[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？] 基本可以完全掌控。可能因为我是一个比较自由的兼职博主，没有签约公司，就少了很多限制，可以完全掌控自己的创作过程。

	[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？] Have there been cases where you felt you were not really in control of the creative process? If so, can you talk a bit more about an example? How did you feel about not having full control of this process? 很少有这种情况，但日常作品的创作都会按照平台的管理规定进行。 作为一个博主，在微博上发表言论时需要特别注意自己的措辞和表达。之前我未经核实就转发了一条民众抗议的微博视频，结果当天就收到了删除通知和禁言警告，后来得知这是一条恶意煽动舆论的假新闻，还好没有因为随意转发对粉丝造成影响。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.1*) As a blogger, you need to pay special attention to your words and expression when you make comments on Sina Weibo. Once I reposted a video of a protest on Weibo without verification, and the same day I received a notice to delete it and a warning not to comment. Later, I learned that this was malicious fake news to incite public opinion. Fortunately, my fans were not affected by my random forwarding
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？] 早期刚开始做博主的时候，购买过一些数据推广。主要是源于不自信，担心自己的阅读量、点击数不够。现在做的时间长了，也能坦然面对了。
	[您如何看待一些网红/平台工作者会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？]

	这个很常见吧。我周围很多博主朋友都会购买，一个是数据好看，另一个数据上来了，才会有更多的人关注你。这是一个有益的循环。
	[您觉得网红/平台工作者会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他网红/平台工作者的竞争关系？] 个人博主之间不太会，同公司的博主竞争会比较激烈。我听说过一些公司内部考核，会对数据进行排名，排名最末的会被淘汰。我挺害怕这个的，所以也一直不敢签公司，怕压力大。
[工作环境]	[您在 MCN 公司工作吗？您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] 我是个人博主，没有签约公司。
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 都是我自己决定的，没有人评估。
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 没有相关团队，所有的工作由我自己完成。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] 作为全职妈妈，我没有收入。作为兼职博主，我会有一些商务合作和产品推广，赚取一些广告费。
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 没有，暂时没有精力做这些。
	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？]

	没有签约 MCN 公司，每个商业活动都可以获得全部推广费用。
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] 兼职收入一般在 4000-6000 元一个月。
	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 没有签约公司，因此不存在这个问题。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] 最大的影响是拥有了一份自己的事业，自我满足感也得到了实现。当然也因为这份工作任何了很多有意思的朋友和粉丝，互相分享经验也是一件很有意思的事情。
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 我的家人都比较支持这份工作，能提升自己又有额外收入，何乐而不为呢？
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 作为一名全职妈妈博主，我的粉丝大部分是宝爸宝妈，女性/妈妈的角色在这一领域有得天独厚的优势，更容易受到信赖。
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] 会有一些刻板印象吧。比如会有人认为博主的营销推广都是"收钱办事"，没有底线的。但实际上我们都会有一个评判标准，也不会因为一些小钱影响自己的名誉。
	[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]

	主要是行业中确实存在一些败坏风气、无底线的博主/网红，给这个行业抹黑，带来了负面影响。

2.1.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker, 2020, November 9

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2015 年开始做这一行，算下来五年了吧。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 新浪微博，微信公众号，小红书，知乎
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 我是一个"站姐"，就是管理明星粉丝后援团的负责人。最早的时候，我和其他站姐一起，会去机场接机，然后把拍到的明星照片上传到粉丝群里。后来因为拍摄技术好，很多人就怂恿我开微博，把照片公开分享。我想着微博运营得好，可能对后援团也有帮助，于是就开通了微博，开始了我的站姐+博主生涯。后来平台多样化了，我也陆续开通了自己的微信公众号、小红书和知乎，算是多渠道同步分享吧。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] 没有接机日程的话，一般我会睡到自然醒，然后开始整理最近拍摄的照片，修图、写文案。下午的时候会处理一些粉丝群和后援团的日常事务。晚上会挑选粉丝最活跃的时候，把照片和文案上传社交平台，随后和其他粉丝一起交流讨论。
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？]

	管理粉丝后援会，接机，拍照，修图，写文案，运营账号。
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？] 不会有特别固定的工作时间，一般 10 个小时左右吧。
	[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？] 追星，看演唱会和视频，打榜。
	[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] How do you feel about work-life balance in this industry? 从事这一行之后，不稳定的工作状态占据了我的全部生活，因为总是会有很多身不由己的状况，需要熬夜、早起，或者牺牲掉个人的时间。虽然老话常说"越努力越幸运"，但能在这一行脱颖而出，90%靠的都是运气和资本，而不是努力。大部分人只能像我一样，默默无闻地维持生计。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.1.2*) After working as an Internet celebrity, the unstable state of work has taken over my whole life. There will always be situations where you have to stay up late, get up early, or sacrifice your time. In fact, those who can stand out in the Internet celebrity industry basically rely on good luck and capital, while most people try hard but never become famous. [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] 我自己就是一个反面教材（笑）。如果接机日程拍的比较满，航班又是凌晨的话，经常会在机场过夜、熬通宵。回家以后又要赶着修图写文案，昼夜颠倒是常有的事。
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？]

日程满的时候会。为了及时上传精修美图，忙起来的时候会连着赶通宵。但是看到大家转发分享，也觉得值了。

[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]

主要是我的工作性质比较特殊，经常会遇到半夜的航班或者临时的活动，因此只能克服一下，多牺牲一点自己的个人时间。

[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]

有时会有吧。作为一个"粉头"，我的这份工作不仅仅可以为我带来收入，还承载着其他粉丝的期待。但是高强度的日程和工作形式，有时会让我感到疲累。尤其压力大的时候，身体也会处状况，整个人也会很沮丧。

[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]

算是一个普遍问题吧。如果我想做好一个博主的工作，就必须要连更，不间断地输出好作品。虽然我粉丝不多，但每一个粉丝都有所期待，我要对他们负责。我相信其他博主，也有这样的信念。当然也需要自我放松，适当运动，才不会让身体垮掉。

[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]

最棒的是可以把我原本的个人爱好，变成一份可以赚钱的事业吧。当然也多了很多粉丝的支持，这些都是从事这份工作带给我的。

[您认为这份工作最困难的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]

	最困难的是跑日程、凌晨接机吧。为了第一时间拍到最好的照片，有时还会跟着明星不同城市飞，一路奔波，扛着机器在机场跑，确实非常辛苦。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 一般一天左右就可以，忙的时候要两天。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 灵感就是这些明星的活动和日程吧，会根据他们的特点挑选不同的角度，文案也会带上他们的个人特色。
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] 一般我的商业合作是一些媒体、经纪公司、营销号来买我的照片，会根据明星咖位的不同、难拍的程度给我报价。之前最高给出过一组照片（20 张精修图）1 万元的报价，而我需要根据他们的需要提供精修的作品。一般这样的商务合作不定时，有活动的话就会有。
	[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？] 当然可以。照片都是我本人亲自拍摄的，如何创作我可以自己决定。
	[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？] 基本上不会有这样的情况。
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？]

	我没有购买过推广。基本上关注我的都是粉丝群成员，还有平台粉丝，我觉得最真实的互动就可以，不需要通过额外的流量推广来提升知名度。
	[您如何看待一些网红/平台工作者会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] 这个很普遍吧。我周围很多博主也会购买，这是一种非常正常的自我营销行为。
	[您觉得网红/平台工作者会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他网红/平台工作者的竞争关系？] 我觉得竞争肯定有，紧张的话没太感受到这样的氛围。大家其实都是各司其职，做好自己的平台和工作。
[工作环境]	[您在 MCN 公司工作吗？您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] 我没有签约 MCN 公司。
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 每周工作内容都是我自己决定的，因此可以自己控制工作量和工作时间。
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 没有团队辅助，都是我自己来运作。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] 主要是和媒体、经纪公司的商业合作，有时也会有一些品牌推广。
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 没有，不太合适。

	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] 没有签约公司。
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] 一般都会在 1 万元以上，好的话可以到 2 万元/月。
	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 没有签约公司，因此不存在这个问题。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] What do you think has changed you most since you started this kind of work? How have you adapted to these changes? 最大的影响是自己的兴趣爱好成为了可以赚钱养活自己的方式。然而伴随着兴趣成为工作，压力也随之而来。由于没有签约公司，业务量得不到保障，有时一整个月没有收入，连房租也付不起，这一度让我十分焦躁，有段时间一直失眠。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.2.2*) The biggest change for me is that becoming an Internet celebrity has turned my hobby into a way to earn money. However, as interest becomes work, pressure comes along with it. Since I haven't signed a contract with a company, the amount of business cooperation could not be guaranteed. Sometimes I had no income for a whole month and couldn't even pay the rent, which made me very anxious and couldn't sleep for a while.
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？]

	一开始会比较担心我，怕我身体吃不消，或者收入不稳定。后来我靠自己的努力在广州买了一套小房子，父母就放心了很多。
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 好像我认识的"站姐"都是女孩子？作为一个女性博主，在这个领域我认为还是比较有优势的。毕竟女孩子审美表现会更突出一点，也更容易被粉丝们接受。
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] 刻板印象一直是存在的。比如我就听到过有人说我是"狗仔"，不务正业，但实际上他们并不了解我的工作性质和内容。因为看到我是一个网红/博主，所以自以为是地给我下结论。 [您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？] 我认为这个行业的社会接受度还不算很高，很多人不了解行业的真实情况，因此就会产生一些误解。

2.2. Proletarianized Platform Workers from Short Video Sites

2.2.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker, 2020, July 28

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 我算新人吧，2019 年开始从事这一行，大约两年左右。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 抖音，哔哩哔哩

	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 我从小很喜欢跳舞，也喜欢表演，但一只没有机会展示自己。大二的时候，舍友开始拍抖音小视频，就是跟唱一些热门的歌曲，视频很简单，却意外收获了一批粉丝。在她的带动下，我也开始尝试用课余时间拍摄并发布一些舞蹈换装类的小视频，反响还不错，因此就算是正式入行了吧。后来毕业后因为一直没有找到合适的工作，就签约了当地的 MCN 公司，成了一名签约视频博主。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] 我比较喜欢熬夜，因此一般起得比较晚。中午左右起床，有时会去公司，沟通一下内容；如果在家，会浏览一些热门视频，积累素材和灵感。我的视频拍摄时间一般从下午 2 点左右开始，录制地点在小区楼下的花园或是附近的公园，持续三小时左右。6 点到 9 点，我会对视频进行编辑，配上文案、调整背景音乐。和公司确认后，10 点左右在平台发布，观察点赞评论情况。一般 12 点-1 点左右睡觉。
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] What are your main tasks and responsibilities? 短视频平台上活跃的博主很多，想要脱颖而出，必须有别具一格的创意和优秀的剪辑手法。 因为公司规模不大，没有配备团队人手，成为短视频博主后我自学了很多技能，包括脚本撰写、视频拍摄、后期剪辑、特效配音等。同时，我还要负责商务合作的项目，并与客户沟通。有时为了增加人气，我也会与其他博主互动，共同拍摄视频，互惠互利。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.2*) Nowadays, there are so many bloggers active on the short video sites, so if you want to stand out from the crowd, you have to be creative and have good

editing skills. Due to the small scale of the company, I learned a lot of skills by myself after becoming an Internet celebrity, including scriptwriting, video shooting, post-editing, dubbing and so on. At the same time, I am responsible for business cooperation and communication with advertisers. Sometimes, to increase popularity, I also interact with other bloggers and co-shoot videos for mutual benefit.

[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？]

一般在 10-12 个小时左右。

[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？]

一方面学习其他博主的拍摄手法、配乐和剪辑风格，多看多学；另一方面还是多练习舞蹈吧，毕竟舞蹈跳得好，粉丝才会持续关注你。

[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？]

How do you feel about work-life balance in this industry?

在这一行，工作就是生活吧。毕竟我们的工作，就是记录和分享自己的生活。因此在这一行，工作和生活，我认为是完全分不开的。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) As you can see, in the Internet celebrity industry, work is life. Because our job is to record and share our lives.

[是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？]

Can you talk about your own experience?

作为一个全职视频博主，我尽量会在工作时间把视频录制完毕，给自己留足休闲和生活的时间。但这个很难说，有时视频录制效果不理想，没有达到公司的要求，就会一遍一遍重录，影响到自己的日常生活。

	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) […] *Sometimes the video didn't work well enough to meet the company's requirements, so I would re-record it over and over again, which affected my daily life.*
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？]
	Do you feel that sometimes it is difficult to combine work as an influencer with private and family lives? If so, can you give me examples?
	基本上很难区分开吧。比如我有时录制一个比较难的舞蹈，为了提升观看感受，我会取不同的景分别录制，后期再剪辑到一起。这样可能会连续三到四天，每天持续工作12个小时，才能做好一个视频，但也会非常累和辛苦。
	[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]
	Why do you think the situation is like that?
	可能我粉丝数比较少吧，也没有团队帮我策划和拍摄。为了涨粉，我只能多牺牲自己的空余时间，来提高我的视频质量。
	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) Due to my small number of followers and lack of a team, I had to sacrifice more of my free time to improve the quality of my videos.
	[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]
	我觉得还可以，可能是还不够出名的原因吧（笑）。
	如果说有压力的情况，大概是视频观看数持续走低的时候吧。有一段时间很焦虑，观看数一直都只有几百。没有达

	到公司的要求，心里也很难受。当时一直说动身边的朋友帮我转发点赞，爸妈也帮我转发了，后来才慢慢好起来。
	[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？] 肯定是吧。毕竟这一行都是看数据说话的。如果数据不好，很容易被行业淘汰。想要改变现状，我觉得唯一办法就是往上走，走到行业顶端，我想就会改善很多。
	[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最棒的是虽然不多，但也有了愿意追随我、支持我的人。从前我的舞蹈没有人看，爸妈也不是很支持。现在我有了一个可以分享、倾诉的小天地，也是一件让我自豪的事情。
	[您认为这份工作最困难的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最困难的是推广自己的视频吧。因为我所在的公司也比较小，不能帮我做大范围的推广，因此观看数和点赞数这些数据指标，只能靠我自己去转发宣传。这一块比较头疼。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 一般 2-3 天左右。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 灵感来源一般是一些热门的视频，以及讨论度、话题度比较高的舞蹈。我自己也关注了几个粉丝数百万级别的舞蹈博主，平时会学习他们的舞蹈、视频风格，也会对一些舞蹈进行翻跳。

[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？]

我很少会有商家直接找我做推广的情况，一般都是公司安排商务合作。去年曾经有个淘宝商家联系我，让我在跳舞时穿他们的制服，推广他们的小裙子。这种形式的合作没有推广费用，但可以寄免费的样衣给我，因此我也接受了。商家总共寄了六件衣服给我，总价值 2000 元左右。当时我的视频观看数也达到了 3000。评论区我留言了店铺链接，据商家反馈效果还不错。

[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]

一般都可以掌控。如果是个人视频，公司有时会给我们提供一些思路方向。如果是商务合作，有时会受到一些限制。

[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？]

Have there been cases where you felt you were not really in control of the creative process? If so, can you talk a bit more about an example? How did you feel about not having full control of this process?

我的商务合作不多，如果是公司派给我的任务，就必须按照广告商要求的内容和时长来拍摄。遇到要求高的客户，会提出意见进行反复修改。对此我觉得很正常，也没办法拒绝，毕竟是签约的博主，需要听从公司的安排。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.2*) In my daily work, there is not much business cooperation to be assigned to me. Once a deal is received, the video must be shot in accordance with the content

	and duration requested by the advertiser. Customers with high requirements will put forward suggestions for repeated modifications, which is really common in our industry. Internet celebrities who sign up with companies have to listen to what they do.
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？] 我购买过。刚开始做视频博主的时候，观看数一直很低，也很少有互动，我就购买过一些首页推荐。不过因为推广费也挺贵的，购买了几次我就开始想办法在视频质量上多下功夫，流量也就慢慢上来了。
	[您如何看待一些网红/平台工作者会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] 我周围做短视频的朋友都会购买推广，这很常见。现在这个行业的门槛很低，想要脱颖而出，就必须有吸引人眼球的过人之处。如果没有这样的能力，我觉得靠一些技术辅助也是正常的。
	[您觉得网红/平台工作者会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他网红/平台工作者的竞争关系？] 可能我是流量比较小的视频博主，所以很少会感受到激烈的竞争。如果是大网红或者 KOL，我觉得竞争一定会有，压力也会比较大。毕竟走红很难，没有持续的吸引力，也会很快无人问津。
[工作环境]	[您在 MCN 公司工作吗？您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] Are you working for a talent agency? What advantages and disadvantages do you see of working for a talent agency?

	我在 MCN 公司工作。MCN 公司的优点是有最低工资保证，相对个人博主来说比较稳定。缺点是内容创作的自由度有限。公司会对发布的内容进行严格审核，并且如果所在的公司资源有限，我们还需要自己去宣传和推广。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.2*) The advantage of MCN agency is that it has a guaranteed minimum wage, which is relatively stable for individual Internet celebrities. The downside is the limited freedom of content creation. The content is strictly vetted, and if the company has limited resources, we need to do our own publicity and promotion
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 工作内容和工作量一般是我和公司运营部的同事商议后决定。每周发布 4 个视频，每月会有专门的工作人员统计我们的数据，作为评估的依据。
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 没有，内容、拍摄和后期剪辑，都是我一个人完成。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they? 我主要的收入来源是工资+奖金的形式。底薪在 5000 元，奖金依据每个月的视频观看数而定，如果按公司要求完成 KPI 任务，一般奖金在 2000-3000 元。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) As for the source of my income, it is usually in the form of salary + bonus. The basic salary is 5,000 yuan (≈550 pounds), and the bonus is based on the

	number of views and likes of my videos per month. If I complete the KPI task as required by the company, the general bonus is 2,000-3,000 yuan (≈220-330 pounds).
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] Do you have your own brand, product or online store? Tell me about how you started and are running your business. 因为做短视频收入不高，我曾经考虑过开一家网店，但因为缺乏资金和人力，这个想法也夭折了。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) Due to the low income from short videos, I once considered running an online store, but the idea died due to lack of capital and labour.
	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] According to the agreement between the talent agency and you, what percentage of the profits or revenues will you receive when you complete one project? 协议上约定，签约博主的个人推广收益在 30%，公司70%。但这块业务我接触得不多。
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] 每月平均在 7000-8000 元左右。
	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 商务合作这块我还没有过多接触，但我听其他朋友说起过，基本都是控制在 30-40%左右。博主的知名度越高，分成比例越大。考虑到这一点，我觉得还是公平的。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？]

	最大的影响是，在我因为找不到工作特别迷茫的时候，给了我一个靠自己能力养活自己的机会。从前我一直以为唱歌跳舞是一种业余爱好，现在居然能够靠这份兴趣在这个城市立足，也算是证明了自己吧。
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 最开始父母有些担心，毕竟不是一个传统意义上朝九晚五的工作。后来也慢慢接受，会帮我一起转发视频，还挺好的。
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 作为一个才艺类的视频博主，女性的身材、颜值还是比较占优势的，毕竟大家都喜欢美的事物，观看起来也更赏心悦目。劣势的话有些人会因为你的外表而忽略你的实力，也会有一些"黑粉"对你冷嘲热讽，这些不去在意就好了。
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] 会有一些吧，比如身边不了解的人，都会理所当然地认为网红都整容，都是"见光死"。虽然这在网红圈里确实是一件比较常见的事情。但这种印象久了，就会带来很多负面传言。 [您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？] 主要原因还是行业秩序的问题。整容的风气一直存在，也让很多新入行的年轻人趋之若鹜，认为整容变美了就可以成名。实际上，没有实力和水平，就算是颜值高超，也很难在这一行存活下去。这种过于追求美、崇尚整容的刻板印象，会给很多心智不够成熟的未成年人带来负面影响。

2.2.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker, 2020, August 31

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2016 年到现在，快五年了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 抖音，美拍，哔哩哔哩
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 我是一个重度"网购依赖症"患者（笑），平时最喜欢的事情就是淘宝、网购。然而"剁手"一时爽，也给我带来了很大的开销。有一次在刷抖音的时候，我偶然看到一些博主，会把他/她们网购的产品进行逐一测评、好物推荐，我就萌生了做一名测评博主的想法。一开始是简单的衣服测评，后来延伸到了生活用品、零食、玩具等各个领域。积累了一些粉丝后，就有公司联系我想要和我签约。刚好那段时间也有跳槽、换工作的想法，就顺势成为了一名全职博主，一直工作至今。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] How does your typical working day look like? 签约 MCN 公司后，公司给我制定了每周的工作计划以及考核标准。但由于资源和人手有限，所有的工作任务我都要自己完成。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.4*) After signing the contract with MCN Company, they will make work plans and assessment standards for me every week. However, due to limited resources and staff, I had to complete all the tasks by myself.

早上我会对产品分类整理。下午把产品逐一试用后记录使用心得。拍视频是我工作的重中之重，为了达到比较好的展示效果，我会先写好脚本，然后使用三脚架拍摄。这个过程可能会反复尝试 3-4 次，选最好的视频。晚上就是剪辑、配字幕、放音乐和发布。一般来说一个视频需要 2-3 天才能制作完成，并且公司会对每一步骤进行审核。

In the morning, I will sort out the products and try them out one by one to record my experience. To achieve the best effect, I will write the script first in the afternoon and then shoot repeatedly 3-4 times to choose the best one. The evening is the time for editing and post-production. Typically, a video takes 2-3 days to produce, and every step of the work will be reviewed by the company.

[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？]

写文案、脚本，拍视频，后期和粉丝维护。

[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？]

10-12 个小时吧，工作量大的时候会经常熬夜。

[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？]

追剧、补觉吧，我比较宅，不太喜欢外出社交。

[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？]

这一行业工作和生活的平衡，我觉得主要看自己怎么理解。对于我来说，工作和生活虽然分不开，但也不会给我带来很大压力。我会记录生活中有意思的发现，也会把我觉得好用的产品推荐给大家。这是工作，也是我的生活。

[是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？]

我是很难平衡的那一类人，基本上工作和生活是交织在一起的。

[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？]

	经常会。比如我在休息或者吃饭的时候，忽然想到一个有意思的梗，我就会马上打开备忘录把它记下来。这样有时确实会耽误到我的日常生活。
	[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]
	现在做自媒体，创意真的很重要。有时候灵感来了，不马上投入到工作，就会忘记当时的感觉。因此也算是我工作和生活的常态吧。
	[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]
	Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation?
	会有压力。据我所知，现在视频博主里同质化、互相模仿的现象比较严重。以我所在的测评领域为例，现在同类型的测评博主有很多，但测评方式和视频风格都比较类似。想要在同类博主中脱颖而出，对于我这样粉丝数不多的小博主来说，是一件很困难的事情。因此灵感枯竭或者思路瓶颈的时候，我都会很烦躁，只能逼迫自己不断去想段子、出作品。
	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.1*) As far as I know, the phenomenon of homogenization and plagiarism is quite serious in the Internet celebrity industry. Take the video assessment field as an example. There are many assessment bloggers of the same type, but their assessment methods and video styles are quite similar, so it is difficult for an ordinary blogger like me with a small number of followers to stand out from the crowd.

[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]

Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it?

压力在我们这一行是非常普遍的。签约之前，公司告诉我做这一行工作轻松、收入也高，只要听从公司安排、按时完成任务，收入水平将远远高于普通工作。然而他们没有告诉我这一行的风险，创意匮乏、同质化严重，有的人可能一辈子都无法成名。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.1.2*) Before signing the contract, I was told that being a blogger was an easy job and paid well. As long as you follow the company's arrangement and complete tasks on time, your income level will be much higher than ordinary jobs. What they didn't tell me was the risks of the Internet celebrity industry: lack of ideas, high levels of homogeneity, and the possibility that some people may never become famous in their lifetime.

[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]

最棒的是可以把"收快递"当成一件正经工作吧（笑）。原来家里都觉得我整天购物，很败家。现在他们还会主动帮我签收快递、整理箱子。我也能因为这份工作，收到一些商家的免费产品。对我来说是一件很棒的事情。

[您认为这份工作最困难的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]

最困难的还是想文案吧。我没有系统学过媒体，因此所有的思路想法都要靠我自己摸索。公司因为不大，也没办法

	为我提供团队支持和相关培训。这一块对我来说还是比较困难的。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 一般需要 2-3 天的时间。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 其他博主的测评视频。我自己关注了一些大网红的社交账号，会根据他们的动态找思路和方向。
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] 有时我会收到一些商家的私信，测评他们的产品。一般这种合作形式是没有推广费的，商家把产品免费寄给我，我试用后出测评视频。当然，我也有测评的标准，只有符合要求、达到标准的产品才会被推荐。如果有粉丝评论想要测评某一款产品，我都会自己花钱购买，再试用。一般这种免费的商家合作不定时会有，一周一次左右。
	[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？] 大部分可以自己掌控。如果是公司接的商务推广，要求我推广某个产品，就需要再视频里加入商家要求的广告词。
	[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？] Have there been cases where you felt you were not really in control of the creative process? If so, can you talk a bit more about an example? How did you feel about not having full control of this process?

	有时候会。比如公司之前给我安排了一个刀具套装的推广，我试用下来并不是特别好用。但由于工作原因，我必须对这款产品进行推荐，于是只能按照商家的要求发布视频。一些粉丝购买商品后，因为使用效果不佳给我发私信，我都不知道怎么回答，只能和公司反映情况。因此对于这件事，我对粉丝是有歉疚的。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.1*) My company once arranged a promotion of a knife set for me. During the trial process, I found defects in the product. However, due to the work instruction of the company, I had to recommend this product, so I finally uploaded the video according to the requirements of the brand. After some fans bought the products, they sent me private messages because of the product defects. I didn't know how to answer and can only reflect the situation with the company. In that case, I felt guilty for my fans.
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？] 公司有购买过。我们小博主的粉丝数不多，流量也不大，因此公司在进行商务合作时，会帮我们购买一些推广，增加曝光度。
	[您如何看待一些网红/平台工作者会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] 这个很常见吧。只要是合法渠道购买的推广，我觉得都是提高视频效果的合理方式。
	[您觉得网红/平台工作者会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他网红/平台工作者的竞争关系？]

	Do you think that influencers experience competition with others as a problem and concern? If so, why? How do you feel about the competition with other influencers?
	肯定会。我们公司就有每周数据排名，排名高的博主可以获得更高的薪水和奖金。
	(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.1*) Our company has a weekly ranking of video views, and high-ranking vloggers can get higher salaries and bonuses.
	既然在这一行工作，谁都不想落后，因此竞争是很正常的，用平常心看待就好。
[工作环境]	[您在 MCN 公司工作吗？您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？]
	Are you working for a talent agency? What advantages and disadvantages do you see of working for a talent agency?
	我在 MCN 公司工作，签约博主各有优劣吧。优点是商务、运营都由公司对接，不需要博主操心；缺点是限制也比较多，例如所有的视频内容在发布前都需要公司审核。如果没有达到公司的要求，就需要一直重录，直到符合运营人员的要求为止。
	(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.2*) I work for MCN company. The advantage is that there are specialized personnel for business and operation, so there is no need to worry about it. The disadvantage is that there are many restrictions, for example, all the videos need to be reviewed by the company before we post online. If there is a problem with the video, it needs to be re-recorded until it meets the company's release guidelines.
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）]

	基本都是我自己决定的，但需要报备公司。公司每周会有数据报告，统计和评估大家的工作质量。
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 没有团队辅助，都是我自己来的。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] 主要收入来源是底薪+提成+商务合作，公司会有一套计算标准。
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 暂时还没有。
	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] 我商务合作比较少，平均一个推广活动在 30%左右吧。
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] Can you tell me how much money you earn on average per month? 我是底薪+提成制的，底薪 5000 元，每月收入根据视频表现会有所不同。如果播放量不错，加上提成，可以达到 1-1.5 万；如果数据不好，大约只有 6000-8000 元左右。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.1*) My income is composed of basic salary and commission. The basic salary is 5,000 yuan (≈550 pounds), and the monthly income will vary according to the number of video views. If the number of views is relatively high, the monthly income plus commission can reach 10,000 to 15,000 yuan (≈1100-1650 pounds); If the viewing number is not

	well evaluated, my monthly salary is only about 6,000-8,000 yuan (≈660-880 pounds).
	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 公司之前向我们解释过分成比例的依据，我觉得还是公平的，毕竟公司会有成本和基础开销，还需要帮我们制定运营规划。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] 最大的影响是认识了很多有意思的人吧。 做全职博主之前，我是有一份常规工作的，每天公司和家两点一线，也不会想去认识朋友。成为博主之后，因为工作原因，我认识了一些同行朋友，虽然不在一个城市，但我们经常会在网上聊天、线上聚会。尤其是粉丝的存在，让我有了一种被需要的感觉。我想为我的粉丝们去努力。
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 都挺支持的。现在网红行业也发展得比较成熟了，和传统工作并没有什么差别。
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 作为一个露脸的视频博主，我觉得女性多少会有一点优势。毕竟在这个看脸的时代，一切美的事物，都会让人多驻足几分。不过我发现我的粉丝中，女性居然占大部分，说明我的才华还是受到大家认可的（笑）。
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] 主要还是对外貌的刻板印象吧，认为网红都是看脸的，没有内涵、哗众取宠的群体。有时候刷微博、看知乎的时

候，还能看到很多"键盘侠"在批判网红产业，认为是一种病态的"亚文化"。

[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]

我认为这种想法都是很狭隘的，这对我们的身心都会造成负面影响。网红产业发展到现在，已经有了一套成熟的运作体系。活跃在这一行的网红、粉丝，也都有自己的价值观和判断标准，因此不能一味地用有色眼镜来看待。

2.2.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker, 2020, October 26

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2019 年才开始做，差不多两年吧。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 抖音，火山小视频
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] What motivated you to start this kind of work? 我家有一只英短弟弟，一只柴犬姐姐，非常可爱，平时我就会忍不住给他们拍拍小视频，分享给我的朋友们。正好 2019 年，短视频开始火起来，很多素人都开了视频账号上传自己的日常生活，我想着也紧跟潮流，于是开始试水短视频。经营了一段时间后，我发现收入尚可，也可以自己由支配自己的时间，干脆辞了之前的财务工作，签约了一家做视频号的 MCN 公司，做起了全职视频博主。 进入公司后，我被安排了一位运营经理来管理我的日常岗位，并每月对我的视频观看、评论数据进行考核。

	(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1*) After joining the company, I was assigned an operation manager to manage my daily posts and assess the viewing and comment data of my videos every month.
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] 我早晨一般会去遛狗、购物，下午有一个小时时间和公司的运营团队对接，讨论商务合作和视频主题，然后就是拍摄视频。晚上一般我会做视频剪辑和后期配音，然后发给运营，审核完毕后发布。
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] 拍摄视频，剪辑，后期。
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？] 一般会在 10 个小时左右。
	[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？] 旅行，购物。说实话养宠物真的很烧钱，但我也很享受带着他们出去玩的感觉（笑）。
	[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] 这一行业看上去工作和生活很难平衡，但自由度也是最大的，算是利弊各半吧。我觉得接受这一行业，就需要接受这种工作和生活的方式。 [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] 工作忙的时候我就会给自己放个假，出去走走，算是自我调节吧。
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] 有时候会。如果视频任务多，素材又比较匮乏，我就会连续几天关在房间里构思创意。这时候压力就比较大，工作占据了生活的全部吧。

	[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]
	主要还是自己的能力不够，没办法得心应手地运营这个账号。想要流量，实力又达不到，只能多花功夫去研究。
	[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]
	Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation?
	经常会。因为辞掉了之前稳定的财务工作，博主的职位又相对没有保障，所以有时会因为视频点击量不高、粉丝互动少而感到焦虑。最严重的时候，因为贷款和房租的压力，我开始脱发和失眠，整宿睡不着，需要靠褪黑素才能入睡。后来工作慢慢步入正轨，身体才逐渐好起来。
	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.3*) Having quit my stable financial job and the relative insecurity of being an Internet celebrity, I sometimes felt anxious about the lack of video views and fans interaction. At the worst, due to the pressure of mortgage and rent, I started losing my hair and insomnia. I couldn't sleep all night and needed melatonin to fall asleep. It was not until my work got on the right track that I gradually got better.
	[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]
	算是一个普遍的问题吧。我觉得但凡想要在这一行好好发展的，都不会止步不前。因为这一行更新换代太快了，以我们公司为例，像我这样的短视频博主，就有十多个，如果不努力，一定会被淘汰。因此顶得住压力，才能有不断上升的可能。

	[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最棒的是我和"姐弟俩"的快乐生活，能够给更多人看到，给人带来温暖吧。我收到过一些粉丝给我寄的礼物，有姐姐头像做的抱枕，还有弟弟的玩具，这些都让我非常感动。如果没有这份工作，也不会有这么多人关注我，和我一起爱它们。
	[您认为这份工作最困难的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最困难的是拍摄部分。因为姐姐和弟弟都很闹腾，拍摄时一不留神就会跑出镜头，于是只能找机会多拍几次。有时一个镜头需要 NG 十几次，才能找到最完美的呈现。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 一般需要 2-4 天的时间。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 灵感来源就是日常生活吧。平时休息的时候，我会观察它们打闹、嬉戏时候的样子，有时看着看着，灵感就来了。
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] 有一次我接到了一个自动饮水器的广告，是公司商务推给我的，要求我拍摄自家宠物喝水的过程，并编写成一个小故事。因为我们家姐弟俩都不爱喝水，拍摄它们去喝水的镜头就尤其困难。我想了很多办法，后来用零食引诱，才终于录好了视频。公司说商家还是很满意的。一般这种类型的商务合作一两周会有一次吧，听公司安排。

	[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]
	In such cases, do you feel that you have full control of the creative process or not? Can you give me a concrete example?
	基本可以自己掌握。分配到商务合作时，公司会提出一些客户的要求，需要顺应他们的想法进行内容创作。但具体拍摄和剪辑方面，因为没有辅助团队，我需要自己独立完成。
	(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1*) Whenever there is an advertising promotion, the operation manager will put forward some brand requirements, which requires me to adapt to their ideas for content creation. However, in terms of specific shooting and editing, I have to complete it by myself because there is no supporting team.
	[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？]
	基本没有这样的情况。
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？]
	我自己购买过，公司也会帮我们一起推广。毕竟现在是流量为王的时代，商家找我们合作，都会看发布内容的点击量和评论数。数据越好看，找我推广的几率就越大。
	[您如何看待一些网红/平台工作者会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？]
	很正常。只要不是完全弄虚作假，我觉得都是推广自己的常规操作。
	[您觉得网红/平台工作者会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他网红/平台工作者的竞争关系？]

<table>
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<td>Do you think that ordinary platform workers experience competition with others as a problem and concern? If so, why? How do you feel about the competition with other proletarianized platform workers?

其他人我不太清楚，但是我们公司竞争还是比较激烈的。粉丝增长快、点击量高的博主，奖金是最多的；而持续掉粉、点赞评论少的博主，有可能会在合约到期后离开，这些都是行业的基本守则。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.2*) The competition in our company is quite fierce. Internet celebrities with fast-growing fans and high clicks receive the most prize money, while Internet celebrities who continue to lose fans and have few interactive comments are likely to leave when their contracts expire. These are the basic rules of the industry.</td>
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<tr>
<td>[工作环境]</td>
<td>[您在 MCN 公司工作吗？您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？]

Are you working for a talent agency? What advantages and disadvantages do you see of working for a talent agency?

我在 MCN 公司工作。在我看来，像我们这样的小博主，签约公司后收入有底薪，商务推广也有基本保障。劣势则是限制比较多，商务合作根据合同分成后到手比较少（20%-30%）。但没有公司就没有资源，这也是没办法的事情。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) In my opinion, an unknown blogger like me will have a basic salary and guaranteed business promotion after signing a contract with an MCN company. However, there are many restrictions. According to the rules of the contract, the proportion of the business cooperation I</td>
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	participate in is relatively small (20%-30%). But no company, no resources, that's a fact of life.
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 公司会有运营给我制定每周工作计划，也会有专门的部门来计算后台数据，评估工作质量。
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 除了商务之外，没有其他团队辅助。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] 主要收入来源是底薪+广告分成。
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 暂时没有这样的打算（主要是没有时间和精力来运营）。
	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] 平均一个推广活动在 20%-30%左右吧。
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] 每月收入情况和广告数量会挂钩，做得好的话一个月可以有 1.5-2 万。
	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 我觉得还是公平的。我打听过同行其他博主的收入情况，MCN 公司的制度模式都是差不多的，因此我也没有其他意见。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？]

	最大的影响是不再是一个传统的"打工人"，而成了一个"自由职业者"（笑）。虽然还是在公司工作，但心理感受方面还是有了很大的变化。从事这份工作，让我觉得我是在为自己努力，为自己的将来打拼，因此也会投入百分之百的努力。
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 我爸不是很支持，有时还想让我回去做财务、会计之类的稳定工作。我想等我再做几年，收入变多了，他也会有所改观吧。
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 可能我的视频主角都是猫猫狗狗，我也不用出境，因此性别在我这里没有什么影响。粉丝关注我，也是为了看我家的小可爱，因此我只能算是一个"幕后摄影师"吧（笑）。
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] Do you think that certain gender prejudices exist in the influencer industry? If yes, can you give me some examples? 肯定会有一些刻板印象。 在很多人眼里，女网红的社会地位是非常低的。尤其像我们普通博主，为了防止粉丝脱粉，他们提出的要求我们都会尽力满足。但粉丝的质量参差不齐，有的男粉丝会提出过分的要求，要求在视频中露脸/身体。如果博主们不照做，就会收到恶评。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.2.1*) In many people's eyes, the social status of female Internet celebrities is very low, especially like our proletarianized platform workers. To prevent fans from leaving, we will try our best to meet their requirements.

	However, the quality of fans varies. Some male fans will make excessive demands, such as asking the bloggers to show their faces/bodies in the videos, and if the bloggers don't comply, they will post malicious comments
	[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]
	Why do you think these prejudices exist? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on those working in the industry? What do you think are these prejudices' effects on fans?
	主要还是每个人对职业的接受程度不同吧。像新潮的年轻人，会认为这是一份很酷的工作；反观保守的长辈，就会表现出担心和忧虑。我觉得都是正常的，每个时代接受新鲜事物，都会有一个过程，可以理解。

2.3. Proletarianized Platform Workers from Live Streaming Platforms

2.3.1. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker, 2020, September 11

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 我 2018 年入行，三年左右吧。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 斗鱼，火山小视频
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 2018 年我去法国尼斯留学，经人推荐，其实也想赚点外快补贴留学的生活费，所以开始在直播平台从事主播的工作。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？]

我的主业还是学生，因此一般白天我会听课、学习。一般 6 点以后，我会开始直播，持续 2-3 个小时左右，和粉丝聊天互动。直播结束后就休息了。

[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？]

我主要就是开直播和粉丝互动，聊一聊当天的所见所闻。因为我在法国，有时也会走出去给粉丝看看法国的风景、街道，让他们感受一下这里的风土人情。

[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？]

一般在 2-3 小时左右，主要看直播间的粉丝数量。如果当天人气比较旺，会多聊一些时间。人少的话，也会早一点下播休息。

[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？]

剩余时间我还要完成学业，因此一般都会读书和学习。做了主播之后，我会多出去走走，也在尝试做一些实习和兼职，多挣一点钱。

[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？]

说实话我没有把主播看作是一份工作。我可以自由安排自己的直播时间，因此工作和生活还是比较平衡的。

[是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？]

我做直播都很随性。如果今天课业压力大，我就会给自己放个假，不直播；如果今天时间很充裕，我就和粉丝多聊一会。对我来说这只是一份副业和兼职，所以没有太大压力。

[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？]

不会。我觉得工作和生活本来就应该是分开的，因此也会有意区分。

[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]

	暂时没有这种情况。
	[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]
	因为我在国外，和国内有时差，因此刚开始做的时候几乎没什么人来我的直播间，让我有一点焦虑。加上刚来法国课业也比较紧张，那段时间压力还是蛮大的。不过后来持续播了一段时间以后，我也积攒了一些粉丝，他们有些也是留学党，有些是熬夜党，每次直播都会来捧场，慢慢直播间就有起色了。
	[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]
	Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it 是一个普遍的问题。
	我是在朋友的推荐下成为主播的。在这之前，我看周围的朋友轻轻松松就月入上万，以为只要直播聊天、表演才艺就会有很多人观看。直到我自己成为主播，才感受到其中的压力。如果没有吸睛的内容或者特殊的技能，就没有粉丝关注你；而如果没有人气，公司就不会给你相应的奖励和报酬。
	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.1.2*) I started as an anchor on the recommendation of a friend. Before that, I saw people around me easily earning tens of thousands a month, which made me think that if I became an anchor, a lot of people would follow me. But it was not until I entered the Internet celebrity industry that I felt the pressure of this profession. The truth is, if you don't

	have compelling content or special skills, you won't have fans; If you don't have fans, the company won't reward you.
	[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最棒的是可以赚外快补贴家用吧。我们同班的其他留学生都还要靠父母资助，我虽然赚得不多，但也可以满足日常生活开销，我觉得也是一件自豪的事情。
	[您认为这份工作最困难的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最困难的是想每天的聊天主题吧。有时候没有什么内容好讲，我就只能做做饭、吃吃东西，回答一下粉丝问题。我没有什么才艺，因此会担心直播间无聊，这是我觉得最难的部分。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 我很少会发布原创作品，主要就是直播吧。并且直播每次都是直接开始，因此也不需要花时间来准备。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 我直播的灵感来源就是我在法国的生活吧。
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] 我很少会接到专门的推广，一般都是靠粉丝打赏的礼物获得收入的。
	[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？]

	我的作品就是每天的直播内容，因此基本可以完全掌控的。所有直播的主题、直播的内容、互动的频率，都可以由我自己决定。
	[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？] 暂时没有遇到过这样的情况。
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？] Have you ever paid for increasing your visibility and reputation on social media platforms? If so, can you give me a concrete example? 刚开始做主播的时候，为了增加人气，我曾经去淘宝上购买过粉丝数。但这些粉丝只是在直播间充人数，并没有什么互动的功能，价格也不菲，因此尝试了几次之后我就放弃了。后来也是靠自己充实起来内容，才吸引了一批真实的粉丝来看我直播。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) When I first started as an anchor, I used to buy the number of fans on Taobao to increase my popularity. However, these fans are only filling the numbers in the live streaming room. They had no interactive features and were expensive, so after a few tries I gave up.
	[您如何看待一些网红/平台工作者会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] Why do you think some influencers pay for increasing their reputation? 这个很正常，据我所知，现在淘宝已经形成了产业链。很多网红/主播都会去淘宝购买粉丝、评论、点赞，价格都是明码标价的，可以各取所需。

	(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) As far as I know, Taobao has formed an industrial chain. Many Internet celebrities buy fans, reviews, and likes on Taobao, all of which are clearly priced.
	[您觉得网红/平台工作者会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他网红/平台工作者的竞争关系？] Do you think that ordinary platform workers experience competition with others as a problem and concern? If so, why? How do you feel about the competition with other proletarianized platform workers? 有时候会，特别涉及到主播之间连麦的时候。 直播间里有一种活动，两两主播直播连麦，PK 人气。主播的人气是靠粉丝买礼物的金额来体现的，粉丝买的礼物越多，主播人气就越高。我觉得这是平台的营销方式，因此很少会和别的主播连麦。 但据我所知，一些主播为了在比赛中获胜，甚至会鼓动自己的粉丝无限制地购买礼物，以满足公司的业绩指标。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.2*) There is a very common activity in China's live streaming platforms, where two Internet celebrities compete with each other in a live streaming room. The popularity of Internet celebrities is reflected in the value of gifts bought by fans. The more gifts fans buy, the higher the popularity of Internet celebrities. I've heard that to win the competition, some Internet celebrities even encourage their fans to buy unlimited virtual gifts to meet their company's performance targets
[工作环境]	[您在 MCN 公司工作吗？您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？]

	我签约了 MCN 公司。优点是有底薪吧，就算当月的直播流量不太好，也有基本工资可以维持生活。
	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 每周工作都是由我自己决定的。因为没有固定的内容，也不用原创视频，因此也无须评估我的工作质量。
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 没有。我目前的工作状况暂时不需要。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they? 我的主要收入来源是底薪+打赏。直播平台粉丝打赏的礼物，平台和公司抽取一定佣金后，每月会自动结算打到我的账户上。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) My main source of income is my basic salary + live-streaming rewards. For each live streaming show, the platform and the company will draw a certain amount of commission for gifts tipped by fans, which will be automatically settled and paid to my account every month.
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 暂时没有，未来可能会考虑。
	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？]

	According to the agreement between the talent agency and you, what percentage of the profits or revenues will you receive when you complete one project?
	一般直播平台的粉丝打赏，平台抽取 40%，公司抽取 30%，最后到我手上只有 30%。扣除税以及额外的手续费，其实真的非常少。
	(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) In general, the platform takes 40% and the company takes 30% of the gifts in each live streaming show. In the end, only 30% comes to me, after deducting the tax and additional handling fee, the actual income I receive was very low.
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？]
	我收入情况不是很高，每个月底薪 4000 元，加上打赏提成一般在 5000-7000 元之间。
	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？]
	不是很公平吧。
	像我们粉丝比较少的小主播，本身打赏金额就不太高，还要被平台和公司抽取 70%，到手真的少得可怜。但是没有办法，这是公司规定，也只能遵守。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？]
	What do you think has changed you most since you started this kind of work? How have you adapted to these changes?
	这份工作对我最大的影响是拓宽了我的交际圈，让我能够认识全世界各地的朋友。但与此同时，在社交平台公开自己，也给我带来了不少麻烦。有时会被一些网友无端辱

	骂，或者发私信给我让我滚回中国。虽然已经做好了心理准备，但有时还是忍受不了而奔溃大哭，一度非常抑郁。
	(Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.2.2) This job has allowed me to expand my friendships and meet people from all over the world. But at the same time, being open on social platforms has brought me a lot of trouble. Some netizens even insult me for no reason or send private messages threatening me to go back to China. Sometimes I break down and cry when I just can't take it anymore. These bad experiences make me very depressed.
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 我的父母家人都很支持这份工作。周围的朋友有些也在我的影响下开始做主播了。只要平衡好生活，我觉得也是一份不错的兼职。
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 拿我自己来说，女性主播如果长相气质佳，肯定是有优势的，毕竟现在是个看脸的时代。我的劣势是才艺不是很在行，因此如果有粉丝想看我展示才艺，我都会含糊过去。据我观察，很多知名主播都有一到两个过人的才艺，比如唱歌或者跳舞。这让我很羡慕。
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] 刻板印象会有吧。之前网络上主播涉黄的新闻比较多，我父母就很担心这行很乱。后来我向他们详细解释了，才解除顾虑。女主播不是只靠颜值来吸引粉丝的，但很多人都会这么认为，这在一定程度上也是一种刻板印象。 [您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]

	我们这行确实有很多俊男美女，因此给留下这种刻板印象，我觉得也很正常。不过粉丝接触的颜值网红多了，就会产生审美疲劳。现在"网红脸"也不吃香了，更崇尚自然美，这也是一种行业趋势吧。

2.3.2. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker, 2020, October 23

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？] 2017 年开始，四年左右。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 淘宝直播间
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] What motivated you to start this kind of work? 2016 年，我在北京念大三，开始了解主播行业。但由于当时这个职业刚刚兴起，北京做这一行的少，于是 2017 年毕业后我来到了广州，经人介绍去了一家很火的淘宝女装店铺面试主播。 在面试过程中，这家公司根据我的外貌、天赋、审美、抗压能力等指标对我进行了评估，并为我设计了一个风格定位。之后，我接受了大约 1 个月的培训，包括模特姿势、服装搭配、电商运营等课程。培训完毕并考核后，我正式签约了这家女装品牌。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1*) During the interview, the company evaluated me based on my appearance, talent, aesthetic skills, stress tolerance, and other indicators, and designed a positioning for my personal style. After that, I received about a

	month of training, including courses such as model's pose, clothing matching and e-commerce operation. After the training and assessment, I officially signed a contract to become a Taobao anchor.
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] How does your typical working day look like? 我是淘宝服装店铺的主播兼模特。我所在的店铺规模不大，但主播之间竞争还是很激烈的。一般上午店铺会休息，下午会到工作室，根据老板的要求挑选直播的产品/衣服，并做好搭配。通常傍晚 6 点开始工作，直播 3-4 个小时，向直播间粉丝推荐选款、互动和回答问题，一直到晚上 11 点左右结束。为了提高业绩和排名，有时一场直播下来我要换二十多套衣服，非常累。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.4*) I am the anchor and model of the Taobao store. Although the company is not big, the competition between anchors is very fierce. In general, I will rest in the morning. After lunch, I will choose the products for live streaming according to the requirements of the boss. Usually, work starts at 6 p.m., and the live streaming lasts for 3-4 hours, including style recommendation and interaction, until it finishes around 11 p.m. To improve my performance and ranking, sometimes I have to change more than 20 sets of clothes for a live streaming show, which makes me very tired.
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] 我主要负责搭配服装，在直播间向粉丝展示，并吸引粉丝购买商品。如果粉丝提问，我需要在镜头前和粉丝互动问答。
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？]

	一般选款搭配 4 小时，直播 4 小时，差不多一天八小时在工作上。
	[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？] 因为也算是从事时尚行业，业余时间我喜欢逛逛淘宝，购物。为了保持身材我也会坚持健身。
	[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] 我很喜欢买衣服、搭配单品，因此做淘宝主播也是我把兴趣爱好变为工作的一种方式。也因为如此，我的工作和生活几乎是分不开的。 [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] 比如没开工之前，我都是在休息的，尽可能享受睡懒觉的时间。开工之后，再投入到工作中去。
	[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？] 有时会觉得吧。工作忙的时候经常没时间吃饭，有时直播结束得晚，也会影响我的休息和睡眠。 [您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？] 晚上是粉丝观看直播的高峰期，我必须适应这样的工作节奏。这是所有直播行业的通病吧。
	[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?] Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation? 压力肯定会有的。我是一个全职淘宝主播，目前的收入情况是 5000 元底薪+1%的直播间销售提成。我所工作的淘宝

店铺有 6 个主播，老板每月都会评估我们的销售情况。这会让我很紧张，担心业绩不好。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2*) I am a full-time Taobao anchor, and my current income is 5,000-yuan (≈550 pounds) base salary + 1% live streaming sales commission. The Taobao store where I work has signed a contract with six anchors. The store owner evaluates our sales every month, which makes me nervous about my own performance.

多卖出去一件衣服，我就多一分收入。因此每一场直播，我都需要卖力推销。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.2*) For every extra piece of clothing I sell, I get an extra cent of my income, so I have to sell as much as I can during every live streaming show.

[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]

Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it?

淘宝直播圈子里，主播更新换代很快，压力自然很普遍。如果业绩不好，或者业务能力不行，很容易被老板替换掉。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.2*) In the Taobao live streaming industry, the speed of updating anchors is particularly fast, and pressure is very common for us. If the anchor doesn't have good sales or business skills, it's easy to be replaced by the store owner.

原因的话，一个是从事这一行的主播人数确实非常多；另一方面，我们不像公司有工会组织，权益很难得到保障，因此只能不断提升自己，来达到老板的要求。

	[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最棒的是我总能第一时间穿上当季新品，拥有非常多的衣服、包包和鞋子。
	[您认为这份工作最困难的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？] 最困难的是服装店铺实在太多了，同类型、同风格的店铺，在淘宝可能有几百上千家，很难在其中脱颖而出。
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 每次直播前，我大概需要准备 3-4 个小时选款搭配。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 灵感来源是各大明星、时尚杂志吧，对我选款搭配会很有帮助。
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] 我是淘宝店铺的主播，因此除了本身所在的淘宝店铺品牌，不会去接其他的商务推广。这也是老板强调和要求的。
	[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？] In such cases, do you feel that you have full control of the creative process or not? Can you give me a concrete example? 签约店铺后，公司掌握了直播内容的主导权。我所推荐和展示的服装、饰品，都需要符合淘宝店铺的风格，以及老板的要求。

	(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.2*) Since I signed with the company, I have lost control of the live streaming content. In each live streaming show, the clothes I recommend should meet the style of the store and the requirements of the boss.
	[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？] Have there been cases where you felt you were not really in control of the creative process? If so, can you talk a bit more about an example? How did you feel about not having full control of this process? 直播前，老板会规定每个时间点的具体环节，要求我们严格遵守。但我觉得这种情况很正常，我在这家店铺工作，肯定需要符合他们的规定和风格，这也是我的职业素养。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.2*) The boss will stipulate the specific link of each time point of the live streaming, and we are required to strictly follow it. I work for this company, and I definitely need to meet their rules, which is my professionalism.
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？] 我没有购买过，可能老板购买过。我听说淘宝有"首页推荐"这一功能，为了提升客户流量，店铺商家可以自行购买这一功能，提高商品的曝光度。
	[您如何看待一些网红/平台工作者会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] 这个太正常了。谁都希望自己的流量高，适当买一些推广无可厚非。
	[您觉得网红/平台工作者会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他网红/平台工作者的竞争关系？]

	肯定会。在直播这一行里，每天都有人入行，也有人退出。年轻漂亮的主播到处都是，竞争是一定的。但也可以把压力变成动力吧，比如我现在就想多挣一点，毕竟这也是"青春饭"。
	[您在 MCN 公司工作吗？您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] 我不在 MCN 公司工作，我签约的是淘宝店铺。
[工作环境]	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] How is it decided what work and how much work you do per week? And who assess the quality of the work? And how is this done? 都是由老板决定的。每个月店铺的老板会对业绩进行评估，有时也会排名，一般会看卖货的数量。如果业绩不理想，就会被辞退。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) Every month the boss will evaluate my performance, sometimes ranking, usually according to the number of goods sold. If I don't perform well, I'll be fired.
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 有一个搞技术、灯光和现场的工作人员，其他没有。所有的团队设置都由老板决定。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they?

	我是全职淘宝主播，目前的收入情况是 4000 元底薪+1%的直播间销售提成。一场直播卖出去的货越多，我的提成就越高。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) I am a Taobao anchor, and my current income is 4,000-yuan (≈440 pounds) base salary plus 1% of the sales commission of live streaming. The more goods I sell during a live streaming show, the higher my commission will be.
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 没有，未来可能有打算。
	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] 我和所在店铺目前签订的协议，是有 1%的直播间提成收入，看具体的销量而定。
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] 我是提成制的，因此每个月的收入不太一样。做得好的时候，一个月在 15000 到 20000 元之间。生意不好的时候，大概在 5000-6000 元左右。
	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 不能说公不公平，因为现在据我所知，大部分淘宝店铺都是按这个模式运作的。因此我也可以接受和理解。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] 我上大学的时候，一直以为兴趣是很难和工作联系到一起的。但是这份工作让我既能满足自己的兴趣爱好，又能有相对自由的时间安排，我觉得很开心。

	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？]
	我妈妈不是很支持，希望我回自己老家找一份比较安稳的工作，最好是公务员或者老师。但是我还想继续做一段时间。
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？]
	就淘宝服装店铺来说，长相身材俱佳在这一行肯定是有优势的。但我不是很会说话，和粉丝互动都是以展示为主，这也是我想继续努力的地方。
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准]
	肯定会有。比如我之前说的，淘宝主播和模特一样，身材样貌气质都要俱佳。但实际上我们也是普通人，不是模特，还是会有差距的。幸好直播间都可以添加滤镜和美颜，这也是为了符合粉丝喜好吧。
	[您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]
	我觉得都是粉丝的审美需求导致的吧。粉丝希望主播身材样貌如何，我们就必须朝这个方向努力。当然只要不是畸形化的审美就好了，毕竟哪个女孩子不爱美呢？

2.3.3. Anonymous Proletarianized Platform Worker, 2020, December 28

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您从事这一行多久了？]
	2018 年开始，入行两年多了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？]

	斗鱼，虎牙
	[是什么促使您开始从事这份工作？] 我从小就很喜欢打游戏，也喜欢看别人打游戏。大学时，我经常逃课和同宿舍的兄弟们去网吧"开黑"。毕业后，因为自身原因，我辗转了几个城市，都没有找到合适的工作，就干脆回了老家待业。为了养活自己，经人介绍，我开始做起了线上游戏直播，配合着游戏解说。做了一段时间，效益还不错，正好有公司找到我想要签约，我就毫不犹豫地答应了。
[工作经历]	[您工作日的一天是什么样的？] 为了配合粉丝以及公司安排，我都是晚上开始直播，每天晚上 6 点到 12 点。因此白天就是我的休息时间，有时会去公司处理一些事情，大部分时间都是自己安排。
	[您主要负责的工作内容是什么样的？] 主要就是直播打吃鸡、王者荣耀这类比较火的游戏，一边打一边直播解说，或者和队友闲聊。
	[您每天在工作上通常花费多少时间？] 不间断直播 6 个小时，有时也会录制一些游戏教程或视频，一般一天工作 8 小时左右吧。
	[除了工作，剩余时间您一般做些什么？] 和朋友聚会，打游戏。
	[您如何看待这一行业工作和生活的平衡？] 这一行业的工作和生活，都可以自己选择吧。可以完全融到一起，也可以严格区分，我觉得根据每个人的情况都会有所不同。 [是否可以谈一谈您自身如何平衡工作/生活的经历？] 我觉得工作和生活，我还是分得很清的。白天休息，晚上就开始工作，无论是工作还是生活，都全情投入。

[您是否有时会觉得很难将工作和生活区分开来？能举个例子吗？]

有时候会。比如直播忙的时候，会忘记吃饭、上厕所，一场直播下来腰酸背痛，因为长久坐在电脑桌前出现了腰肌劳损的情况，算是工作影响了生活吧。

[您认为造成这一情况的原因是什么？]

主要还是想多挣点钱，不想辜负粉丝，因此只要是直播开场，都会坚持到结束。

[您是否曾在工作中感到压力？能举个例子吗?当受到压力时，您的生活受到了怎样的影响?您是如何应对这种情况的?]

Were there times when you felt stressed in a work-related context? Can you give me examples? How did you feel and how was your life impacted? How did you react to this situation?

压力还是有的。由于我自身的原因，解说起来不像一些专业游戏解说来得游刃有余。一些粉丝就会来私信我，希望我多提升一下自己，有所长进。但公司资源有限，我自己又没有学习的能力，有时会很焦虑。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.1*) Because of my own reasons, I was not as skilled as some professional game anchors when doing live streaming […]. But given the company's limited resources, there are few opportunities for learning and advancement

[您认为压力是这一行业的普遍问题吗？如果是，为什么？您觉得可以怎样去改善呢？]

Do you think that stress is a more common problem in this industry? If so, why? And what could be done about it?

我觉得这一行的主播都会有压力吧。像斗鱼和虎牙这样的大平台，每天晚上开播的直播间有成千上万个，但是火的、观看数高的只有那么几个，大部分像我这样的普通的主播都埋没在人群中，无人问津。要想出人头地，就必须要给自己压力。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.4.1*) In the field of live streaming, there are tens of thousands of live streaming rooms on the air every night, but only a few are popular and highly watched. Except for a few lucky anchors, most of the ordinary anchors like me are buried in the crowd and ignored.

[您认为这份工作最棒的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]

最棒的是打游戏也可以成为一种职业吧。以前我爸妈一直不能理解，现在也慢慢接受了。

[您认为这份工作最困难的部分是什么？能举个具体的例子吗？]

What are the worst aspects of your work? Can you give a concrete example?

最困难的是解说得有新意、有水平。目前我只停留在基础解说，有时会加一点段子，但一直不温不火。这一块一直是我的短板。

在游戏直播领域，有很多有个性、有才华的高人气主播，他们的个人风格非常强烈。有时公司会让我刻意去模仿这些知名主播的解说风格、说话方式，希望以此来吸引粉丝。但由于公司资金有限，缺乏营销和培训，我只能靠自己摸索，因此始终没有太大的进步。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.1.1*) In the field of online games live streaming, there are many personalities and talents of

	popular anchors, who have a strong individualistic style. Sometimes the company would ask me to deliberately imitate the commentary style and speaking way of these famous anchors to attract fans. However, due to limited funds, lack of marketing and training, I can only rely on my own, but therefore has not made much progress.
[工作内容]	[当您创作并发布一个新的原创作品时，通常需要多少时间？] 除了节假日，几乎每天都会直播。
	[您创作这些视频/图像/文字的灵感来源一般是什么？能举个例子吗？] 主要来源是自己在游戏中积累的经验和心得体会吧，也有看游戏比赛得到的一些灵感。
	[能否详细说一下您某一次接推广的经历？（品牌/合作方式/收费情况/最终效果等）一般这样的商务合作多久会进行一次？] Can you give me an example of where you have been paid for creating certain content or promoting certain goods? How frequently do such promotions take place? 我几乎没有接过专门的商业推广，平时会收到一些粉丝的直播打赏。比如在做游戏解说的时候，有时会给粉丝唱唱歌、说说段子，粉丝被逗乐了就会送我一些小礼物。遇到我过生日的时候，偶尔会有收到贵一些的礼物。对于那些一直支持我的粉丝，我一直都心怀感恩。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.4.3*) I sometimes sing songs and tell jokes while doing computer games commentary, and my fans would tip me some small gifts when they are amused. Occasionally, when I celebrated my birthday in the live streaming

	room, I could receive a few more expensive virtual gifts. I've always been grateful to my fans for their support.
	[您是否觉得自己可以完全掌控作品的创作过程？能否举一个具体的例子？] 可以完全掌控。每次直播，我都是即兴发挥，基本是想到哪说到哪，因此也不会有太多限制。
	[是否有这样的情况，您无法真正控制自己的作品创作过程？能否举例说明？在这种情况下，您的感受如何？] 基本没有这种情况。
	[您是否为了提升流量曾购买过推广？能否举一个具体的例子？] 我没有购买过。虽然初期的直播观看人数非常低，但购买推广的费用也不便宜。我当时本身就没有积蓄，就更不会去花额外的钱购买流量了。
	[您如何看待一些网红/平台工作者会购买推广来提高自己的曝光度？] 我觉得有条件购买推广，也是个人的选择，我没有资格评价。但我认为没有危害别人的利益，就没有问题。
	[您觉得网红/平台工作者会为业内激烈的竞争而紧张吗？为什么？您如何看待与其他网红/平台工作者的竞争关系？] 可能会吧。我知道大主播之间的竞争是很激烈的，经常看到"一哥"、"一姐"的粉丝互相掐架。像我这样的小主播，我觉得业内环境还可以，紧张的关系会有，但不是很明显。
[工作环境]	[您在 MCN 公司工作吗？您认为在 MCN 公司工作有什么优点和缺点？] 我在 MCN 公司工作。优点是方便，有专人管理。缺点是有规定的上班时间，每天 6 小时必须播满，没办法偷懒。

	[您每周的工作内容和工作量是如何决定的？如何评估您的工作质量？（人员/方式）] 工作内容都是我自己决定的，工作时长公司会有规定。工作质量主要依据直播观看数而定，会有一个专门的同事来计算。
	[您是否有相关团队/助手辅助工作？具体是哪些方面？谁可以决定您的团队设置？] 没有团队，我自己都可以搞定。
[收入情况]	[您的主要收入来源是什么？如果您有不同的收入形式，是否可以详细说明？] What is your main source of income? If you have different forms of income, what are they? 因为签约了 MCN 公司，我的收入会依据每月考核的结果，按照公司的薪资制度进行计算。一般来说，只要完成规定的直播时长，就可以拿到基本工资（大约 4500 元）。提成根据直播间收到的礼物金额计算，表现好的话工资可以上万，但也会非常辛苦。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.2*) Since I signed the contract with MCN company, my income is calculated according to the monthly assessment and the company's salary system. As long as you complete the stipulated live streaming time, you can get a basic salary (about 4,500 yuan, ≈495 pounds). The commission is calculated based on the value of gifts received. Sometimes I can earn more than 10,000 yuan (≈1100 pounds) a month for good performance, but it would make me very tired.
	[您有自己的品牌/产品/网店吗？如果有，您是如何开始运营自己的品牌的？] 没有这个打算。

	[根据 MCN 公司和您签订的协议，平均一个推广活动可以获得多少百分比的收入？能举个具体的例子吗？] 因为游戏直播对应的推广比较少，暂时没有签这方面的协议。
	[您方便透露，平均每月的收入状况如何？] 一般在 8000-15000 元，表现好的话公司会额外发奖金。
	[您认为目前推广项目中，您与公司的收益分成是否公平？为什么？] 因为没有签推广协议，所以暂时没有这方面的评判。
[心理变化]	[您认为这份工作对您最大的影响是什么？您是如何适应这些变化的？] 最大的影响是拯救了当时待业在家、准备啃老的我吧，给了我一个工作的机会，也让我能够向家人证明自己。
	[您的家人或朋友是如何看待您这份工作的？] 一开始不太接受，也有些担心我的身体和作息。现在已经慢慢接受了，也会让我多注意休息。
[性别问题]	[作为一名女性/男性，您认为自己在这个行业中有哪些劣势或优势？如果有，在哪些方面？能否举例说明？] 游戏主播这一行，我觉得女性反而更具优势，因为男主播在游戏圈太常见了。女性主播可以发挥自己声音、样貌的优势，我觉得都是男性无法比拟的。
	[您认为这一行业是否存在某些刻板印象？能否举例说明？例如：审美标准] 刻板印象会有吧。比如打游戏都是不学无术的无业游民，成绩不好才去做主播之类的。但实际上电竞已经成为了一种体育竞技赛事，甚至可以当世界冠军。 [您认为这些刻板印象为什么会存在？它们是否会对网红/粉丝产生影响？]

| | 主要还是大家对这一行的偏见，过于根深蒂固，导致小主播/普通博主的生存现状堪忧，容易受到不客观的对待。 |

3. Fans

Question Classification	Interview Questions
Introductory Questions [基本问题]	How long have you been active on social media platforms? [您成为粉丝多久了？]
	What social media platforms are you primarily active on? [您主要活跃在哪些平台？]
	Who is the Internet celebrity that you are most fond of? When did you start to become a fan of him or her? And why? [您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？]
	What do you particularly like about this Internet celebrity? [您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？]
Role Models [榜样效应]	Are some Internet celebrities something like role models for you? Why and in what respects? [有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？]
	Do you think some fans aspire to also become Internet celebrities? If so, why and what do these fans then do to try to become Internet celebrities themselves? Have you experienced or heard of concrete examples? [您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？]

	Do you think the hopes and dreams of such fans to become famous can mostly be realised or not? Why respectively why not? Have you heard of any concrete examples? [您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？]
Industry Impacts [行业影响]	Has being a fan of Internet celebrities changed your life? In what respects? Can you give me an example? [成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？]
	We know from academic studies and news reports that some people think that Internet celebrities do not always look like everyday people but look and behave in a special way. Do you agree or rather not? Why respectively why not? [我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？]
	Some even think that this industry reinforces prejudices of how young people should ideally look like and behave. Do you think that this industry can have any negative effects on the lives of fans? If so, in what respects? Have you heard of concrete examples? [一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]
	There have been stories about Internet celebrities and Internet fans who have suffered from eating disorders and mental health problems. Have you heard about such stories too and can you talk more about it?

	[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？]
	Have there been such cases that you directly experienced yourself? If so, can you tell me more about it?
	[您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？]
Commodification [商品化]	Have you ever spent money for an Internet celebrity (virtual gifts, event tickets, etc.)? Can you talk about it in detail? What do you think about fans paying for Internet celebrities?
	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？]
	Do you think that some fans spend lots of their money or too much money on Internet celebrities? If so, why do you think that's the case? Do you think this can have negative consequences? If yes, which ones? Have you heard of any particular cases you can talk about?
	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]
	Many Internet celebrities are paid for by companies to promote certain products. From your experience, is it always clear whether a certain video, image, text or other posting contains an advertisement or not? Can you give or show me certain examples?
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？]

	I will now show you a video by Chinese food blogger Ms Yeah. [下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* What's your first impression and opinion of this video? Do you think there is some form of advertising in it or not? [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] Ms Yeah was paid by company SVW for doing this video and it contains hidden ads for the product New Lavida that is produced and sold by company SVW. What do you think about this fact? [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] How do you feel about cases where a posting is an advertisement for which the Internet celebrity is paid for by a company for advertising products and this is not transparent to fans like you? [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？]
	Do you think that such advertisements should always be labelled or not? And if yes, how should such labelling look like? [您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？]
Fan Activities [粉丝活动]	What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day? [您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？]

	There are stories of fans who spend quite a lot of time per week on fan activities. Why do you think that is the case? Do you think there can be negative consequences on these fans' lives and health? If so, in what respects? [根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？]
	Do you sometimes feel that you spend too much time on these activities? If so, why? If not, why not? Do you sometimes feel it would be better to spend your time differently? If so, why? If not, why not? [您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？]
	Overall, would you say being a fan of Internet celebrities has had more positive than negative consequences on your life or more negative than positive consequences? Or something different? Can you give me some examples of how your life has changed? [总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？]

3.1. Fans from Social Media Platforms

3.1.1. Anonymous Fans, 2020, November 12

Question Classification	Interview Questions

	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 已经三年了
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 豆瓣，YouTube
[基本问题]	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] Who is the Internet celebrity that you are most fond of? When did you start to become a fan of him or her? And why? **Ahalolo，eric 长安万年** 我很喜欢刑侦、犯罪题材，因此各个领域我都会关注。在浏览社交媒体网站的时候，我关注了一些"宝藏"博主，也加入了一些粉丝群。群里的粉丝有一些是司法体制内的，会讲述一些内幕故事；一些是刑侦领域专家，会和其他粉丝分享探案技巧。加入粉丝群不仅满足了我的兴趣点，还能学到很多干货知识，这让我觉得即便是娱乐也很有意义。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1*) I like the subject of criminal investigation and crime very much, so I pay close attention to all fields of this type. Scrolling through social media platforms, I have found some 'treasure bloggers' and joined some fan groups. Some of the group members are in the judicial system and tell inside stories; Some are experts in the field of criminal investigation and share their tips with other fans. Joining the fan group not only satisfies my interests but also gives me a lot of skills and knowledge, which makes me feel that even entertainment is meaningful.
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？]

	比较真实和接地气的一面，幽默感，还有具有过硬的专业知识。
	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] 有，比如在一些学习类博主身上可以学习怎样去提高自己学习的效率，在语言类博主身上可以让自己学会更地道地用外语去表达。
[榜样效应]	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？] 一定有。首先我觉得还是要做自己，因为靠模仿是不会长远的，还是要靠个人的一些魅力，要有趣，如果具有过硬的某一领域的专业知识储备是更好的，因为现在就是内容输出的时代，最好做一些有创意的东西。还要有比较成熟的剪辑技巧和比较好的收音装备吧，因为观众还是比较喜欢看制作精良的视频吧，不至于自己看得很累。 听说的案例就是身边一些谁谁的朋友做了抖音主播，买了房子。
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] 不能，因为我们所能看到的那些做得比较好的网红/博主都是行业里的顶尖，还有很多都被淹没了或者从来没有浮出过水面。 有听说过粉丝和网红成了朋友后来也成为网红/博主的。
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] Has being a fan of Internet celebrities changed your life? In what respects? Can you give me an example?

为了获取更多资讯，我加入了粉丝群。粉丝群的群主制定了很多配合粉丝活动的群规要求，比如每天在定时在群内打卡，去博主的评论区固定留言等。一开始我很不适应，每天还要抽时间参加活动，但习惯之后倒是变成每天的一项固定娱乐。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.2*) To get more information about Internet celebrities, I joined the fan group. The group manager has made a lot of requirements to cooperate with fans activities, such as reporting in the group at a regular time every day, leaving comments on the specified content and so on. At first, it was hard for me to find time for activities every day, but as I got used to it, it became a regular part of my day.

[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？]

We know from academic studies and news reports that some people think that Internet celebrities do not always look like everyday people but look and behave in a special way. Do you agree or rather not? Why respectively why not?

某种意义上是的。网红之所以能在普通人中脱颖而出，一定有他的独特之处。而粉丝关注他们，正是因为这些网红能够满足他们的幻想、弥补自身的不足。这是一种互补的关系，网红靠粉丝获得关注，粉丝因网红实现内心满足。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) Internet celebrities must have something unique that makes them stand out from ordinary people, and fans follow them precisely because these Internet celebrities can satisfy their fantasies and make up for their own deficiencies. This is a complementary relationship, with Internet

celebrities relying on their fans for attention, and fans achieving inner satisfaction because of Internet celebrities.

[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]

会有负面影响，比如一些美妆或者时尚类博主会精修自己照片或者去整形，这会在社会上形成一定程度的外貌焦虑吧。包括一些喜欢 po 奢侈品的博主，可能会让一些还在上学的年轻人觉得自己也必须去拥有这些，在社会上也会形成鼓吹过度消费的风气。

案例是听说有些在校的学生为了去买和一些博主一样的奢侈产品花呗欠债还不起。

[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？]

听说过。我认为作为网红是要承受住一定的压力的，因为总会有很多不喜欢你的人在评论里侮辱你，久而久之，心理上可能会有抑郁倾向。包括作为网红其实劳动的强度也比较大吧，需要前期写稿，录制视频，剪辑视频的工作，要保证上新的速度和质量。这一切可能会导致心理和生理上的健康问题。

[您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？]

有，可能是来自社交媒体焦虑吧，因为网红展示的生活都是比较舒适的安逸的美好的，自己有时候可能会有一瞬间的负面的想法觉得凭什么他们可以过得那么舒服。

[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票、商品购买等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？] Have you ever spent money for an Internet celebrity (virtual gifts, event tickets, etc.)? Can you talk about it in detail? What do you think about fans paying for Internet celebrities? 我认为粉丝为网红花钱是两厢情愿的事情。网红到某一个阶段是必然会商品化的，如果产品质量过关，粉丝有经济能力并且买得开心，我觉得就无可厚非。有时网红推荐的产品正好适合我，我也非常乐意购买，也算是一种对他们的支持吧。我不指责这个现象，只指责一些做烂产品只想割韭菜的行为。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1*) I think it's a consensual thing for fans to spend money on Internet celebrities. In China, the Internet celebrity industry is bound to be commoditized at a certain stage. If the product quality is up to standard and the fans have the financial ability, I think the normal consumption is beyond reproach. Sometimes the products recommend by Internet celebrities that are just right for me, I will be willing to buy them, which can be regarded as a kind of support […].
	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] 我认为粉丝不在网红上花钱，也会在明星，偶像上花钱，这对他们可能上升到了一种情感诉求吧。我认为如果粉丝有足够的经济能力，并且网红没有用乱七八糟的产品去糊弄粉丝，那这是个两厢情愿的事情。

	负面影响一定会存在，比如一些没有那么有道德意识的博主卖给粉丝一些三无产品，导致粉丝烂脸的事情。
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？] 大部分是的，但也有不清楚的。 比如油管视频信息栏不去说明通过链接购买会给自己带来佣金。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 有 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 不出所料 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？] 我认为他们不太坦诚和开诚布公吧
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 是，可以用比较幽默地方式来展现吧，比如开着金主爸爸的车去郊外吃海鲜大餐
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day? 我加入了粉丝群，每天会花 1-2 小时观看博主的微博和视频，也会去看底下的评论和留言。

	(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.3*) I have joined the fan group and spend 1-2 hours a day watching Sina Weibo and videos of Internet celebrities, as well as reading the comments below.
	[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？]
	There are stories of fans who spend quite a lot of time per week on fan activities. Why do you think that is the case? Do you think there can be negative consequences on these fans' lives and health? If so, in what respects?
	我认为由于人的社会性，人是群居动物，需要通过集体来寻求认同感，这也为社交恐惧的现代年轻人带来了一种与社会沟通的方式。然而，人的精力是有限的，如果花在虚拟世界的社交时间太多，势必会疏于现实生活中的一些人际交往。
	(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.3*) In my opinion, because of the social nature of human beings, it is necessary to seek the sense of identity through the collective, which also brings a way to communicate with the society for the modern young people with social phobia. However, human energy is limited, and if you spend too much time in the virtual world, you are bound to miss some of the interpersonal communication in real life.
	我认为花太多的时间在粉丝活动上是把自己局限在了一个窄小的世界，他们的虚拟社交圈子没有太多的多样性，不利于丰富自己的认知。

[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？]

没有，但有时候会看视频看得太久，导致我没有按计划去做一些原来想要做的事情。

[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？]

Overall, would you say being a fan of Internet celebrities has had more positive than negative consequences on your life or more negative than positive consequences? Or something different? Can you give me some examples of how your life has changed?

我认为是积极大于消极的。

在娱乐圈，同类型的网红之间竞争激烈，饭圈也是如此。为了得到社会认可、让更多的人看到，网红会在内容和创意上下足功夫，而粉丝为了维护群体的利益，会形成严格的制度和体系，规范每一位群成员的言行。加入粉丝群后，我有更多机会互动交流，但也多了一份责任，会更注重群体的社会发展，也会给自己更多正面的引导。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.2*) In the Internet celebrity industry, competition is fierce among Internet celebrities, as well as among fan groups. To gain social recognition and expand their popularity, Internet celebrities will make great efforts in content and creativity, while fans will formulate strict rules and systems to regulate the behaviour of each group member. After joining the fan group, I have more opportunities

to communicate but also a responsibility to promote the social development of the group.

3.1.2. Anonymous Fans, 2020, November 27

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 近两年开始成为粉丝，大概 2-3 年吧。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 新浪微博，微信公众号
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] 李子柒、薇娅、罗永浩、庞博、Papi 酱，都是近两年开始关注的。开始关注是想作为一种休闲娱乐方式，工作间隙的调剂。
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] What do you particularly like about this Internet celebrity? 我关注这些博主，是因为他们有观点、有态度，不仅向大众呈现了一种价值观，同时也传递了一种文化。他们和我一样，或许并不完美，却愿意真实地展现自己。有时针对一些重大社会事件，他们也会用自己的力量为民众发声，展现他们的社会责任感，这一点我很赞赏。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) I follow these Internet celebrities because they have opinions and attitudes that not only present a value to the public but also convey a cultural ethos. They may not be perfect, but they are willing to be true to themselves. Sometimes in the face of some major social

	issues, they will use their own power to speak up for the people and show their sense of social responsibility, which I really appreciate.
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] 暂时没有。在我看来榜样多指一种理想人格，通常能在某些方面自然流露出常人所不能及。而网红多是一些在网络空间的放大镜下被放大的普通人，刻意归训自身行为而营造出"榜样"的样态。
	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？] Do you think some fans aspire to also become Internet celebrities? If so, why and what do these fans then do to try to become Internet celebrities themselves? Have you experienced or heard of concrete examples? 当然。社交网络的商业化运作使得"网红"和"经济价值"划上了直接的等号，这让我周围很多年轻粉丝寄希望于成为网红后不用读书工作，就能一夜暴富。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.1*) The commercial operation of social networks makes 'Internet celebrities' and 'economic value' directly equal, which makes many young fans around me hope that they can become rich overnight without studying or working.
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] Do you think the hopes and dreams of such fans to become famous can mostly be realised or not? Why respectively why not? Have you heard of any concrete examples?

	不能。网红只是一定时期由关注度和影响力快速变现的一种职业，迎合了一定时期内互联网发展泛娱乐化的属性，但这种职业背后的利益分配比例显然是不合理的，它会逐渐随着社会分配及互联网的发展趋于合理。实际上，在现有环境下，很少有人能够长久地成名。所谓的"网红"可能只是短期迅速得到关注，但不久就无人问津。但青少年并不清楚这个道理。 *Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.1*) […] In the current environment, very few people can be famous all the time. So-called 'Internet celebrities' may only get quick attention for a short period, but they soon go unnoticed. However, these facts are not clear to teenagers.
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] Has being a fan of Internet celebrities changed your life? In what respects? Can you give me an example? 确实在一定程度上改变了许多。 成为粉丝之前，我的生活重心是工作和家庭。加入粉丝群后，我的价值观和荣誉感都与粉丝身份息息相关。粉丝成员遇到困难时，我会动用身边的人脉全力解决；粉丝活动举办顺利时，我也会由衷感到自豪和喜悦，这些都是融入群体前所没有感受到的。成为一名粉丝，让我感受到被接受、被认可，也被群体所需要。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.2*) Previously, work and family were the focus of my entire life. Since I joined the community, my values and self-esteem have all been associated with fan identity. When members of the group are facing difficulties, I will try my best to help them; When fan

activities end successfully, I also feel proud and honoured, which is unprecedented. Being a fan gives me the satisfaction of feeling accepted, validated, and even needed by the group.

[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？]

不同意。网红就是借助互联网使得某一方面被放大了的普通人。甚至有些网红的成名是十分偶然的。所以不建议直接将"网红"视为有影响力的公众人物，当然也并不否认他们可以通过自己的努力成为公众人物，毕竟网红也需要有职业上升的通道（笑）。

[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]

会。比如在人生观和价值观的选择上面，很多年轻人不能正确的看待网红这一身份和职业，会深受其强大的关注度和变现能力吸引，从而转而选择成为网红。为了追求和打造自身所谓的"爆点"而恶意极端化自身的某些行为。所谓的审美和行业刻板印象，更多是网红自身在商业资本的驱使下或者为了迎合受众的猎奇而刻意打造出来的"人设"，在某种程度上这种人设是脱离现实，同时脱离人物本身的。比如，最近爆出的丁真因吸烟而道歉。

[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？]

There have been stories about Internet celebrities and Internet fans who have suffered from eating disorders and mental

	health problems. Have you heard about such stories too and can you talk more about it?
	在我看来，此类问题的产生，更可能源于从最开始大众对于网红这一身份的认知存在问题。
	实际上，网红并非明星，他们的成名依附于某一特定的事件。然而很多粉丝会因过度沉迷，将网红这一身份"神化"，对其所作所为无论好坏都无条件支持。这些粉丝会将自我认知为忠实的"信徒"，响应网红的号召，最终可能因为信仰的崩塌而心理奔溃。
	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.2*) In fact, Internet celebrities are not stars, their fame is attached to a certain event. However, many fans will 'deify' the identity of Internet celebrities due to their over-indulgence and give their unconditional support to everything they do. These fans identify themselves as faithful 'believers' and respond to the calls of Internet celebrities but may end up with psychological problems due to the collapse of their faith.
	[您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？]
	暂时未经历，但是可以想象这在某种程度上导致很多网红、粉丝都深陷抑郁病症。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票、商品购买等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？]
	曾经购买过网红推荐的零食，抱着试一试的心态，就购买了一些。我觉得粉丝为网红花钱的行为也是一种变相的支持和应援吧，通过实际的消费行动来表达对网红的支持。

[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]

Do you think that some fans spend lots of their money or too much money on Internet celebrities? If so, why do you think that's the case? Do you think this can have negative consequences? If yes, which ones? Have you heard of any particular cases you can talk about?

确实有这样的情况。

在中国的社交媒体平台，网红发布的内容都和消费、购物绑定在了一起。有的是隐藏在文字中的产品链接，有的是配合图片发布的产品推荐，如果不仔细辨别，粉丝很难区分广告和创意内容。这样的后果是，粉丝会在不知不觉中被引导进行消费，而网红却不用为此负责任，产品的质量却很难得到保障。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1*) On China's social media platforms, the content posted by Internet celebrities is closely tied to the consumption of fans. Some are commodity links hidden in the texts, some are product recommendations published with pictures, if not carefully discernable, fans can hardly distinguish between advertising and creative content. As a result, fans will be unwittingly guided to consume, while Internet celebrities will not take any responsibility, which makes it difficult to guarantee the quality of products.

[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？]

	并非都能清楚的展示，但显然能够清楚展示的更能带动粉丝的购买力。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 有，汽车广告。 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 可以接受。 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？] 至少在本视频当中，作为受众如果我没有意识到片中内含汽车广告，那其实这种商业推广也就无法传达到我，所以软广需考虑边界的问题，软广的推广模式需以不影响受众观看内容为前提，否则自然而然就会在受众自由选择中丧失关注度。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 是，至少应该标注"推广"字样。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day? 每天下班后，我都会花 2 个小时左右的时间登录新浪微博，主要是查看我关注的一些 KOL 的每日更新，这基本上是我日常生活的一部分。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.3*) Every day after work, I would spend about 2 hours logging on to Sina Weibo, mainly

	to check the daily updates of some KOLs I follow, which is basically part of my daily life.
	[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？] 休息时间比较多，休闲娱乐方式单一。会带来不利影响，至少在日常社会交往和积累社会生活经验方面会有所欠缺。
	[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？] 暂时没有，觉得目前的规划还是比较合理的。
	[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？] Overall, would you say being a fan of Internet celebrities has had more positive than negative consequences on your life or more negative than positive consequences? Or something different? Can you give me some examples of how your life has changed? 总的来说，积极影响是大于消极影响的。事实上，成为粉丝丰富了我的日常生活和休闲娱乐方式，也让社交模式变得更加有趣。目前，我还是比较享受这样的生活方式的，也是一种与外界交流、让自己保持年轻活力的渠道吧。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.3*) In fact, being a fan has enriched my daily life and entertainment and made the social model more interesting. At present, I still enjoy this way of life.

| | It is also a way to communicate with the outside world and keep myself young and energetic. |

3.1.3. Anonymous Fans, 2020, December 15

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 2017 年开始，至今三年左右。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 新浪微博，小红书，Instagram
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] Who is the Internet celebrity that you are most fond of? When did you start to become a fan of him or her? And why? 主要关注美食博主，如**厨房历险记，夏厨陈二十**。 工作和学习之余，平时我喜欢在家做美食。后来机缘巧合，我加入了他们的粉丝群，和其他粉丝成员聊天就成了我的灵感来源。群里经常会交流博主分享的资讯，我会根据他们发布的食谱，每天学着做一些美食。有时一些粉丝会分享自己的探店总结，我会"种草"去跟风尝试。粉丝成员推荐的厨具产品，我也会鼎力支持。看着自己的厨艺越来越好，我也非常有成就感。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1*) "In my spare time, I like to cook food at home. By accident, I joined the fan group, and chatting with other fan members became my inspiration. Usually, I learn to cook every day based on the recipes they post. Sometimes, some fans will post their restaurant

	recommendations and I will try to follow suit. If there is a product recommended by other members, I will support it with my own actions. My cooking is improving every day, and I feel a sense of achievement.
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] 1. 性格直率不做作，比较自然接地气。不像其他网红一样高高端着架子； 2. 会分享生活中的一些感受，以及一些日常生活用品好用的小物件的推荐； 3. 推荐的产品都是亲身使用过的。不仅仅说优点，也会说缺点； 4. 教授如何使用，避免踩雷或者造成产品的浪费； 5. 每一次分享的内容质量都比较高，比较能让人放松心情。
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] 是。主要生活态度上。每个人都会有低落和不顺心的时候，但是他们都比较积极乐观。在面对不顺心的时候会有失落，但是能很快摆正心态，积极应对。
	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？] 我认为有些粉丝希望成为网红。这些粉丝应当找到自己擅长的点，从中找出将自己区别于其他人的特别之处，才能成功。目前没有经历或者听说过具体的类似的案例。
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] 我认为有的人能实现，有的人不能实现，并且不能实现的人占大多数。因为现在互联网发达，入行门槛低，大批网

	红显现出这个行业的红利，也很多人造成了这个行业不需要特别努力和辛苦地工作，就能成为网红，受商家和粉丝的追捧的错觉，也造成了大量的人涌入这个行业。从业人群多了，就很难找到与众不同的点，要从一群人里脱颖而出，并不是一件容易的事。
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] Has being a fan of Internet celebrities changed your life? In what respects? Can you give me an example? 在一定程度上改变了我的生活。 加入粉丝群后，我需要遵守群规，按时完成群任务，这是每一个粉丝的行为准则。比如每天都要去微博社区打卡，支持喜欢的博主。这些准则不是强制性的，但每位粉丝都会自觉完成。有时工作太忙，我甚至会设置闹钟提醒我自己。参与粉丝活动成了我每天的固定习惯。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.2*) After joining the fan group, I need to follow the rules of the group and complete the task on time, which is the code of conduct of every fan. For example, every day I go to the Weibo community to support my favourite Internet celebrities. These guidelines are not mandatory, but each fan will follow them voluntarily. Sometimes if I'm too busy at work, I even set an alarm clock to remind myself. It has become a routine for me to participate in fan activities every day.
	[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？] 我不同意这一点。我认为网红也是普通人，只不过她/他利用了网络的发达，抓住了现代人（粉丝）的兴趣点和喜

好，而成为了网红。并且他/她在这一个领域的成功，只能说明她/他擅长于他/她从事的这个行业，以及较为细心，能够洞察到流行趋势或是粉丝的喜好兴趣点。每个人都有自己擅长的领域，只不过网红将她/他擅长的东西展现在大众面前。

[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]

Some even think that this industry reinforces prejudices of how young people should ideally look like and behave. Do you think that this industry can have any negative effects on the lives of fans? If so, in what respects? Have you heard of concrete examples?

我认为这个行业会给部分粉丝的生活带来负面的影响。很多粉丝看到网络上外貌出众、身材苗条的网红，就会想去模仿他们的穿衣打扮、化妆造型。但实际上这些美丽的外表，大多是通过修图和整形来的。我听说有的粉丝因为外貌和身材而焦虑，有的去模仿整容却失败，更有甚者因为过度节食而抑郁、生病，造成了不可挽回的后果。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.1*) Many fans around me want to imitate Internet celebrities because they admire their good looks and slim bodies. But in fact, the beautiful appearance of Internet celebrities is mostly achieved through Photoshop and plastic surgery. I've heard that some fans become anxious about their appearance and body shape, some try to imitate plastic surgery but fail, and some even get depressed and ill because of

	excessive dieting, which finally leads to irreversible consequences.
	[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？] 我听过这样的报道。长期暴露在"聚光灯"下，给自己建立所谓的人设，会让人迷失，这是人的劣根性。长此以往，会对自己的认知存在偏差，并且在精神上会变得偏执，不允许自己"不完美"，长此以往，不仅自己会觉得生活很累，也会让亲朋好友觉得很累。 [您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？] 有时看到光鲜亮丽的网红，会产生自卑感，因为自己和网红博主之间存在差距，而会放大自己的缺点。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票、商品购买等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？] Have you ever spent money for an Internet celebrity (virtual gifts, event tickets, etc.)? Can you talk about it in detail? What do you think about fans paying for Internet celebrities? 我关注了几个博主，根据自己的需要在他们的淘宝店铺购买过商品。 我认为粉丝为网红花钱的行为属于正常现象。粉丝适当地为网红花钱是他们的个人选择。但是如果花钱超出了本身的能力范围，则属于病态行为。很多低年龄、教育程度不高的粉丝因为缺乏判断力受到网红的诱导，这是超出能力范围盲目消费的结果。

	(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.3*) I have followed several Internet celebrities and purchased goods from their Taobao stores. I think it is normal behaviour for fans to spend money on Internet celebrities. It is the fans' personal choice to spend money on Internet celebrities appropriately. But if fans spend more money than they can afford, it is a pathological behaviour. Many younger and less educated fans are induced by Internet celebrities due to lack of judgment, which is the result of blind consumption beyond their ability.
	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] 有些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱。这一定会带来负面影响。 我认为影响分为两个方面：对网红的影响及对粉丝影响。对网红的影响主要是让网红觉得不劳而获很容易。对粉丝的影响主要是影响到粉丝的日常生活，把情感寄托在一个在于自己身边现实生活的人身上。 我听说过新闻报道，有的粉丝为了和网红见面，辞去工作，抛弃家庭和孩子，结果并没有如愿，最终流落街头的新闻。应该是过度迷恋某一网红造成的情感迷失。
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？] 我认为在部分网红的推广中可以清楚地展现，这主要看这位网红日常分享风格。因为商品推广广告一般来说比较硬

	广，需要网红反复提及，并且不能说或者不能说太多的缺点。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 有广告。并且广告植入非常明显。 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 网红在积累一定数量的粉丝之后与品牌合作属于正常现象，并且合作的品牌越有名气，越是证明了这个网红有一定的影响力以及商业价值。 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？] 我认为这属于正常现象且无需向粉丝交代，只要网红的商业合作广告不要过多。并且在一般情况下，粉丝能够鉴别哪些属于广告，且有自己的判断是否购买。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 我认为可以考虑使用标签进行标注。这个标签要同时考虑到粉丝合作商，可以在分享内容前加小标题，标注"产品推广"、"好物推荐"等字样。在分享内容中，不仅按照品牌商的要求介绍产品，也分享自己的使用心得以及经验，让广告内容不那么硬，也可以调动粉丝的好奇心活购买欲。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day?

	粉丝活动的话，我每天会定时去新浪微博的粉丝社区打卡，看博主每日更新的图片和文字，大约每天在 1-2 个小时左右，就像陪伴家人一样平常。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) I regularly participate in the Sina Weibo fan community and click to watch the daily updates of Internet celebrities for about 1-2 hours every day, just like spending time with my family.
	[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？] There are stories of fans who spend quite a lot of time per week on fan activities. Why do you think that is the case? Do you think there can be negative consequences on these fans' lives and health? If so, in what respects? 我认为原因有两个方面： 1. 网红本身的性格魅力以及分享物品活资讯、干货有较高的实用性，提高了粉丝的忠诚度； 2. 粉丝单纯喜欢网红这个人，网红不论做什么说什么都能得到该类粉丝的支持。 我听说一些粉丝过度沉迷于粉丝活动，这在一定程度上会对粉丝的生活和健康带来影响。这主要体现在心理上的过度依赖，会影响到粉丝的正常社交和家庭生活。以及不分昼夜地参加粉丝活动，会对粉丝的身体造成负担。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) I heard that some fans are too addicted to fan activities, which will do harm to their life and health. Fans' excessive psychological dependence on Internet celebrities can affect their normal social and family life,

	and attending fan activities day and night can put a physical strain on them.
	[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？] 我觉得目前的状态挺好的，暂时不想改变现状。
	[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？] Overall, would you say being a fan of Internet celebrities has had more positive than negative consequences on your life or more negative than positive consequences? Or something different? Can you give me some examples of how your life has changed? 总体上积极是大于消极的。 成为一名粉丝后，我的身份发生了一系列的变化。在工作中，我是称职的员工；在生活中，我要尽到家人的责任；而在社群，我是遵守制度、全力应援的粉丝。为了不影响他人，我的粉丝活动和工作家庭都是分开的。娱乐和生活的界限让我能更好地处理各个领域的事项。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.2*) Becoming a fan has led to a series of changes in my personal identity. At work, I am a competent employee; At home, I do my duty as a family member; In the community, I am a fan of following the rules and supporting with all my strength. To prevent negative effects, I keep fan activities separate from my work and family. The boundaries between entertainment and life have allowed me to handle all areas better.

	此外，所关注的网红所分享的内容都是自己感兴趣的内容，在一定程度上可以放松心情，同时也能在某些分享中获取一定的知识。

3.1.4. Anonymous Fans, 2021, August 19

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 从 2014 年开始成为粉丝，差不多 7 年了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 新浪微博，百度贴吧，豆瓣
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] 关注的比较多的一个是**谢安然**，刷 lolita 小裙子的资讯；一个是著名网黄**猫日**，是一个宠物博主，家里养了五只流浪猫，下班之后刷超级治愈，类似的还有宝榛的动物园；还有一个**李乌鸦爱学习**，每周发读书信息，可以获得一些好书的书单。
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] 最喜欢还是他们的真实吧。 他们在社交平台上发布的内容看得出来都是真材实料、发自内心的。看他们的文字、图片，可以从中获得实际想看的资讯，没有误导粉丝的内容，让人可以放心地接收这些信息。
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] Are some Internet celebrities something like role models for you? Why and in what respects?

有些可以称得上是榜样，他们有很多闪闪发光的特质。

在学习方面，我的自控力比较差，因此会关注一些学习类的博主（例如李乌鸦爱学习），并加入了他们的读书群。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1*) In terms of study, due to my poor self-control ability, I paid attention to some learning bloggers and joined their reading groups.

他每天都可以坚持打卡读书，并且有自己的思考。相比之下，我就差远了，做不到每天读书、独立思考，这一点让我很敬佩。此外，他们的语言表达能力非常出色，从不怯场，这也是我非常向往的优秀品质。

[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？]

Do you think some fans aspire to also become Internet celebrities? If so, why and what do these fans then do to try to become Internet celebrities themselves? Have you experienced or heard of concrete examples?

有。比如我刷 lolita 小裙子，就有很多买家也喜欢把试穿图往网上放，并且@大 V 转发，这就是一种希望成名的方式。

身边的话，我家亲戚里有在做网红的妹妹，她把这个当职业，收入比我还高。一开始她也是某网红的粉丝，后来因为羡慕网红的生活方式、收入水平而进入了这一行。

我是不喜欢这样的风气的。网红产业门槛太低，没有学历和身份职业的限制，导致很多未受过良好教育的未成年人误入歧途。很多粉丝会模仿网红的行为，尤其是是一些女孩子，误以为穿着暴露、言语露骨就会受到关注，从而做出一些出格的行为，却最终会害了他们的一生。

	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.1*) […] In the Internet celebrity industry, there are no barriers to entry, and no restrictions on academic qualifications or professional status, which leads many poorly educated teenagers astray. Many fans will imitate the behaviour of Internet celebrities, especially some young girls, who mistakenly believe that revealing clothes and words will be noticed, so they do some outrageous behaviour, but ultimately affect their lives.
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] 不能。首先我觉得网红背后都有推手，哪有那么容易红？其次大部分网红都是因为突发事件、或者偶然的契机一下子获得社会的关注，从而成为网红的。在我看来，并不是人人都有这样的运气和机会可以"一战成名"，大部分普通人都很难成功。
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] 一定程度上是的。 成为粉丝后，我的生活方式、情绪表达都发生了变化，会因为喜欢博主的经历而展现喜怒哀乐。当然我不会像一些无脑粉丝一样不分昼夜、不辨黑白，甚至为了打压对家成为"黑粉"。我会有自己的判断，会根据自己的生活水平和消费能力，力所能及地投入到粉丝活动中。
	[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？] 事实上应该是有的，不过我不会去关注。 我属于坚信"职业常识应该和社会常识一致"的那类人，异于常人的行为——如果只是特别优秀，或者有特殊的才

能，我觉得这是可以接受的；但如果是通过一些无底线的行为博人眼球、哗众取宠，我认为就是拉低了整个行业的下限，成为公众眼中的小丑。

[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]

网红行业确实会给年轻粉丝带来一些负面影响。

现在中国的网红市场，大部分是资本推动下有包装、有公司、有团队的网红。他们的成名套路大同小异，比如靠颜值、靠才艺，或者靠引起社会反响的言语和行为。他们向年轻人传递了一个错误的信号：只要签约公司，在镜头前说说话、唱唱歌，就可以轻松赚钱。

在这样的误导下，很多年轻粉丝纷纷投入网红产业，妄图不劳而获一举成名。然而，在这个消费经济的年代，没有特殊的才能，就不能长久地拥有关注。三年五年后，很多网红已"过气"到无人问津，他们因为长期脱离社会而丧失了靠劳动获取报酬的基本能力，无法再回到正常的工作岗位上。

[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？]

确实听到过一些这样的报道。

现在网络舆论太可怕了，网络上很多恶意是无端的，有太多的"键盘侠"对无辜的人发起攻击，从而让这些网红和粉丝陷入极端心理。

比如我知道 B 站有个 up 主，因为批评了一部挺火的动画，这部动画本来就有问题，但是他不仅指出了问题，还

	把动画的粉丝给一起骂了，结果引起观众群起而攻之，最后动画下架了，他自己也被骂退网了。 [您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？] 我以前也喜欢在网上发小说，但是后来全删掉了，因为会被一些无脑粉丝无端辱骂。后来我就再也不在网上发原创内容了，发也会匿名或者限朋友圈。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票、商品购买等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？] 我经常会购买一些产品和周边，观看演唱会、参与粉丝活动。我觉得这很正常，两厢情愿的事。网红满足自己的成名欲，粉丝实现自己的应援梦。只要量力而行，不影响自己的生活，不给身边的人带来困扰，我觉得就是无可厚非的。
	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] 还是那句话，不影响日常生活为前提，只要不让花钱成为一种负担，都是一种正常的行为。 当然我也听过一些粉丝为了引起网红的关注、或者为了得到网红的联系方式，而刷几百万虚拟礼物以至于负债累累。这些粉丝往往是年纪过小没有自我判断能力，或者过度沉迷网红产业而迷失自我，究其原因都是虚荣心作祟，希望通过消费行为证明自己。
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？] 大部分都可以清楚展示。

	比如我关注的有两个漫画博主，登登登和相生栗子，偶尔发产品推广就会把实际产品图片插在漫画里，还蛮有趣的。视频里的软广告植入比较不明显，但是也能看出来。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 有。 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 网红也要赚钱吃饭的，可以理解。 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？] 怕影响点击率吧。大部分视频形式的都是软广植入，提前说明大家就不会点击观看了，我觉得可以理解。但是如果能够提前在文案里说明，我会佩服他的坦诚。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 无所谓吧，我觉得网友基本的判断力还是应该有的。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day? 我属于"散粉"，什么粉丝活动都会参加。 加入了粉丝读书小组后，每天都会有小组成员提醒我参加活动。这些活动例如每天学习打卡、读书接龙等，需要把自己的心得体会发到群里，由专门的成员验收，被称为时"交作业"。有了这份督促，我学习也更有动力了。 每天大概花费 2 小时左右的时间在粉丝活动上。

	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1*) Due to my poor self-control ability, I paid attention to some learning bloggers and joined their reading groups. After joining the fan group, I was reminded to participate in fan activities every day. For example, daily study report, fan-tan reading, etc. We need to post our own learning experience to the fan group, which is called 'hand in homework'. With this supervision, I am more motivated to study
	[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？] 参加粉丝活动本质还是太喜欢某一个网红了，想为他/她做点事，我觉得是这个心态，甚至可能有把运营粉丝站、参加字幕组做成兼职、甚至本职的，我觉得都可以理解，是把兴趣当成了一种责任。 一些盲目粉到昼夜颠倒、荒废本职的粉丝，我觉得是他们本身心态的问题，一旦沉迷别的事情也会堕落的。这些人因为过度沉迷，经常会面临心理和生理的障碍，有些甚至出现了失眠、厌食的行为。
	[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？] 没有，我手机有屏幕使用时长限制的，这也可以侧面来约束我的行为，防止过度沉迷。 在那时不想改变现状，这样的生活挺好的。
	[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？]

	积极大于消极。
	我觉得这是一个个人选择的问题，每一个选择都有相对应的结果，成年人都需要对自己的选择负责。
	我选择的网红成为了我的榜样，我能从他/她身上学到很多东西，这就是有意义、有价值的。花钱花时间这种事，是自我约束力的问题。归根结底，不管是网红还是明星，都是离我们相距甚远的存在。只要我们有自我判断、自我约束，其实都影响不到我们的生活。

3.1.5. Anonymous Fans, 2021, September 7

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 2016 年至今，大约五年。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 新浪微博，小红书，知乎，豆瓣
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] **玲玲 peter 和四只猫、逆风笑** 逆风笑是我关注得较早的游戏 up 主，他做的视频题材比较与众不同，比起热门游戏更专注于一些有趣、独特、风格鲜明的独立游戏。他本人的解说风格风趣幽默，不烂俗很亲切。视频时长也把握得很好，适合碎片时间放松和笑一笑。 玲玲是今年才开始关注的，她作为一个农村基层女性，通过自身努力实现精神和经济上的独立，其经历已经足够励

	志和激励人心了。她持续在微博上输出的观点，很大程度给了我精神上的帮助。
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] 笑笑就是风趣幽默，审美独到；玲玲勇于发声，她在用她自己地力量影响当下女性的思想和生活。 这些博主吸引我的不仅仅是他们的内容，还有背后传递出来的精神力量，让我很受鼓舞。
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] 玲玲就是我的榜样。玲玲表达的核心思想始终是每个人需要为自己负责，把生活的希望寄托在任何人或物上都是不可取的。从前我情绪状态不是很稳定，面对生活会很悲观。通过她的观点，我对自己的生活和精神状态进行了反思，正在慢慢地跟自己和解。
	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？] 有，像网红一样光鲜亮丽是很多粉丝的目标，自然也有很多粉丝想成为网红。 在我看来最重要的是需要找到自己的定位，明确往哪个方面去发力，从自己喜欢的网红身上获得启发性，并且能够输出有自己独特风格的内容。 周围有朋友在做直播，听说收入还是很可观的，但同时也非常的累且辛苦，需要长时间在镜头前久坐，并且持续性地熬夜，对身体也会有损害。
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] 不能。在这个流量时代，网络上有太多优质博主了，想要成功必定要坚持很久，且要把握得住机会。

	身边有认识的朋友做过 ASMR 主播，也积累了不少的粉丝，但是现在没有什么发展，似乎还在倒退。从一个旁观者的角度来看，可能由于她的直播没有很明确的输出方向，缺乏个人特色。前期积累的粉丝流失了很多，没有把握好机会，因此渐渐就失去了人气。
	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] 一定程度上改变了很多。 因为本身患病的缘故，很长一段时间我都处于情绪低落的状态，生活也没有目标和动力。成为粉丝之后，我开始接受博主传达的、积极乐观的三观和态度。虽然这改变不了病痛，但可以缓解我焦躁的情绪，让我能认清自己，向更好的方向进步。
[行业影响]	[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？] 认同这个观点。 如果一个人能够脱颖而出成为网红，那他一定有过人之处。这些过人之处可能是才艺，也可能是行为和生活方式。当然也会有一些为了出名费尽心机的人，而这些人因为缺乏实力，大多无法长久占据公众视线就迅速销声匿迹。
	[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] Some even think that this industry reinforces prejudices of how young people should ideally look like and behave. Do you think that this industry can have any negative effects on the

	lives of fans? If so, in what respects? Have you heard of concrete examples? 当然会有负面影响。 当半藏森林因为丑闻火了起来，微博上到处都是和她风格相似的纯欲风写真。网红们的脸越来越相似，每个人仿佛都是一个流水线制造的产品，这影响了很多年轻人的审美。这些标准、完美的脸营造出了一种假象：互联网上，每个人都拥有超高的颜值。而事实是，现实中大部分人都是容貌平庸的普通人。这种差异性会让人产生容貌焦虑，进而变得自卑、不敢面对真实的自己。 (*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.1.3*) […] Internet celebrities' faces are increasingly similar to the products manufactured on an assembly line, and many young people's aesthetics are suffering as a result. These standard, perfect faces create the illusion that everyone on the Internet has a super-high level of appearance. But the truth is, most people in reality are average-looking. The gap between virtual and reality can easily lead to appearance anxiety, which makes people feel inferior and dare not face their real selves. 比如一些网红为了出名侮辱国家、国旗，走"黑红"路线。被封杀后，很多年轻粉丝就会抗议，认为这不算什么，显然是被误导了价值观。
	[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？] 听说过。任何一份工作都是伴随着辛劳的，何况网红这种自由职业，更需要付出努力和高度自律，还要面对公众的评论。

	我也听说过一些粉丝模仿网红，做出一些极端的行为，最后导致了抑郁症等心理疾病；也有过度沉迷网红而脱离社会，最终无法正常生活的。这些一方面可能因为网红行业的制度不够完善，另一方面粉丝没有得到正面的引导，自控力差而误入歧途。 [您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？] 没有这种情况。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票、商品购买等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？] 会购买，只要在限度内的，我都会支持一下。 比如最近我购买了玲玲出版的书《基层女性》，还是基于对其输出的内容的喜爱，我自认为算是理性消费。 在我看来，粉丝为网红花钱，只要在能够承受的范围内，不会影响到正常生活，自己开心就好。毕竟网红也是要工作和赚钱的，作为粉丝，支持一下也是应该的。
	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] 确实有这样的情况。 主要原因还是粉丝的虚荣心，想和网红拉近距离。 我听说有很多狂热粉丝，为网红无节制地购买其推荐的产品，只为了得到关注，而不在乎商品本身的价值。购买之后，很多产品还没有用就被丢掉了，这也是极大的浪费。
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？]

	就我接触到的来看都能清楚地展示。比方说笑笑接广告，文案、视频标题和简介都会和他别的内容有明显的差别。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 有的。 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 植入广告，现在越来越常见了。 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？] 分情况对待吧，如果输出内容本身就是和该产品相关的，比如说前几年游戏大 up 敖厂长闭眼尬吹某公认很早的游戏，当时就引起了广泛的恶评。 如果产品本身就不错，又不会和输出领域有太大关联，广告表现方式也有意思，那还是不错的。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 应该标注，现在很多软广 tag 都会用"恰饭"来代替。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day? 参加比较多的是会在喜欢博主的微博下面留言、浏览他们发布的文案、图片和视频，每天大约花费 2 个小时左右。 作为一个"铁粉"，能够通过自己的行动帮到博主，是非常令人激动且自豪的。有时博主在社交平台上和品牌方合作，会在粉丝群里号召大家点赞转发或者购买产品，来增

	加广告的曝光度。我们都会积极参与，贡献自己的一份力。
	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1*) As a 'stan', it is very proud to be able to help my favourite bloggers through personal actions. Sometimes when bloggers cooperate with brands on social platforms, they will call on fan groups to retweet, comment or buy products, to increase the exposure of advertisements. At this time, we will actively participate to show our efforts.
	[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？] 我认为主要原因是这些粉丝不够独立，没有自己的生活，兴趣爱好过分狭窄。除了把精神寄托在粉丝活动和网红身上以外，他们无事可做。这会导致他们精神空虚，更加沉湎于此。
	[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？] Do you sometimes feel that you spend too much time on these activities? If so, why? If not, why not? Do you sometimes feel it would be better to spend your time differently? If so, why? If not, why not? 没有，我觉得自己还是非常理性的，可以分清娱乐、工作和生活。当然未来我也想做一些更有意义的事情，脱离粉丝的身份限制，在喜欢的领域多尝试一些发展。

	在我看来，只要正常地参与粉丝活动，不影响工作生活，都是无可厚非的，这并不属于免费劳动，是我们自愿进行的。
	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1*) In my opinion, it is reasonable to participate in fan activities normally without affecting work and life. Moreover, it is not free labour, but voluntary work of fans.
	[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？] 成为一名粉丝，总体来说积极是大于消极的。 之前我因为工作、家庭、健康的多重压力一度产生轻生的想法，那个时候就是通过玲玲的微博获得启发，慢慢调整和平静下来的。对于普通粉丝来说，网红可能只是日常生活的调剂，而对于我来说，这些博主的话语能给我重拾信心、乐观生活的勇气，也在一定程度上成为了我的精神支柱。我很感激他们，也感谢当时没有放弃的自己。

3.2. Fans from Short Video Sites

3.2.1. Anonymous Fans, 2020, October 12

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 已经有八年了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 优酷，哔哩哔哩

	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？]
	Who is the Internet celebrity that you are most fond of? When did you start to become a fan of him or her? And why?
	剑血封喉（2012 年）、苏星河牛通（2020 年 11 月）
	我的职业是一个视频剪辑师，日常工作中，我需要观看各种短视频，研究它们的配乐、字幕和特效。接触得多了，我就挖掘出了一些符合我审美品味的博主，并加入了他们的粉丝群。粉丝群经常会发布一些作品质量高超的视频，这些作品有时会给予我灵感，解决我工作上的难题；有时可以提升我的剪辑水平，让我在学习中进步，算是寓教于乐的一种方式吧。
	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1*) In my daily job as a video editor, I need to watch various short videos and study their music, subtitles, and special effects. Gradually, I've unearthed several Internet celebrities who fit my aesthetic taste and joined their fan groups. Members of the fan groups often post high-quality videos, which sometimes give me the inspiration to solve my work problems; Sometimes they can improve my editing level and make me progress in my study. For me, it's a way to learn with entertainment.
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] 文案有文采、配乐跟剪辑有讲究。
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] 剑血封喉 8 年的坚持、苏星河牛通的剪辑也不错的。
	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？]

	据我所知，剑血封喉最初也是一些游戏视频大 V 的粉丝，但是感觉他们的视频时间过长，当中的亮点却只有一两处，且这些游戏大 V 的文化水平参差不齐。导致他产生了自制游戏经典战役的想法。
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] 苏星河牛通只是做了半年，不是太好评价。还是说剑血封喉，他可能算是成名了吧。停更了半年后最近出了新的一期，弹幕和评论里还是有很多人在等他。但是这 8 年里，他也是平平淡淡的毕业工作，平平淡淡的结婚。
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] Has being a fan of Internet celebrities changed your life? In what respects? Can you give me an example? 成为一名粉丝后，我的生活发生了很大的改变。原本没有任何娱乐爱好的我，开始每天雷打不动等待博主的更新。有时遇到困难，我会找他们的视频来看缓解自己的压力。他们仿佛有魔力，虽然相隔千里，却能给我莫大的精神支持和鼓励。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) Becoming a fan of an Internet celebrity has changed my life a lot. In the past, I did not have any entertainment hobbies, now I start to wait for the updates every day. Sometimes when I encounter difficulties, I will find their videos to relieve my pressure. Their words seemed to have magic power. Although they are thousands of miles apart on the Internet, they give me great spiritual support and encouragement.

	[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？]
	在网络上毕竟也算是公众人物，因此在网络上不管是谨言慎行也好，偶像包袱沉重也好，倒是都可以理解。有些网红为了关注率，过分博人眼球，可以理解，但是让人难受，另外我也不会关注这类网红，好奇之余，拉黑取关。
	[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] Some even think that this industry reinforces prejudices of how young people should ideally look like and behave. Do you think that this industry can have any negative effects on the lives of fans? If so, in what respects? Have you heard of concrete examples? 确实一定程度上会影响审美吧，近期剪片子受苏星河牛通的风格影响挺多的。 其他负面影响，比如一些网红会在平台展示自己的奢侈生活，例如高档服饰、名牌包、豪宅等，这在无形中刺激了粉丝的消费欲。我听说一些青少年盗用家长的信用卡给网红打赏，也有一些学生因为沉迷于奢侈品而陷入借贷圈套，这些都是网红畸形的价值观给粉丝带来的消费误导。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.1*) Some Internet celebrities usually show their luxurious life on the platforms, such as high-end clothes, designer bags and mansions, which unconsciously stimulates fans' desire of consumption. I have heard that some teenagers embezzled their parents' credit cards to tip gifts to Internet celebrities, and some students fell into a

borrowing trap because they were addicted to luxuries. These are all examples of the distorted values of Internet celebrities that mislead their fans about consumption.

[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？]

There have been stories about Internet celebrities and Internet fans who have suffered from eating disorders and mental health problems. Have you heard about such stories too and can you talk more about it?

针对网红：网红产生心理健康问题的原因可能如出一辙：求关注度。没有心理问题的网红还坚持着自己的底线，有心理问题的网红就开始无下限了。

网红产生身体健康的原因取决于这个网红是面向哪方面的。美妆博主可能是因为整形失败，美食博主可能是因为食物中毒，旅行博主可能途中遇险，游戏博主可能被送去电疗。

针对粉丝：明星离现实生活太遥远，而网红恰好弥补了这一缺陷，能够拉近和粉丝之间的距离。然而一些年纪小或者心智尚未成熟的粉丝，会盲目模仿网红的行为和举措。他们将网红视为模范对象，并产生心理的依附感，比如模仿网红酒驾、吸毒等，这些都会影响粉丝身体和心理的健康。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.2*) Stars are too far away from real life, while Internet celebrities can make up for this defect and shorten the distance with fans. However, some young or immature fans will blindly imitate the behaviour and actions of Internet celebrities. Fans see Internet celebrities as role

	models and have a psychological attachment to them, such as imitating drunk driving and taking drugs, which may affect their physical and mental health. [您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？] 我虽然关注网红，但不会盲目从众，因此还没有出现过类似的问题。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？] Have you ever spent money for an Internet celebrity (virtual gifts, event tickets, etc.)? Can you talk about it in detail? What do you think about fans paying for Internet celebrities? 我喜欢看游戏视频，有时博主为了推荐品牌产品，就会在视频中植入广告，然后在评论区置顶留言产品的购买链接。为了响应号召，只要有需求，我都会支持一下。我认为消费行为还是和粉丝自身的经济状况相关，如果有经济实力我觉得正常消费都是可以的。 I love watching videos of games, and sometimes Internet celebrities will place advertisements in the videos, and then leave a link to buy the product at the top of the comments section. In response to the call of Internet celebrities, I will participate in the consumption whenever there is a demand. In my opinion, the consumption behaviour is related to the fans' own economic conditions. If they have the ability, I think normal consumption is acceptable.
	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] 《"熊孩子"给主播刷礼物 花掉家中 40 万元"救命钱"》

	我认为的负面影响就是费钱费时间。网红是一份工作，全职也好兼职也好，都是为了挣钱，钱从哪儿来？观众。看网红是下了班之后用自己下班的时间陪网红上班，不值。
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？] 之前购买过游戏博主推荐的一款食品，链接的二维码遮盖的是游戏界面的小地图，加上博主一二三期的推荐，我觉得展示的还是挺清楚的。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 是大众汽车吗？ 还是四川美食？但是如果没有说是广告或者没有说是美食博主，我应该看不出来。 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 可能会潜意识对受众有影响。但美食展示的部分太多了，让我一时都没有看出是一个汽车广告，反而被美食所吸引。 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？] 既然是软广，我认为也没有非交代不可的必要，我可以接受这种方式的软广，但不要欺骗消费者就行。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 像上面的软广就挺成功的，可以展示标签，但是不要太明显了，潜移默化的，展示的有技巧反而还会提升好感度。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？]

	每日下班后，会花 2 小时左右看关注博主的相关视频，这也是我每天解压放松的必修课了。
	[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？] 因为有的粉丝喜欢的就是网红这个人吧。个人爱好，不耽误生活、工作、学习，追求点自己的爱好没什么问题。有的人的爱好是人，有的人的爱好是物，就好像有的人花大量时间接触自己的偶像，有的人花大量时间接触自己的小提琴，很正常。
	[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？] 如上所述，我所参与的粉丝活动，主要也是茶余饭后、下班后的闲暇时间来进行，因此不觉得有消耗太多时间。 暂时不想改变，我觉得这是一种新时期下休闲娱乐的方式，只要不沉迷，我觉得无须改变现状。
	[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？] Overall, would you say being a fan of Internet celebrities has had more positive than negative consequences on your life or more negative than positive consequences? Or something different? Can you give me some examples of how your life has changed? 成为粉丝有积极也有消极的一面。 最开始我是为了学习视频剪辑的知识而成为的粉丝，粉丝群里有很多干货知识，给予了我很多帮助。时间久了，随

	着博主更新速度的加快，有时一些视频的质量有所下降，我就会在群内提出建议。然而，这一举动遭来了一些粉丝的攻击和谩骂，甚至发私信给我希望我退群。这一度让我感到失去了认同，觉得好意受到了误解。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.2*) In the beginning, I started as a fan to learn the skills of video editing, and the fan group really helped me a lot. Gradually, the quality of some videos deteriorated as the bloggers posted more frequently, so I made suggestions within the group. However, the act of giving advice was attacked and abused by some mindless fans, who even sent me private messages asking me to leave the group. I felt a loss of identity and a sense that good intentions were misunderstood.

3.2.2. Anonymous Fans, 2020, November 7

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 大概五年左右。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 抖音，哔哩哔哩
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] Who is the Internet celebrity that you are most fond of? When did you start to become a fan of him or her? And why? **木鱼水心，谷阿莫**

	我比较"宅"，不太愿意出门，因此我休闲娱乐的唯一方式就是在家追剧。从电视剧到电影，从综艺到情景剧，我都非常喜欢。为了搜集更多的看剧资源，我偶然间加入了一个影视粉丝小组。他们会推荐剧集，也会分析剧情，讲解影视剧非常有意思，也很有观点。现在看在小组里和其他粉丝追剧聊天已经成了我每天的必修课。
	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1*) I prefer to stay in the house rather than go out, so the only way for me to relax and enjoy myself is to watch TV series at home […]. To gather more resources, I joined a group of film fans by chance. In particular, these group members not only recommend the TV series but also analyse the content. Their interpretation of movies and TV dramas was very interesting, with prominent points, which immediately hit my heart. Now watching videos and chatting in the fan groups has become a part of my daily routine.
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] 应该是在他们所处的领域有独到的见解吧。比如影视和游戏，虽然是娱乐领域，但只要有专业度、有想法，一样能够吸引粉丝。
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] 木鱼水心吧，他一定程度上是我的目标。以前我一直以为看电视是一种不务正业的行为（至少在父母长辈眼里是这样），但是看了木鱼水心的视频，我发现居然有人能在影视剧中分析出这么多的剧情、涵义和人生哲理。他让我知道爱好不一定就只是消遣，只要你用心去做，有可能也能成为一份工作，甚至能给予别人启发。我也想成为这样的人。

	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？]
	Do you think some fans aspire to also become Internet celebrities? If so, why and what do these fans then do to try to become Internet celebrities themselves? Have you experienced or heard of concrete examples?
	肯定有。我听说一些青少年，因为羡慕网红的生活方式，很早就从学校辍学开始做主播或博主。但因为学历不高，这些人只能先从模仿做起，模仿网红的谈吐和打扮，但往往很难形成自己的风格，沦为抄袭的一份子。
	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.1*) I've heard of teenagers who dropped out of school early to become anchors or bloggers because they envied the lifestyles of Internet celebrities. However, due to the lack of education, these teenagers can only imitate the speech and dress of Internet celebrities at first, but it is often difficult for them to form their own styles and become part of plagiarism.
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？]
	Do you think the hopes and dreams of such fans to become famous can mostly be realised or not? Why respectively why not? Have you heard of any concrete examples?
	不一定能实现。因为成名的影响因素太多了，才华、颜值，甚至很大程度上看运气。如果没有外部的推广，或者一些特殊的事件，普通粉丝想要成为网红，我觉得是一件非常困难的事情。

	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.1*) […] In addition, if there is no external promotion or special events, I think it's very difficult for ordinary people to become Internet celebrities.
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] Has being a fan of Internet celebrities changed your life? In what respects? Can you give me an example? 一定程度上改变了我的生活。 我所在的粉丝群管理十分严格，其中有一条是需要遵守群主的规定进行"控评"，即粉丝们有组织、有纪律地在视频评论区发布相同的言论支持博主。遇到其他粉丝的恶意攻击，我们同样会统一战线、声援反击。似乎维护和支持，是我们与生俱来的责任，也让我多了一份责任感。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.2*) My fan community has a very strict management system, one of which is to follow the rules of the group leader to 'control the comments', that is, fans are organized and disciplined to post the same words in the video comment section in support of Internet celebrities they follow. When we find malicious slander from other fans, we also stand together and fight back. It seems to be our responsibility to maintain and support those we follow.
	[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？] 同意。网红之所以称为网红，肯定有过人之处。要么行为举止很特殊，要么有特殊的才华或者高超的颜值。并且，想要成为网红，就需要博得关注、获得流量，这些都是成名的关键。

	[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] 网红多样化的行为和态度，以及特立独行的价值观和生活方式，如果与社会价值观出现偏差，肯定会带来一些负面影响。例如一些网红吸毒或者酒驾，那么他们的粉丝有可能会对这些行为进行错误理解，也开始走向偏离的道路。网红的榜样效应有积极的，也有消极的，如果不进行规范，会对他们的粉丝造成不良引导。
	[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？] 我听说过很多网红有抑郁症。在一些报道中，网红如果犯错了，很容易遭受网暴，网友们会对其进行语言的谩骂和讨伐，而难以承受的网红，有些会选择退网，有些则会因为心理问题住院治疗。我甚至听说过网红因为受不了网暴自杀的，我认为出现这种情况，网友和粉丝应当负相关责任。 [您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？] 没有类似情况。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票、商品购买等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？] Have you ever spent money for an Internet celebrity (virtual gifts, event tickets, etc.)? Can you talk about it in detail? What do you think about fans paying for Internet celebrities?

购买过谷阿莫自制的凤梨酥，一开始是冲着他的影视解说去的，但是试吃了一下他的零食，也还不错。

我认为粉丝的商品购买行为主要源于网红的过度推销。像我还是个学生时，看到夸张的广告推销很容易心动，经不住诱惑"买买买"。后来进入职场，有了一定的收入，就会结合自身情况进行判断，选择真正需要的商品。可以说，随着年龄和资历的增长，我在消费上也更理性了。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.3*) I have bought homemade snacks recommended in videos by Internet celebrities.

I think fans' purchasing behaviour is mainly due to the over-promotion of Internet celebrities. Take me as an example. When I was a student, I was easily tempted by exaggerated admass and could not resist the temptation to consume. Later, when I began to work, I would make a judgment based on my situation and choose goods that were really needed. As I become more senior, I have become more rational in my consumption.

[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]

不认为。只要不涉及欺诈，或者未成年消费的问题。成年人做出的行为都是基于自己理性考量的判断，不能以偏概全。

当然我也听过一些未成年人趁父母不注意偷银行卡给网红打赏的新闻，但我觉得主要问题不在网红，在父母对孩子的管教问题上，因此不能将错误都怪罪于网红。

	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？]
	基本上可以清楚展示。以目前流行的网红带货为例，网红的卖点大多是自己的审美选择和变相担保，为了真实性，其展示大多以实际使用为主，其目的也是为了更清楚地展示商品。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 有广告。 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 可以理解，就是一般的商业合作。 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？] 从一般的商业道德和广告法律规制来讲，应当明确其广告本质，特别是针对未成年人等辨识能力较弱的人群来说，容易形成混淆。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 应当标注，植入片段标注"广告"字样。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day? 作为一个"铁粉"，线上线下的粉丝活动我都会参加。一般每天我会花 2-3 个小时看更新的视频，并会参与留言讨

论。如果有线下的粉丝见面会，我也会不远千里去，就像是去见一个老朋友。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) As a loyal fan, I participate in fan activities both online and offline. I usually spend 2-3 hours a day watching updated videos and commenting positively. If there is an offline fan meeting, I'll go no matter how far away, just like meeting an old friend.

[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？]

There are stories of fans who spend quite a lot of time per week on fan activities. Why do you think that is the case? Do you think there can be negative consequences on these fans' lives and health? If so, in what respects?

我认为对网红的过度沉迷，主要源自于粉丝的从众心理。在周围粉丝的带动下，很容易为了融入群体而做相似的事情。我认为只要在正常的行为要求之内，就不会造成负面影响。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) In my opinion, excessive addiction to Internet celebrities mainly stems from fans' conformity mentality. Driven by fans around them, it's easy for people to do similar things to fit in.

[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？]

不会。我觉得目前每天控制在一小时以内，是比较合理的，因此也不想改变现状，重新规划自己的生活。

| | [总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？]

Overall, would you say being a fan of Internet celebrities has had more positive than negative consequences on your life or more negative than positive consequences? Or something different? Can you give me some examples of how your life has changed?

积极大于消极吧。

从前我上网都是无目的性的，为了娱乐而娱乐。成为粉丝后，娱乐也成了一种有意义的事情。虽然现在的我们还是一个很小众的群体，外界对这一领域所知甚少。但我想通过粉丝们的努力，让小众的文化被更多人看到，从而获得社会认可，也让这个群体更有价值。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.2*) In the past, I used to surf the Internet for no purpose, just for recreation. After joining the fan group, entertainment has become a meaningful activity. Although we are still a small group, the out-groups know little about this field. But with the efforts of fans, we want this non-mainstream culture to be seen by more people, to gain social recognition and at the same time make this group more valuable.

举例的话，我观看影视评论的视频，一方面可以给我介绍一些我可能感兴趣的新剧，另一方面也给我潜移默化地补充了不少影视知识，我觉得还是一举两得的。 |

3.2.3. Anonymous Fans, 2020, December 27

Question Classification	Interview Questions

	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 差不多有四年多了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] YouTube，小红书
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] **脑洞乌托邦** 主要内容是一些全球各地的悬案或者各国的历史事件，成为她粉丝四年。喜欢她讲述的时间都会认真找资料，比较深入，但会以相对容易理解的方式和词汇讲述，适合我比喜欢看文字的人。 **Jeff & Inthira** 马来西亚的 youtuber，一对夫妻，内容有轻松搞笑的互相恶搞，有简单舒服的生活片段，有很多出于真心的帮助社会弱势群体的活动，成为他们的粉丝大概三年，喜欢他们的片段给人正能量。
[基本问题]	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] What do you particularly like about this Internet celebrity? 因为结婚了的缘故，我会额外关注一些夫妻、情侣档的网红，透过他们的日常丰富我自己的生活。他们更新的视频内容有生活片段、出游记录，也有为对方准备的惊喜、精心策划的礼物。他们并没有突出的财力和外貌，但从他们身上我可以看到普通夫妻幸福的模样，也让我有了用心经营生活的动力。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) Since I've got married, I will pay extra attention to some Internet celebrity couples and enrich myself through their daily lives. Their daily updates range from video clips of life and travel, to elaborate gifts and

	anniversary surprises. They do not have outstanding wealth and appearance, but I can see the happiness of ordinary couples from them, which also gives me the motivation to manage my life with heart.
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] Jeff & Inthira 中的 Inthria 吧，给人感觉很正面，而且从来不会因为困难就放弃，感觉是一个很努力的女孩。
	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？] 看到这么多素人能在平台上展示自己，甚至能红起来，肯定会有人想要成为网红。 我身边有一个朋友 Daisy，通过效仿其他博主，上传自己种草推荐的视频。一开始没有什么流量，后来逐渐被商家发现，签约了公司，现在已经是一个全职博主了。
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] 我觉得粉丝成名的梦想是可以实现的，每个人都会有自己的想法和才华。比如我的朋友 Daisy，就是靠自己的努力进入了网红博主圈，算是实现梦想了吧。
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] Has being a fan of Internet celebrities changed your life? In what respects? Can you give me an example? 改变了我的生活方式吧。我本身有一份收入尚可的稳定工作，因此加入粉丝社群后我就充当起了群主和管理员的身份。为了增强社群凝聚力，我会定期举办线上和线下的活

动，有时是应援活动，有时是粉丝集体出游。这些完全是
自愿的，和粉丝们在一起我会觉得很放松、很充实。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.2*) I have a stable job with a decent salary, so after joining the fan community, I acted as group manager and administrator.　To enhance the cohesion of the community, I regularly hold online and offline activities, group support activities or fans travel together. The work of organizing and managing is completely voluntary and being with the fans makes me feel relaxed and fulfilled.

[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于
常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？]
我不同意。让人觉得异于常人的，行为特别的网红都是借
用拍摄手法的做出特别的效果，更甚不顾生命危险做出出
格行为来吸引关注而已。因此我觉得真正的网红不应该是
异于常人，而应该是有自己特色、打造个人魅力的。

[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行
为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面
影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些
具体的案例吗？]
我觉得会有一些负面影响。

网红行业没有太多规范，可以说是全民皆可网红的时代。
不少人觉得成为网红能赚钱，为了吸引粉丝做出了不当行
为。这些行为都会给粉丝带来负面影响。

我听说过一些案例：很多人喜欢看吃播，为了吸引粉丝在
吃播圈突围而出，有一个日本吃播网红，在直播中活活噎
死。

	还有一个案例：一个 14 岁和 12 岁女孩，按照网红分享的易拉罐自制爆米花的方法，在模仿过程中酒精灯爆炸，导致烧伤。
	[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？] 我看新闻报道，一些粉丝因为给网红打赏挪用公款、倾家荡产的；也听说过一些粉丝沉迷于观看网红的视频/直播而与社会脱节，不肯踏入社会的。这些新闻时常能在电视中看到。 [您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？] 我没有亲身经历过。我觉得自己作为粉丝，还是比较理性的。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票、商品购买等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？] Have you ever spent money for an Internet celebrity (virtual gifts, event tickets, etc.)? Can you talk about it in detail? What do you think about fans paying for Internet celebrities? 我购买过一些网红推荐的产品，主要是一些生活用品和零食，因为他们金额不高又很实用。 我觉得为网红花钱很正常，就像追星的会送礼物或购买演唱会门票一样，都是市场化的必然结果。但现在不少人明明无法负担，却盲目为网红花钱，这种行为可能源自于社会身份认同感的缺失。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1*) I have bought some products recommended by Internet celebrities, mainly daily

necessities and snacks, because they are not high in amount and can be used for daily use.

I think it is normal to spend money on Internet celebrities, just like buying gifts or concert tickets for stars. This is the inevitable result of marketization. But now many people blindly spend money on Internet celebrities when they cannot afford it, which may be due to the lack of social identity.

[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]

Do you think that some fans spend lots of their money or too much money on Internet celebrities? If so, why do you think that's the case? Do you think this can have negative consequences? If yes, which ones? Have you heard of any particular cases you can talk about?

我身边有一些粉丝，每月为了支持自己的网红购买高昂的产品。也看到新闻报道中一些小学生、中学生盗用父母的银行卡给网红消费，最终导致倾家荡产。在我看来，网红推荐的产品很多都带有消费诱导，以情感维系鼓动粉丝购买。而当这些粉丝经过长时间的洗脑，很容将消费变成一种习惯。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1*) There are some fans around me who buy expensive products every month to support their Internet celebrities. According to news reports, some students even embezzle their parents' bank cards to spend money on Internet celebrities and end up losing all their money. In my opinion, many of the products recommended by Internet celebrities have consumption inducement. When fans have been

	brainwashed for a long time, it is easy to turn consumption into a habit.
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？ 不少网红推广的产品，都不会清楚说明产品的细节，只会强调产品的优势，属于避重就轻吧。一些负责任的网红会在视频、图像中标明广告的字样，但大部分网红都会作为软广引入，不会特别标出。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 十分明显的广告，视频中大部分展示车的性能，内饰和外观。特别看过他们之前的视频都能看出来这是广告。 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 多次出现车型号和品牌，连内饰影响效果都特意展示了。 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？] 软广我可以接受，但没有交代清楚的话，感觉自己被骗，毕竟很多粉丝对于网红出于对其作品有一定的信任而关注和观看。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 我认为应该是用标签标注。如：内含广告，xxx 公司赞助，xxx 公司合作等。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？]

	我在一个粉丝群里担任群主，不定时会举办线上和线下的粉丝活动，比如团建、集体应援等。每天大约花费 2 个小时左右吧。
	[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？] 个人认为原因可能是现实的社交活动比较少，对自己的外在没有自信，在网络世界可以隐藏自己的真实身份。粉丝是网红的衣食父母，花钱多的粉丝还会被点名赞赏，粉丝的内心得到满足，也会有自豪感。 长期的话粉丝会过于沉迷在网络虚拟世界，更加无法回归到现实社会的生活中，为人更加孤僻。对事物的看法等会越来越偏离现实社会。
	[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？] 没有花费过多时间，都是闲时看看是否有更新。因此暂时不想改变现状、重新规划自己的生活。
	[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？] Overall, would you say being a fan of Internet celebrities has had more positive than negative consequences on your life or more negative than positive consequences? Or something different? Can you give me some examples of how your life has changed? 作为粉丝来说，我的生活总体是积极正面的。

成为粉丝带我给我最大的改变，是群体与群体之间的界限更清晰了。加入粉丝群后，我有了每天固定的粉丝活动，专属的粉丝昵称，也有了爱好相同的伙伴。在这个群体，我可以真实地表达自己的想法，不用在意外界的评价。在新媒体时代，粉丝已不仅仅是一个群体的代称，而是一种文化的缔造者。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.2*) As for me, the biggest change since becoming a fan is that the boundaries between groups are much clearer. After joining the fan group, I have fixed daily fan activities, exclusive fan nicknames, and close friends with the same hobbies. In this group, I can express myself honestly without outside judgment. From my point of view, in the era of new media, fans are not just a group of people, but the creators of a culture.

3.2.4. Anonymous Fans, 2021, August 23

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 2018 年开始，大约 3 年左右。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 哔哩哔哩，抖音
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] 一些美食主播，比如**徐大骚**、**奔驰哥**等。 从 2018 年开始关注他们，觉得他们吃的很香、很下饭，尤其是他们都有比较典型的个人主题，很吸引人。

	比如徐大骚他都是自己做东西自己吃，看他吃东西以及和老婆儿子的互动，感觉很温馨。奔驰哥是韩国的吃播，大量的韩国美食，让人看了很有食欲，他的嘴很大，每次都喜欢塞很多，这是让我感到很惊奇的。每次看他们吃东西，我的心情就会变的很好，尤其是在晚上睡觉前看，幸福感加倍。
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] 丰富的内容以及有趣的表达，在 B 站看的话，他们的弹幕也是我喜欢看的原因之一。网红自己的表现和话语很有趣，同时那些粉丝在弹幕里提到的梗、开的玩笑，我感觉更有意思，所以在看视频的时候，一部分时间是专门盯着弹幕的，看他们又发现了什么有趣的点。
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] 只能算是一种娱乐消遣吧。 我觉得网红只是一种职业，通过拍视频、做直播，来展现自己的生活，仅此而已。榜样这个词还是更多的从一些现实生活中的成功人士那里提到，会更贴切一些。甚至有的时候，我觉得网红有些低俗因素在，没有很健康的三观，会给年轻人带来负面影响。
	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？] 确实是的。 很多粉丝可能会眼红网红快速且大量的收益，也可能是羡慕他们的关注度和效应。所以不少粉丝在看过作品后也会去自己做作品。 听说过一些知名网红在成名前也是某大 V 的粉丝，受到鼓动后自己投入到这一行业，最终做出一番事业。

	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] 可能性很小。在我看来，网红背后都有一套成熟的系统或者公司在运作，普通人不签公司做起来比较难。而且有了第一个吃螃蟹的人，后面几个模仿他们的，就很难有新的创业点，很难成大器。 像抖音，就是同质化的内容非常多，有段时间宠物博主非常火，涌现出一堆拍摄狗和猫的博主，也引起了很多粉丝的纷争，认为存在抄袭的问题。比如一位拍摄猫的博主，和一位拍摄狗的博主，由于配音语气相近，就曾引发粉丝之间的争执。
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] 改变了很多。尤其是成为粉丝后，让我花了很多时间在这些平台上，甚至每天只要一到空闲的时间，就会不自觉的打开这些软件进行消遣。并且，也会潜意识的在我脑海中留下一些广告的印记，并引导我去购买某些东西。这样的购买，我认识到是非常不理智的，因为并不是因为产品有多好，只是因为某个网红推荐了它，但却很难控制自己。比如，我有段时间经常刷到一款 unny 卸妆水的广告，在各大网红博主那里都在推，于是在他们的强烈推荐下，我也选择了购入，但通过使用我发现并不好用，是一次失败的购物。
	[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？] 不同意，我感觉大部分还是正常人，没有什么特别的地方。只是他们在网络世界当中，努力营造自己好像和其他

人不同，来吸引他人的眼球，但我觉得他们现实生活中还是普通人。

[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]

Some even think that this industry reinforces prejudices of how young people should ideally look like and behave. Do you think that this industry can have any negative effects on the lives of fans? If so, in what respects? Have you heard of concrete examples?

会带来负面影响，在年轻人的审美行为上尤为明显。毫不夸张地说，目前的网红行业充斥着畸形的审美。女生以"白、幼、瘦"为美，男生则涂脂抹粉，以"女性化"为荣。这种病态的审美意识形态对青少年价值观的形成造成了误导，他们一味的追求与网红同样的容貌和身材，却忽视了互联网的虚假性和诱导性。有时他们甚至会沉迷于过度减肥和整容，从而对生理和心理带来负面影响。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.1.3*) It is no exaggeration to say that the current Internet celebrity industry is riddled with unrealistic beauty ideals. Girls are considered to be 'pale, delicate and thin', while boys take pride in being 'sissy'. This pathological aesthetic ideology has misled the formation of teenagers' values. They blindly pursue the appearance and figure of Internet celebrities but ignore the falsity and inducement of the Internet. Sometimes they even indulge in excessive dieting and cosmetic surgery, which has negative effects on physical and mental health.

	[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？]
	有听说过，尤其是大胃王吃播，对身体造成很严重的伤害。他们为了博人眼球，会一次性吃进大量食物，事后再催吐，这会对食道造成严重损害。有一些更为过分，在镜头面前假吃，通过视频剪辑的方式，浪费粮食，营造出自己全吃完的假象。
	比如大胃王 mini，她确实因为吃播带来了一堆关注度，但同时粉丝也指出随着吃播的时间变长，她的脸色形态等变得越发不健康，甚至嘴上、手上出现了催吐的印记。
	[您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？]
	自己倒是没有经历过，因为我很清楚的知道，网络世界都是虚幻的，也没有在网红身上投入太多的感情和精力，更不会去效仿他们做一些事情。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？]
	我经常会因为网红推荐某一产品，而控制不住自己跟风购买。虽然清楚这些产品是营销效果，但本着支持的心态，也会不由自主地买很多。
	在我看来，粉丝对网红更多是一种追逐、崇拜的心态。粉丝为网红消费的行为，实际也是一种应援的方式。
	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]
	是的，有些粉丝因为过分喜欢网红，沉迷于不理性的消费，从而给家庭、生活带来负面影响。

	经常听说过一些年轻粉丝为了给网红打赏，偷盗父母的钱财，或者去做网贷、裸贷，甚至因为沉迷网红负债累累最终了结自己生命的。这些都是过度在网红产业消费造成的负面结果。
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？] 基本都能展示。 我看吃播比较多，一些广告他们会特地标明品牌。比如日本的吃播会在吃之前，特地感谢品牌商，说明今天要吃的是什么，这样很明显就是一个广告了。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 有 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 软广可以有，毕竟网红也是要生存的，他们消耗很多时间和精力去维系经营自己的账号，也是希望有朝一日能变现。 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？] 这是他们的自由，但是一定要在接广告之前明确产品是否可靠，不能单纯为了钱，而接一些三无产品，损害粉丝的利益。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 需要，应当在右下方带有文字说明，这是一个广告。

[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day? 我通常活跃在短视频平台，因此我的粉丝活动主要围绕着视频评论、弹幕进行，每天大约花费 1-2 个小时。 为了支持博主，我所在的粉丝群经常会组织集体应援，去视频底下评论相同的内容，或在弹幕区保持队形一致。有时为了更好地宣传，我会用自己的空余时间对博主以往的视频进行剪辑，并在社交平台进行二次传播。这些博主有时也会点赞我的作品，这让我觉得一切都值得。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1*) […] To support Internet celebrities, my fan group often organizes collective fan activities, such as posting the same content in the comment area or expressing support in the bullet screen section. Sometimes, to achieve a better publicity effect, I will use my spare time to re-edit the bloggers' previous videos and re-disseminate them on social platforms. These bloggers also retweet and comment on my work sometimes, which makes it all worth it.
	[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？] 原因是对虚拟生活的向往，以及想要和网红进行近距离的接触的意愿。 如果粉丝过度沉迷在粉丝活动，会对他们的生活带来严重的负面影响，比如过早辍学、哗众取宠。 我我认为不健康的粉丝活动是弊大于利的，体现在他们的思想被洗脑，不是通过努力劳动而是想要走捷径，通过跳

	舞、唱歌来赚快钱。这是非常危险的想法，很容易让年轻人误入歧途。
	[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？] Do you sometimes feel that you spend too much time on these activities? If so, why? If not, why not? Do you sometimes feel it would be better to spend your time differently? If so, why? If not, why not? 不会，目前的状态很舒服，成为粉丝也侧面丰富了我的生活。对于那些我参加的粉丝活动，并不会成为我的负担相反能够大大提升我内心的满足感。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1*) […] For those fan activities that I attend, it will not become a burden to me but can greatly enhance my inner satisfaction.
	[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？] 积极和消极各一半吧。 以我自己为例，成为粉丝让我的生活更加有趣，但也占据了我大部分空余的时间，将精力浪费在没有营养的消遣娱乐上。 对于有思想定力的成年人来说，成为一名粉丝是生活的调味剂。而对于思想还不够成熟的未成年人来说，粉丝活动会对他们人生观、价值观带来影响。在观看视频的时候，具有极强引导性的内容，真的会使一些定力不强、思想没有完全成熟的年轻人带来错误的示范，让他们去做一些不符合年龄、甚至不道德的事情。这是非常危险的。

3.2.5. Anonymous Fans, 2021, September 23

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 2018 年开始，三年左右吧。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 抖音，哔哩哔哩，小红书
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] **童姥-女孩别怕** 童姥是「女孩别怕」的创始人，她致力于分享女性安全内容。她分享的内容具有可信度，我从 2018 年开始就关注她了。 **林英聪** 林英聪是摄影博主。由于我个人喜欢摄影，而他分享的内容十分实用，从设备介绍、摄影技巧、摄影变现各个方面，他都分享了自己的经历。我是从 2019 年开始关注他的。
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] 我喜欢他们专业的态度。两位博主都采用视频的模式分享内容，而从视频的拍摄、剪辑手法来看，都十分流畅，客观性强。从内容上看，脚本严密紧凑，不说废话，并且分享的内容实用性强。
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] 有的。

以童姥为例，由于现在女权主义兴起，各种相关平台不免出现矫枉过正的现象。但她的内容总是能恰到好处的拿捏分寸，这显示了她对相关内容的专业性。而单纯输出专业内容并不够，她也会通过了解粉丝需求调整方式/方向。

[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？]

Do you think some fans aspire to also become Internet celebrities? If so, why and what do these fans then do to try to become Internet celebrities themselves? Have you experienced or heard of concrete examples?

肯定有的。

从网红产业获得的红利越多，就有越多粉丝想要成为网红。如果他们想要成为网红，需要对自己喜欢的博主的内容仔细研究，从节奏、内容、方式等了解别人的长处。并且自己制定好发布计划，严格执行。对已发出的内容时时复盘，调整方向。

然而，不是所有粉丝都有成名的机遇。一些粉丝想要向"榜样"不断靠近，却因为容貌和身材自卑，便转而进行节食、减肥，最终陷入了进食障碍、厌食症、抑郁等怪圈。网红展现在互联网上的光鲜亮丽，有时也会成为粉丝求而不得的"梦魇"。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.1*) The more dividends from the Internet celebrity industry, the more fans want to become Internet celebrities […]. However, not all fans have the chance to become famous. Some fans who want to follow their 'role models' but feel bad about their looks and bodies turn to diet and weight loss, eventually falling into eating disorders,

	anorexia, and depression. It can be said that the glamorous life of Internet celebrities on the online platforms can sometimes become a nightmare for fans.
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] 比较难实现吧。 粉丝成名的梦想实现难度大。由于国内外的网红市场基本处于饱和状态，要成名需要另辟蹊径，同时也需要过硬的内容输出。 我很少听说粉丝成名的故事，大部分是粉丝想要成名却最终失败的故事。因为成名的不可控因素太多了，想要成名，还要考虑天时地利人和，这些都是可遇不可求的。
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] 从某种程度上改变了我的生活。现在许多博主，即便没有找到自己的垂直领域，仅仅分享自己的生活。在我受挫的时候，偶尔发现他们与我有相同经历，通过他们的分享安慰自己，或者吸取教训。 同时，我也关注了一些知识博主。现在，获取知识的渠道越来越简单。即便是碎片化的知识，对我来说也是收获。
	[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？] 不同意。 我个人认为，对于网红来说，生活就是他们的素材。只有实实在在感受生活的人，才能制作出高质量、让粉丝有共鸣的内容。
	[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面

	影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]
	我不认为网红行业对审美行为形成刻板印象。
	互联网世界之大，无奇不有。从前在服装行业，许多人分享、贩卖小码或瘦身的服装，而近几年，以杨天真名下为首的大码女装也广受追捧。
	而网红行业是否会对粉丝生活带来负面影响，这点我是认同的。无论是国内外，在互联网兴起之后，群众的媒介素养是不够的，并不是所有人都能辨别网络信息真伪，所以存在粉丝受骗情况，
	第二，网红行业与短视频行业息息相关。碎片化的娱乐方式使粉丝懒于思考，占据自身太多时间，从而失去了个人的判断。
	[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？]
	听说过一些。
	比如一些粉丝会过度追求与网红保持步调一致，而超出能力限度外购买大量的奢侈品、享受高端服务；还有一些粉丝会为了追求网红的外貌而去过度节食、沉迷医美。
	在我看来，这些粉丝之所以会做出这样的行为，一方面是他们自我判断的缺失，另一方面网红的形象过于完美，粉丝也会形成落差，从而产生极端负面的情绪。
	[您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？]
	我自己没有经历过类似的情况。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？]
	会购买一些网红推荐的书籍、摄影器材等。

	为网红花钱，从一方面来说，是我们对尊重劳动力意识提升的体现。许多网红通过分享生活收到打赏，也是以「隐私」置换资源的方式，无可厚非。
	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] 并不清楚是否粉丝为网红花太多钱。 如果各平台制度规范化，保证为网红花钱的不是未成年人，并且平台信息透明化，那么为网红花钱并没有什么不好。而一旦用户受骗，那么平台与网红应该被共同追责。 这种情况会带来一定的负面影响。第一，用户可能受骗；第二，如今电子付费越来越方便，对于某些用户来说，不合理消费会增加。
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？] 基本都是通过比较隐晦的方式。 对于粉丝来说，当网红说出"为大家推荐 XXXX"时，便表明这是个广告。或者当一个视频中对某一产品的推荐占据非常大的篇幅时，广告就显而易见了。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 有，视频主要展现车的性能。 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 用比较有趣独特的方式，展现了车的性能。用户的接受度高。

	[您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？]
	网红与品牌合作时，应该先检查品牌产品的是否合格。同时，也应该标明这是这是合作推广的视频，让受众接受全面信息，再做判断。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？]
	应该标注。
	以小红书为例，推文下方会标明与某某品牌合作。视频和直播也应当如此。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？]
	What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day?
	我的粉丝活动主要以粉丝群为主。
	为了更好地学习摄影知识，我加入了林英聪的摄影小组。有时他会在群内分享最新的作品，有时只是跟粉丝们聊聊天。粉丝们相处也很融洽，经常组织集体出游采风，或在视频弹幕处应援。我很喜欢这种和博主、粉丝零距离的感觉，就像朋友、家人一样。
	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1*) To better learn photography knowledge, I joined the fan group. Sometimes the blogger shares his latest work with group members, and sometimes he just chats and exchanges ideas with us. Fans all get along well with each other, and we often organize group outings to take photos or organize support at the video barrage. I love the feeling of being close to my favourite blogger and fans, just like friends and family members.
	一般一天会花 2 个小时左右看群消息、参加粉丝活动。

	[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？]
	主要还是个人的选择吧。
	如果粉丝有钱有时间，我觉得就是个人的选择，愿意在网红上投入自己的时间精力；如果本身有更重要的事情，却沉迷于粉丝活动，这就是本末倒置，有可能会影响到正常的生活和健康。
	听说过有的粉丝因为沉迷于粉丝活动辍学、辞职的，这就是玩物丧志、大可不必了。
	[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？]
	有时候看视频会忘记了时间，一下子熬夜熬凌晨 2-3 点。
	我自己也有认识到熬夜对身体造成的伤害，正在慢慢调整。
	[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？]
	总的来说，积极是大于消极的。
	我关注许多知识博主，从职场干货到技能信息，这些内容从一定程度上帮助了我，为我提供便利。从这方面来说，成为一名粉丝让我在娱乐中不知不觉提升了个人能力，寓教于乐，是有益处的。

3.3. Fans from Live Streaming Platforms

3.3.1. Anonymous Fans, 2020, June 21

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 差不多六年
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 斗鱼 哔哩哔哩
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] Who is the Internet celebrity that you are most fond of? When did you start to become a fan of him or her? And why? **YYF** （斗鱼)）2014 年 - 至今 前 Dota2 职业选手 直播风格幽默，学习技术，弹幕幽默风趣，梗很多。 **密子君** （哔哩哔哩） 2019 年 - 至今 最初关注因为其大胃王，后续日更各种各类美食，视频内容风趣幽默，贴近生活。 **徐大 sao** (哔哩哔哩) 2020 年 - 至今 乡村风格+美食拍摄，内容淳朴亲民，相对当时视频内容相对其他较为新颖，突出。 对于一个游戏迷来说，看游戏直播是一天中最放松的时刻。不同于视频，直播给我更真实的感受，可以听主播聊家常，也可以在评论区和主播互动。每当主播开播时，我所在的粉丝群成员会准时出现在直播间，为主播维持秩序、活跃气氛。听比赛解说不仅给我减压，还让我学到了不少游戏技巧，一举两得。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1*) For a game fan, watching games live streaming is one of the most relaxing moments of the day. Different from the video, the live streaming

	gives me a more authentic feeling. Anchors can chat with fans about their daily lives, and fans can interact with anchors in the comments section. Whenever the live streaming begins, members of my fan group would show up at the show room on time to maintain order and enliven the atmosphere. Listening to the game commentary not only decompress but also help me learn some great skills.
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] 直播风格幽默，视频贴近生活，粉丝数量大从而导致的互动多（实时弹幕+评论留言）。
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] **YYF**（斗鱼）-曾获得 Dota2 全球比赛冠军 专注电子竞技技术水平提高，唯有不断努力和付出，才能取得回报。同时三观很正，时常给水友鸡汤及正能量。 **生活老沈**（哔哩哔哩）-国内跑外卖的普通群众。 夫妻两口子平日以是送外卖，偶然接触自媒体拍摄，并以日更保持更新。三观正及对生活的乐观态度。
	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？] 有很多。 一方面逐渐被网红影响且同化，希望提高知名度或者有更多粉丝进行互动；另一方面希望通过成为网红所获得的高收入来提高生活水平。 （各类自媒体 up 主自行进行生活日常记录，以 vlog 形式上传至各类平台，进行吸粉。）
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？]

	取决于该粉丝拍摄内容和平台推广力度有关。 粉丝想成为网红的难点在于如何提高其知名度+关注度，往往这是很难的，因为如今自媒体 up 主太多。往往普通的拍摄内容难以吸粉。
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] Has being a fan of Internet celebrities changed your life? In what respects? Can you give me an example? 从生活到消费，都改变了我的生活。 我所在的粉丝群只有"铁粉"才能进入，不仅有统一的群名，每位粉丝还有自己的专属昵称。每当主播开播时，粉丝们会提前在直播间做好准备，并在开播的第一时间留言、送礼物表达支持。当主播有品牌推广时，群主会带头购买产品，我们也会积极地向周围的亲朋好友推荐，算是尽自己的一份力吧。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.2*) The fan group I joined is only accessible to 'loyal fans'. Not only do we have a unified group name, but each fan also has a special nickname. When the anchor begins to do live streaming, fans will prepare in advance and show their support by leaving messages and tipping gifts at the first moment. When the anchor has a brand promotion, the group leader will lead by example and call on the fans to buy the products. We will also actively recommend to the surrounding relatives and friends to support them with practical actions.
	[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？] 因人而异。

作为直播网红，长时间呆在电脑或者手机前而减少与外人接触可能会对性格及心理产生一定影响。

当然网络暴力的存在也会对网红产生很大影响。

[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]

个人关注的直播网红基本都是三观正，正能量满的主播。

对生活的负面影响，可能在于会导致长时间花费在这方面从而减少了自身与外界的互动和接触。

[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？]

There have been stories about Internet celebrities and Internet fans who have suffered from eating disorders and mental health problems. Have you heard about such stories too and can you talk more about it?

以主播为职业的网红，会长时间待在电脑前进行直播，有时为了吸粉，半夜仍会持续进行高强度工作。我曾经为了看直播，连续一年熬夜到 3 点，结果身体也出现了问题。

还有一些粉丝，为了看直播耽误了学习和工作，甚至影响了和家庭生活，得不偿失。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.1*) Internet celebrities who are active on live streaming platforms usually stay in front of their computers for a long time, sometimes doing intense work at midnight to attract fans. I used to stay up until 3 o' clock for a year to watch live streaming, and finally my health suffered. Furthermore, some fans delayed their study and work, and even

	affected their family life to watch live streaming of Internet celebrities, which is not worth the cost. 还有一些心理问题是因网络言论不受监管导致粉丝对网红主播随意抨击产生的网络暴力，严重到有的主播从而患上了抑郁症。 [您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？] Dota2 世界比赛因地域原因，常有时差问题存在，作为网红主播 YYF 会通宵进行解说比赛，而部分粉丝也会选择通宵观看直播。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？] Have you ever spent money for an Internet celebrity (virtual gifts, event tickets, etc.)? Can you talk about it in detail? What do you think about fans paying for Internet celebrities? 我是游戏直播的"铁粉"，基本每一次直播我都会观看。有时为了表示支持，我会给主播打赏礼物，单个礼物价格从 10 元-500 元不等。在我看来，这是和主播增进感情、进行互动的一种方式，但一定要以个人经济能力为前提理性消费。只要在限度内，我觉得都无可厚非。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.3*) I'm a huge fan of computer game live streaming. Sometimes, as a show of support, I tip gifts to anchors, with individual gifts ranging in price from 10 yuan to 500 yuan (≈1.1-55 pounds). In my opinion, this is a beneficial way to enhance feelings and interact with anchors, but we must make rational consumption on the premise of personal economic ability. As long as it is within the limits, I think there is nothing wrong with it.

	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]
	别人打赏再多都与自己无关，并不会对自己有任何影响。
	曾有报道某位青少年会为吸引某些网红主播的关注从而过量消费存在质疑，资金来源都是父母存款并私自挪用。
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？]
	作为直播网红，所接广告通常以二维码形式或实品进行展示推销，并会附链接在评论区。
	如游戏广告推广就会附下载二维码在直播页面，美食广告就会在视频中进行实物展示。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示]
	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE
	[您认为这个视频里有广告吗？]
	有，应该是个汽车广告。
	[办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？]
	广告目的不明确，对新车没有任何介绍。
	[您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？]
	这种行为在我看来是一种欺骗粉丝的行为，如果视频含有广告，需要向粉丝交代清楚，让粉丝有客观的判断。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？]
	应该，不用全篇介绍。只需结尾附广告产品链接，有兴趣的自然会点进去看。

[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day? 我比较喜欢看直播，对于喜欢主播几乎是场场不落。每天下班后，我会花 2 小时左右观看直播，有时会打赏礼物、和主播互动，这成了我的固定习惯。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) I'm active on the live streaming platforms, and I watch almost every show of the anchors I like. Every day after work, I spend about 2 hours watching the live streaming, sometimes tipping gifts, and interacting with the anchors, which has become my regular habit.
	[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？] There are stories of fans who spend quite a lot of time per week on fan activities. Why do you think that is the case? Do you think there can be negative consequences on these fans' lives and health? If so, in what respects? 我认为对粉丝活动的过度投入可能源于心理的空虚以及对认同感的需要。长时间参与网络活动会导致脱离现实社会群体，同时也会带来身体健康的影响。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) I think the overcommitment to fan activities may stem from psychological emptiness and the need for recognition. In addition, spending too much time on the Internet can lead to isolation from real social groups, which can also have an impact on physical health.

	[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？] 闲暇时间，作为放松的一种，但需控制时间。 暂时没有改变计划，每个博主的短视频大概就几分钟，每日浏览下无需花很多时间。
	[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？] Overall, would you say being a fan of Internet celebrities has had more positive than negative consequences on your life or more negative than positive consequences? Or something different? Can you give me some examples of how your life has changed? 总的来说积极是大于消极的。 从前我不清楚自己的能力，也不了解自己在社会中所处的位置，很长一段时间一直很迷茫。成为粉丝后，我第一次有了群体的归属感，也认识到了自己虽然渺小，但仍旧有存在的意义，能为群体带来价值。这甚至影响了我看待世界的态度和价值观，我也变得更加乐观积极，敢于接受生活的挑战。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.2*) I was confused for a long time because I didn't know my value or my place in society. It was becoming a fan that gave me a sense of belonging to the group for the first time. I realize that although I am insignificant to the huge world, I still have the meaning of existence and can bring value to the group. This has even influenced my attitude

towards others, and I have become more optimistic to accept the challenges of life.

3.3.2. Anonymous Fans, 2020, September 28

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 差不多四年左右。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 虎牙，哔哩哔哩
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] Who is the Internet celebrity that you are most fond of? When did you start to become a fan of him or her? And why? **党妹**（B 站美妆博主） 女孩子都爱美，我也不例外。无奈我的化妆技术不够好，于是在搜索美妆直播的时候，我发现了一些非常有趣的主播，也认识了一群志同道合的粉丝朋友。在我加入的美妆小组里，不仅会分享一些实用的化妆技巧，还会聊日常生活，并在群主的指挥下支持应援喜爱的主播。虽然我们相隔很远，但是直播却把我们拉得很近，仿佛是网络另一头的知心朋友。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1*) All girls love beauty, and I am no exception. But my makeup skills are not good enough, so I've found some interesting anchors and got to know a group of like-minded fans while searching for beauty live streaming. In the fan group I joined, we would not only share

	practical makeup skills but also talk about daily life and support anchors under the direction of the group leader. Although we are far away from each other, live streaming brings us very close, just like bosom friends on the other side of the network.
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] 1. 长得好看（是发自内心的夸赞） 2. 化妆技术好（近两年真的进步很多，和她去上培训班有关，也有很多干货知识） 3. 积极上进（除了美妆，一直在学习新的东西，现在舞蹈水平也得到了粉丝的认可） 4. 对粉丝的态度好（非常宠粉） 5. 幽默可爱（看她的视频和直播会让人心情变好）
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] 比如党妹就可以说是我的榜样。 从 2017 年到现在，党妹上美妆课、形体课、主持课、舞蹈课，甚至学快板，她一点点的进步，视频质量越来越高，慢慢变成更好的人。我喜欢上进努力的女孩子，这就是我想成为的样子。
	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？] Do you think some fans aspire to also become Internet celebrities? If so, why and what do these fans then do to try to become Internet celebrities themselves? Have you experienced or heard of concrete examples? 当然有。现在网红的门槛很低，又没有年龄的限制，很多年轻人开始涌入直播平台，想通过一个视频、一场直播迅速出名，成为网红。

	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.1*) Nowadays, there is almost no threshold or age limit for the Internet celebrity industry, so many young people begin to flock to live streaming platforms, hoping to become Internet celebrities quickly through a video or a live streaming show.
	想要成名的话，这些粉丝首先需要关注成功的网红模式，并模仿学习、自我创新。我听说过一些博主身边的助理、粉丝经过几年的学习历练，成功转换角色成为网红的。不过这种情况也只是少数。
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？]
	Do you think the hopes and dreams of such fans to become famous can mostly be realised or not? Why respectively why not? Have you heard of any concrete examples?
	不是所有人的梦想都能实现。
	一个普通人想要成名，需要前期大量的调研/观察/设计，还需要团队的辅助，加上运气的加持，因此个人的成功率不会太高。如果是完全模仿也不可取，毕竟已经成功的网红不可复制。因此，除非是通过特殊事件爆红网络，普通人很难一跃成名。
	特别是青少年，一旦他们过早进入这一行业，很容易玩物丧志，由于没有判断力和控制力，他们容易被错误的价值观误导而走上歧途。
	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.1*) […] However, once teenagers enter the Internet celebrity industry too early, without judgment and control, they are easy to be misled by wrong values and go astray.

[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] Has being a fan of Internet celebrities changed your life? In what respects? Can you give me an example? 曾经遇到一些不公正的事情，我会尝试着自己发声。然而普通人的力量太弱小，根本没有人关注。成为粉丝后，我曾经私信主播寻求帮助，本以为没有回应，主播却积极地帮助了我，为我解决了难题。在我看来他们做到了我做不到的事情，还能通过自己的力量帮助他人，是非常了不起的。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) Once I experienced some injustice, I will try to speak up. But ordinary people are so weak that no one pays attention. After becoming a fan, I once sent a personal message to the anchor to ask for help. I thought there was no response, but the anchor helped me actively and solved my problem. It seems to me that they can do something that I cannot do, and they can help others through their own strength, which is very remarkable.
	[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？] 很难说，哗众取宠并不一定是贬义的，特别行为/审美的网红或许可以利用他的流量帮助普通人跳出固有的认知框架，但过度的、影响他人的行为不可取。
	[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]

有道理的，网红如果产业化、模式化痕迹过重，会将有限的审美选择摆在粉丝面前，从而过滤掉其他的审美可能性，让美变得单一。

我经常会看到新闻报道说，年轻人为了追求"网红脸"而过度整容，最终发生医疗事故。这也是刻板印象带来的负面影响。

[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？]

There have been stories about Internet celebrities and Internet fans who have suffered from eating disorders and mental health problems. Have you heard about such stories too and can you talk more about it?

直播平台的门槛很低，因此也会有很多"脑残粉"。这些粉丝将自己定义为"护卫军"，只要一听到反对的声音，就不分青红皂白去谩骂打压。我身边就有一些粉丝热衷于网络暴力，经常会去敌对的网红直播间掐架、互骂。在他们看来这种行为是维护自己网红的正义之举，实际上会给无辜的人带来伤害。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.2*) The threshold of live streaming platforms is not high, so there are many 'mindless fans', who define themselves as 'guardians' and abuse indiscriminately whenever they hear opposition. Some fans around me are addicted to cyberbullying, and they often curse each other in the rival live streaming rooms. They see it as an act of justice to defend the Internet celebrities they follow, but actually bring harm to innocent people.

[您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？]

	我自己没有经历过这种情况，只是通过新闻报道了解一些。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？] Have you ever spent money for an Internet celebrity (virtual gifts, event tickets, etc.)? Can you talk about it in detail? What do you think about fans paying for Internet celebrities? 为了近距离互动，我曾经去参加过粉丝见面会，购买了漫展的门票，也在直播时打赏过礼物。 我觉得粉丝为网红花钱是很正常的行为，也是一种应援的方式。付费参加粉丝活动，也是满足自己心理的一种过程。 (*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.3*) To interact closely with Internet celebrities, I once attended fan meetings, and tipped gifts to anchors while watching live streaming shows.
	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] Do you think that some fans spend lots of their money or too much money on Internet celebrities? If so, why do you think that's the case? Do you think this can have negative consequences? If yes, which ones? Have you heard of any particular cases you can talk about? 有的粉丝会过度消费，这肯定会带来一些负面影响。 我经常会看到新闻中，一些粉丝因为过度迷恋网红，而打赏了巨额礼物。最终因为没有得到预期的回应，而要求网红/平台退还消费金额。作为一个成年人，我认为粉丝消费与其他消费活动无异，都是为了满足正常的心理诉求。如

果出现了过度消费的行为，就应该考虑是否是自己的心智不够成熟。粉丝需要自己承担相应的后果。

(*Reference to Chapter 7, Section 7.3.3*) […] As an adult, I think fan consumption is not different from any other consumption, it's all about satisfying normal psychological demands. If there is excessive consumption, they should consider whether they are not mentally mature enough. Fans need to take the consequences themselves.

[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？]

有偿推广的情况，我觉得粉丝的反应都是很友好的，会在弹幕和评论中调侃"恰饭"，我是根据他们的反应判断的，就博主的反应和视频呈现我不是很能分得清。

[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示]

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE

[您认为这个视频里有广告吗？]

有广告。

[办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？]

就这个视频而言，个人感觉挺失败的，没有凸显出这款汽车作为"汽车"的品牌特色（做饭不是这款车有专门配有的功能，反而显得不太卫生而且危险）买车的人不会因此去买车，做饭的人也不会就这样对这个品牌感兴趣，不知道这广告针对的受众是谁。

[您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？]

	我是能接受软广的，前提是视频质量硬核、有趣，插广告即使生硬，只要符合视频讲故事的逻辑、不出戏就可以。只要视频质量好，全篇全由广告串联我也会点赞的，如果它能激起我的购买欲，我也觉得很好。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 应该使用标签。比如可以参考 b 站 up 主「路温 1900」的标注，在视频标题上用粉丝知道的格式注明。他在之前的视频最后几分钟跟粉丝明说怎么区分，我觉得还挺招好感的。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] 参加过粉丝见面会。与此同时，每天会定时上线，观看博主的直播和视频更新，时间在 1-2 个小时左右。
	[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？] 原因很多。比如： 1. 单纯想把自己埋身于无意义的事件当中。 2. 粉丝活动能给他们带来自我认可和爽度。 3. 想成为大粉，弥补日常生活的遗憾和不顺心。 如果过度沉迷，肯定会有负面影响。比如浪费过多的时间/经历/金钱，以及对自己真正的日常生活感到消极和越发的不顺心。
	[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？]

没有。因为即使不在粉丝活动上花时间，我也会在别的娱乐项目上花时间。粉丝活动对我而言只不过是从众多的娱乐项目中选了一个而已。

有时会想要自己成为主播直播、发视频，但想不出好的选题。选择成为网红会很耗精力。

[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？]

Overall, would you say being a fan of Internet celebrities has had more positive than negative consequences on your life or more negative than positive consequences? Or something different? Can you give me some examples of how your life has changed?

积极消极各一半吧。

我所处的家庭环境较为传统，因此对于我进入网红圈成为粉丝，周围经常会有反对和质疑的声音。这些偏见源于对少数极端粉丝的刻板印象，也有对粉丝文化的误解。有时由于缺乏沟通，父母会禁止我参加粉丝活动，甚至会因为我购买网红产品而发生冲突，这让我产生了越来越重的心理负担，甚至对自己成为粉丝而产生了认同焦虑。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.2*) I come from a very traditional family, and as a result, there is always some opposition and scepticism about my becoming a fan of Internet celebrities. Most of these biases stem from stereotypes about extreme fans, as well as misunderstandings about fan culture. Sometimes my parents would forbid me to participate in fan activities and even argue with me about consumption, which

made me increase my psychological burden and even felt anxiety about becoming a fan.

3.3.3. Anonymous Fans, 2020, November 11

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 3-4 年，陆陆续续关注过很多博主。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 哔哩哔哩，斗鱼，虎牙
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] **深夜徐老师**：关注了两年半的时间。作为一个女孩子，单纯的喜欢化妆品，以及和化妆品有关的一切。 **一支南南**：一年，宝藏博主，出的仿妆很好看。 **annysstrauss**：两年多了，喜欢她发的日常以及歌曲。
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] 比较吸引我的网红，一般都有自己独特的魅力，或幽默、或干货满满，或可以帮我解压放松，最重要的是更新频繁，可以让我有持续了解他/她的动力。
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] Are some Internet celebrities something like role models for you? Why and in what respects? 我非常欣赏自律、有控制力的人，他们清楚自己想要什么，也会为之努力。我关注的主播中，有一些非常辛苦，一天要直播 8-10 个小时甚至更长，几乎 365 天无休。但他

	们仍然能坚持每天不间断地直播，为了给粉丝做榜样，努力展现积极向上的一面。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.2.2*) I really appreciate people who have strong ability of self-discipline and self-control. They know what they want, and they work hard to get it. Some of the anchors I follow are very hard working. They have to do live streaming for 8-10 hours a day or even longer, almost 365 days without a break. But they still broadcast non-stop every day, trying to show a positive side to set an example to their fans.
	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？] 很多粉丝都想成为网红吧。在大家看来，网红的工作光鲜亮丽且自由，并且赚钱多、来钱快。这些粉丝通常会从模仿网红做起，发类似的视频、开相像的直播间，试图吸引同类型的粉丝。我听过一些粉丝通过模仿成功转型为博主的，但也是极个别的存在。
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] 很难。我认为成为网红很重要的两个因素是颜值以及出彩的创意。但是大部分的人产出的内容都是模仿别人，缺乏自己的独特性，因此很难真的成名。
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] Has being a fan of Internet celebrities changed your life? In what respects? Can you give me an example? 确实改变了一些我的生活。

我是传媒专业的，因此对视频剪辑和图片编辑有一定的研究。加入粉丝后援会后，我主动承担起了媒体编辑的工作，平时会收集一些主播的直播录播和视频进行加工创作，也会去做一些宣传海报和应援图片。虽然是义务劳动，但是看到其他粉丝会转发我做的视频和图片，就会有满满的成就感。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.2*) I major in media, so I have certain skills in video and photo editing. After joining the fan support club, I took the initiative to undertake the work of media editor. I usually collect some live streaming and videos of anchors for processing and creation, and also make some propaganda posters and pictures for support. Although these are voluntary work, I feel a sense of accomplishment when I see other fans forwarding my videos and pictures.

[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？]
同意。感觉很多博主会通过一些特别的行为方式来吸引观众的眼球。例如大胃王，他们会通过直播吃大量食物的方式来博人眼球，但往往会伤害自己的身体，得不偿失。

[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]
会有一些负面影响，例如美妆博主，当一个电视剧中的女性角色大火后，很多美妆博主都会争先恐后的出一些仿妆教程，这样的浪潮会使得女性趋于同质化（例如网红脸），从而统一大家的审美，使美变得单一。

	[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？] 我听说很多网红因为压力过大，而出现暴食症、抑郁症、狂躁症等心理及生理问题（当然不排除一些网红因为想吸引眼球而编造出谎言）。我也听说过一些劣迹网红（例如出轨、家暴、吸毒的网红）因被"人肉曝光"而宣布退网，这些都是从事这一行业可能会经历的负面影响。 [您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？] 我没有经历过类似情况，只是听说过一些案例。
[商品化]	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票、商品购买等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？] Have you ever spent money for an Internet celebrity (virtual gifts, event tickets, etc.)? Can you talk about it in detail? What do you think about fans paying for Internet celebrities? 在看直播的时候，一些主播会在直播间感谢打赏礼物的粉丝，并会喊出他们的名字。有时为了和主播互动，我也会购买一些小礼物，看到屏幕上出现自己的名字，会有满足感。我认为粉丝为网红花钱是一种正常的娱乐、消费行为，只要不超出生活的必要限度，都无可厚非。 (*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1*) During the live streaming, some anchors will thank fans who tip gifts and call out their names in the live streaming room. Sometimes to interact with the anchors, I will buy some virtual gifts and feel satisfied when my name appears on the screen. I think it is normal entertainment and consumption behaviour for fans to spend money on Internet celebrities. As long as it does not

	exceed the necessary limits of daily life, there is nothing wrong with it.
	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] 确实有这样的情况，并且会带来一些负面影响。 一些网红成名后，会穿戴、使用奢侈品牌。而他们的粉丝如果年龄尚小，价值观还不够成熟，会在网红的带动下对奢侈品盲目追捧，有时甚至会为了讨好网红而花费巨额物资（例如打赏）。网红的消费模式会给自控能力较差的粉丝带来不正确的观念引导。
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？] 目前我关注的网红，基本都能清楚展示广告，例如在直播、视频的某一位置标明"广告"或"购买链接"字样。一般看到广告我都会跳过，不会关注其内容。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 有广告。 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 属于软广吧。没有明确说明是广告，但每一个镜头都和推广的这款车有关。 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？]

	How do you feel about cases where a posting is an advertisement for which the Internet celebrity is paid for by a company for advertising products and this is not transparent to fans like you?
	现在很多网红会在视频和直播中进行广告植入。为了吸引粉丝观看，大部分网红会采用软文的方式，将广告巧妙地隐藏在创意内容中。不过我认为如果发布软广却没有和粉丝交代清楚，是一种变相欺诈、钻空子的行为。很多粉丝是冲着作品去的，却在无意中被产品吸引从而进行了消费。这种消费不是自发形成的，而是故意引导的。
	(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1)* Nowadays, many Internet celebrities implant advertisements in their videos and live streaming. To attract fans, most Internet celebrities adopt the form of recessive advertising, cleverly hiding advertisements in creative content. However, I think it is a form of fraud to release advertisements without making it clear to fans. Many fans are attracted by the content but unwittingly buy the product. This consumption is not spontaneous, but deliberately guided.
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 我认为软广都应该用标签来标注，比如在文章底部 tag 品牌方，并写与其合作。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] 会在直播中和主播进行互动，还在粉丝后援会承担了媒体方面的工作，负责制作视频和一些宣传图片。每天大约花 2-3 个小时的时间吧。

[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？]

如果粉丝超出正常的娱乐范畴，每周花大量时间在粉丝活动上，我觉得原因可能是自身的自制力不够，无法清楚地规划自己的生活和娱乐。如果过度沉迷，肯定会给粉丝的生活和健康带来消极影响。我听说一些粉丝偷用家里的钱给网红主播打赏的，有的甚至借贷"追星"，最终无力偿还。这些都会给粉丝家庭带来负面影响。

[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？]

没有。我觉得现在每天 1 小时左右的时间，是比较合理的，因此暂时没有改变现状的想法。

[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？]

Overall, would you say being a fan of Internet celebrities has had more positive than negative consequences on your life or more negative than positive consequences? Or something different? Can you give me some examples of how your life has changed?

总体上积极影响是大于消极影响的。

在我看来，粉丝这一群体从被误解到被社会所接受，是有一个发展的过程的。最开始，粉丝被看作是"乌合之众"，是娱乐产业的牺牲品。但随着网红产业的进一步完善，粉丝也通过实际行动带动消费、创造劳动，体现他们的社会

价值。粉丝群之间的竞争带动了产业的创新和发展，也促进了社会资源的分配和重组。

(*Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.2*) In my opinion, there is a development process of fans from being misunderstood to being accepted by society. At first, fans were seen as 'rabbles', the victims of the entertainment industry. Nowadays, fans can drive consumption and create labour through practical actions, to reflect their social value. Competition among fan groups has driven the innovation and development of the industry, which has also promoted the allocation and restructuring of social resources.

3.3.4. Anonymous Fans, 2021, August 30

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 2010 年左右开始成为粉丝，至少十年了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 快手，映客，淘宝直播
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] **张子萱** 作为一个十几年的老粉，从初中开始喜欢张子萱，当时她还在瑞丽做模特，同时有一个自己经营的淘宝店。相比她的穿衣风格，其实更喜欢她这个人的性格和生活态度。在事业高峰期的时候因为网暴不得不退出娱乐圈，近年来才开始重新出现在网友的面前。我会特别关注她的直播，尤

	其是淘宝直播。看直播时可以享受特别优惠，也可以学到选款搭配的知识点。
	你好竹子
	2018 年开始粉上竹子的，原因首先还是性格讨喜，其次都是从事也都是媒体行业，外加她之前在英国呆过很长一段时间，有着类似的生活经历吧。这些博主不仅很具有娱乐性，而且时常对自己的人生困惑有启发性。
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？]
	有内容、有意思，真实不做作。
	很多网红在网络和现实中展现的形象是截然不同的，有时为了吸引人气，他们会隐藏自己真实的性格，从而迎合粉丝的喜好。然而我关注的这两个网红不同，他们会用镜头记录自己的日常生活、起居出行。从这些直播和视频中，可以看到他们真实的生活方式，从而减轻距离感。
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？]
	确实有的。
	当你在某些人生阶段的时候遇到困难，看到他们对于人生经历以及心态分享，会很有启发性，并觉得大家都是这么过来的，问题也就不再是问题了。从我自己的个人经历来说，他们带我走出过低谷，给我了很多生活的正能量。
	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？]
	当然有。
	粉丝在某种程度上都是希望无限向喜欢的偶像靠近的，无论是生活方式还是思想态度。成为自己喜欢的网红也是可能的路径之一吧。

	我有朋友开始做美妆博主，原因就是看其他博主看多了，别人的爱好就变成自己的爱好。时间久了，就想自己参与进去，看看能不能像别的网红一样将爱好发展成职业。
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] 很难吧，毕竟成名主要还是看运气和天赋。 有的人天赋异禀，但生不逢时，没有机会和平台让他/她展现；有的人平平无奇，因为偶然的契机得到了社会的关注，一举成名。大部分粉丝因为没有公司和资本的助推，可能一辈子都是小网红，无法成名，这都是非常正常的。
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] 改变了很多。 比如成为粉丝之后，我每天会主动去关注他/她发布的内容。看到有推荐的产品或者游玩过的景点，我就会记录下来，购买产品或者去同一个地方打卡。在我的潜意识里，网红们推荐的东西、景点、美食都是有品位、有品质的象征，跟随他们的脚步准没错。慢慢的，我的生活方式也逐渐向他们靠拢，变得相似起来。
	[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？] 不太同意，网红也有优劣之分的。 有的网红是分享型的，他们发布内容是为了给粉丝提供资讯参考。而有的网红是无底线型的，他们的言论和行为就是为了博人眼球、骗取流量和关注。这些人降低了整个网红行业的门槛和下限，也污染了行业空气。
	[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面

影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些
具体的案例吗？]

扭曲的价值观会带来负面影响吧。

在我看来，最严重的负面影响就是网红行业带来的标签化
和攀比心理吧。在这个行业，网红大多颜值和审美都在
线，在滤镜和修图软件的加持下，他们的"美"被标签化
了，很多人一看到"大眼睛"、"高鼻梁"、"锥子脸"就想到
网红。然而，网红和普通人颜值的差异也给很多年轻人带
来了外貌焦虑。在攀比的风气下，很多人过于在乎自己的
外貌，从而产生焦虑、不自信的心理。有的粉丝甚至会以
这些网红的外貌为参照进行整容，从而迷失了自己。

[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健
康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看
法？]

听说过。

现在互联网上宣称自己得抑郁症的网红非常多，一旦因为
不当言论或者行为受到网民的批评，这些网红就会晒出自
己的就诊记录，称自己得了心理疾病。虽然不知真假，但
在网络的庇佑下，很多网民确实说话口无遮拦，不考虑后
果。

粉丝因为模仿网红而出现心理和生理问题的就更多了。经
常看到报道称有的未成年粉丝因为想要维持网红的窈窕身
材而过度减肥，甚至绝食，最终得了厌食症；还有一些粉
丝，模仿网红去做一些危险的行为，但因为控制不当而出
现了意外。例如看到新闻说一个未成年小女孩模仿网红自
制酒精灯做爆米花，结果突发爆炸，小女孩也受了重伤。

[您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？]

自己没有亲身经历过，但周围这样的案例还有很多。

	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？] 会看他们的带货直播，然后跟着购买一些化妆品、食品和生活用品。 我觉得为网红花钱是很正常的行为，况且不仅仅是为他们花钱，我也是为自己消费。购买这些产品，不仅仅能够从行动上支持他们，也能从一定程度上满足我的生活需要。
[商品化]	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？] 这个要看粉丝个人的消费能力。 如果粉丝本身经济条件优渥，为喜欢的网红花钱不影响他们的日常生活和家庭开销，我觉得没有什么影响；如果粉丝本身经济困难，或者没有赚钱能力还要靠父母供养，再为网红花过多的钱就不太合适了。毕竟做任何事情都要量力而行，娱乐和消费也是如此。 我听说过一些人为网红花太多钱，结果后悔了起诉网红，要求他们退钱。在我看来这是非常荒谬的，每个人都需要为自己的行为负责，网红也是无辜的，不能将行为的过错归结于网红。
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？] 淘宝直播一般都会清楚展示推广产品的链接，主播也会跟粉丝说明，基本是清楚展示的。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？]

	有
	[办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 我觉得还挺有创意的。 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？] 网红也要吃饭赚钱，交代清楚是他们真性情，没有交代清楚也不是他们的义务。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 最好可以标注一下，可以以标签或者置顶留言的方式进行标注。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day? 作为一个活跃在直播平台的粉丝，我养成了准时上线、收看直播的习惯。我所在的粉丝群有固定的群名，严格的群规和粉丝行为规范，一旦违反就会被踢出群。平时粉丝群也非常团结，不仅会互相分享直播资讯，也会组织一些集体活动，增强团队凝聚力，让我很有归属感。 *(Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1)* As an active fan on live streaming platforms, I have formed the habit of entering the live streaming room and watching the show on time. The fan group has a fixed group name, strict rules, and a complete code of conduct, and if you break them, you'll be kicked out. The members of the fan group are very united, not only sharing live streaming information but also organizing some group activities

to enhance the cohesion of the team, which makes me feel a sense of belonging.

如果时间宽裕的话，我每天要看 1-2 个小时的直播，一般是下班后休息或者吃饭的时候，放松的同时也能和喜欢的网红互动，一举两得。

[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？]

原因还是个人的自控能力不够吧。

我听说一些自制力差的未成年人和学生，会熬夜看直播或视频，最终这些网红遭到了家长的联合抵制。一些平台甚至出台了未成年人观看制度，禁止未成年沉迷，每天有限制未成年的观看时长。

在我看来，任何一件事情，过度沉迷都会带来负面影响。

如果想要有健康的生活方式，还是要靠个人的自觉，平衡好生活和娱乐。

[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？]

没有，我觉得我工作、生活和娱乐还是有所区分的，不会互相影响。因此暂时也不想改变现状。

[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？]

总来说是积极的。

成为粉丝之后，我有了一个成功的榜样，平时也会用更严格的要求约束自己。不管是穿衣打扮还是言行举止，我都有了努力和奋斗的目标，希望一点点向他们靠近。当然，

	我也清楚自己和网红之间的差距，也会在自己的能力范围内理性消费。网红带给我全新的生活目标，也丰富了我的娱乐方式。

3.3.5. Anonymous Fans, 2021, September 4

Question Classification	Interview Questions
[基本问题]	[您成为粉丝多久了？] 2015 年到现在，算起来六年了。
	[您主要活跃在哪些平台？] 哔哩哔哩，一直播
	[您主要关注哪个/些网红？您什么时候开始成为他/她的粉丝？为什么？] **博物杂志，张辰亮；** 因为我们日常生活中经常会遇到不知名的植物或者虫子，小亮就开始专门帮网友解答不知名的动植物，而且是用一种诙谐有趣接地气的方式来科普，不但给网友解决了问题，而且通俗易懂，引发很多网友的互动。效果很明显，网友遇到不知道的东西就开始@他，让他帮忙鉴别，就连怼人也有自己的风格，我也是因为这样才关注他的。 小亮丰富专业的知识让他吸引了更多人的关注，遇到连他都不会的，他也会请教完其他专家，然后给网友回复，因此他也结识了众多科普界的大 V 好友，相互的互动，给他带来了更多的流量和关注。
	[您最喜欢这个网红的哪一方面？] 1. 人格化。打造自己的人设，做类似视频、直播内容的人有很多，他自身幽默有趣的风格却是任何人无法替代的；

	2. 专业性。无论风格怎么样，小亮始终坚持用自己的专业知识为大家解答问题，同时他还在不断学习补充自己的知识，因此他的内容质量都很高，这一点也是他能长久收获粉丝的原因； 3. 重视跟网友的互动。无论是之前做官微帮网友辨别生物，还是做视频、直播认网友发的奇怪动物，都是很重视跟大家做互动； 4. 擅长利用热点。小亮也是挑选一些关注度比较高的问题，给大家解答，这类问题关注的人更多，也有更大的可能被最大程度上传播。
[榜样效应]	[有些网红是您的榜样吗？为什么？在哪些方面？] 有的，比如巍子医生，主要以生活常识和急救方面为主，更多的是从一个急诊医生的角度，来提醒大家一些生活当中可能发生的，或者一旦发生后果比较严重的健康知识，这在无形中得帮助了很多人。 可以将自己的专业知识无私分享出去、帮助到别人，我觉得就是一个令人尊敬的品德。
	[您认为是否有些粉丝也希望成为网红？如果是这样的话，这些粉丝将怎么做？您是否经历或听说过一些具体的案例？] 肯定有，会有一部分粉丝受到喜欢的博主影响，从而努力称为自己喜欢的人的样子。但是普通人若没有光环傍身（名校教授、畅销书作者、知名编剧）或前期资源积累（人脉、资金），单靠内容输出成为网红必须要有一个慢慢积累的过程。 首先，绝对不可以急功近利，要习惯去做很多吃力不讨好的事情，要做一个有利他型人格的人。或者需要坚持去写很多免费的高质量文章，讲很多不收费的干货课程，唱很

	多不收钱的歌，跳很多任何人都能看的舞，慢慢积累自己的粉丝数量，这样才能逐渐成为一个备受瞩目的网红。年轻人之所以会被网红影响，大部分时候是这些网红产出的内容符合或者说迎合了大众的审美取向，凡是符合大众的心理的都会红极一时，要想长久红下去，还需要实力的支持。
	[您认为这些粉丝成名的梦想是否都能实现吗？为什么？您听说一些具体的案例吗？] 很难实现。据我所知，现在好多打造网红的团队和网红孵化基地的费用相对来说是非常高的，想红固然很难。 想起一个成功的案例是吴亦凡的粉丝李雪琴，李雪琴像一个追星课代表，突出的表现被粉丝们承认，但"李雪琴"这个符号的本质，依然是追逐名人的草根粉丝：其貌不扬、傻里傻气、总在为吴亦凡拍抖音、最初是没有卖北大人设的"非精英"……这些特点就是广大粉丝的特点啊！希望李雪琴被吴亦凡注意到，就和希望自己被吴亦凡注意到的心情一样迫切，于是，一众粉丝在吴亦凡的微博下留言加持，"李雪琴"成功引起了吴亦凡的注意。这场追逐中，吴亦凡、李雪琴、广大草根粉丝随着李雪琴的抖音视频被卷入同一个场域中，有了课代表的广大粉丝，有了拉近与吴亦凡距离的可能性，草根们兴奋了；吴亦凡的回复让焦急等待着的粉丝如获甘露，渴望拉近距离的心情得到了极大的满足。兴奋和满足便在社交圈内迅速蔓延，掀起了一场小小的"狂欢"。但是有能有几个人能成为"李雪琴"呢？
[行业影响]	[成为一名粉丝改变了您的生活吗？在哪些方面？能否举一个具体的例子？] 当然，比如有好多粉丝跟着博主学会了剪辑、PS 等技能，比如何同学，他也提到，起初自己的拍摄技术都是在 b 站

上跟着博主学的，数码科技类的视频更是从初中就开始看。从他做的这么多期视频里能看出来，他的水平在不断进步，并且每一期的视频都是用心在做。

[我们从学术研究和新闻报道中得知，一些人认为网红异于常人，且行为方式很特别。您是否同意？为什么呢？]

在一定程度上是的，而且有一些网红为了博眼球想红，各种扮丑获取关注，比如快手网红嘟嘟妹，从开始的张着没有门牙的大嘴，说着"余生孤独，不碰爱情"然后潇洒转身，到如今的有了对象，然后各种扮丑博眼球。

[一些人甚至认为，网红行业强化了人们对年轻人审美和行为的刻板印象。您认为这个行业会给粉丝的生活带来负面影响吗？如果是的话，具体在哪些方面呢？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]

Some even think that this industry reinforces prejudices of how young people should ideally look like and behave. Do you think that this industry can have any negative effects on the lives of fans? If so, in what respects? Have you heard of concrete examples?

在直播行业，确实会有这样的刻板印象。

很多人认为主播只要外貌出众，在直播间跳跳舞、唱唱歌，就可以靠颜值吸引粉丝送礼物。这种刻板印象导致了很多年轻人只追求高颜值而忽视了能力和品德，无脑投入直播行业，妄想通过一场直播收获人气、一夜暴富。

然而，没有个人魅力和技能实力的主播，很快就会被市场淘汰，很多人接受不了这样的行业落差，而再无法投入到正常的工作岗位中去。

(*Reference to Chapter 8, Section 8.3.1.3*) Many people believe that as long as Internet celebrities are good-looking, they can

attract fans based on their appearance. This prejudice misleads many young people to care only about their appearance and abandon their inner self and abilities. They mindlessly engage in the live streaming industry, hoping to gain popularity and become rich overnight. However, anchors without personal charm and skills will soon be eliminated by the industry. People who cannot accept such a gap often find it difficult to return to their normal lives.

[目前，已经有一些报道称，部分网红和粉丝饱受心理和健康问题。您是否听说过相关的报道，能够谈一谈您的看法？]

有一些网红能够看到他有一段时间有明显性格变化，且有一段时间处于半隐退状态，确实是有休息调整的迹象，且有过治疗过程。这种我选择相信，并衷心希望他们调整心态重新来过，或干脆退圈。但是有一些网红，抑郁症张口闭口就来，或者暗搓搓暗示粉丝自己抑郁，然后通告照样跑的飞起来，赚钱不手软，这种怕是拿抑郁症当放飞自我的挡箭牌吧。

其次，部分粉丝沉迷网红行业，也确实从生理到心理产生了很多负面影响，例如失眠、焦虑、过度减肥等。他们中很多很难从这个行业怪圈中走出去，生活中有很多这样的报道。

[您是否亲身经历过类似的情况？能否详细地说一说？]

我没有亲身经历过，但我听说有的粉丝为了追网红，在酒店房间被安装摄像头，追车跟酒店等等，一些粉丝还会模仿网红的外貌和身材去三无诊所整容，最终整容失败奔溃自杀。这些都非常可怕。

	[您是否曾为网红花钱（虚拟礼物、活动门票等）？能否详细谈谈？您如何看待粉丝为网红花钱的行为？]
	我的日常就是为主播刷刷礼物，都是在我的能力范围内进行的消费。
	直播行业里，有的粉丝会想接近主播，自己吃着泡面却要给主播花很多钱刷礼物的，这种人指望刷礼物引起主播的注意，或引起其他观众的注意，这种心理应该和玩网络游戏里花很多钱弄一身好装备显摆是一种感觉。如果刷得再多的话可能就可以私聊主播要联系方式，从而线下和主播见面。我觉得花很多钱刷礼物的粉丝大多数属于这一类。
[商品化]	[您是否认为一些粉丝在网红身上花了太多钱？为什么？您认为这会带来负面影响吗？如果是，具体是哪些影响？您听说过一些具体的案例吗？]
	是存在有人在粉丝身上花很多钱的。
	其实刷礼物，抛开大家都知道的，一些工会一些托，确实也有一大部分真的是有钱人，所以不在乎。其实可以理解，这些人早早实现了财务自由，喜欢主播和喜欢一些明星一样，说白了都是服务大众贩卖娱乐。打赏自己喜欢的主播，也没什么奇怪的。其实触动咱们大部分人神经的，是有一部分人因为自己的虚荣心，明明不在自己的承受范围之内，却硬要打肿脸充胖子。导致自己的生活一团糟，甚至身陷囹圄的，被娱乐迷失双眼的人。
	[许多网红都是有偿推广某些产品的。从您的经验来看，某段视频、图像、文本或其他内容包含广告与否，是否都能清楚地展示？能否举一些具体的例子？]
	推广方式一般都是，把产品信息软植入到网红的视频中，进行发布，比如电影里面的广告植入，主人公拿出来带有某品牌的啤酒喝等等类似的。部分行业可以选择直发视

	频，比如游戏行业，以直发为主。直发指的是甲方自己录制好视频，用网红的账号发布。
	[下面是中国美食博主：办公室小野的视频展示] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vpx0uoUgGEE* [您认为这个视频里有广告吗？] 没看出来。 [办公室小野与上海大众合作了这段视频，其中包含了新朗逸汽车的软广。您怎么看待这一事实？] 我没有 get 到她在宣传汽车的什么优势功能，感觉就只是在看一个猎奇视频。 [您如何看待，一些网红发布软广视频，却没有向粉丝交代清楚推广事实的情况？] 我觉得没什么，时间久了就习惯和逐渐能辨别了，无论是视频还是文字、直播，如果博主图片、视频拍得很精美、历史的内容大量都是产品种草、带了产品的链接，刻意突出产品的名词，基本都是软广了。
	[您认为这样的软广是否应该使用标签进行标注？如果是，标签应该是什么样的？] 软文和文章本身就没有界定标准，目前应该是没有问题的。近日有些媒体报道软文必须加广告字样，我觉得是过分解读。
[粉丝活动]	[您参加过哪些粉丝活动？通常每天要花多少时间？] What kind of fan activities do you engage in? And how much time does this typically take per day? 我的粉丝活动主要是看直播、和主播留言互动。每天大约花费 2 个小时左右，一般会在吃饭、休闲的时候进行。 我所关注的主播非常有亲和力，经常和粉丝们打成一片。 有时遇到和其他主播的人气 PK 赛，需要粉丝进行打投，

主播就会在直播间呼吁粉丝为他打赏礼物。消费金额最高的，被称为"榜一"，会拥有诸多特权。像我没有这么高消费实力的，就会力所能及在评论区多多支持。

(Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1) […] The anchors I follow are so friendly that they often mingle with their fans. Sometimes in the PK competitions, the anchors would call on fans to tip gifts to them in the live streaming room. Those with the highest cumulative spending, known as 'Bangyi', are given several privileges. By contrast, fans with average spending levels, like me, will post as many supportive words as we can in the comment section.

[根据报道，一些粉丝每周会花大量时间在粉丝活动上。您认为原因是什么？这是否会对粉丝的生活和健康带来负面影响？如果是，体现在哪些方面？]

能花大量时间在这种活动上的可能大部分都是学生，一些普通人因为粉丝身份，在粉丝群里有了很大话语权，有很大的成就感和存在感。

[您是否有时会觉得自己在粉丝活动上花费过多时间？为什么？您是否有时想改变现状，重新规划自己的粉丝生活？为什么？]

Do you sometimes feel that you spend too much time on these activities? If so, why? If not, why not? Do you sometimes feel it would be better to spend your time differently? If so, why? If not, why not?

没有。

虽然参加粉丝活动会占用我的个人时间，也会多出一些额外的任务，但我非常享受这个过程，也不后悔。

	(Reference to Chapter 9, Section 9.4.1) Although participating in fan activities takes up a lot of my personal time and creates a few extra tasks, I thoroughly enjoy the process and have no regrets.
	[总的来说，您认为成为一名粉丝对您生活的影响，是积极大于消极，还是消极大于积极？能否举例说明您的生活是如何发生改变的？] 肯定还是积极的影响多一些的。 对于我个人来说，成为一名粉丝感觉像多了一个虚拟的朋友，慢慢提升自己的审美，观念以及爱好都会发生变化。就像身边如果有一个优秀的人，自己也会不由自主地进步，想要成为更好的人。在当代年轻人大多社交恐惧的今天，能够在网络空间找到志同道合、兴趣相投的朋友，也是很难得的情感体验。

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