South Korean Wave and Local Labour Identity across InterAsian Cultural Flow: The Case Study of Taiwanese Television Practitioners

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Abstract

This research explores how television professionals engage in the East Asian television production field and how their participation shapes their professional identities amidst the prevalence of the Korean Wave and anti-Korean sentiment, exacerbated by geopolitical tensions. Conducted through semi-structured online interviews, the study interviewed 22 Taiwanese television professionals recruited via snowball sampling. The findings shed light on how Taiwanese professional identities, intertwined with anxieties related to their work, geopolitical context and national identity, perpetuate a sense of occupational stress among Taiwanese television creators. The primary contribution lies in addressing a gap in empirical research on East Asian creative industries.

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Author's Declaration

I, Yi-Fang Chen hereby declare that this thesis entitled 'South Korean Wave and Local Labour Identity across Inter-Asian Cultural Flow: The Case Study of Taiwanese Television Practitioners' is entirely my own work, except where otherwise acknowledged. This thesis has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

Any sections of this thesis that have been published or submitted for a higher degree elsewhere are clearly identified within the text.

I confirm that the supervisors have been made aware of and have agreed to the content of this declaration.

Signed: __ 

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis examines the complex relationship between the Korean Wave and local labour dynamics within the Taiwanese television industry, focusing on how the professional identities of Taiwanese television practitioners are influenced. This chapter first provides a brief background, discussing the emergence of the Korean Wave phenomenon and the ensuing anti-Korean sentiment in Taiwan. It then outlines the motivations and objectives of undertaking this project. Furthermore, it proposes research questions to clarify the focus of the project and the issues it intends to address. Finally, an overview of the thesis chapters is provided to succinctly outline their content and how they contribute to the overall structure and direction of the study.

1.1 General Background

Since the late 1990s, the phenomenon of the spread of South Korean (hereafter Korea/n) popular culture, known as the 'Korean Wave' (한류/ Hallyu pronounced in Korean) has emerged as a dominant cultural force with significant influence across Asia, particularly in countries such as Taiwan, Malaysia, and Singapore (Shin, 2009). With the success of Korean television dramas such as *Winter Sonata (겨울연가)* and *Dae Jang Geum (대장금*) internationally, the Korean wave began to flourish in the early 2000s. These dramas received widespread acclaim and popularity in East Asia and Southeast Asia, sparking a cultural phenomenon that transcended language and cultural barriers. Building on the success of its entertainment industry, Korea strategically promoted its cultural exports through government measures, marketing campaigns, and digital platforms, encompassing music, television dramas, films, fashion, and cuisine.

Being geographically close to Korea and having historical, linguistic, and cultural connections with East Asia, Taiwan has been one of the biggest recipients and active participants in the Hallyu phenomenon (Chua and Iwabuchi, 2008; Shim, 2008; Ahn, 2019). The initial rise of the Korean Wave in Taiwan stemmed from Korean dramas, which began gaining popularity around 2000. Although Korean dramas were first introduced to Taiwan in 1996, their initial reception was not particularly favourable. (Yeh, 2002) It was not until Gala Television (GTV hereafter) aired iconic series such as *Fireworks (불꽃)* and *Autumn in My Heart (가을 동화)* in 2001 that Taiwanese interest

in Korean dramas and the broader Korean Wave phenomenon was significantly piqued, solidifying GTV's position as a crucial channel for Korean drama enthusiasts (Yeh, 2002). Moreover, the high viewership ratings of these series prompted other Taiwanese television operators, such as Videoland Television, to enter the Korean drama market in Taiwan (Yeh, 2002, see Chapter 2 for more details). Currently, the Korean Wave has become a mainstream culture in Taiwan, with its influence observable in various aspects, including the entertainment industry, consumer behaviour, and cultural discourse. In this context, local television professionals play a crucial role as cultural producers, shaping Taiwanese audience perceptions and consumption habits through the production, distribution, and reception of cultural content. In this sense, it responds to Hesmondhalgh's (2019) definition of cultural industries as a signifying system, wherein all cultural products, broadly construed as texts, are communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored, the globalisation of cultural industries has led to complicated interactions between local and international forces, shaping the professional identities of individuals within these industries. From this perspective, considering the role of Taiwanese television professionals as producers within the cultural industry, the influence of Korean cultural products on Taiwanese television professionals and their transnational labour is significant.

Furthermore, Taiwan, Japan, and the People's Republic of China (hereafter PRC or Mainland China), besides being geographically closest to Korea, represent the largest consumer markets for Korean popular culture (Shim, 2008; Chua and Iwabuchi, 2008; Ahn, 2019). However, it is paradoxical that while Taiwan consumes a considerable amount of Korean cultural products, it also harbours anti-Korean sentiment. This situation is also prevalent in China and Japan (See Chapter 2). The influx of Korean cultural content has sparked discussions and controversies within Taiwanese society. For instance, Taiwan's SET News Channel reported 'K-pop Invasion Everywhere! Annual Tourism Output Value Hits 17.6 billion US Dollars' (Wang, 2016). Clearly, some perceive the Korean Wave as a form of cultural invasion, reflecting broader socio-cultural and political dynamics. In Taiwan, anti-Korean sentiments and movements reached a peak during the 'Yang Shu-Chun Incident (楊淑君事件)' in 2010. Similarly, the so-called 'Tzuyu Incident (周子瑜事件)' in 2016 also stirred strong anti-Korean sentiment, serving as an event which is emblematic of the complex geopolitical relationships involving Taiwan,

Korea, and China (Ahn, 2019). However, upon closer examination of the emergence of anti-Korean sentiment, it may be attributed to the continuation of anti-China sentiment.

Similarly, the reception of the Korean Wave among television professionals in Taiwan exhibits a paradoxical and intricate nature. Approximately six to seven years ago, through conversations with Taiwanese television practitioners, I discerned this situation, manifested in their contradictory responses towards the Korean Wave, oscillating between professional engagement and personal sentiments. During that time, individuals I engaged with harboured predominantly negative attitudes towards the Korean Wave, with some expressing strong anti-Korean sentiments. Several perceived it as a threat to local industries and cultural values, while others retained a hierarchical stance inherited from the Chiang Kai-shek regime, especially the older generation, regarding the Korean Wave as inconsequential, merely a trend among avid Korean pop culture enthusiasts. Despite varying reasons for anti-Korean sentiment, this contradiction piqued my interest in the complexities of Taiwanese television practitioners' responses to the phenomenon of the Korean Wave.

Initially, the motivation behind this project was to explore Korean reality shows and their impact on Taiwanese television workers, addressing a noticeable research gap in the field. Existing studies on the Korean Wave in Taiwan predominantly centred on areas such as popular music, television dramas, and films (see Chapter 3), leaving a void in understanding the influence of Korean reality shows. This inclination was partly influenced by prevalent production practices in Taiwan, primarily centred around studio-based talk shows (see Chapter 2). Additionally, my background in television production (see Chapter 4), coupled with an affinity for the reality show genre, influenced my initial decision to research Korean reality shows in the Taiwanese context.

However, during the course of this project, I broadened the focus from reality shows to encompass cultural flows within the television domain more broadly, rather than concentrating solely on a specific genre. This shift was prompted by practical limitations, notably the unfeasibility of conducting fieldwork in Korea due to various constraints. Originally, the research design included plans to apply for the 'Fieldwork Project for Overseas Researchers' programme offered by the Korean government, which would have facilitated face-to-face interviews with Korean experts and broader fieldwork activities.

With this avenue unavailable because of COVID-19, there were constraints in data collection. Secondly, through the fieldwork interviews with the Taiwanese Television workers, I realised that the focus on the Korean Wave actually involves much larger issues of identity which led to the change in focus in this project. Specifically, this project concerns Taiwanese professional identity within the framework of production studies. It aimed to investigate how broader cultural flows (the Korean Wave) influence professional identities within the Taiwanese television industry. It is important to underscore here that this project discusses the phenomenon of the 'Korean Wave' involving sophisticated transnational or trans-local concerns and connections, extending beyond the mere dissemination of Korean cultural products (see section 3). As mentioned earlier, anti-Korean sentiment is intertwined with the geopolitical tensions of East Asia, hence discussions regarding the impact of the Korean Wave on Taiwanese television practitioners also include transnational labour dynamics involving Taiwanese practitioners working in China.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The influence of the Korean Wave on various aspects of global culture is steadily increasing, prompting scholars and researchers to examine its impact in different contexts. In the Taiwanese context, Korean popular culture pervasively influences the cultural industry sector. Understanding its effects on local labour dynamic and professional identities within the television industry in this context may hold value. This study aims to address the empirical research gap in Taiwanese-focused studies related to the Korean Wave and to foster broader academic discussions concerning cultural globalisation, labour studies, and media production studies.

With the rise of the Korean Wave in Asia, research on the Korean cultural market and its impact on the Asian region has significantly expanded. Several scholars (such as Straubhaar, 2000; Jin, 2007) have primarily provided cultural insights into these trends, aiding in understanding whether Korea is establishing regional dominance in the global cultural market, particularly in East Asia due to cultural proximity and homogeneity. There are also studies exploring the Korean Wave from the perspectives of cultural policy or cultural industries (e.g., Yim, 2002; Kuo, C.-W., 2011; Yeh, P.-Y., 2016; Berg, S.-H.,

2018). Regarding media content, an increasing number of studies focus on the Korean Wave (Chua and Iwabuchi, 2008; Yang, F.- C. I., 2008, 2012; Lie, 2015; Fuhr, 2015; Jungyop Ryu, 2018; Lee and Jin, 2019).

Similarly, studies related to the Korean Wave within the Taiwanese context have also increased. However, as mentioned in the previous section, most of them concentrate on popular music or television dramas (e.g., Wang, H. H., and Chueh, Y. T., 2011; Tsai, J. A., Li, S. C. and Li, Y. C., 2011). In addition, recent television research in Taiwan has primarily focused on news studies, television texts, and audience research. Some empirical studies targeting industry practitioners in Taiwan are relatively scarce. Existing research on television practitioners predominantly centres on Taiwanese industry practitioners working in China (e.g., Chang, S. F., 2011, 2015, 2017; Lai, J. Y.-H., 2023). While this project also addresses these discussions (See Chapter 6), it places Taiwanese industry practitioners within a broader geopolitical framework, emphasising the complex interactions of the trilateral relationship between China, Korea, and Taiwan, particularly through the manifestation of anti-Korean sentiment and its impact on their professional identity, utilising their experiences to understand and explore broader changes in the East Asian television environment. Consequently, despite the shift away from reality shows due to the COVID-19 pandemic and adjusting the approach of data collection, I believe this study still contributes to empirical research within the Taiwanese television industry.

Furthermore, this project aims to address Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2008) critique of Marxist scholars for lacking empirical research on immaterial labour, stating that they lack sufficient theoretical or empirical research explaining the specificity of culture or cultural production. By focusing on creative workers within the television industry (see Chapter 2), the goal is to gain a deeper understanding of the actual operations of immaterial labour in this specific domain. Therefore, choosing labourers in the television industry as the subject of study not only contributes to comprehending the operational mechanisms of cultural industries but also provides a concrete case for investigating the concept of immaterial labour. The project aims to conduct an extensive analysis of the creative labour in the television industry in order to fill the gaps in existing empirical research. By doing so, it seeks to enhance our understanding of the dynamics of the Taiwanese television industry.

In conclusion, the core purpose of this study is to illustrate the transformative forces, whether internal or external dynamics, at play within the Taiwanese television industry, where the influx of Korean cultural content intersects with existing labour structures, creative processes, and institutional norms. By interviewing Taiwanese television practitioners and examining the impact of the Korean Wave on Taiwanese television practitioners, this project aims to contribute to the understanding of the complex relationships among global cultural flows in the context of Asian cultural exchange, local labour dynamics, and professional identities.

1.3 Research Questions

Based upon the above, I propose the following three research questions to guide this project into the multifaceted dynamics of Taiwanese television practitioners in the context of the Korean Wave.

Question 1: How do Taiwanese television practitioners negotiate their professional identities and aspirations within the internal dynamics of the television industry?

Question 2: What are the attitudes and responses of Taiwanese television practitioners towards the Korean Wave, and how do these attitudes manifest in their labour dynamics?

Question 3: What are the experiences and challenges faced by Taiwanese television practitioners engaged in cross-border collaborations, particularly concerning work in China, and how do these experiences intersect with broader geopolitical tensions and anti-Korean sentiment?

Through the exploration of these research questions, this study aims to gain a deeper understanding of the interrelationships among cultural globalisation, work dynamics and geopolitical factors within the Taiwanese television industry. In the next section, I elaborate upon the overall structure of this thesis.

1.4 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis explores the complicated interplay between the Korean Wave and local labour dynamics within the Taiwanese television industry in order to unravel the multifaceted

dynamics shaping the work environments, professional identities, and career trajectories of Taiwanese television practitioners in the era of cultural globalisation.

The thesis is structured into several interconnected chapters. Beginning with an introductory chapter, the thesis sets the stage by providing a general background on the Korean Wave phenomenon and articulating the purpose and scope of the study. This chapter serves as a foundational framework for the subsequent chapters, providing context and direction for the empirical inquiry that follows.

Chapter 2, titled 'Geopolitical History of Taiwan and Taiwanese Television,' I provide a concise historical background and geopolitical context, focusing primarily on Taiwan's relationships with Korea, China, Japan, and the United States. Through this historical framework, I aim to elucidate the backdrop against which the Taiwanese television industry is constructed and to explicate the circumstances surrounding the Korean Wave in Taiwan, as well as the reasons behind Taiwanese sentiments of anti-Korean. This chapter explores the socio-cultural, economic, and political factors that have contributed to the reception and dissemination of Korean popular culture in Taiwan.

Chapter 3, titled 'Looking at Television via Production,' offers a comprehensive review of relevant literature, situating the study within the broader academic discourse on production studies and television research. Additionally, in the context of production studies, my attention is directed towards significant factors shaping the professional identity of individuals within the television industry, focusing on autonomy and self-actualisation, both of which exert considerable influence on individuals entering the television field. This chapter underlines the significance of factors shaping the professional identity of individuals within the television industry, laying the groundwork for the subsequent empirical analysis.

Chapter 4, titled 'Methodology,' describes the research design and methodology adopted for this study are described in detail. This chapter outlines the methodological approach, including data collection methods, sampling techniques, and ethical considerations. By adopting a qualitative research design and employing methods such as snowball sampling and online semi-structured interviews, the study aims to capture the subjective perspectives and experiences of Taiwanese television practitioners.

Moving forward, Chapter 5 initiates the empirical analysis by focusing on the internal dynamics of the Taiwanese television industry, exploring the professional identities and challenges faced by practitioners within domestic production environments. It is titled 'Internal Industry Dynamics of Television Production'. This chapter explores the professional identities, aspirations, and challenges faced by television practitioners working within domestic production environments. By examining the experiences of institutional professionals, freelancers, and dual-career professionals, this chapter aims to uncover the diverse ways in which the internal forces shape professional identities within the Taiwanese television industry. Importantly, it provides a foundation for understanding the intricacies of the industry's workforce and their responses to the broader cultural influences.

Chapter 6 expands the focus to incorporate the external and regional dynamics impacting Taiwanese television practitioners engaged in cross-border collaborations. It is titled 'Affective and Emotional Dynamics in Taiwanese Television Production'. Moreover, it explores the ramifications of anti-Korean sentiment on Taiwanese workers, both within China and Taiwan, thereby revealing the intricate interplay between cultural, economic, and geopolitical forces in East Asia. By juxtaposing the experiences of Taiwanese practitioners with those of their Korean counterparts, this chapter illustrates the complex dynamics arising from the convergence of cultural globalisation and regional competition, thereby providing insights into the multifaceted impact of the Korean Wave on Taiwan's television industry.

Finally, Chapter 7 synthesises the research findings and discusses the implications of the study. This chapter offers a comprehensive review of the key findings, highlighting both internal and external forces shaping the professional identities and labour dynamics of Taiwanese television practitioners. Additionally, the limitations of the study are acknowledged, and suggestions for future research directions are proposed, paving the way for further inquiry into the complicated dynamics of cultural globalisation and local labour dynamics within the Taiwanese television industry.

Chapter 2 Geopolitical History of Taiwan and Taiwanese Television

This chapter provides essential background information, focusing primarily on the impact of Taiwan's cultural landscape and television industry in relation to the Korean Wave (Hallyu) and other neighboring countries, particularly Japan and the United States. In the first section, I explore Taiwan's national identity and the legitimacy issues surrounding its status as a sovereign nation. This exploration sets the stage for understanding how external cultural influences shape Taiwan's cultural landscape and media industry. The second section examines the historical involvement of the United States and Japan as significant players in the early development of Taiwan's television industry. Understanding their influence provides context for the subsequent discussion on the impact of the Korean Wave. Finally, I discuss the prevalence of the Korean Wave in Taiwan and the emergence of anti-Korean sentiment. This section highlights the complexities of cultural exchange and the tensions that arise when external cultural influences clash with local identities.

2.1 'Taiwan is not a country'

The issue of sovereignty regarding the claim that 'Taiwan is not a country' is particularly crucial in understanding the context in Taiwan. Sovereignty is a property that emerges from diplomatic and international recognition by other nations and international federations, but it also emerges partly through culture and cultural production. The first section starts with an exploration of the debates surrounding Taiwanese sovereignty as an opening of this chapter. I explore the reasons and key events that make Taiwan's sovereignty complex, serving as a basis for understanding the complexity of contemporary Taiwanese national identity.

Before proceeding to the first section, it is essential to emphasize that I have chosen to primarily use the term 'Taiwan' rather than the official designation of the Republic of China (ROC) in subsequent chapters for simplicity. This decision reflects the challenges inherent in Taiwan's international affairs, particularly due to the People's Republic of China's (PRC) adherence to the 'One-China' policy, resulting in Taiwan's limited formal international recognition in most countries. But, in this chapter, I may occasionally use

'ROC' or 'Taiwan', and 'PRC' or 'China' based on the context to explain the historical and geopolitical relationship more appropriately between Taiwan and China.

2.1.1. The Issue of 'Two-Chinas'

Taiwanese sovereignty is a complex and emotionally loaded topic. The Taiwanese administration maintains that Taiwan is an independent country while China considers Taiwan to be a rebel region and claims it as a province of the mainland. Though there are longstanding demands within Taiwan for it to be recognized formally as an independent country, Taiwan is officially and diplomatically described as part of the Chinese mainland. This state of affairs is largely a consequence of historical factors.

Firstly, Taiwan, formerly under Japanese colonial rule, underwent a sovereignty transition towards the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek's Republic of China (ROC hereafter) following Japan's defeat in 1945. This transition not only referred to the transfer of Taiwan's sovereignty to the Republic of China but also meant the transfer of the entire control of China from Japan to the central government represented by the Republic of China under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. However, during China's confrontation with Japanese aggression, an internal conflict, commonly known as the Chinese Civil War (1927–1950), was concurrently unfolding. The Chinese Civil War was primarily a conflict between the Nationalist Government (Kuomintang, KMT hereafter) and the Communist Party of China (CPC hereafter). The timeline of this civil strife is generally acknowledged to span from the initial clashes between the KMT and the CPC in 1927 to the nationwide victory of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in 1950. Throughout the Civil War, the ROC government retained control over the majority of mainland Chinese territory until the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC hereafter) in 1949. In that critical year, Mao Zedong, the paramount leader of the CPC, successfully established the PRC on the mainland, while Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the ROC, suffered defeat in the contentious two-party rivalry. As the influence of the CPC expanded across mainland China, the ROC government initiated a withdrawal operation between 1949 and 1950, ultimately relocating its capital to the island of Taiwan in 1950, where the ROC government persists to this day.

The outcome of the Chinese Civil War profoundly shaped the historical and political landscape between Taiwan and China, leading to a 'Two Chinas' issue. The geopolitical

ramifications of this conflict have endured, casting a lasting influence on the dynamics of cross-strait relations and contributing to the present-day complexities in the region. The forced relocation of the ROC government to Taiwan established a de facto separation between the two entities, creating a political division that persists and continues to define the contours of regional interactions. This historical context highlights the complicity of Taiwan's position in the international arena, as it navigates a delicate balance between its historical legacy, geopolitical realities, and its pursuit of a distinct identity.

Building upon the historical background above, it becomes evident how Taiwan's diplomatic challenges are deeply rooted in the aftermath of the Chinese Civil War and its subsequent geopolitical implications. Taiwan confronts a diplomatic dilemma exacerbated by its international isolation, chiefly attributable to the prevailing One-China policy embraced by the majority of nations. Throughout much of the post-World War II era, both the ROC and the PRC claimed to be the sole legitimate government of China. Diplomatic recognition based on Cold War ideologies began to unravel after the Sino-American rapprochement and the seating of the PRC in the United Nations (Rich, 2009). Regardless of whether diplomatic recognition is a legal or political act, the act of recognition itself reflects state sovereignty and thus is the 'golden ring that political leaders hope to grasp' (Krasner, 2009). Internal sovereignty can be defined as a government having exclusive de facto control over a specific area and its citizens generally accepting this rule (Montevideo Convention) (Rich, 2009).

2.1.2. The Orphan of Asia

The issue of the 'Two Chinas' became prominent with the rise of the PRC on the international stage in the 1970s, leading to fundamental shifts in Taiwan's status and characterising it as 'the orphan of Asia'. This metaphor, employed by Taiwanese writer Wu Zhuoliu (2006), appropriately captures the sense of abandonment and isolation experienced by Taiwan, akin to that of an orphan, symbolising its gradual detachment and marginalisation within the global community. This sentiment of abandonment and isolated status is traced back to the KMT regime's struggle with legitimacy, as evidenced by numerous studies (e.g., Chang , M.-K., 2000; Chu , J. J., 2000; Sundeen , 2001; Tsai , C.-Y., 2007; Kang , Kim and Wang, 2015; Ahn, 2019). These studies accentuate the important role played by the crisis of legitimacy faced by the KMT regime in shaping Taiwan's precarious position on the world stage.

The most critical event during this period occurred in 1972 when the United Nations General Assembly decided to transfer the seat of the ROC to the PRC, recognizing the latter as the sole legitimate government of China, following American President Nixon's visit to China. Subsequently, the United States established formal diplomatic relations with the PRC and fully accepted it as the sole legitimate government of China by 1979. Consequently, many of Taiwan's crucial allies followed in the footsteps of the United States, leaving only 23 small nations to formally recognise Taiwan by 2008 (Rich, 2009). Currently, according to Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ROC) information, Taiwan only has 12 diplomatic countries (MOFA, 2020).

The political and economic pressure exerted by China has long impeded Taiwan's pursuit of international recognition, impacting various aspects such as the loss of diplomatic allies and exclusion from certain international organisations. This sentiment is echoed by the late Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui (1999), who asserted that China's growing economic influence and its status as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council have led to Taiwan being considered a renegade province internationally, consequently resulting in its political isolation (Lee, 1999). For example, in 1979, when the ROC was expelled and the PRC was admitted to the International Olympic Committee (hereafter IOC), the ROC was forced to adopt the name 'Chinese Taipei', depriving it of symbols or emblems indicating its status as an independent nation (Kang, Kim and Wang, 2015; Ahn, 2019; more controversy about the ROC and the PRC joining the Olympic Committee, see Bairner and Hwang, 2011). Moreover, in the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Taiwan was initially asked by China to compete under the name 'China Taipei'. This renaming demand was eventually rejected, as the IOC questioned its implication that Taiwan was a special administrative region (Bairner and Hwang, 2011). Therefore, although Taiwan is forced to participate in international sports events in the name of 'Chinese Taipei' and is subject to strict policy restrictions, international sports have prevented Taiwan from being completely excluded from the international community. International sports remain a significant avenue for Taiwanese expression of national pride, albeit often intertwined with political undertones (Bairner and Hwang, 2011; Kang, Kim and Wang, 2015; Ahn, 2019). As Bairner and Hwang (2011) point out the Olympics are a political event for Taiwan. These events of the IOC and Olympics emphasise the

contentious issue of Taiwan's identity and sovereignty, extending beyond the realm of sports diplomacy, reflecting the impact of Taiwan's international representation.

The act of diplomatic recognition, whether viewed as a legal or political gesture, serves as a manifestation of state sovereignty—a coveted 'golden ring' for political leaders (Krasner, 2009). Internal sovereignty, denoting exclusive de facto control over a specific territory with the citizens' acceptance, aligns with the minimalist requirements outlined in the Montevideo Convention (Rich, 2009). The ROC, particularly post-democratisation, meets these criteria, yet the landscape of international recognition transcends internal sovereignty, especially in contested territories (Kolsto, 2006).

External legitimacy, a more intricate facet, involves the assertion of sovereignty in practice, as posited by Bull (1977). To bolster their claims to statehood and reinforce the perception of sovereignty, many political entities employ strategies to emulate the actions of recognised states, which is seen as a way to strengthen their position in the international community (Rich, 2009). While variations in external sovereignty exist (Clapham,1998), diplomatic recognition, a vital indicator of external sovereignty, is underscored by Newnham (2000) as essential to the very definition of state sovereignty. In other terms, the degree of sovereignty a country enjoys is influenced in part by the acknowledgement it receives from other states. The more countries that officially recognise a nation through diplomatic channels, the higher the level of external legitimacy attributed to that country. In the case of the ROC, its standing is precarious, as fewer than one-fourth of nations explicitly acknowledge its sovereignty claims (Rich, 2009). The ROC's vulnerability arises from a deficiency in international legitimacy, creating a situation where few entities are willing to openly contest Beijing's assertion that the island is a rebellious province (Rich, 2009). Based on this, the significant impact of the television industry on sovereignty lies in the fact that when a nation's cultural products garner widespread recognition and appreciation abroad, it can bolster perceptions of its sovereignty and legitimacy as a distinct entity. The importation and embrace of a nation's cultural products by other countries can reinforce its status as a sovereign state with a cultural identity. In the context of Taiwan, where sovereignty is complex due to its contentious relationship with mainland China, the question of professional identity for television workers is intricately linked to broader debates about national identity and sovereignty.

The withholding of diplomatic recognition based on ideological reasons became widespread after World War II (Peterson, 1982). Ideological conflicts emerged as a reliable indicator of the number of expressed opinions regarding diplomatic recognition decisions (Rich, 2009). Throughout the Cold War, nations on opposing sides consistently refrained from extending recognition, particularly when dealing with divided nations that rejected the option of dual recognition (Rich, 2009). This is also reflected in Taiwan's conflict with China, as highlighted in the events I mentioned earlier and in the introduction. By opting to use 'Taiwan' instead of 'ROC,' this decision underscores the practical challenges Taiwan faces in asserting its distinct identity and pursuing its interests on the international stage. It is a recognition of the complex political landscape surrounding Taiwan's status, where the official naming convention can be fraught with geopolitical implications. This choice acknowledges the realities of Taiwan's limited formal international recognition and the diplomatic constraints it faces due to the PRC's 'One-China' policy.

Secondly, it is essential to acknowledge the dynamics of international relations, particularly concerning Taiwan's status and recognition on the global stage. Despite the ROC being the official governmental entity representing Taiwan, the PRC vehemently asserts its adherence to the 'One-China' policy, wherein it claims Taiwan as an integral part of its territory. Before establishing diplomatic relations with the PRC, the other party is required to first recognise the one-China principle of the PRC and establish diplomatic relations under this principle. In other words, if a country wants to establish diplomatic relations with China, it is necessary to recognize that Taiwan is part of China. This policy has significant implications for Taiwan's international recognition, as many countries refrain from formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan to avoid antagonising the PRC. Furthermore, this decision aligns with broader academic and diplomatic conventions, where 'Taiwan' is often used as a pragmatic shorthand to refer to the island and its government, especially in contexts where the intricacies of cross-strait relations and international recognition come into play. While the ROC remains the official name of Taiwan's government, the usage of 'Taiwan' in this thesis reflects a recognition of the practical challenges and diplomatic complexities inherent in Taiwan's international relations.

In summary, in the context of Taiwan's complex geopolitical situation and its struggle for international recognition, the professional identity of Taiwanese television workers is deeply intertwined with questions of sovereignty and diplomatic legitimacy. The contention surrounding Taiwan's status as a sovereign entity versus its official designation as part of mainland China underscores the multifaceted nature of Taiwanese national identity. As Taiwan contends with diplomatic isolation and pressure from mainland China, the acknowledgement of its sovereignty by other states becomes crucial in bolstering its external legitimacy. Diplomatic recognition serves as a vital indicator of a nation's sovereignty, with the degree of acknowledgement from other states directly influencing its perceived legitimacy on the global stage. Therefore, the limited formal international recognition of Taiwan, stemming from the PRC's 'One-China' policy, has further marginalized Taiwan, akin to the orphan of Asia, and presents significant challenges for Taiwanese television workers in asserting their professional identity within the international community. Despite producing cultural content that reflects Taiwan's identity and heritage, television workers need to negotiate geopolitical sensitivities. The international reception of Taiwanese television content becomes not only a measure of cultural success but also a reflection of Taiwan's ongoing struggle for recognition and sovereignty in the face of political pressures. Thus, the professional identity of Taiwanese television workers serves as both a reflection and a struggle in Taiwan's broader quest for international recognition and legitimacy. In the next section, I will further explore the countries other than China impact Taiwan's geopolitical relations, building upon the complexities of Taiwan's sovereignty and diplomatic challenges discussed earlier.

2.2 Impact of Geopolitics on the Establishment of Taiwan Television

The formation of professional identity among Taiwanese television professionals is intricately tied to the cultural industry's national economic structure (Yang , 2012). This is attributed to the cultural industry's role as a construct of the Chinese nation (Yang, 2012). The historical legacy and geopolitical relations of the past have profoundly shaped contemporary Taiwanese culture, particularly in the establishment of the television industry. Therefore, in this section, I provide a succinct overview of the significant influence exerted by other key actors beyond China, notably the United States and Japan, during the establishment stages of the Taiwanese television industry. It brings to light a

discernible shift towards low-cost production strategies and an increased dependence on foreign programming in the Taiwanese television landscape.

2.2.1. Taiwanese Television: A Product of Geopolitical Influences and Ideological Constructs

The ideological framework of 'pro-American' and 'anti-communist' was primarily embedded within Asian countries after World War II. In East Asia, the Korean War resulted in the long-term division of North and South Korea, also plummeting relations between the United States and the PRC to an all-time low. Furthermore, the intertwinement of the relationship between the United States and the KMT government, led by Chiang Kai-shek, which retreated to Taiwan, further complicated matters.

In response to threats from the Soviet Union and China (People's Republic of China), the post-war United States promptly signed mutual defence treaties with South Korea. Additionally, previous agreements such as the security treaty signed with Japan in 1952, the Sino-American Mutual Defence Treaty signed at the end of 1954, as well as subsequent security arrangements with the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand, and the establishment of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisations (SEATO), were aimed at actively constructing a containment network against communist influence. The Korean War was not only a civil war but also an international power struggle, prompting the United States to alter its strategic deployment in East Asia and forge military alliances with various allies, thereby forming a legitimate and rational security containment (Lee, 2000). Riding on the wave of the Korean War, the influence of the United States began permeating East Asia. It could be said that the active involvement of the United States in East Asian affairs was seen as a legitimate presence, aiming to establish an Asia-Pacific concept centred around the United States in Post-World War II. Even after the end of the Cold War, its influence continues to shape contemporary Asia. Against this backdrop, the establishment of Taiwanese Television stations was deeply influenced by American considerations.

Taiwan's role and position in the Cold War scenario led to a structured relationship of political and economic partnership with the United States, resulting in a binary ideological consciousness of 'pro-American' versus 'anti-communist'. Besides Taiwan's strategic location as a crucial chain in containing mainland China, another significant

factor is Taiwan's self-perception as the 'sole legitimate government representing China'. The KMT government under Chiang Kai-shek used Taiwan as a springboard for anti-communist endeavours, aligning with America's anti-communist policies and substantial economic and military aid, making cooperation with the United States the 'most viable' option for the KMT government's anti-communist policy (Lin, 2005).

Therefore, the signing of the Sino-American Mutual Defence Treaty in 1954 not only provided military assistance from the United States but also ensured Chiang Kai-shek's grip on power in Taiwan (Palit, 2002）. American assistance, primarily in the form of economic and military aid, alleviated Taiwan's post-Korean War supply-demand imbalances and reduced the burden of defence spending, facilitating Taiwan's recovery from the chaos of war (Liu, 2005). Although American aid primarily focused on economic and military assistance, Taiwan's dependence on the United States extended beyond these aspects, even into education, lifestyle, and cultural spheres. During this period, a system was cultivated and developed that fostered pro-American sentiments with little criticism towards the United States. Any political or ideological challenges to the United States were often viewed as undermining the friendship between the United States and Taiwan, or as an affirmation of communist rule (Chen, 2010). Thus, 'pro-American' sentiments were effectively utilised through economic and military aid as a means of implementing containment policies relative to Asia（Liu , 2005). The discourse of being both 'pro-American' and 'anti-communist' became a significant component in shaping Taiwan's identity during this period.

The KMT received support from the United States, further strengthening its ruling position in Taiwan during the Cold War. A single-party authoritarian regime created by the KMT government monopolised military and cultural power in the 1950s (Lin, 2005). Culture and cultural production represent profoundly significant arenas where political power can compete and consolidate itself. Particularly, television stands out as an important platform, representing the interests of state authorities to citizens and other power holders. In this context, television emerges as a tool wielded by political authorities, often regarded as the 'ideological state apparatus,' serving to uphold the image of the regime, project it internationally, and reinforce domestic cohesion. Thus, television is

perceived as a critical domain where political power vies and fortifies its influence within the cultural sphere.

Superficially, TTV in the 1960s seemed to symbolise social prosperity and represent social modernisation (Ko, 2008). However, television served as an 'ideological state apparatus for nation-building, for the KMT government to consolidate power after retreating to Taiwan. The emergence of television became a means for the government to maintain its image, especially when Taiwan sought international support. The establishment of Taiwan Television (TTV), the first television station in Taiwan, under such circumstances was influenced by the United States and Japan.

In 1954, the Head of Central News Agency Zeng Xu-Bai visited the United States television system and obtained support from the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and United Telecommunications Company (UNITEL), expressing willingness to invest in Taiwan's television industry (Ko, 2008). Upon returning to Taiwan, Zeng proposed to Chiang Kai-shek that developing the television industry would contribute to education and enhance the country's image (Ko, 2008; 2009). This reflects the KMT's policy since the 1960s, which has generally avoided the use of force to suppress protests and movements in order to enhance its image. Instead, it invites leaders of socioal and cultural organisations to participate in government activities, thereby improving the government's reputation (Lin, 2005). UNITEL even proposed a plan to establish a trans-Pacific automatic telecommunications system to strengthen connections among Asia-Pacific countries (Ko, 2008). The announcement of TTV in the United Daily News further demonstrated this political purpose of internal consolidation of power and external promotion of cooperative relationships and national image. TTV (1962) stated,

> Our company plans to swiftly complete the provincial television broadcasting network after the commencement of broadcasting, thereby establishing microwave connections with Japan, Okinawa, and the Philippines. This will facilitate the proposed Asia Television Broadcasting Network among free Asian countries, enabling program exchanges with relevant countries and implementing cultural exchanges to enhance mutual understanding. Additionally, it will allow millions of compatriots abroad to witness the progress of their homeland, thereby strengthening

their sense of unity and contributing to the collective effort of anti-communism and national rejuvenation.

(*Taiwan Television*, 10 October 1962, United Daily News, p. 12, cited in Ko, 2009)

Considering the tense situation and the need for United States containment of communism, this system was seen as a crucial means to rapidly establish military communication networks during wartime, although the plan was eventually abandoned (Ko, 2008). This demonstrates that television was closely related to factors such as the arms race in the Taiwan Strait, East Asian economic interdependence, internal power struggles within the KMT government, and public opinion in Taiwan. Consequently, this political factor led to the establishment of Taiwan's terrestrial television system in the 1960s, referred to as 'government-owned private enterprises[1]'(Lin, 2005; Lin, 2006). This system was dominated by officials (including the government, the Nationalist Party, and the Ministry of National Defence), who invited private enterprises to invest in television stations (Lin, 2005; Lin, 2006). Here, in terms of foreign investment, aside from emphasizing the influence of the United States, it is also necessary to highlight the impact of Japan. American and Japanese companies separately expressed their intentions to invest in the TTV and presented conditions. For example, the American company RCA and General Electric Company (GE) proposed to provide $2 million as funding while the attached condition was that the American company would enjoy exclusive rights in Taiwan Television's television business (Lin, 2006). Similarly, Japan also proposed similar conditions. After several rounds of negotiations, the final decision was made to cooperate with Nippon Electric Co., Ltd. (NEC) and Toshiba Corporation (the specific process in negotiation see Lin, 2006, Ko, 2008; 2009). This decision was made to compete with mainland China in Japanese diplomacy, ensuring the relationship between the Japanese government and the Taiwanese government. Lin (2006) pointed out that, at the time, while relations with the United States remained stable, relations with Japan were becoming less stable, and cooperation with Japanese companies was more favourable for establishing diplomatic relations. This collaborative approach facilitated unique

[1] Within this system, state bodies, including the government itself, the KMT and the Ministry of National Defence (MND), took the lead in orchestrating the establishment of television stations while extending invitations to private enterprises for share acquisition. Taiwan's first three terrestrial television stations are Taiwan Television (TTV), China Television (CTV) and Chinese Television System (CTS). TTV and CTV were originally under the jurisdiction of the Taiwan Provincial Government and the Ministry of National Defence respectively, while CTS was considered part of the assets owned by the KMT.

interdependence between government agencies and corporate sectors, potentially influencing the content and operational dynamics within the television industry.

For example, Taiwan's first television station, TTV, founded in 1962, followed the American system: it was sustained by broadcast and advertising fees (Chen, 2009). However, due to initial financial constraints, it was unable to invest in program content (Li, 1984；Chen, 2009). Therefore, apart from a few self-produced programmes, TTV mainly relied on American dramas to fill its time slots (Chu, 2005). The inclusion of American dramas, with their political ideological undertones and cultural identity, became a priority for TTV (Chu, 2005). Consequently, TTV lost partial control over its programmes, even after achieving advertising revenue in 1965, thereby overcoming financial deficits (Li, 1984, Chen, 2009). American dramas exerted considerable dominance over TTV's time slots, to the extent that TTV could not arbitrarily change the timing of American series, which nearly monopolized prime time (Chu, 2005). During this period, Taiwan mainly relied on American sources for television content, but technical support came from Japan. Furthermore, it has influenced concessions and changes within the Taiwanese television industry, driven by the requirements or expectations of foreign investors seeking to attract investments, such as scheduling American television series during prime time.

This process of establishing Taiwan television echoes Schiller's definition of cultural imperialism, which is 'the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating centre of the system' (Schiller , 1975/1976, p.9). These foreign investors, especially those from the United States and Japan, have had a significant impact on Taiwan's television industry, whether in terms of technology, financial investment, or program content. This impact has led to the acceptance and shaping of foreign values and structures in Taiwan. Consequently, under the historical legacy and geopolitical influences, Taiwan under the KMT's authoritarian rule integrated American values with Western progressive ideas brought during the Japanese colonial period, constructing a narrative that Taiwan is an economically prosperous, democratic

nation, while China represents an economically and 'authoritarian' regime, which has had long-lasting effects on the Taiwanese populace.

Interestingly, while Taiwan's technological aspects were supported by Japan, the discussion about Japan's prospect of becoming a television society virtually disappeared at this time. During this period, the mainstream discourse under government influence exhibited a phenomenon of cultural anti-Japanese sentiment coupled with economic reliance on Japan. In Ko's (2008) investigation of numerous newspapers and magazines, it was found that from the 1960s onwards, there was a significant presence of American scientists suggesting, reforming, inventing, or improving television in Taiwanese media discourse. Despite Japan's widespread adoption of television at the time and Taiwan's cooperation with Japan in television technology, Japan was not the progressive television society envisioned in the media discourse; rather, the United States served as the omnipresent imagined reference point (Ko, 2008). While such media discourse may not authentically mirror public opinion, considering television as a national media suggests it could be interpreted as an account aligned with governmental agendas and cultural norms, or potentially influenced by enduring anti-Japanese sentiments rooted in Japan's colonial history. It can be said that the development of Taiwan's television system and its institutional framework were deeply influenced by historical heritage, international influences, and post-war ideological formations, with government agencies playing a crucial role in formulating and promoting television infrastructure.

2.2.2. Financial Challenges in Taiwanese Television: From Monopoly to Production-Broadcast Separation

In the preceding part, it was highlighted that the initial development of Taiwanese television, particularly during the 1960s, was significantly influenced by historical legacy and geopolitical factors, with the United States playing a critical role. Then, from 1960 to 1980, there were minimal structural alterations in Taiwanese television, which remained predominantly monopolised by the three major terrestrial broadcasting companies[2]. The long-term dominance of TTV, CTV, and CTS has resulted in the

[2] Taiwan Television (TTV), founded in 1962 with private enterprise holding approximately 30% of shares; China Television Company (hereafter CTV), established in 1969 with private broadcasters holding 40% of shares; and China Television System (hereafter CTS), founded in 1971 with private enterprise holding 20% of shares (Lin, 2005; Lin, 2006).

segregation of production and broadcasting structures in the present-day Taiwanese television industry. This production structure for television cultural products impacts the endeavour for creative autonomy and self-actualisation among Taiwanese television professionals, subsequently influencing their professional identity. Further discussions on this topic will be presented in Chapter 6 through the analysis of interviews with these professionals.

While these three major television stations dominated the early television market in Taiwan, they provided more advertising slots in a limited market, leading to oversupply and preventing arbitrary manipulation of advertising prices (Chen , 1995; Chen, 2003). This, in turn, resulted in commercial cutthroat competition. As a consequence, their power in resource allocation gradually dispersed, and profit margins declined (Chen, 2003). When the operating mechanism failed to promptly reflect changes in the market environment, the three terrestrial television/broadcasting companies began facing financial difficulties (Chen, 2003). To address financial deficits, television stations reduced personnel wages and production costs, outsourcing program production to independent production companies (Chen, 1995; Chen, 2003), and simultaneously reduced control over program content (Chen, 1995). Television stations that control advertising slots should possess the core power to produce and distribute industry resources. However, advertisers and sponsors reverse the control of industry resources. This is exacerbated by an abundance of small market channels, leading to oversupply. Additionally, television stations reduce production costs, including personnel salaries and production expenses, by outsourcing program production to external companies (Chen, 1995), producing low-cost products and directly purchasing foreign programmes to offset deficits (Lin, 2005). In doing so, these television operators gradually lose their ability to produce programmes, and the system of separating production and broadcasting comes to dominate the Taiwanese television industry. While this system saves on labour costs, in reality, television stations merely transfer their loss risks to small independent production companies (Chen, 1995), turning television stations into platforms that seem to have only broadcast functions.

By the late 1980s, many viewers had already become accustomed to receiving foreign programmes such as Japanese dramas, Hong Kong dramas, and Hollywood films through other channels (satellite, videotapes, or illegal cable TV channels) (Feng, 1995, cited in Lin, 2005). Japan stands as a significant actor in Taiwanese popular culture, alongside the

United States. Not only was Japan a former coloniser, but it also played a pivotal role in Taiwan's modernization process (Ching, 2000). Despite Japan's involvement during the early stages of Taiwanese television establishment, its influence was obscured due to the KMT government's efforts to eradicate the remnants of Japanese colonialism and appease the sentiments of mainlanders who migrated to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek, particularly regarding Japan (Ching, 2000). Additionally, against this backdrop, the importation of Japanese audiovisual products was restricted in the 1950s, and in 1974, it was entirely banned following Japan's decision to sever diplomatic ties with the Republic of China (Lee, 2004). However, since the early 1980s, Japanese popular culture began entering Taiwan through various illicit channels (Lee, 2004). In 1992, the satellite channel Star TV started airing popular Japanese dramas during prime time, causing a sensation and sparking a phenomenon known as 'Japan-mania,' which denotes the fondness for Japanese popular culture (Ko , 2004; Lee, 2004). In Asian markets, Japanese popular culture was commonly regarded as a dominant cultural force in 1990, with widespread appeal among young people (Iwabuchi, 2002). In Taiwan, this 'Japan-mania' persisted until the early 2000s when Korean popular culture surged, gradually overshadowing the Japanese influence in Taiwan (Huang, 2018).

Additionally, since the introduction of cable television in 1993, the viewership and market share of terrestrial television/broadcasting have continued to decline, dropping to around 40% in 2001 and below 30% in 2004 (Lin, 2005). More specifically, an excessive number of television operators compete in a narrow market since cable TV was legalised in Taiwan, leading to an oversupply of channels, resulting in a fragmented audience and restrictions on funding for a single programme. Thus, television networks often resort to procuring foreign programming as a cost-reduction strategy. Confronted with escalating costs associated with Japanese dramas and a burgeoning appetite for content from numerous cable channels, the Taiwanese television sector actively endeavours to import and champion budget-friendly Korean dramas (Yang, 2012). In this context, the influence of Japanese television on program production in Taiwan during the 1960s and 1970s was significant, with a large number of Taiwanese professionals imitating Japanese programmes (Liu and Chen, 2004).

In short, the story of Taiwanese television resonates with the television landscape of other countries, characterised by channel oversupply and audience fragmentation, resulting in

the depreciation of advertising slots, as discussed in this section. These phenomena not only impact the professional identity and negotiation of demands among Taiwanese television practitioners but also manifest in their attitudes towards the Korean Wave and the experiences and challenges encountered in cross-border work. Primarily, channel oversupply and audience fragmentation directly affect the income and career development of television practitioners through the depreciation of advertising slots. To address this situation, television practitioners may seek to negotiate more favourable professional identities and demands within the internal dynamics, such as pursuing higher salaries or better working conditions. Moreover, as previously mentioned, television networks often resort to procuring foreign programming as a cost-reduction strategy. The Korean Wave, a focal point of this project, is intricately intertwined with the Taiwanese industrial landscape. Confronted with escalating costs associated with Japanese dramas and a burgeoning appetite for content from numerous cable channels post-liberalization, the Taiwanese television sector actively endeavours to import and champion budget-friendly Korean dramas (Yang, 2012). Additionally, in pursuit of new markets and revenue sources, television practitioners may engage in cross-border labour mobility, particularly in China. However, this endeavour may encounter various challenges, including political pressure, cultural differences, and market restrictions, which will impact their professional identity and career development. Therefore, through interviews with Taiwanese television practitioners, this project aims to understand the current professional identity of Taiwanese practitioners and industry dynamics, and their contributions to the field.

Conclusion

This section provides an exploration of the significant events and key players involved in the establishment of Taiwanese television. Under the influence of geopolitics, Taiwan's television industry was significantly shaped by both historical factors and geopolitical considerations, particularly in the 1960s. The United States played a pivotal role during this period. Furthermore, the early dominance of terrestrial television broadcasting companies in Taiwan's market led to monopolistic practices. However, with the advent of cable television channels, the industry witnessed fierce commercial competition due to an oversupply of advertising slots. Consequently, power over resource allocation gradually decentralised, leading to a decline in profit margins and the establishment of a separation between production and broadcasting. Additionally, the influx of foreign

programmes, particularly from Japan, and the penetration of Japanese popular culture, notably through the introduction of Japanese dramas, exerted a considerable influence on Taiwan's television landscape. Taiwanese television professionals extensively studied and emulated the production methods of Japanese programmes. These factors collectively shaped the trajectory of Taiwan's television industry and influenced the professional development and identity of television practitioners.

2.3 From Sibling to Enemy: Taiwan-South Korea Relations

This section provides a concise overview of the historical and contemporary interactions between Taiwan and South Korea. By exploring the multifaceted relationship between Taiwan and Korea, from early diplomatic engagements to modern-day collaborations, this section seeks to comprehend how foreign cultural influences have shaped Taiwanese popular culture and operated within the framework of nationalism.

2.3.1. Siblings in Anti-Communist Resistance: Taiwan-Korea Relations in the Cold War

The ideologies of ‘pro-Americanism’ and ‘anti-communism’ were primarily embedded within Asian nations after World War II. In East Asia, the Korean War led to the long-term division of North and South Korea, while also deteriorating relations between the United States and the PRC. Moreover, the retreat of the KMT government, led by Chiang Kai-shek, to Taiwan further complicated the relationship between the United States and the PRC. Consequently, the advent of the Cold War marked a critical era in which the United States strategically engaged both Taiwan and South Korea as frontline entities in the containment of communist influence (Rich, 2009). This forged a symbiotic relationship between Taiwan and South Korea in the crucible of anti-communist resistance.

In Taiwan, as the previous section mentioned, the CPC, under the leadership of Mao Zedong, viewed Taiwan as a renegade province and sought its reunification with the mainland under communist rule. This aggressive stance towards Taiwan manifested in various forms of coercion and intimidation, including military threats, diplomatic isolation, and economic sanctions. Meanwhile, there is a parallel conflict and complexity

in terms of the national sovereignty of Korea, which resonates with the current tensions in Taiwan. Korea and Taiwan share parallel histories, including Japanese colonialism, long periods of military dictatorship, and their roles as partners in the fight against communism. The two countries maintained diplomatic and emotional ties until the early 1990s. During the historical juncture of 1945, the Korean Peninsula experienced a similar division, leading to the establishment of the demarcation line between North and South Korea (officially the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, DPRK and the Republic of Korea, ROK respectively). This crucial moment in Korean history laid the groundwork for divergent political trajectories within the region. The partitioning not only delineated geographical boundaries but also distinct political ideologies and governance structures between the two entities. This geopolitical split engendered intricate and enduring implications, shaping the subsequent evolution of the Korean Peninsula's socio-political landscape.

Building upon this context, American support exerted profound ramifications across political, economic, and cultural spheres, leaving an indelible imprint on the trajectories of these two nations. Politically, the U.S. assistance sought to bolster the resilience of Taiwan and South Korea against communist pressures, reinforcing their strategic alignment with the 'democratic bloc'. In Taiwan, under the dominance of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, Chinese nationalism was employed to uphold the legitimacy of its rule, with the 'Communist bandit' (PRC) established as an enemy united internally and externally. 'Anti-communist' also became a basic national policy and a 'consensus' of mainstream ideology, while American and Japanese imperialism was no longer the object of Taiwanese nationalist resistance (Chen , 1994). Under the operation of the state apparatus, Taipei was only 'temporarily' the capital of the ROC, Taiwan's history and culture lost its integrity, and the Taiwanese also lost their historical memory (Fan , 1999). The role of the United States and Japan has gradually changed from the image of an oppressor of imperialism to a helper who assists Taiwan in resisting China's communist enemy. Economically, the injection of American aid played an important role in the development and modernisation of both societies, catalysing growth and fostering stability. Culturally, the interchange of ideas and values engendered by this collaborative effort contributed to a confluence of shared interests.

However, it is essential to recognize the inherent complexities within this so-called 'democratic bloc' or 'capitalist bloc,' as these alliances were often driven more by strategic and economic interests rather than purely ideological considerations. Beneath the surface of this seemingly ideological alliance lies geopolitical calculations driven by strategic interests. Taiwan's geographical position, situated close to China, made it a strategic value for the United States and other powers seeking to contain 'communist expansion' in the region. Taiwan's proximity to China occasionally advantaged it, as hostile powers, antagonistic towards China, sought to recruit Taiwan as an ally in wider conflicts. This positioning made Taiwan an important player in the geopolitical strategies of the Cold War era, where alliances were often forged and broken based on shifting strategic considerations rather than solely ideological affinity.

In short, during the Cold War era, Taiwan and Korea strategically aligned with the United States to contain communist influence, forming a symbiotic relationship grounded in anti-communist resistance. However, this alliance, though seemingly ideological, was frequently motivated by strategic and economic considerations. Both Taiwan and Korea shared parallel histories marked by external aggression and internal authoritarianism, which facilitated their collaboration against communist threats. American aid across political, economic, and cultural domains bolstered the resilience of Taiwan and Korea, although it was primarily guided by political and strategic objectives aimed at safeguarding national interests and geopolitical aims.

With the easing of the Cold War, Taiwan and South Korea underwent rapid economic growth and transformation, earning them the appellation of the 'Asian Tigers'. Economic prosperity laid the foundation for strengthened cooperation between the two nations. Bilateral trade agreements, investment partnerships, and technological collaborations played pivotal roles in solidifying their economic ties. By the end of the 20th century, Taiwan and South Korea emerged as global economic participants in industries such as technology, manufacturing, and trade. Companies from both nations began establishing business ventures in each other's markets, fostering mutually beneficial economic relationships.

2.3.2. From Sibling to Enemy：Taiwan-Korea Relations After the Cold War

With the easing of the Cold War, Taiwan and Korea underwent rapid economic growth and transformation, earning them the appellation of the 'Asian Tigers'. The title undoubtedly strengthened the sibling-like connection between Taiwan and South Korea, highlighting the parallels in their developmental trajectories, historical ties, economic prowess, and shared accomplishments. Economic prosperity laid the foundation for strengthened cooperation between the two nations. Bilateral trade agreements, investment partnerships, and technological collaborations played pivotal roles in solidifying their economic ties. By the end of the 20th century, Taiwan and South Korea emerged as global economic participants in industries such as technology, manufacturing, and trade. Companies from both nations began establishing business ventures in each other's markets, fostering mutually beneficial economic relationships.

However, significant diplomatic changes occurred in the latter half of the 20th century that impacted the Taiwan-Korea relationship. South Korea's 'Northern Diplomacy' strategy aimed to engage with socialist and communist nations (Sanford, 1990), leading one of the outcomes to the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Korea and China in 1992. This move adhered to a 'One-China' policy, resulting in Korea severing formal diplomatic ties with Taiwan. The termination of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and Korea aroused Taiwanese people's antipathy toward Korea, called 'anti-Korean sentiment' exacerbated by subsequent conflicts in various fields (such as culture and sports) between Taiwan and Korea. Taiwanese correspondent stationed in Korea Yang Chien-Hao (2013), in his article '21st Anniversary of Taiwan- Korea Breakup: Reflection and Critique of Taiwan's Diplomacy,' quoted a segment from the evening news of the Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) on August 24, 1992:

> Taiwan, as the first country to establish diplomatic relations with our country 48 years after the government was founded, is about to close its embassy. Inevitably, due to the irresistible trend of peaceful reunification of the Korean Peninsula and our country's interests, the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Korea is inevitable. However, Taiwan, which is also located in the East, hopes to continue its practical negotiations with them through civil levels to maintain our friendship.

(MBC, 1992, cited in Yang, 2023)

On the one hand, on August 24, 1992, when Taiwan and Korea severed diplomatic ties, the same day witnessed the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Korea. This highlighted Korea's perceived 'betrayal' of its past friendship with Taiwan, abandoning its former ally during the Cold War in favour of establishing ties with its common enemy the PRC. Not to mention the political entanglements between China and Taiwan, making it difficult for Taiwan to accept Korea's 'betrayal' action. Moreover, since the KMT government came to Taiwan in 1949, Taiwan has always interacted with Korea in a manner characterised by a 'top-down' attitude, under the framework of the KMT's embrace of the 'Greater China' sentiment. This may have contributed to Taiwan's strong sense of feeling 'betrayed' and 'abandoned' when diplomatic ties were severed with Korea.

On the other hand, Korea was the last Asian country to sever diplomatic ties with the Republic of China. Although there were political pressures from China behind the scenes, Korea's act of breaking ties was like the last straw that broke the camel's back, as Taiwan had lost its last ally in Asia since 1992. For the Taiwanese, Korea might be seen as the catalyst for Taiwan's 'isolation', resulting in it becoming the Orphan of Asia (Ching, 2001). Ching (2001) claims that this is an emotion of deeper tragic abandonment which stands for the no sense of belonging. Such feelings of being abandoned as an orphan arise from betrayed conflicts and contradictions (Ching, 2001). It is precisely such feelings of betrayal and abandonment that have led to the emergence of anti-Korean sentiment. Therefore, it is important to emphasise that behind the anti-Korean sentiment generated by the Korean Wave in Taiwan, there exists anti-China sentiment, responding to the geopolitical tensions between Taiwan, China, and Korea.

2.3.3. Anti-Korean Sentiment in Taiwan

When Taiwanese individuals seek to resist or overcome a certain predicament or rationalise against the other, they may use the other's identity to create different self-imaginations (Ching, 2001). Treating South Korea as an imaginary object may help establish a national identity and alleviate anxiety. This approach aims to reduce the sense of loneliness and anxiety internationally by consistently portraying South Korea negatively in the media, thereby fostering cohesion in Taiwanese national identity. Based

on the discussion in the previous section, this section explores further anti-Korean sentiment in Taiwan.

The transnational circulation and consumption of media and popular culture have (re)created East Asia as a cultural imaginary community (Ahn, 2019). The Korean Wave has facilitated the development of 'East Asian affect' (Chua and Iwabuchi, 2008; Kim, 2011; Ahn, 2019), engendering a new desire and fascination among Asian youth, but also nurturing a new transnational antipathy (Ahn, 2019). In this project, the term 'Anti-Korean sentiment' is employed to articulate this antipathy.

Taiwan, Japan, and China are geographically the closest countries to South Korea and serve as its largest consumer markets for popular culture (Chua and Iwabuchi, 2008; Shim, 2008; Ahn, 2019). Among them, Taiwan stands out as one of the earliest adopters of Korean popular culture (Ahn, 2019). However, media in Taiwan and China often resort to the concept of cultural 'invasion' to explain the impact of the Korean Wave on their respective nations. The discourse surrounding the so-called 'invasion' is particularly prominent in media narratives, as evidenced by reports from a prominent Chinese media outlet, 'People's Daily,' stating, 'Korean media claims secret contact between Chinese and Korean film and television industries: Hallyu will arbitrarily 'invade' China' (Zhao, 2017). Similarly, Taiwan's SET News Channel reported, 'Hallyu invasion is everywhere! The annual tourism revenue reaches $17.6 billion' (Wang, 2016).

Paradoxically, despite consuming significant amounts of Korean cultural products, Taiwan, China, and Japan also harbour anti-Korean sentiments. In China, there is a growing trend of boycotting Korean products (Chen, 2017, Ahn, 2019). In Taiwan, anti-Korean sentiments reached a peak during the 'Yang Shu-chun incident'. In Japan, artist Sharin Yamano published a manga titled 'Dislike Hallyu' (Japanese: マンガ嫌韓流). On one hand, this represents a transnational escalation of anti-Korean sentiments, reshaping the geopolitical landscape of East Asia (An, 2019). On the other hand, these internal anti-Korean phenomena or movements within these countries seem to be interpreted by the audience as resistance against the 'invasion' of Korean culture.

In Taiwan, media discourse amplifies the representational dichotomy of reactions to the Hallyu phenomenon, including the voices of fans and critics. On one side, some people are enamoured with Korean entertainment, fashion, and lifestyle—constituting the fan base. On the other side, there is an opposing faction that views Hallyu as a cultural invasion, undermining the authenticity of Taiwanese cultural identity. While fans celebrate the diversity and global appeal of Hallyu, critics express concerns about the potential erasure of Taiwan's cultural uniqueness. The media becomes the battleground for these conflicting narratives, facilitating a broader discussion about nationalism and resistance.

As discussed in the preceding section, the protracted diplomatic estrangement between South Korea and Taiwan, culminating in the establishment of diplomatic relations with China in 1992, may have contributed to anti-Korean sentiment. This sentiment could be rooted in a sense of betrayal resulting from the severance of diplomatic ties, especially considering the historically amicable relationship between Taiwan and South Korea during the Cold War era. Ching (2001) argues that this emotion represents a deeper tragic abandonment. In numerous pieces of Taiwanese literature, Taiwan is often metaphorically portrayed as an orphan, symbolising abandonment and a lack of belonging. This feeling of being abandoned as an orphan arises from conflicted betrayals and contradictions (Ching, 2001).

These conflicts arise from Taiwan's lack of a shared national identity. This instability and the absence of a collective sense of identity originate not only from the internal struggle between unified and independent ethnic identities within society but also from the marginalised predicament on the international stage. Taiwan's complex socio-political landscape reflects the ongoing tension between those advocating for a cohesive national identity and those championing distinct ethnic identities. The internal dynamics involve a dialectical struggle between forces seeking to consolidate a unified national narrative and those advocating for the recognition of diverse ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, international marginalisation exacerbates the challenges faced by Taiwan. Geopolitical isolation further complicates the establishment of a cohesive national identity as Taiwan contends with a delicate balance between asserting its autonomy and navigating the complex web of global power dynamics.

Anti-Korean sentiment in Taiwan is often event-driven, becoming most evident when newsworthy events occur between the two countries (Ahn, 2019). Academic research shows that Taiwan's hostility towards South Korea mainly stems from the sports fan group (eg, Kuo, 2010; Liu, 2015; Ahn, 2019), as well as economic competition in the era of globalisation, especially competition in the cultural and entertainment fields (Liu, 2019). The former is especially true in sports events involving South Korea and Taiwan. Sports in Taiwan symbolize that Taiwan can gain international recognition through participating in events to alleviate isolation and anxiety on the international stage. Therefore, sports and nationalism have intertwined a special relationship in Taiwanese society. Sports competitions represent the desire of Taiwanese to regain the cultural self-esteem lost in other fields.

The athletes participating in the sports competitions represent the entire country —more precisely, their 'imaginary community'—to compete with other nations in symbolic virtual struggles, vent their tensions more gently, and even eliminate ethnic conflicts. For example, in the 1970s, as many Taiwanese studies (e.g. Lin, 1995: Chang, 2000; Wen, 2003; Tsai, 2003; S.Y. Hsieh and J. F. Hsieh, 2003) have pointed out when the KMT regime was facing a crisis of legitimacy (referring to the withdrawal of the United Nations in 1971 and the PRC becoming the sole representative of China), baseball was no longer just a 'child's game' (Sundeen, 2001), but a major issue related to 'regime maintenance'. In 1973, the Taiwanese team won the world championship in the Little League, Junior League, and Senior League Baseball for the first time simultaneously. Since then, the 'triple-crown has become a proud synonym for baseball in Taiwan. As a result, in such a specific environment of time and space, baseball not only shoulders the important task of 'Sports Diplomacy', but also needs to unite the nation and as a tool to legitimise the existing regime.

This sense of anxiety also extends to the entertainment industry. Television serves not only as a platform for cultural output but also as a crucial medium for shaping national identity. When television programmes fail to meet expectations or face competition on the international stage, the sense of anxiety may deepen. This anxiety is reflected in Taiwanese television professionals. Due to the popularity of the Korean Wave, Taiwanese viewers' love for Korean culture has incorporated Korean elements into television programmes. This phenomenon has brought both business opportunities to the

entertainment industry and, to some extent, triggered comparisons and anxieties among domestic audiences, especially for television professionals. The Korean Wave phenomenon further intensifies the delicate balance between Taiwan's entertainment industry, national identity, and anxiety.

In the realm of entertainment, a key anti-Korean example is the 'Tzuyu Incident' in 2016. TWICE member Chou Tzuyu from Taiwan held the Taiwanese flag on a Korean television program, sparking controversy. Chinese audiences interpreted it as endorsing independence, leading to China's boycott of TWICE and other JYP Entertainment artists. To mitigate losses, JYP released an apology video, in which Tzuyu claimed pride in being Chinese and stated that Taiwan is part of China, angering Taiwanese who felt their sovereignty was undermined (BBC Taiwan, 2016). This marks a shift in Taiwan's anti-Korean sentiment, emphasising the trilateral relations involving China, Taiwan, and South Korea, rather than just the relations between South Korea and Taiwan (Ahn, 2019). As such, anti-Korean sentiment should be considered within a broader historical or political framework. As Yang (2014) rightly points out, it is not only the effects of affective power that are at issue but also the historical and cultural shaping of specific contexts where these affective vectors are formed and operate and where affective subjectivities are constructed.

When studying anti-Korean sentiment, it is crucial to consider how we should understand or treat emotions as objects of study. Many cultural sociologists no longer conceptualise emotions as psychological states but view them as social and cultural practices (Ahmed, 2014; Barbalet, 1998; Burkitt, 1997; Yang, 2014). Barbalet (1998) presents a macro-sociological approach to studying emotions, demonstrating how emotion research links social structures and human agency, deconstructing the binary relationship between rationality and emotion. Similarly, Ahmed (2014) emphasises the sociality of emotions in her seminal work 'The Cultural Politics of Emotion'. This resonates with Ahn's (2019) argument, positing that anti-Korean sentiment is not a causal psychological effect but a cultural text that reveals the complexity of emotions as active drivers of collective (un)consciousness.

I concur with the fundamental premises of these studies, contending that the characteristics of anti-Korean sentiments, such as jealousy, inferiority, and anger, are not

merely expressions of emotion but processes through which the Taiwanese people establish their identity in the complex geopolitics of the region. This sentiment is influenced by various factors, including geopolitical events, cultural exchanges, and Taiwan's relationships with other East Asian countries. Therefore, anti-Korean sentiment is regarded as a multi-faceted emotional and sociocultural phenomenon, reflecting Taiwan's positioning and identity formation in the geopolitical and cultural realms. While this chapter provides some background on international relations and political tensions, it is essential to emphasise that I am examining how television practitioners engage in the East Asian television production sphere amidst the prevalence of the Korean Wave and anti-Korean sentiment, influenced by geopolitical tensions, and how these engagements shape their professional identities.

2.3.4. The Overwhelming Impact of the Korean Wave in Taiwan

Building upon Goh's (2009) work titled *Korean Wave, beyond Asia to the World (한류, 아시아를 넘어 세계로)*, the Taiwanese scholar Hsu (2014) classified the diffusion and development of the 'Korean wave' phenomenon in Asia into three major stages. This section draws on Hsu's classification, particularly focusing on the Taiwanese context, where the temporal evolution of the Korean Wave has manifested through a dynamic interplay of Korean dramas, K-pop, and variety shows.

These stages can be identified as follows: The first stage, known as the genesis period of the Korean Wave, spanned from 1997 to 2000, focusing on Korean dramas. The second stage, referred to as the deepening period of the Korean Wave, was characterised by the prominence of Korean dramas and popular music around the mid-2000s. The third stage, from the late 2000s to the present, represents the diverse phase of the Korean Wave, encompassing Korean dramas, K-pop, variety shows, and various other genres. While referencing Hsu's (2014) three stages, I made a slight modification by distinguishing each stage based on the prevalence of specific genres in Taiwan. Consequently, there were some temporal differences. However, this classification should not be misconstrued as a strict delineation, as each stage, while primarily dominated by specific types of entertainment (the most popular genres in that stage), may have introduced other genres into Taiwan.

The initial surge of the Korean Wave in Taiwan emanated from Korean television dramas,

emerging around the year 2000. Although Taiwan first introduced Korean dramas in 1996, the initial response was not particularly favourable (Yeh, 2002). It was only in 1999, when GTVestablished a dedicated drama channel and strategically focused on promoting Korean dramas, that a positive shift was observed, implementing a strategy that involved inviting Korean stars to Taiwan (Yeh, 2002). GTV played an important role in catalysing this cultural phenomenon when it broadcast the iconic series *Fireworks (불꽃)* and *Autumn in My Heart (가을 동화)* in 2001 (Yeh, 2002; Hsu, 2014). This momentous event not only instigated a fervent interest in Korean dramas and the broader Korean Wave in Taiwan but also solidified GTV's identity as a prominent channel for Korean drama enthusiasts (Yeh, 2002). Additionally, the high viewership ratings of these two series prompted other Taiwanese television operators, such as Videoland Television, to enter the market for Korean dramas (Yeh, 2002).

Following the popularity of Korean dramas, the K-POP idol groups from Wonder Girls, *Super Junior* and *Girls 'Generati*on (소녀 시대) bring the second wave in Asia in mid-2000s (Hsu, 2014), K-POP has a profound impact on current Taiwanese pop music market. Korean artists come to Taiwan to hold concerts or fan meetings almost every week. Continuing with the second wave, the combination of K-POP, film and television industry, and idol industry makes Korean wave into the third wave in Taiwan. Taiwan has officially introduced Korean variety shows since 2006 (Hsu, 2014). It seems that the development of Korean variety shows has significantly increased the diversity of Asian reality programmes, especially the reality TV, causing the so-called trend, the third wave of Korean Wave. Gala TV's channel K caught up with this third stage and began to broadcast Korean drama and variety shows all day (Hsu, 2014). Subsequently, TV stations such as ON TV, Asia TV Channel V also introduced a large number of Korean variety shows (Hsu, 2014).

In this third wave of diversification, Korean variety shows have become notably more significant compared to other forms of Korean cultural exports in the Taiwanese market. As previously discussed, GTV's 'K' channel quickly adapted to the Korean Wave phenomenon and initially aired Korean dramas. Since 2006, GTV's K channel has aired both Korean dramas and variety shows around the clock (Hsu, 2014). Subsequently, other networks, such as ON TV and Asia TV Channel V, have also introduced a wide range of

Korean variety shows (Hsu, 2014). Although Korean variety shows were officially introduced in 2006 (Hsu, 2014), it was not until the late 2000s that they began to resonate strongly with Taiwanese audiences. Many Korean variety programmes incorporate elements of reality shows, such as observed cameras and unscripted content, enhancing their appeal and blending genres, thus contributing to a trend known as the third wave of the Korean Wave. For example, *Running Man (런닝맨)*, which began in 2010, has gained widespread popularity by showcasing celebrities in various games, competitions, and tasks, offering viewers a glimpse of their 'real' personas. Its high ratings have established a trend for Korean shows across East and Southeast Asia. Since 2013, the show has held the annual Fan Meeting Asia Tours.

Before the rise of Korean variety shows, reality television was rarely seen in Taiwan, which were typically limited to occasional talent competitions or imported foreign reality shows. The impact of Korean variety shows extended beyond Taiwan, as this third wave made Korean reality shows a model for emulation in other East Asian countries, particularly China, where many television franchises were purchased for local adaptations. For example, For example, the Chinese editions of *Daddy! Where Shall We Go? (아빠! 어디가?/爸爸去哪儿)* in 2013 and Running Man in 2014 were adapted from Korean franchises

In this section, I have outlined the three main stages of the Korean Wave's development in Taiwan, from the early Korean television dramas to the later variety show genres. This process is not merely a short-term cultural export but rather a continuous cultural exchange, reflecting the profound impact of the Korean Wave on Taiwanese society. Since 2010, the notable expansion of the Korean Wave in Taiwan and other East Asian regions (which is the focus of my research) has further emphasised its significance within the inter-Asian cultural flow

Chapter 3 Looking at Television via Production

3.1 Production Studies in Taiwanese Television

This section explores the intricate dynamics of Taiwanese television production within the broader context of East Asian cultural flows, particularly focusing on the influence of the Korean Wave. The first part examines how regional media exchanges, shaped by globalisation and cultural regionalisation, have impacted Taiwanese media practitioners, drawing upon various scholarly discussions. The second part discusses the application of production studies as a theoretical framework, highlighting key studies that explore the lived experiences of television professionals. This literature provides insights into how creative labour and identity formation are influenced by regional market dynamics.

3.1.1. East Asia Cultural Flow

In the context of globalisation and a liberalised economy, the production, consumption, and distribution of media and cultural products are increasingly transnational, no longer confined to local boundaries. Since the 1990s, Japanese and Korean popular culture have gained prevalence in East and Southeast Asian countries. This phenomenon has sparked scholarly interest in the reconstruction of Pan-Asianism concepts (Hung, 2018). Existing literature supports this trend (e.g., Chua and Iwabuchi, 2008 eds; Kawashima and Lee, 2018a eds). These flows of popular culture are primarily consumed by the youthful cohorts in major Asian cities, such as Taipei, Singapore, Bangkok, and Shanghai. They encompass a variety of cultural products, including popular music, films, television programmes, fashion, manga, and derivative items such as clothing, food, and other commodities (Kawashima and Lee, 2018b). Asian cultural flows are found to be multidirectional and diverse (Chua, 2004). While not as prominent as in Japan and Korea, cultural flows from other countries also cross-national boundaries within the region, making cultural mobility a principal focus of Asian cultural studies. This has facilitated the construction of ‘East Asian popular culture’ as an analytical construct (Chua, 2004), aligning with the notion of ‘Trans-Asian cultural traffic’ proposed by Iwabuchi et al. (2004). Put differently, Asianisation is intricately tied to the movement of commercial goods alongside their associated imagery and symbols. Rather than being defined by traditional Asian values or cultural norms, its core features now predominantly reflect the influence of capitalist consumerism and popular culture (Iwabuchi et al., 2004;

Siriyuvasak and Hyunjoon, 2007). This shift not only alters local media landscapes but also shapes a shared East Asian media sphere.

East Asia is forming a shared media sphere (Huang, 2018) characterised by unique and identifiable patterns of cultural production and consumption (Iwabuchi, 2002; Chua, 2004; Jin and Lee, 2012), according to the extensive literature on these transnational cultural flows and regional cooperation. This shared sphere not only highlights distinct patterns of cultural production and consumption but also facilitates deeper connections among various East Asian nations. Research pertaining predominantly to media production in East Asia highlights conventional media practices such as isomorphism (cloning culture), adaptation, co-productions, and franchises (Keane and Moran, 2004; Keane, 2006; Keane et al., 2007; Jin and Lee, 2012).

Additionally, the process of cultural regionalisation is a complex phenomenon shaped by both state and non-state actors. This phenomenon leads to enhanced regional cooperation and integration across various levels, including political, economic, and cultural spheres (Jin and Lee, 2012). In particular, Jin and Lee (2012) argue that the characteristics of East Asian cultural regionalisation can be understood within this framework as a form of the state-society complex model, highlighting the interconnectedness between state governance and societal forces in shaping regional integration. Not only do nation-states play significant roles in this process, but crucial non-state actors are also involved in the historical progression.

According to Hettne (2001), cultural regionalisation is not solely a ‘from above’ (p.7) phenomenon primarily driven by superpowers or states, but rather emerges organically from within the region and also ‘from below’ (p.7). This suggests that constituent states, along with other actors, are leading efforts to promote regional integration, spurred by processes originating in markets and societies. As Jin and Lee (2012) underscore, this effective transnational framework is deemed essential for integration within local institutions, requiring a certain degree of commitment from nation-states and non-state actors. Such integration and commitment are particularly important in fostering cultural amalgamation within the region. In other words, cultural cooperation should ideally extend to collaborative efforts and cooperative ventures across cultural industries such as

broadcasting companies, film producers, and music studios of different nations in joint productions to strengthen regional ties (Jin and Lee, 2012).

In this context, examining the impact of the Korean Wave on Taiwanese practitioners is crucial within the broader framework of East Asian cultural dynamics. As the Korean Wave has gained ascendancy across Asia, the production of Korean programmes has exerted considerable influence on professionals within the Taiwanese television industry. Hence, whilst my focus revolves around Taiwanese practitioners and the phenomenon of the Korean Wave, it is important to situate this discussion within the broader landscape of East Asian cultural dynamics. Taiwan's historical backgrounds and geopolitical relationships (see Chapter 2) have tightly interconnected Taiwan with neighbouring countries in terms of the production, consumption, and distribution of media and cultural artefacts. For instance, the influence of 1960s and 1970s Japanese television is deeply ingrained in Taiwan (Liu and Chen, 2004) affecting production methods, workflow, programme content and genres, as well as the acquisition of substantial Japanese programmes. With the rise of the Korean Wave, the production of Korean programmes has also left a significant mark on Taiwanese industry practitioners. Therefore, while focusing on Taiwanese workers and the phenomenon of the Korean Wave, it is crucial to contextualise this discussion within the broader dynamics of East Asian cultural exchange.

Transitioning from the broader context of East Asian cultural dynamics to the specific phenomenon of the Korean Wave, scholarly interest in related studies has surged with the wave's rise in Asia. Some scholars explore Korea's cultural surge within the discourse of cultural globalisation (e.g., Shim, 2006; Nam, 2013). Beyond these broader frameworks, researchers also analyse media texts and practices associated with the Korean Wave, such as popular music (e.g., Siriyuvasak and Hyunjoon, 2007; Fuhr, 2015; Lee and Jin, 2019; Ryu et al., 2020), television dramas (e.g., Chae, 2014; Lie, 2015), and programme adaptations (e.g., Kim and Huang, 2017; Nauta, 2018).

Within the scope of my project on the Korean Wave in the Taiwanese context, some perspectives focus on cultural policy or cultural industries (e.g., Kuo, 2011; Yeh, 2016). Much of the attention in terms of media content or practices is centred on popular music (e.g.,Yang, 2008b) and television dramas, as well as audience studies (e.g., Yang, 2008a; Wang and Chueh, 2011; Yang, 2012). Taiwanese scholar Yang Fang-Chih Irene, for

instance, illustrates the necessity of situating the phenomenon of Korean dramas entering Taiwan within a broader analytical framework. In her 2008 study, she contends that categorising Korean dramas as idol dramas or melodramas is inseparable from the formation of postcolonial nations and globalisation. Profit motives drive the classification of these dramas, which are closely intertwined with discourses on modernisation, gender, nation-building, and globalisation (Yang, 2008). In her 2012 study, using the television drama *Meteor Garden* as a case study, she examines women's rights in relation to Korean dramas, particularly in the context of cultural recognition and emotional realisation under the influences of ethnic culture and transnational impacts. Moreover, *Meteor Garden* also embodies the exchange and mutual borrowing of East Asian popular culture, facilitating the 'iteration of East Asian popular culture,' showcasing the uniqueness and transformations among various national cultures (Yang, 2012).

While the Korean Wave has thrived across Asia, it has not been without resistance. Certain regions have developed anti-Korean sentiments towards Korean cultural products. For instance, Lee (2017) discusses anti-Korean sentiments in Japan, while Ahn (2019) and Liu et al. (2013) examine similar sentiments in Taiwan, and Chen (2017) explores these sentiments in China. These sentiments complicate the Korean Wave's influence, illustrating that it is not merely a cultural phenomenon to be embraced, but also one that encounters pushback depending on local contexts.

Beyond its cultural impact, the Korean Wave also affects regional mobility issues for television professionals. While some Taiwanese scholars have examined these issues from a production studies perspective, empirical research focusing specifically on Taiwanese industry practitioners remains relatively scarce. Most studies on Taiwanese television practitioners focus on those working within mainland China's television industry (e.g., Chang, 2011, 2015 ; Zhao, 2016; Chang, 2017; Zhao, 2018; Lai, 2023). Chapter 6's analysis of external dynamics explores how the Korean Wave, far from being a monolithic phenomenon, reflects a complex, multi-layered process composed of diverse discourses, cultural practices, and lived experiences on both local and transnational levels. Notably, the widespread adoption of the Korean franchise model in the Chinese television industry has shaped international cooperation and television cultural products, underscoring how deeply the Korean Wave has impacted regional media industries.

While my case study focuses on the influence of the Korean Wave on Taiwanese television professionals, many Taiwanese practitioners are attracted to the extensive Chinese market due to language barriers, rather than seeking opportunities in Korea. Following China's gradual opening of its economy and the establishment of cross-strait trade relations with Taiwan, numerous Taiwanese media workers have actively participated in Chinese film and television programmes (e.g., Huang and Zhu, 2015; Zhao, 2016). During the early stages of the Chinese television industry's opening, Chinese production learned from the experiences of Taiwanese practitioners (Zhao, 2016). However, with the increasing popularity of the Korean cultural surge, there has been a shift towards emulating Korean production experiences, acquiring programme franchising in large numbers, and subsequently producing localised versions in China. The localisation of Korean television formats in China is an exceptionally attractive commercial strategy due to cultural proximity (Nauta, 2018). Therefore, Taiwanese individuals working in China also need to adapt to these extensive changes, including the adoption of franchise operations.

Furthermore, Taiwanese anti-Korean sentiment is often shaped by broader geopolitical tensions, particularly the intricate relationship between Taiwan, mainland China, and Korea. In Chapter 2, I highlight key events that indicate the origin of Taiwanese anti-Korean sentiment stems from Korea severing diplomatic ties with Taiwan and consequently establishing diplomatic relations with China. Subsequent anti-Korean incidents, such as the 'Tzuyu incident' in 2016, reflect the complex interplay among mainland China, Korea, and Taiwan, rather than solely the bilateral relations between Taiwan and Korea (Ahn, 2019).

Building upon the reasons mentioned above, while my focus is on the impact of the Korean Wave on Taiwanese workers, it is also important to contextualise this within a broader discussion of political and geopolitical relationships, particularly regarding the manifestation of anti-Korean sentiment and its effects on the professional identity of Taiwanese workers. Examining the experiences of these Taiwanese workers in China allows for a better understanding of the broader changes within the East Asian television landscape. Despite existing fieldwork on the dynamics of Taiwanese television professionals working in China conducted by Chang (2011, 2015, 2017), the work experience of Taiwanese screenwriters in China explored by Lai (2023), and co-

production collaborations between Taiwanese and Chinese television practitioners investigated by Zhao (2016, 2018), the attention given to empirical research on Taiwanese television professionals remains somewhat disproportionate. Therefore, I hope this research can contribute to addressing the existing gaps in the field, providing different perspectives on the dynamics of the Taiwanese television industry, and enriching the broader discourse on East Asian cultural flows and cooperation.

3.1.2. Examining Taiwanese Television Practitioners through the Lens of Production Studies

To address the research gap in the limited empirical research, I adopt a production studies framework, focusing specifically on examining the subjective experiences of Taiwanese television practitioners. Through interviews with these professionals, I aim to understand the dynamics between producers, organisations, regional markets, and geopolitical factors, as reflected in their work experiences. Additionally, I explore how these elements shape the formation of professional identity. Situating my study within the framework of production studies helps to explore the intersections of labour, market dynamics, and power relations in media production, providing a deeper understanding of these dynamics.

Production studies provide insights into the cultural composition and power relations by examining various practices of labour, market dynamics, and policy within the context of political economy (Mayer et al., 2009 eds), and capture how power operates locally through media production, reproducing social hierarchies and inequalities in daily interactions (Mayer, 2009). In other words, production studies 'ground' social theories by demonstrating how specific production sites, actors, and activities provide broader insights into workers, their practices, and the role of their labour in concerning politics, economics, and culture. This framework has been employed by scholars to investigate a wide range of issues, from media ownership to the experiences of cultural practitioners.

Within the field of media production studies, scholars adopt diverse approaches to examine issues related to media ownership, organisations, and market dynamics (e.g., Downey, 2006). Others focus on the experiences of cultural workers within media organisations, encompassing their labour conditions, life experiences, inequalities, and identity formation (e.g., Ortner, 2009; Zafirau, 2009). This project centres on the latter, the work experience and identity formation of television practitioners within television

organisations. For this approach, researchers often employ ethnomethodology to observe or interview media workers, gaining deeper insights into their work, experiences, and lives. For example, the studies conducted by Zafirau (2009) and Ortner (2009) in Hollywood provide a deeper understanding of their lives, work, and identity. Ortner (2009) applied a sideways approach to theorise ethnographic methods, exploring horizontal power relations within the Hollywood workers' group rather than vertical power or class relations. Zafirau (2009) highlights the rationalisation of career choices and how producers establish connections with the audience through observations. Among these scholars, Mayer's (2011) work stands out for its detailed examination of television workers' roles and identities, offering a critical lens for analysing both creative and manual labour in the industry.

Mayer's (2011) study serves as a compelling example of the value of production research in understanding the complexity of labour within the television industry. In Mayer's study, she discusses the correlation between the category of 'television producers' and notions of creativity and professionalism. She categorises media workers into 'above the line' (creative professionals) and 'below the line' (those performing manual tasks under management). This perspective questions the traditional view that the industry is primarily driven by a select few talented individuals, such as directors. In her book, *Below the Line*, Mayer presents four empirically rich case studies on 'producer communities,' including television set assemblers, soft-core cameramen, reality-programme casters, and cable commissioners, to redefine the concept of television 'producers'. These case studies emphasise the growing importance of what are traditionally seen as non-creative roles. For instance, innovative solutions developed by Brazilian television set assemblers illustrate the creative contributions of these workers. Despite the potential oversimplification in distinguishing between 'above the line' and 'below the line,' Mayer's study remains invaluable. By addressing these complexities—such as the interplay between creative and manual labour—production studies provide a nuanced understanding of how labour practices shape and are shaped by broader industry dynamics. As such, this framework is particularly useful in exploring the identities and work experiences of television practitioners.

Similarly, Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) underscore the importance of subjective experiences of creative labour. Their exploration of television workers' subjective

experiences provides meaningful insights into how these workers navigate their roles in the industry. These personal insights play an important role in comprehending the intricate challenges they face in various aspects, such as text creation, production, and communication. Examining perspectives shaped by their experiences allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamic nature of the television industry, and thus could address criticisms raised by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2008) regarding the shortcomings of autonomist Marxism and their opposition to oversimplified generalizations within numerous policies related to creative or cultural industries. As demonstrated in Chang's studies (2011, 2015, 2017), the production studies framework is instrumental in revealing the working conditions of producers in relation to specific institutional frameworks and structures. It also deepens the understanding of how these conditions affect their creativity, survival strategies, and cultural adaptation, which is achieved through an examination of the interaction between external background factors and personal experiences.

In addition, Hesmondhalgh (2010) introduced the terms 'creative labour' and 'creative workers,' encompassing various personnel engaged in cultural production. This includes primary creators, craft and technical professionals, creative agents, senior executives, and non-skilled labourers. The term 'creative labour' recognises the contributions of all these groups within the organisational framework of labour division, acknowledging the disparities in contributions that create hierarchical distinctions within cultural production. In this study, I adopt the terms 'creative labour' and 'creative workers' proposed by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) to refer to my interviewees. This study is based on Hesmondhalgh (2019), who defines 'cultural industries' as a 'signifying system'—a framework within which all cultural products, broadly construed as texts (including television programmes, music, films, etc.), are communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored. I employ the terms 'creative labour' and 'creative workers' in this project for several reasons. Firstly, the utilisation of the concept of 'creative labour' acknowledges the key role of workers within the cultural industries in the production, dissemination, and exploration of cultural products. In essence, my interviewees span various roles ranging from creators to technicians, contributing their expertise and effort to craft texts that form part of the signifying system (e.g., television programmes, music, films).

Secondly, by defining cultural production as 'creative labour,' it accentuates that the creation and dissemination of cultural products entail not merely artistic endeavours but also represent forms of labour. In other words, this labour involves the application of creativity, skill, and effort in producing texts that convey meaning within the representational system of the cultural industries. Lastly, the use of the term 'creative workers' underlines the agency and involvement of individuals within the cultural industries. They are not passive recipients but active contributors, shaping the creation, replication, and exploration of cultural texts within the signifying system, rather than engaging in repetitive factory assembly line work. Particularly, my emphasis is on how creative autonomy and self-actualisation shape the professional identity of television practitioners in this project. Thus, these terms not only clarify the roles of my interviewees but also highlight the broader implications of creative labour within the cultural industries. In this thesis, the terms 'creative workers,' 'television professionals,' 'television practitioners' and 'television workers' are interchangeable.

In conclusion, the production studies framework, particularly in its emphasis on creative labour, not only provides a robust tool for examining the complexities of labour within the television industry but also contributes to a deeper understanding of Taiwanese television workers' identities in a rapidly changing media landscape. Grounded in these insights, I adopt production studies, with a specific focus on the subjective experiences of television professionals in Taiwan. Through interviewing practitioners in Taiwan, I seek to understand the interplay among producers, organisations, regional markets, and geopolitical factors, as well as how these factors impact the formation of Taiwanese television workers' professional identities. This study aims to contribute to the understanding of Taiwanese creative workers influenced by the Korean Wave phenomenon and the challenges and dynamics faced by cross-border Taiwanese workers in mainland China.

3.2 Professional Identity and Professionalism

Within the framework of production studies, my focus is on the construction and evolution of professionalism and professional identity among Taiwanese television practitioners, with particular emphasis on two crucial factors: creative autonomy and self-actualisation. This section explores the concepts of professionalism and professional

identity, while the subsequent section is dedicated to discussing creative autonomy and self-actualisation. Before proceeding, it needs to clarify that the terms 'work identity' and 'professional identity' are used interchangeably in this thesis. However, I prefer the latter to represent the professional self-concept of television personnel, as professional identity places greater emphasis on an individual's identity, cognition, values, beliefs, as well as personal attributes and abilities within a specific occupation (Sluss and Ashforth, 2007). Professionalism and professional identity are intertwined and mutually influential. Following this clarification, I present a discussion on professionalism and professional identity, as outlined in the first section.

3.2.1. Professionalism in Television Industry

In this section, I examine television work from the perspective of professionalism. Professionalism holds significance for television practitioners because it guides and regulates, to a certain extent, the actions and conduct of industry personnel. The practice of professionalism helps develop an individual's professional identity and ensures compliance with established professional norms and expectations.

According to Ursell (2006), the term 'professional' or 'professionalism' is highly controversial and complex, as it lacks a universally accepted and unified definition, but it must adhere to certain standards for the benefit of clients or society. Although there exist various academic definitions of professionalism, a common thread is that professionalism is structured as an occupational category and can be identified by several characteristics. These include the establishment of specific standards of behaviour and competence, the ability to monitor and enforce these standards through authoritative peer associations and professional autonomy (Ursell, 2006). These characteristics are independent but related to each other. I now discuss the three characteristics mentioned by Ursell.

Firstly, professionalism entails the establishment of clear standards of behaviour and competence within a given profession, reflecting the norms and values of the organisation. Ursell (2006) suggests that the term 'professional' often carries connotations of a moral order. This moral order grants legitimacy and authority to practitioners in the television industry, grounding their decisions and actions in ethical principles (Ursell, 2006). From an organisation's perspective, Freidson (2001) explains that 'when an organised occupation gains the power to determine who is qualified to perform a defined set of tasks,

to prevent all others from performing that work, and to control the criteria by which to evaluate performance' (p.12). In this context, professionalism allows an organisation or industry to set qualification rules, limit access to the work, and regulate performance assessment. These standards define members as 'professionals' and shape their behaviours and values. For example, the television industry has established technical standards in areas such as video resolution, sound quality, and editing technology to ensure professionalism in content creation and quality.

Secondly, professionalism also involves the creation of mechanisms for monitoring and enforcing these standards, often facilitated through authoritative peer associations or professional bodies. For example, in Taiwan, the National Communications Commission (hereafter NCC) is responsible for overseeing the television broadcasting and media industries, ensuring compliance with relevant laws and standards. Specifically, the NCC has established the *Regulations Governing the Content Management of Broadcast Television Programmes*, which regulate content standards of television programmes, including restrictions on inappropriate content such as pornography and violence (NCC, 2021) .

The final category is professional autonomy, which refers to the ability of professionals to exercise independent judgment and decision-making within their field of expertise. For example, screenwriters can exercise professional autonomy in developing storylines, dialogue, and character development. This concept is echoed in the discussions of autonomy by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010), who further subdivide it into creative autonomy and workplace autonomy (the aspect of autonomy is discussed in the next section). What I aim to emphasise here is Ursell's (2006) assertion that professional autonomy is a defining characteristic of professionalism because television practitioners aspire to become, or are regarded as 'professionals'. Ursell (2006) posits that the recognition of television practitioners as 'professionals' not only signifies their status but also facilitates the attainment of increased autonomy within their fields. This autonomy is not confined solely to the structures of media organisations; rather, it extends to the control over access to professional communities (e.g., Screenwriters Association). These associations often play an important role in reserving specific job opportunities for their members and in resisting 'external' forces, including those from management, clients, or government agencies.

In addition to the three characteristics that construct professionalism, the process of defining who qualifies as a 'professional' is not solely determined by the individual practitioner. Rather, professional standards are achieved through internal evaluation and external recognition, reflecting the dynamic and negotiable nature of professionalism. As highlighted by Johnson (1972) and Hughes (1971), professional status is not simply given; it requires ongoing negotiation with all relevant parties (outsiders). Consequently, professionalism is not inherently a static attribute assigned to an individual or group. Instead, it emerges through a dialectical process of interaction and negotiation involving recognition by various external stakeholders (e.g., authoritative peer associations, regulators, clients, and the wider society) and evaluation through internal criteria (e.g., seniority in the industry, colleagues' relationships, performance, and organisational norms). Such negotiations extend beyond the confines of the professional community and involve engagement with external entities, whose recognition and validation are crucial to establishing and legitimising professional status.

Professionalism is therefore a dynamic, fluid concept. It involves a range of skills and knowledge that is continuously constructed and negotiated through internal and external interactions. This fluidity reflects not only the passive result of external influences but also the active participation of television workers themselves in shaping their professional identity through ongoing interactions, negotiations, and contributions to industry standards and norms. As Ursell (2006) aptly puts it, this is an ongoing struggle for meaning. In other words, the meaning and value of professionalism continue to evolve with changes in time, culture, society, and industry. Thus, the understanding and practice of professionalism may require ongoing discussion and reflection. As such, this project is valuable for understanding and practising professionalism and professional identity, as well as for discussing professionalism in the Taiwanese television industry.

Moreover, in the context of professionalism arising from this internal and external interaction, the terms 'professionalism' and 'television professionals' carry ideological significance, demonstrating why certain workers are deemed to have more labour value than others (Mayer, 2011). This echoes the first category mentioned above, namely that professionalism involves the establishment of clear and specific standards of behaviour

and competence, which implies that professionals must adhere to specific standards and competencies to distinguish themselves from non-professionals. This indicates their superiority as experts due to their outstanding skills and ability to produce media products, which differentiates them from 'non-professional' amateurs or outsiders (Ursell, 2006). This is to say, in the television realm, the concept of 'professionalism' is used to establish credibility as 'professionals with the requisite knowledge and skills for producing television products'. However, from the perspective of organisational managers, combining professional values with ideological factors, professionalism serves as a mechanism for controlling discourse within work organisations. Managers employ professionalism discourse to shape work identities and practices, emphasising responsibility and governance (Evetts, 2013). The application of professionalism discourse varies among occupational groups. Some groups embrace professionalism 'from within,' enhancing their status and identity, while others experience professionalism imposed 'from above' by employers and managers, often limiting autonomy and exerting occupational control (McClelland, 1990, p.107).

In the television industry, workers are encouraged to meet all standards, which often emphasizes individual qualities such as creativity, adaptability, and responsibility. In this context, professionals not only demand dedication but also frequently perceive themselves as morally responsible for their work. This mirrors Evetts' (2013) assertion that managers in work organisations employ the discourse of professionalism in a similar manner. Professionalism, in this sense, serves practitioners' self-interests, including pay, status, and judicial control (Evetts, 2013). This discourse is pervasive in the work culture of artists, actors, musicians, and other professionals. Once a person defines themselves as a 'professional' in their field, any attempt to impose restrictions on their efforts is considered 'illegitimate' (Evetts, 2013, see also Born, 1950, on professional musical practice). Consequently, this discourse of professionalism and its accompanying ideology suggest that for 'professional' artists, any form of strict constraints imposed on their artistic creation may be deemed unreasonable. Adherence to professional standards may lead them to willingly sacrifice personal benefits, such as time and compensation, in pursuit of excellence in artistic creation. This is a self-regulating discourse of professionalism that encourages self-motivation and, at times, even self-exploitation.

In summary, it can be argued that professionalism dictates how individuals are perceived as 'professionals' within an industry. Ursell's points highlight professionalism's manifestation through the establishment of standards, monitoring, enforcement, and professional autonomy. These aspects, demonstrated through the attitudes, behaviours, and values of industry practitioners, influence not only the conduct of professionals but also the norms and development of the industry. Furthermore, as Evetts, Hughes, and Johnson suggest, professionalism is a dynamic and evolving construct, constantly negotiated through internal evaluation and external recognition. This dynamic nature serves both as a distinguishing factor for television professionals and as a mechanism for discourse control within work organisations. Transitioning from this discussion, the following section will explore the concept of 'professional identity' and its interconnectedness with professionalism in the television industry.

3.2.2. Professional Identity in the Television Industry

The preceding discussion has centred on professionalism, which includes a spectrum of attitudes, behaviours, and values within specific professional domains. It is typically defined by established codes of conduct, professional standards, and regulatory frameworks within particular professions or industries, exerting influence to varying degrees on the attitudes and behaviours of industry practitioners. While professionalism and professional identity share some common ground, the latter underscores an individual's recognition and sense of belonging within their professional field. It constitutes an acknowledgement and understanding of one's professional role, status, and the associated social roles and values pertinent to a specific profession or industry.

According to Du Gay (1997), work identity is someone' s position within or outside the division of labour, the categorisation of one' s social identity, and an activity that people have probably engaged in at some point, and practising this categorisation is part of everyday social interaction.. When people identify with an occupation, we sometimes assume that there are meanings associated with a particular job-related form, or that a particular job has certain qualities that 'naturally' produce a certain kind of social behaviour and characteristics (Du Gay, 1997). Hence, in this discourse, I prefer to use the term 'professional identity' over 'work identity' when referring to television workers. Concerning professional identity, particularly within the creative industries, Elsbach

(2009) highlights the 'person-based and role-based self-categorisations that creative workers use to define themselves at work' (p.1044). These self-categorisations include professionalism, creative goals, values, beliefs, personal traits, abilities (Sluss and Ashforth, 2007), and a sense of belonging to a professional community (Dubois and Weststar, 2022). For example, a television practitioner may define themselves as a 'freelance programme director' (role-based classification) while emphasising traits such as flexibility and problem-solving skills (people-based classification).

Unlike many other artistic professions, whose person-based categorisation of professional identities often operates independently, professionals in the television industry often work in a team environment (Elsbach, 2009). Teamwork-based relationships are crucial to the professional identity within the television industry. As highlighted by Sluss and Ashforth (2008), relationships often play a significant role in shaping individual experiences within organisations and professions, with work role relationships typically situated within collective domains or embedded within collective structures. This implies that work role relationships do not exist in isolation but are enveloped within the broader organisational structure, consequently being influenced by organisational-level factors while also impacting organisational operations. Interactions at these relational or organisational levels, including emotional, behavioural, and cognitive mechanisms, serve to either strengthen or weaken the identification with the television industry (Sluss and Ashforth, 2008). It is for this reason that the present project places emphasis on the exploration of professional identity. Although certain roles (e.g., directors) might be perceived as central to providing creativity and garnering public recognition, other contributors to television productions also utilise these relationships to legitimise their professional status.

Moreover, for creative professionals, a significant role-based classification involves 'producing recognisable outputs'. If a person's web designs are never showcased online, they may not fulfil the role of creator (Elsbach, 2009). Unlike professions such as law, medicine, or engineering, there are no certifications, licences, or regulatory bodies to validate creative workers' professionalism (Elsbach, 2009). Instead, artists rely on 'recognition and acceptance by other mature professionals' to uphold their professional standing (Bain, 2005, p. 35). Similarly, Dubois and Weststar (2021), drawing on Bourdieu's (1984) concept of social capital, explain that creative identities in the gaming

industry are often constructed externally through peer recognition or relationships with specific others. A similar pattern can be observed in the television industry. This reflects the importance of external and internal negotiations of professionalism discussed in the previous section in legitimising the professional status of those in the industry.

Furthermore, the process by which individuals reconcile internal and social identities is termed 'identity work' (p.13), referring to the ongoing cognitive process individuals engage in to construct coherent and valued self-awareness (Alvesson et al., 2008). This concept is based on the understanding that identity is multifaceted, context-dependent, and continually evolving, rather than being static or fixed (Wei, 2012). It assumes that identity is not simply bestowed upon individuals based on their social roles; "Instead, individuals actively employ a range of strategies to create, present, and maintain coherent identities that are positively evaluated by themselves or others (Alvesson et al., 2008; Wei, 2012). Some studies conceptualise identity work as a more or less continuous process (Simpson and Carroll, 2008; Carroll and Levy, 2008), while others consider the extent of identity flux to be an empirical question, where identity work may be more continuous in chronically fragmented contexts, whereas in settings affording more stability, 'serious' (i.e., more conscious and concentrated) identity work may be prompted or intensified by crisis (Beech, 2008), or during radical transitions (Ibarra, 1999).

In the context of the creative industries, two main challenges are identified here. Firstly, creative workers often operate in unstable conditions, including low pay, long working hours, lack of job security, poor work-life balance, and mental and physical stress, which have become commonplace in the creative industries (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2009). Young (2023) suggests that creative workers often perceive their work as a 'labour of love,' where work and labour are seen as forms of entertainment, perpetuating the misleading slogan of 'work as play,' which leads them to endure unstable working conditions. For instance, in Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2009) study, participants in magazine work revealed that many worked for free, with durations extending up to a year. Consequently, in project-based creative environments, 'identity work' typically involves internalising (harsh) working conditions as the 'norm' and asserting that positive or unique elements can enhance self-efficacy, legitimising individuals' lifestyle choices (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011). In such unstable environments, identity work may be

more continuous, with practitioners needing to frequently reassess and adjust their identities in response to stimuli such as stress, doubt, or self-doubt.

Secondly, the challenge lies in how creative workers balance the need for creative autonomy in self-expression with employers' demands for productivity (Dubois and Weststar, 2021). Particularly, when cultural industry workers desire their labour products to reflect their personal identities but are constrained by pragmatic limitations, creative tension arises in everyday environments (Wei, 2012). In particular, television networks often exhibit conservative attitudes and place a high emphasis on economic considerations (Keane et al., 2007), forcing workers to navigate the tension between creativity and commercialism in their daily work. Attempts to balance art with business have been discussed in various creative fields such as television (Paterson, 2001; Christopherson, 2008; Wei, 2012), music (Beech et al., 2016), and gaming (Dubois and Weststar, 2021; Young, 2023). For example, Paterson (2001) found in analysing the UK television industry that workers often sought short-term and unstable jobs to alleviate these tensions, thereby constructing their identities to maintain a positive understanding of themselves as creative individuals. Furthermore, another facet of identity work involves managers utilising appeals to self-image, emotions, values, and identification to regulate employees (Kunda, 1992; Willmott, 1993). In other words, employees function as managed identity workers, expected to incorporate new management discourses into their self-identity narratives (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). This echoes the first challenge and earlier discussions on ideological discourses of professionalism. In the creative industry, being a 'professional' entails a dedication to pursuing excellence in creative endeavours. This expectation of dedication to craft and the relentless pursuit of creativity is not only upheld by individual practitioners themselves but is also actively promoted and reinforced by managerial figures within creative enterprises. This dedication is often managed through an expectation of professionalism, where managers guide employees' behaviours and interests towards the company's goals and values, consequently, shaping the workers' professional identity.

In conclusion, this discussion emphasises the complexity of professional identity construction within the creative industries, where practitioners' efforts to reconcile internal and social identities, termed 'identity work,' as individuals engage in ongoing cognitive processes to construct coherent and valued self-awareness. This concept

acknowledges that identity is fluid and context-dependent, shaped by various strategies employed by individuals and managers. But the challenges faced by creative workers, such as unstable working conditions and the tension between creative autonomy and commercial demands, stress this fluidity of professional identity and the ideology of managing professional identity. Managers play a crucial role in regulating employees' behaviours and interests through appeals to self-image, emotions, values, and identification, aligning them with the company's goals and values. This reflects the ongoing negotiation and construction of professional identities within the dynamic landscape of the creative industries.

In the television context, professional identity refers to an individual's recognition and sense of belonging within their professional field, encompassing their understanding of their role, status, and the associated social roles and values pertinent to the television industry. Within the context of my project on the Impact of the Korean wave and transnational experience on Taiwanese TV workers and the identity of transnational workers, exploring changes in professional identity may help understand the current dynamics of Taiwan's television industry. In the following discussion on creative autonomy and self-actualisation, the focus is on these two elements that largely shape and influence the professional identity of television practitioners.

3.3 Autonomy and Self-Actualisation in the Television Industry

> The willingness of individuals to work in television production is partly to be explained by the tantalising possibilities thereby for securing social recognition and acclaim, that is self-affirmation and public esteem, and partly by the possibilities for self-actualisation and creativity (be it aesthetic or commercially entrepreneurial). For the workers, television production is simultaneously a source of potential rewards, both material and existential, and a source of definite exploitation.
>
> (Ursell, 2000, p.819)

I concur with the perspective presented by Ursell (2000) and further interconnect it with professional identity. Primarily, according to Ursell's (2000) research, one of the reasons

individuals engage in television production is to seek social recognition and acclaim. Through participation in television production, individuals have the opportunity to showcase their professional skills, gain acknowledgment from others, and subsequently establish a reputation within the industry. However, this reflects a value system based on external evaluation, potentially giving rise to a series of issues. The motivation reliant on external affirmation may render personal values, self-identity, and professional identity unstable. In the television industry, individual autonomy may be restricted, influenced by organisational professionalism, societal expectations, and audience feedback, thereby impacting their stance on professional identity and practice.

Furthermore, Ursell (2000) mentions that television production provides opportunities to realise personal potential and creativity. However, whether this possibility is universally accessible or a privilege for a few is a thought-provoking question. When an individual's self-actualisation goals diverge from the goals of the company's or producers', maintaining personal values and creativity becomes an issue worthy of exploration. As mentioned earlier, while pursuing autonomy and self-actualisation, individuals may feel suppressed due to industry standards or constraints, influencing the construction of their professional identity. Lastly, Ursell (2000) emphasises that television production is both a potential reward and a clear source of exploitation. This apparent dual nature involves both 'receiving returns' and 'suffering exploitation'. Workers, in their pursuit of self-actualisation and adherence to organisational expectations of professional ethos, may face exploitation from companies or the industry, such as long working hours, low wages, and a lack of rights. This exploitation may weaken workers' trust in the industry and their professional identity. Additionally, whether potential rewards can sustain workers' job satisfaction or if they are merely fleeting stimuli is a topic that needs discussion.

In light of the above, in the creative work within the television industry, the subtle interaction between individual self-actualisation and the pursuit of professional autonomy gives significant meaning to the concept of professional identity. Television creative personnel often find themselves seeking a delicate balance between personal expression and professional demands. The inherent autonomy of their profession creates an environment where individuals can pursue their creative visions, contributing to their self-actualisation. Individuals often seek to express their unique perspectives and innovative ideas, thus gaining a deeper sense of self-actualisation through their work. The fusion of

autonomy and self-actualisation emphasises the unique nature of professional identity in the cultural industry, expanding traditional boundaries of professional practice to accommodate the dynamic and innovative nature of creative work. In other words, job identity in the television industry is not confined to traditional or strict professional norms. Instead, its characteristic is the dynamic interaction of individual autonomy and the pursuit of self-actualisation, challenging and expanding the traditional boundaries of professional practice. Unlike more traditional fields, television work requires a flexible and adaptable approach to accommodate the continuous changes in creative expression and the innovative nature of the industry. Therefore, in this environment, professional ethos is not merely a set of prescribed norms but a dynamic framework adapting to the ever-changing patterns of creative expression in television, providing a cohesive structure for the flourishing development of individual professional identity. Here, I briefly define and discuss the concepts of autonomy and self-actualisation, which impact professionalism and professional identity.

3.3.1. The Concept of Autonomy

Grounded in the conceptual framework provided by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010), autonomy, a pivotal element within their framework for assessing the quality of creative work, includes a multi-dimensional construct. It encompasses workplace autonomy and creative autonomy, which, in turn, comprises two distinct variants: aesthetic autonomy and professional autonomy.

The concept of autonomy originates from the philosophical tradition, with Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) using the term from a sociological perspective. Originally, autonomy, from philosophical traditions, is characterised by the absence of external impositions, with one's identity shaped by intrinsic elements rather than being dictated by external influences (Chrisman, 2020). Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) cited MacIntyre's (1984) work and noted that autonomy should not be perceived merely as freedom from external influences, emphasising its limitations as individuals and groups are socially constituted to some extent by external factors. Clearly, autonomy holds significant relevance at the individual level within the realm of media-related endeavours. This concept is inherently subtly complex, encompassing the extent of control an individual exercises over their professional trajectory. Specifically, autonomy extends to the perceived or actual ability

of an individual to make autonomous decisions during the creative stages of media production (Deuze, 2007).

Moreover, Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) highlight the two uses of autonomy in work in the cultural industry. First, workplace autonomy refers to 'the degree of self-determination that individual workers or groups of workers have within a certain work situation' (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010, p.40). Simply put, it refers to the degree of discretion that workers have in performing work-related tasks, managing work schedules, and resolving work-related challenges without constant supervision or strict adherence to discretionary procedures. Second, creative autonomy pertains to 'the degree to which 'art', knowledge, symbol-making and so on can and/or should operate independently of the influence of other determinants' (Hesmondhalgh and Baker. 2010, p.40).

Sosteric (1996) introduces the two managerial strategies of workplace autonomy by drawing upon Friedman (1977) to explain how senior executives wield influence over the workforce – namely, direct control and responsible autonomy. The former involves limiting labour power through coercive threats and close supervision, minimising the responsibility of individual workers. The latter aims to harness the adaptability of labour power by providing workers with leeway and encouraging them to adapt to changing situations in ways beneficial to the organisation. Responsible autonomy involves giving workers status, authority, and responsibility, fostering loyalty and alignment with the organisation's ideals (Friedman, 1977). Sosteric (1996) utilises Friedman's (1977) framework to analyse the workplace dynamics in the Canadian nightclub. Initially, the nightclub operated with a version of responsible autonomy, allowing staff and servers to develop highly personalised service styles. This approach resulted in positive outcomes, such as good relations between customers and staff, low turnover, high consumer loyalty, and overall success for the business. However, due to complaints and a managerial shift in focus towards 'quality' and 'attitude adjustment,' the nightclub transitioned to a model of direct control. This shift led to the disintegration of the sociable character of work, with negative consequences for both staff and the organisation.

The connection between Sosteric's (1996) and Friedman's (1977) research lies in the examination of how organisational strategies for exercising authority impact workplace autonomy and, consequently, the nature of work. Sosteric's study provides an empirical

case that aligns with and extends Friedman's theoretical framework. As Friedman (1977, p. 79) notes, this has been applied most consistently to privileged workers, with the Direct Control type of strategy applied to the rest. Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) note Sosteric's (1996) study offers valuable insights into comprehending the nature of creative labour within cultural industries. It emphasises that only specific roles within these industries provide the elevated levels of control, responsibility, and autonomy witnessed in the case of the Canadian nightclub. However, the central inquiry revolves around whether workplace autonomy serves as a genuine empowerment tool or merely functions to divert workers' attention from the underlying issues of exploitation and alienation in their professional lives. Friedman's (1977) analysis tends to affirm the latter perspective, considering autonomy as a mechanism to distract from the actual challenges beneath the surface. That is, responsible autonomy as an ideological trope that merely softens the impact of alienation and exploitation.

3.3.2. The Concept of Self-actualisation

Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) primarily draw upon the perspectives of Ezzy (1997) as they discuss the concept of self-actualisation, an important element within their good and bad framework for evaluating work. Influenced by Weil (1978), Ezzy (1997) states that contemporary work, especially tasks marked by high levels of routine can become oppressive when it obstructs workers from attaining a sense of dignity in their labour. The intense and narrow focus demanded by such work drains the soul, engrossing individuals in specific tasks and depriving them of a broader awareness of the purpose or value of their work. Weil's (1978) critique of the contemporary organisational structure of work implies that certain oppressive work arrangements prevent individuals from seeing their tasks as a dignified use of their faculties. Within this context, self-actualisation assumes the character of fulfilling and developing one's inherent potential and capabilities.

Weil's (1978) viewpoint, as interpreted by Ezzy (1997), underscores the significance of work as an integral part of a life narrative wherein current activities contribute to a desired and valued future. In this context, good work necessitates a cultural and social milieu where shared discourses construct the work as meaningful, affording the worker opportunities to fulfil commitments to others and society. This conception of good work aligns with the model proposed by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010), encompassing elements of self-esteem and sociality, but notably accentuates the concept of self-

actualisation. Ezzy(1997) acknowledges that the attainment of self-actualisation requires a robust understanding of the self. He links the idea of framing activities as meaningful (associated with self-esteem) to a theory of the subject derived from hermeneutics, particularly drawing from Paul Ricoeur's work. Ricoeur's emphasis on reflexive narration, even if directed solely inward, is deemed essential by Ezzy(1997) for providing a sense of connectedness and temporal unity to an individual's being. This conception of selfhood, according to Ezzy(1997), strikes a balance between conceptions of identity and work that excessively emphasise agency and those that overly stress linguistic and contextual sources of the self.

In light of such perspectives, examining how Taiwanese television workers interpret their professional identities from the standpoint of personal achievement and professional growth, and how they negotiate the influx of Korean cultural influence in their involvement with projects associated with the Korean Wave, is paramount. They may feel pressure to adapt to Korean trends to maintain influence in the industry. Furthermore, as Taiwanese transnational workers in China gradually face marginalisation, understanding how they perceive their roles and identities in the cultural flux of the East Asian region is essential as well.

In this context, Taiwanese television workers grapple with complex professional identity issues. Firstly, they must balance personal professional growth and a sense of success with external pressures stemming from Korean cultural influence. For some, active participation in Korean Wave-related projects (e.g., adopting Korean tv franchise format or imitating Korean programme content) may be seen as an opportunity to enhance their status and influence in the industry. However, for others, this trend may entail compromising their original professional style and identity to meet market demands, leading to feelings of insecurity and confusion regarding self-identity. Secondly, as Taiwanese transnational workers in China face increasing marginalisation, they face greater identity challenges. These workers struggle between different cultures and values and adapt to evolving work environments. Simultaneously, they may face pressure and competition from both Korea and China, which could influence their professional and national identity. Therefore, investigating identity issues among Taiwanese television workers needs to consider these multifaceted factors and explore their personal and professional lives to explore how they respond to these challenges. This may contribute

to a better understanding of the dynamic processes of identity construction and recognition among television practitioners in the context of cultural flows and transnational work in the East Asian region.

Chapter 4 Methodology

Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the methodology employed in this research, clarifying the adjustments made to the original plan and providing insight into the rationale behind the methodological choices. The first section explains the research design, originally conceptualised as an extensive fieldwork endeavour involving face-to-face interviews. However, the project underwent substantial modifications due to unforeseen disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Consequently, the method shifted towards the one-on-one semi-structured interview format conducted through online video calls. The subsequent section expounds on the utilisation of snowball sampling to address 'access' issues within the television industry. The second section outlines the criteria established for research subject recruitment, embracing age, gender, position, and work experience. These criteria contribute to the effective management of samples and the purposeful pursuit of interviewees in the snowball sampling process. Lastly, the third section illustrates a specific data collection process, entailing ethical considerations and the sampling procedure. The discussion highlights the measures taken to ensure participant privacy and consent, as well as the steps taken to address potential challenges in the online interview format. It also provides an overview of the sampling process, detailing how the snowball sampling technique was applied in two rounds to achieve diversity and depth in the participant pool.

4.1 Research Design

Originally, the fieldwork for project was scheduled to take place over a period ranging from several months to half a year, including on-site observation and one-on-one semi-structured interviews with television professionals in Taiwan in 2021. Simultaneously, I intended to apply for the Korean government's project 'Fieldwork Project for Overseas Researchers,' expecting to conduct some interviews with television industry experts in Korea, but the application was not available due to the pandemic. The project aimed to explore the current status and challenges of Taiwanese television industry professionals under the context of the entry of the Korean Wave into Taiwan, as well as address the existing gaps in empirical research within the Taiwanese television sector. As discussed in the literature review, previous academic research on the Korean Wave in Taiwan has

predominantly focused on cultural products, encompassing music (comprising celebrity and fan studies), film, and television dramas. Limited attention has been directed towards the concerns associated with television labour. However, due to the unforeseen circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic, this original plan underwent modifications.

Due to the pandemic's impact, the Korean government implemented stringent travel restrictions, and the 'Fieldwork Project for Overseas Researchers' was cancelled. Originally conceived to involve applying for access to Korean television stations for on-site observations and interviews with television experts within television stations through the official project, the termination of this project precluded its execution. Moreover, as my network within the television industry primarily resides in Taiwan, adjustments for transitioning to online alternatives were unfeasible, leading to the cessation of this segment of the research project. Similarly, fieldwork observation incorporating Taiwanese professionals was also cancelled due to government policy restrictions, leading to the temporary suspension of most producing and filming activities. Accordingly, adjustments were made to the original field research and face-to-face in-depth interview methods. Instead, one-on-one interviews with Taiwanese professionals were conducted through online video calls. Despite these changes, engaging in conversations with Taiwanese industry professionals still provided valuable empirical material, enhancing the understanding of the impact of Korean Wave entering Taiwan on the production processes and professional identity challenges faced by local television workers.

In this section, I will address three aspects: one-on-one semi-structured online interviews and their challenges, as well as the method of recruiting interviewees using snowball sampling.

4.1.1. One-on-One Semi-Structured Online Interviews

The transition from a research design involving observation and semi-structured interviews to solely conducting interviews has significantly altered the focus and research questions of this study. As underlined in the introduction, this research initially aimed to scrutinise the production practices of television professionals in Korea and Taiwan through on-site observations, thereby facilitating an understanding of dynamics within the television industry. This was supplemented by one-on-one semi-structured interviews

to comprehend the perspectives and experiences of industry professionals. However, the shift towards relying entirely on interviews has redirected attention from the complexities of production practices to the articulation of producers' thoughts and viewpoints. As Arksey and Knight (1999) assert, '... it is the world of beliefs and meanings, not of actions, that is clarified by interview research(p.15)'. This method allows researchers to gain access to both the cognitive and experiential aspects of an individual's life, stepping into the minds of participants and observing the world from their perspective, gaining insights into their mental processes and daily experiences (McCracken, 1988). Thus, the research attention has shifted from scrutinising production practices to exploring the perspectives, interpretations, and challenges of Taiwanese television professionals within the context of the Korean Wave's influence on Taiwanese television. This transition indicates the importance of not only comprehending the tangible processes of television production but also understanding the underlying ideologies and discourses shaping industry dynamics. Despite the methodological shift prompted by the COVID-19 pandemic, obtained insights through one-on-one semi-structured online interviews with Taiwanese industry professionals continue to expound on the multifaceted impacts of cross-cultural influences on local television production and professional identity dynamics.

The semi-structured interviews have the interview protocol of structured interviews but also have the flexibility of unstructured interviews, allowing for additional probing and conversation during the interview (Allen, 2017) . In interviews, there may be instances where open-ended discussions occur with individuals, which could be either unstructured or semi-structured (Arksey and Knight, 1999). The objective is to listen to individuals articulate the issues in their own words, aiming to comprehend their underlying perspectives, emotions, and understandings on the matter (Arksey and Knight, 1999). Despite the potential for a lengthier duration, the merits of this interview approach extend beyond presenting a broad overview of the phenomenon; it also furnishes the researcher with in-depth information aligned with their specific areas of interest (Allen, 2017). The utilisation of this interview approach in this project serves the purpose of gaining insights into the experiences, attitudes, and perspectives relevant to the subject matter from pertinent individuals (Taiwanese television practitioners). This emphasis on subjective experience aligns with the research of Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) who highlight the significance of investigating subjective perspectives in creative work. By deeply understanding the interplay between external contextual factors and individual

experiences, and considering economic, political, organisational, and cultural dimensions, this approach aims to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of complex issues (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010). Therefore, examining the subjective experiences of creative practitioners may provide insights beyond mere political and economic perspectives, situating this research within a broader social, economic, and cultural framework.

4.1.2. Challenges of Online Interviews

This adjustment from in-person interviews to online interviews has brought forth certain challenges. Firstly, compared to interviews in person, online interviews present difficulties in capturing non-verbal expressions of interviewees, such as facial expressions, posture, and body language. This limiting a comprehensive understanding of emotions and reactions. Some interviewees, for personal reasons or technical issues, may choose not to enable their cameras, further diminishing the possibility of capturing non-verbal expressions. For instance, the interview with Television Producer and Director Willis (male, aged 40-49) did not have the camera activated, and Freelance Art Director Sam (male, aged 40-49) wore a mask during the interview. To tackle the challenge of capturing elusive nonverbal expressions, I concentrate on the content of my conversations with these participants in the next two analysis chapters, rather than concentrating on their nonverbal expressions or other forms of body language. These technical issues, akin to Willis's camera problem, may unfavourably impact the conduct of interviews, despite pre-testing and guidelines provided to interviewees regarding quiet environments and stable internet connections. Similarly, connectivity issues, device malfunctions, or other technical challenges may disrupt the interview process, as observed in multiple instances during my interviews, potentially resulting in decreased interviewee participation.

Besides, originally, interviewees' offices or rented office spaces were selected as interview locations. The former allowed me a better understanding of their work environment and provided an opportunity for interviewees to introduce colleagues as potential future interviewees. The latter option offered a focused environment free from external disturbances. However, with the shift to online video interviews, most participants engaged in conversations from their homes, potentially exposing them to easily distracting environments. For instance, during an interview with Executive Producer Helen (female, aged 30-39), she had to temporarily interrupt the conversation

when her child unexpectedly approached, seeking her attention. Despite proactive measures such as pre-interview technical checks and instructions for a conducive environment, these situations are, to some extent, inevitable.

In addition to the challenges posed by easily distracting environments, the shift to online video interviews provided an intriguing glimpse into interviewees' personal spaces. This newfound access to interviewees' homes presented an opportunity for the researcher to initiate contingent conversations based on the immediate surroundings. Given the project's centre on creative labour, it may be relevant that the interviewees' backgrounds, such as the decoration of personal spaces, books, movie posters on the wall, or other objects, may reveal something about the workers' cultural background, values, and interests, which may bring further discussions about their working habits or personal interests, enriching the dialogue beyond the original scope. For instance, during the interview with Freelance Director Emma (female, aged 20-29), I observed a television set up on the wall of her flat, which is rare among rental flats or rooms in Taiwan. This prompted Emma to share a story about how she and her landlord watch Korean programmes together, gradually changing her landlord's perception of Korean television shows. These anecdotes not only provide personal insights but also offer valuable context into the interviewees' cultural influences and daily interactions.

Moreover, this informal familial interview setting can foster a sense of comfort and familiarity, thereby instilling a sense of security in the interviewees. Particularly, employing a snowball sampling technique (see next section) for participant recruitment, whereby acquaintances of the researcher introduce their colleagues or friends, implies a level of unfamiliarity between the researcher and interviewees. However, conducting interviews in a familiar and comfortable environment may potentially encourage interviewees to share more candid insights. This, in turn, alleviates the tension and discomfort associated with conversing with a stranger in unfamiliar settings, enhancing potential respondents' willingness to engage in the interview.

Finally, given that some of my research subjects are cross-border workers, video interviews offer greater flexibility compared to in-person interviews. Both interviewees and researchers can conduct interviews at locations and times convenient for them, thereby enhancing autonomy and flexibility, potentially increasing their willingness to

participate. This reflects McCracken's (1988) argument about interviews being a manageable methodological context for resolving problems of research access and time scarcity. For instance, Programme Director Polly (female, aged 30-39), who was working in China at the time, willingly contributed in the interview. Online interviews through video calls overcame geographical constraints, eliminating the need to wait for her return to Taiwan or for me to travel to China for the interview. This approach also instilled a sense of security in the interviewees, enabling them to engage in interviews in familiar and comfortable environments. Consequently, it alleviates the tension and discomfort associated with conversing with a stranger in unfamiliar settings, thus enhancing potential participants' willingness to take part in the interview.

4.1.3. Utilising Snowball Sampling to Address 'Access' Issues

Concerning 'access' issues, obtaining 'access' to television productions in Taiwan is often a challenging endeavour. Research in the media industry has consistently grappled with the 'access' problem. Both Caldwell (2008) and Ortner (2009) highlights the issue of 'access' in their studies of Hollywood. Due to the exclusivity of the media industry, which poses challenges for most 'outsiders' attempting to conduct ethnographic work, relevant research is typically undertaken by industry 'insiders' (Ortner, 2009). Addressing the 'access' problem, Ortner (2009) further subdivides it into two distinct issues. One concerns the feasibility of interviewee observation, while the other pertains to obtaining interviews. Given the cancellation of participant observation fieldwork in this project due to the pandemic, the primary target of this recruitment design is on resolving the 'access' issue related to interviews.

The primary purpose of the snowball sampling method, characterised by potentially smaller sample sizes and a lesser emphasis on generalisation, is to explore meaning (Arksey and Knight, 1999). This approach aligns with the sentiments articulated by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010), where they underscore the significance of investigating subjective perspectives within creative work, as previously mentioned.

The employed sampling method involved the utilisation of snowball sampling to address the pervasive issue of 'access'. Snowball sampling is a procedure that develops research

samples in which existing participants select future participants from among their acquaintances. By adopting this method for recruiting interviewees, I could leverage the established rapport with existing research subjects, allowing them to suggest suitable candidates from among their acquaintances. This strategic approach not only helps build trust but also enhances participation rates, concurrently mitigating the likelihood of encountering refusals to engage in the study.

The selection of this approach for participant recruitment is underpinned by my self-identification as a 'semi-insider' within the Taiwanese media industry. This categorisation is substantiated by several reasons. Firstly, my alma mater is renowned for its focus on media and communication-oriented subjects. The Faculty of Communication, comprised of eight departments, includes the Department of Radio, Television, and Film (hereafter RTF), where my undergraduate studies were concentrated. During my undergraduate studies in Television (Division of RTF), the modules were characterised by a practical orientation (such as Script Writing, Television Production, and Television Marketing) rather than an academic orientation, and supplemented by the involvement of industry practitioners as part-time lecturers in supporting modules. Throughout these modules, I had the privilege of getting acquainted with industry professionals, many of whom later became key contacts utilised in the subsequent stages of my research. Secondly, my engagement in internships at a television station and a production company during summer breaks further augmented my exposure to the operational dynamics of the industry.

Lastly, my two-year tenure as a full-time administrative assistant within the Television Division of RTF at my alma mater after graduation. In this capacity, my responsibilities encompassed managing student affairs of the Television Division, facilitating communication between faculty and students, and coordinating the invitation of industry professionals to deliver lectures or workshops at the university. This role enabled the expansion of my social network from interactions predominantly with students to engagement with professionals actively participating in the industry. Building upon the foundation laid by the collaboration of industry practitioners as part-time lecturers in supporting modules during my undergraduate studies, the connections established with these professionals proved invaluable during my tenure as an administrative assistant at the university. These industry practitioners and part-time lecturers became my primary

invitees for organising workshops and seminars at the university. In this process, transitioning away from my role primarily as a student, I developed relationships with these professionals in a collaborative capacity, akin to that of a co-worker, fostering a deeper level of familiarity and mutual respect.

Consequently, while my post-graduation career trajectory did not lead me directly into the television industry, the experience and network connections I accumulated, comprising classmates who entered the industry, faculty at RTF, students I met during my tenure as the administrative assistant, and invited lecturers, I positioned myself as a 'semi-insider' with insights into certain facets of television programme production and relationships with pertinent individuals within the field.

As a semi-insider, my cultural insider status presents both unique advantages and corresponding challenges to my research. While acknowledging that mere proximity to a culture does not guarantee a deep comprehension of its dynamics, my involvement in professional knowledge and academic background in the Taiwanese television industry provides deeply comprehend the cultural dynamics a more preliminary contextual understanding of the cultural dynamics compared to a complete outsider within this field. Utilising my experiences of undergraduate studies and internships in the television industry, along with the academic training I received while conducting this project, helps bridge the gap between academia and practice to some extent. This allows me to engage in a more in-depth exploration of various facets of television production more easily, facilitating more profound conversations with interviewees. In addition, employing industry-specific language and expressions during interviews may foster a sense of rapport and trust, encouraging interviewees to involve in deeper discussions, as they are aware that I possess the cultural context and relevant professional expertise. As a result, while recognising the limitations of my semi-insider position, I capitalise on its advantages to deal with the intricacies of cultural dynamics within the Taiwanese television industry.

However, the semi-insider position also presents certain potential challenges. Research relationships often occupy varying degrees of insider and outsider positions, which are not static but fluid and permeable social positions that are affected by changes in the experiences and expressions of the individuals involved in the research (Doucet and

Mauthner, 2008). I acknowledge that there may be specific, detailed, or even sensitive information within the internal workings of the television industry that I am not fully aware of. Firstly, while I may possess insider knowledge and familiarity with the Taiwanese television industry to some extent, there are aspects of the industry that remain inaccessible due to my outsider status in certain circles or sectors within the field. This lack of clarity functions as a 'blind spot,' potentially limiting comprehension of certain aspects. Nevertheless, it serves as an advantage by fostering more candid conversations. Interviewees recognise that I am not a 'complete' insider privy to internal information, making them more inclined to respond to my inquiries in a frank manner without concern for affecting their interpersonal relationships and work dynamics. As Doucet and Mauthner (2008, p.334) argue, 'the interview topics as well as the relational dynamics occurring in the research encounter influence how we present ourselves and which parts of our identity we choose to emphasise'. This recognition stresses the complexity of navigating my semi-insider status and its impact on the research process.

Secondly, throughout the interview process, I am mindful of potential biases that may inadvertently arise from my semi-insider position. My preconceived notions about the industry were formed by my internal experience. Hence, I strive to maintain neutrality and objectivity, ensuring that the research methods remain uninfluenced by subjective factors. For instance, when some interviewees express their opinions, they may inquire about my stance. At such junctures, I made it polite but clear that, in order to avoid bias or influencing their perspectives, I refrained from revealing my personal opinions. Instead, I position myself solely as a researcher, emphasising the importance of impartiality and objectivity and avoiding expressing too many personal opinions or emotions during the interviews. By adopting this way, I aim to foster an open and relatively objective dialogue environment, wherein interviewees are more likely to articulate their genuine viewpoints without external pressures, thereby enhancing the credibility and reliability of the research.

Furthermore, as a semi-insider, I may encounter challenges in establishing trust and rapport with certain interviewees who perceive me as not fully belonging to their cultural or professional milieu. This could potentially impact the depth and authenticity of the information shared during interviews, as interviewees may withhold sensitive or confidential details due to perceived differences in background or allegiance. To address

this challenge, before and during interviews, I underscore to interviewees the anonymity of their names and any sensitive information, guaranteeing compliance with ethical standards. Participants are assured that their names are kept confidential, and even details regarding their workplace or specific programme teams are not disclosed unless explicitly permitted. This approach serves to establish a secure and trusting environment, thereby increasing the likelihood of respondents sharing sensitive or confidential information. By ensuring anonymity, concerns regarding confidentiality and trust are mitigated, potentially fostering more open and candid conversations.

In short, I contend that the utilisation of snowball sampling addresses, to a certain extent, the 'access' challenge in participant recruitment. However, the premise of employing this method is grounded in my self-identification as a 'semi-insider' within the Taiwanese television industry. Subsequently, in the following section, a more comprehensive explanation is provided regarding the establishment of criteria for the recruitment and screening of respondents.

4.2 Research Subjects/ Participants

4.2.1. The Criteria of Participant Recruitment

The subjects of this study are Taiwanese television/ media practitioners. Before recruiting participants, I established four selection criteria for interviewees to ensure the acquisition of diverse data. The possible respondents recruited based on the four criteria are shown in Table 4.1 below. It is essential to note that these criteria are idealised, serving the purpose of guiding the selection of new interviewees based on the preferences expressed by my current respondents. For instance, I might inform current interviewees that I am seeking males aged between 40 to 49 years or I am seeking individuals with experience in public television.

Table 4.1Criteria-based Classification of Potential Interviewees

Group	Age	Attendance	Gender	Experience	Highest position
A	Over 50	3-5	Male/ Female	Television Station, Production Company, Freelance	Senior/ Middle

B	40-49	3-5	Male/ Female	Television Station, Production Company, Freelance	Senior /Middle/ Junior
C	30-49	3-5	Male/ Female	Television Station, Production Company, Freelance	Senior /Middle/ Junior
D	20-40	3-5	Male/ Female	Television Station, Production Company, Freelance	Middle/ Junior

Age: The proposed Taiwanese interviewees are categorised into four groups by age, namely, Group A: Over 50; Group B: 40-49; Group C: 30-39; Group D: 20-29, with each group comprising approximately three to four people. Here, I would like to underscore again that this categorisation is purely for the sake of clarity and convenience during the sampling process. It carries no inherent significance beyond facilitating the selection of individuals of varying ages, genders, and work experiences.

Gender: An effort is made to include both men and women within each age group.

Position: The highest positions ever held are considered. These positions are classified into three main categories: senior managers (such as a president) in a television station or related media industry, middle-level managers (such as a department manager), junior managers (such as team leaders) and junior staff.

Work Experience: Past work experience and job roles are also taken into account. The proposed interviewees should hail from different backgrounds including but not limited to public television stations, commercial television stations production companies, small-scale studios, and freelancers). Moreover, an attempt is made to select individuals with diverse media-related roles, such as programme producers, gaffers and sound designers.

These four criteria— age, gender, position, and work experience—contribute to the diversification of the sample. Firstly, individuals of different ages within the television industry may hold varying perspectives on Korean Wave and anti-Korean issues, but these different ages form a production team to produce programmes. Similarly, gender can influence the interpretation of the same issues, especially since Korean fans are

usually seen as women (Yang, 2008; Hsu , 2014), while anti-Korean people are usually seen as men (Yang, 2008b). Additionally, gender dynamics within the television industry can shed light on the gender-dominated organisational structures and programme production processes to some extent. It is widely assumed that female television workers tend to be more engaged in pre-production, while their male counterparts often take on production roles. While I do not entirely endorse these gender and media job stereotypes, they do represent the prevailing perceptions in Taiwan.

Thirdly, the perception of issues is undeniably influenced by one's position within an organisation and their accrued work experience. For example, considering the contrasting perspectives that may arise between individuals occupying different roles such as programme managers and junior staff within a television station. Given the programme manager's elevated managerial status, wield a distinct vantage point. Their experience involves strategic decision-making and overall television station governance, rendering their outlook on interview questions markedly divergent from that of their junior counterparts. Junior staff, on the other hand, are often in the early stages of their career journey, and their perspective is likely to be rooted in operational aspects rather than high-level management concerns. This standard provides insight into different levels of perspectives and experience and help this project reflects the diversity of the industry.

Finally, the disparities in viewpoints are not limited solely to hierarchical distinctions; they also extend to work experiences. Professionals who have worked in commercial television stations may prioritise profit-driven considerations, whereas their counterparts in public television might emphasise public service obligations and values. In other words, participants with different backgrounds and work experiences may have different perspectives on the research topic, and this can help to understand their values and priorities.

The establishment of such criteria facilitates the more effective management of samples and the purposeful pursuit of interviewees in my snowball sampling process. By categorising the samples into different age groups to ensure that each group is representative (gender, position, and work experience). For instance, within the four age groups (A, B, C, D), there are more female participants in Group A and more male respondents in Group B. I would inquire with the current interviewees whether there are

potential contributors aged 40 to 49 male or over 50 female acquaintances they could recommend, seeking recommendations accordingly. This meticulous approach ensures a comprehensive and well-balanced representation across age, gender, positions, and work experiences.

4.3 Data Collection Procedure

4.3.1.1 Ethical Considerations and Interview Details

After getting approval from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Management School Research Ethics Committee (FASS-LUMS REC) of Lancaster University in March 2021. Then I started looking for Taiwanese television workers as interviewees. However, due to the impact of the pandemic, the Taiwanese government announced some restrictions, and the face-to-face interviews that started in late April were postponed to the end of May. Upon the Taiwanese government's announcement of the second extension of restrictions at the end of May 2021, I decided to shift from conducting face-to-face interviews to online interviews.

The onset of Taiwan's lockdown arose from an outbreak of COVID-19 among Taiwan-based crew members of the state-owned China Airlines In late April 2021 resulting in a sharp increase in cases, particularly concentrated in the greater Taipei area (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2023, hereafter MOHW). In May 2021, due to the emergence of infections stemming from the Wanhua District teahouse, triggering a gradual escalation of epidemic alert levels, the government announced on 15th May the elevation of the greater Taipei area to the epidemic alert of the third tier (MOHW, 2020). This entailed restrictions on indoor gatherings to three individuals and outdoor gatherings to five, alongside the mandatory closure of all schools (MOHW, 2020). On 19th May 2021, the epidemic alert level was raised to the third tier nationwide in Taiwan (MOHW, 2020). This suggests that the television industry's operations contravened the gathering restrictions, prompting the suspension of numerous television programmes and drama productions. Despite each lockdown typically lasting about two weeks, they were continuously extended. While the epidemic alert level was downgraded to the second tier starting on 27th July 2021, overall restrictions persisted through multiple extensions until 28th February 2022 (MOHW, 2020). As the duration of the pandemic prolongs, many industry professionals are also facing challenges of reduced income. These professionals

may strive to seek alternative job opportunities or attempt to transition to work-from-home options, such as undertaking in remote work or providing services on online platforms. However, these choices may not be applicable to all industry professionals, particularly those reliant on on-site television production.

The interviews were scheduled at the respondents' convenience and were held over 65 days from late May to early August 2021. The duration of the interviews varied, ranging from a minimum of 50 minutes to a maximum of 3 hours. Because of the government restrictions mentioned above, most of the interviewees were interviewed at home （also see Section 1 on the challenges of conducting interviews at home.）。

In the course of practical implementation, a series of measures were implemented to ensure that respondents felt secure and respected during their engagement in the research. Firstly, a few days before the interview, I provided interviewees with the 'Participant Information Sheet' (see Appendix 1) and the 'Consent Form' (see Appendix 2). This procedure ensures informed consent and apprises participants of the research's objectives and pertinent details. Subsequently, the interview proceeds only upon obtaining the interviewee's explicit consent and signature. Additionally, I reiterated the key points outlined in the informed consent form both before and after the interview session. All interviews underwent anonymisation processes, employing English pseudonyms to further safeguard the identity privacy of the interviewees. Before and after the interviews, I stressed to the interviewees the anonymisation of any identifiable information, covering their names, affiliations, and any other personal details. Secondly, particular emphasis was placed on the rights of participants when addressing sensitive issues, encouraging them to selectively share information to ensure that their preferences were respected. In other words, they have the option to inform me after the interview if there are parts they do not wish to be included in the study. It is noted that all respondents were reminded both before and after the interview that they could choose to withdraw from the project at any time within two weeks, with all related data being promptly deleted upon withdrawal. Furthermore, all interviews were exclusively audio-recorded and not video-recorded, thereby maximising the protection of participants' rights and privacy.

In the context of interviews, I have opted to conduct all interviews in Chinese. Although some interviewees are capable of conversing in English or Korean, these two languages are not native to individuals in Taiwan. The use of Chinese is chosen to ensure the depth and accuracy of the interviews, even though English and Taiwanese may be interspersed during the conversational process. Employing the native language in interviews contributes to the elimination of language barriers, enabling interviewees to express their perspectives and experiences more comfortably without concerns about potential limitations in non-native languages. The complexity and richness of culture are often most fully expressed in one's native language. Conducting interviews in English or Korean may result in the loss of subtle cultural differences and nuances in emotional expression.

4.3.2. Sampling

I conducted 22 interviews with Taiwanese television workers to understand their work experience and perspectives on the Korean Wave from May to August 2021. Table 4.2 presents the information obtained from the respondents after two rounds of recruitment, comprising their current job title, English pseudonyms, gender, position level, age range and the type of television content (or other media contents) they have worked on.

Table 4.2 Information of Interviewees

Current Job Title	Name	Gender	Position	Types of Content
Group A: Over 50 years old				
Head of the Production Company	Frank	Male	Senior	Reality Show
Programme Supervisor of Public Television	Wendy	Female	Middle	Reality TV, Drama, Talk Shows, Variety Shows
Head of the Production Company	Stacey	Female	Senior	Reality Show, Variety Shows, Talk Shows
Producer of Public Television	Harvey	Male	Middle	Talk Shows, Variety Shows
Programme Director of Commercial Television	Jerry	Male	Middle	Reality Show, Variety Shows, Talk Shows

Group B: 40-49 years old				
Freelance Art Director in Art Studio	Sam	Male	Middle	Variety Shows, Drama, Film
Freelance Director	Davis	Male	Freelance	Reality TV, Variety Shows, Film and advertising
Programme Director and Producer of Commercial Television	Willis	Male	Middle	Reality Show, Variety Shows, Talk Shows
Programme Director of Commercial Television, Freelance Director	Aaron	Male	Middle	Reality Show, Variety Shows, Talk Shows, Stream/ online Media content advertising
Head of Studio (Freelance Producer)	Ada	Female	Freelance	Reality TV, Variety Shows, Documentary, Film
Group C: 30- 39 years old				
Programme Director of Chinese Stream Media (Freelance Director before)	Polly	Female	Middle	Reality TV, Variety Shows, Documentary, Film, Stream/ online Media content
Freelance Director	Colin	Male	Freelance	Variety Shows, advertising, Music Video, Stream/ online Media content
Executive producer and Planner of Local Television	Helen	Female	Junior	Variety Shows
Executive producer and Planner of Local Television	Kelly	Female	Junior	Variety Shows
Programme Planner in Commercial Television	Peggy	Female	Junior	Variety Shows, Drama
Freelancer Cameraman	Lance	Male	Freelance	Variety Shows, Drama, Film, Stream/ online Media content
Head of Studio (Freelance Director)	Ted	Male	Freelance	Variety Shows, Drama, Film, Stream/ online Media content

Group D: 20-20 years old				
Programme Planner of Production Company	Carl	Male	Junior	Variety Shows, online Media content
Programme Planner of Production Company	Kevin	Male	Junior	Variety Shows, online Media content
Freelance Director	Emma	Female	Freelance	Reality TV, Variety Shows, Documentary, advertising
Programme Director of Online Television	Ivy	Female	Junior	online Media content
Freelance Editor	Sophia	Female	Freelance	Advertising, online Media content

*'Non-commercial' television station in this context refers to public television stations, not religious television stations.

Among the 22 respondents, 7 people are aged between 30 to 39 years old (Group C), and the remainder age groups (Group A: over 50, Group B: 40 to 49, and Group D: 20 to 29), have 5 people in each respectively. Regarding occupation or work experience, 12 respondents have either worked as a freelancer in the past or currently work in freelance work, such as Davis, Ada, and Lance; 13 respondents work or have related experience in television stations such as Wendy, Jerry and Harvey; 8 respondents work in or have related experience in production companies such as Frank, Kevin and Carl. Since some interviewees have extensive experience, I only list their current job titles in Table 4.2. It is noteworthy that some interviewees possess overlapping work experience. For instance, Ted has accrued experience in production companies and television stations, and he currently operates as a freelancer. The predominant source of income for the majority of the interviewees was related to television-related occupations.

In terms of gender representation, the recruitment outcomes fail to fully reflect the deliberately set recruitment criteria. The gender distribution across groups is as follows:

Group A exhibits a female-to-male ratio of 2:3, Group C of 4:3, and Group D of 3:2, suggesting a tendency towards gender balance across these groups. However, in Group B, the ratio is notably skewed at 1:4, deviating significantly from the expected equilibrium. This indicates potential challenges or uncertainties within the recruitment process, resulting in outcomes diverging from expectations.

Further examination reveals complications within the recruitment process that may have contributed to this unexpected outcome. During the initial round of recruitment in the snowball sampling process, participants from Group B, specifically Sam and Ada, maintained a balanced ratio. However, as the interviews progressed, it became apparent that not all interviewees actively facilitated the introduction of the subsequent participant, despite their initial agreement. This inconsistency in respondents' engagement may have influenced the subsequent unbalanced gender ratio of Group B. During the second round, I sought the assistance of an acquaintance, Davis, to recommend acquaintances. I specifically requested individuals aged between 40 and 49, encompassing both males and females. Davis enthusiastically introduced four individuals to me, namely Jerry, Stacey, Aaron, and Willis (see Figure 4.2). However, a subsequent interview with Stacey revealed her classification as belonging to Group A. Given the observed gender imbalance specifically within Group B, I incorporated some questions regarding the disparity in gender ratios within the interviewees' respective working environments during subsequent semi-structured interviews. Nevertheless, responses from all queried practitioners uniformly indicated a prevalence of women outnumbering men in their workplaces.

Therefore, this suggests that despite the researcher's efforts to remind participants and set standards, there still exist unforeseen challenges or potential uncertainties within the snowball recruitment process, leading to deviations from the expected gender balance in recruitment outcomes. This brings out the importance of carefully designing and executing recruitment processes to ensure diversity and balance among contributors.

A. First-Round Recruitment of Snowball Sampling

In the initial phase of the snowball sampling process, I posted a recruitment notice on my personal Facebook profile. Simultaneously, I identified two contacts (referred to as Associate1 and Associate2) within my social network. Subsequently, the snowball

sampling technique was employed, as depicted in Figure 4.1 Associate 1, with prior experience in the television industry, but presently engaged in a different sector, facilitated introductions to Kelly, Helen, and Peggy. Peggy, in turn, introduced Sam. Associate 2, also having exited the television industry, facilitated an introduction to Frank.

The dashed arrows in Figure 4.1 indicate instances where the participant or associate observed my Facebook post and voluntarily expressed interest in participating in the project. Associate3, named Polly, came across my post and proactively contacted me, expressing her interest in participation. Although Polly originates from my social circle, she is currently working in China and introduced Colin, another Taiwanese television professional in China. Polly's involvement expanded the project to include television practitioners from Taiwan working in China. The final one in the first round is a stranger, Ivy, who does not originate from my social circle. She noticed my recruitment post on Facebook through our mutual friend's likes. Subsequently, she actively contacted me, introducing Carl and Ada. Then, Carl introduced Kevin.

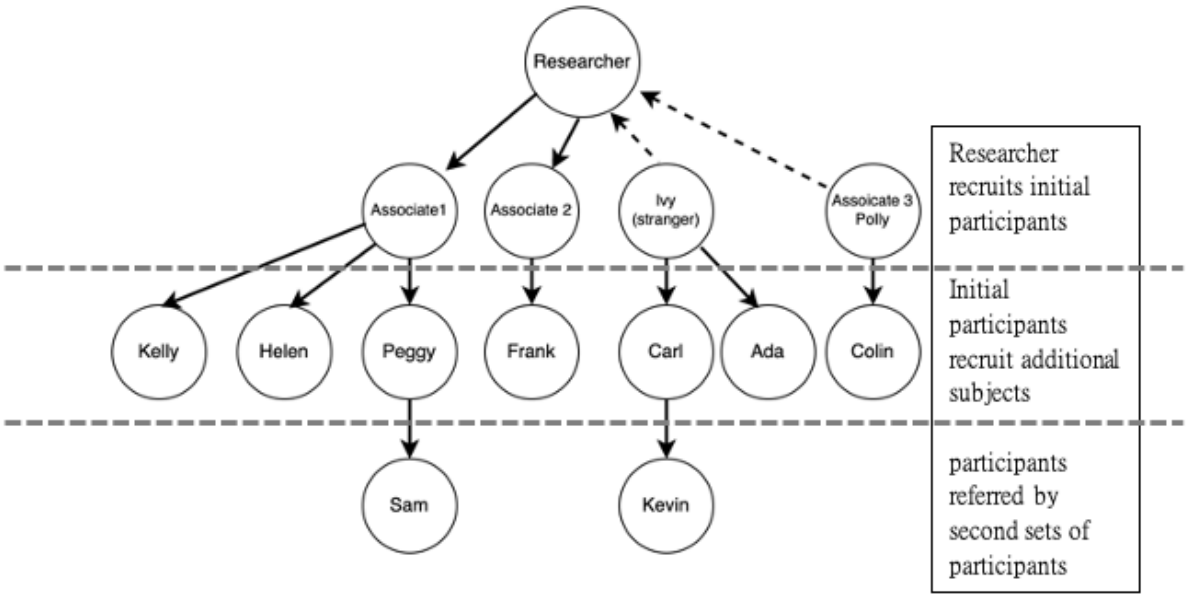

Figure 4.1First-Round Recruitment of Snowball Sampling

B. Second-Round Recruitment of Snowball Sampling

The purpose of the second round of snowball sampling is to address the observed lack of diversity in the first round. It is noteworthy that in certain circumstances, respondents

may exhibit a certain degree of reluctance to introduce new participants into the study. This reluctance may stem from less familiarity with colleagues or constraints related to introducing individuals based on hierarchical considerations. Alternatively, when introductions are made, the newly-referred participants often share similarities in background or characteristics with the recommending participants. For instance, in the initial round, Associate1 primarily introduced female employees aged 30 to 39, including Helen and Kelly from the local television station, and Peggy also aged 30 to 39 from a commercial television network. Recognising the need to broaden the demographic scope of the study, I initiated a second sampling round.

In the second round, I sought input from my personal network, specifically reaching out to Associate 4 Davis and Associate 5 Wendy, to rectify the absence of respondents aged 40-49 and over 50 in the first round, a notable gap in the initial sampling. Davis introduced Stacey and Jerry, both over 50 with diverse backgrounds – Stacey as a producer in a production company and Jerry as a director at a commercial television network. Additionally, Aaron and Willis, aged 40 to 49, were introduced, with Aaron being a studio producer primarily handling public television projects, and Willis serving as a director and producer at a commercial television network. Wendy, who possesses experience in public television, introduced Harvey, who also shares a similar background in public television.

Having filled the gaps in the 40-49 and Over 50 age groups, I considered the diversity of job roles. Consequently, I proactively engaged Associate6 Lance and Associate7 Ted, both photographers with subtle differences in their roles. Lance, an independent freelance photographer with experience working in the United States, covered a wide range of projects spanning both television and film. Ted, on the other hand, established his own studio and took on projects not only in television but also in advertising and film.
Associate 8, who also hails from my social circle and reached out to me after seeing my post, is currently not working in the television industry. He facilitated an introduction to Emma.

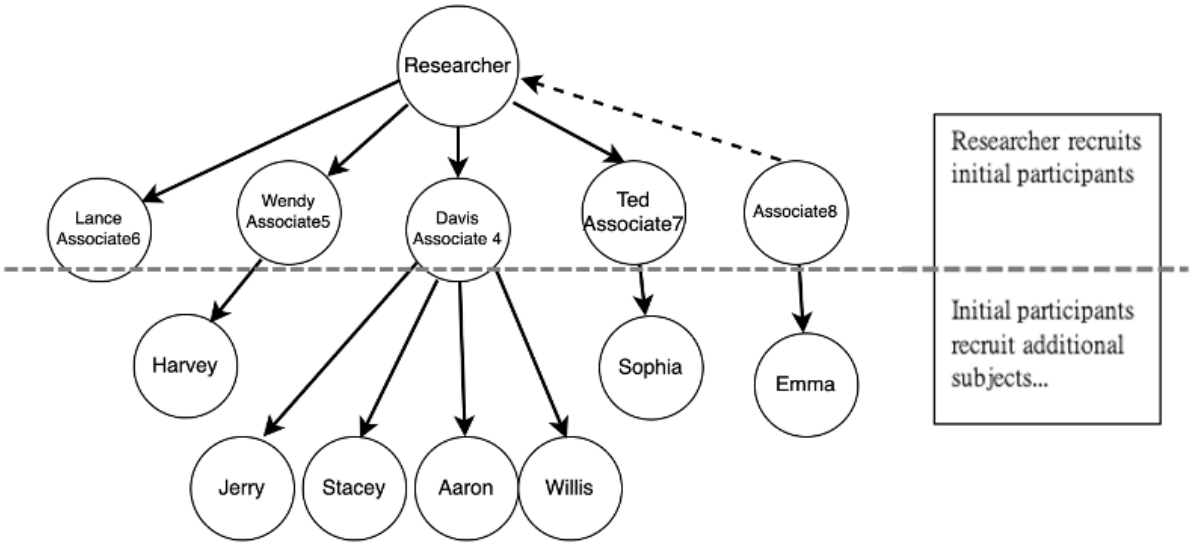

Figure 4.2 Second-Round Recruitment of Snowball Sampling

In short, the two rounds of snowball sampling suggest that this approach plays an instrumental role in expanding the scope of this research project beyond its initially delineated boundaries, as evidenced by Polly's involvement. Through the snowball sampling process, the researcher gains access to individuals or groups inaccessible via traditional sampling methods, effectively addressing the 'access' issue. These participants often belong to networks resistant to direct access without referrals. In this instance, initially confined to familiar social circles, the introduction of Polly, a contact employed in China, and subsequently Colin, a Taiwanese television professional based in the same region, acted as crucial catalysts in extending the study's reach. Polly's inclusion is particularly significant for the project as it offers insights reflective of industry dynamics. Specifically, although working in China was not initially within the scope of my project, Polly's case has brought to light the significance of Taiwanese workers' experiences in this context. Her experience underlines the influence of the Korean Wave on these Taiwanese professionals within the Chinese market and television environment. Therefore, I have decided to broaden the research range to include the experiences of these cross-border workers. The snowball sampling method helps to illustrate aspects of industry dynamics as it can reflect, to some extent, the flow of information, labour, and connections inherent to industry operations, particularly where 'access' is challenging.

4.3.3. Anonymity Issue

To protect respondents' personal information, all names are pseudonyms. According to Ted, real names are rarely used in Taiwan's media industry, and Chinese or English nicknames are usually used. The use of Chinese or English nicknames depends on the content of their work. Usually, the film industry uses Chinese, the advertising industry uses English, and the television industry uses Chinese than English nicknames.

This research project, however, adopts an English-language anonymization strategy primarily because of the presence of respondents with English names stemming from their international or cross-border work experience. This approach responds to the complex cultural dynamics within the broader media industry. Furthermore, I found that younger freelancers in my project usually use English names as their working names. Third, the boundaries of film, advertising, and television work seem to be less strict than in the past. Participants in this study frequently navigate multiple sectors concurrently, blurring the lines between different media sectors, as well as crossing into the new media industry. In response to this fluidity, these professionals adeptly employ distinct pseudonyms to manage diverse client interactions, embodying a pragmatic approach to the evolving dynamics of their multifaceted careers.

Conclusion

In conclusion, in this chapter, the methodology of the research is outlined, incorporating the adjustments made to the original plan and the rationale behind the methodological choices. Originally designed as an extensive fieldwork endeavour with face-to-face semi-structured interviews, the research shifted to online video interviews due to the unforeseen disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. The utilisation of snowball sampling was employed to address 'access' issues within the television industry. The participant recruitment criteria, including age, gender, position, and work experience, were established to manage samples more effectively. The specific data collection process, involving ethical considerations and the sampling procedure, is detailed, acknowledging the challenges posed by the shift to online interviews.

Chapter 5 Internal Industry Dynamics of Television Production

Introduction

The challenge faced by television professionals lies in the inherent duality of balancing the pursuit of original narratives and unique perspectives with the crucial task of ensuring a return on investment. This complexity highlights the intricate terrain they may deal with, where creative autonomy intersects with economic conservatism. In Chapter 3, I reviewed research concerning the possibilities of creative autonomy and self-actualisation for cultural workers, and how these two aspects shape their professional identity. In this context, creativity is viewed as a meaningful form of expression contributing to an individual's self-worth and uniqueness—termed creative autonomy. Television creatives seek to express their unique perspectives and innovative ideas in order to gain a deeper sense of self-actualisation through their work.

The interplay between the pursuit of self-actualisation and the autonomy of television professionals plays a significant role in defining their professional identity. However, this ongoing negotiation becomes apparent as creative freedom clashes with the imperative of financial sustainability. The delicate balance reflects the industry's struggle to reconcile creative aspirations with commercial realities. In this chapter, I consider how this tension manifests for the cultural workers who took part in this research, and how creative autonomy and self-actualisation contribute to the construction of their professional identity.

In the following sections, I explore these identities through the lens of desires in my interview, institutional professional, freelancer, and transnational professional (the latter discussed in Chapter 6). As for transnational professionals, their identity involves the flows of cultural products and television workers in different countries, and thus is discussed in the next chapter (Chapter 6). In this chapter, I focus on the internal dynamic in the Taiwanese television industry and consider multiple professional identities that exist among Taiwanese television workers including institutional professionals and freelancers. During the interviews, certain desires were expressed that reflect the broader motivations of creative workers to attain creative autonomy and self-actualisation in cultural production. These desires play a significant role in shaping their professional

identities. Some employees emphasise their creativity, seeing it as the core value of their work, while others view their work as part of efficiency or routine tasks.

5.1 Institutional Professionals

5.1.1. 'It's like a kind of limited freedom'—Creative Autonomy in Television Station

> In Taiwan, there's creative freedom, but it does have its limits. It's still subject to some constraints, so it's like a kind of limited freedom. And well, when it comes to funding and production costs[3], there's not much freedom, and the benefits package isn't that free either. Let's say, for example, I'm just thinking, what if the television stations had money today? Would they really be willing to invest so much money to support locally made shows in Taiwan?
>
> (Television Station Director Jerry, 1 August 2021)

Jerry (Male, aged over 50) is an individual with a rich professional history that spans over three decades in the industry. With extensive experience as an executive producer and cinematographer within a production company, as well as an assistant programme director at commercial television stations. Currently, he holds the position of programme director at a commercial television station.

Jerry is a typical professional working in the television or production industry. Institutional professionals in this field are typically employed by established institutions such as television stations, production companies, or media organisations. These professionals assume various roles in the production process, from programme development to editorial responsibilities, based on the organisational hierarchy. Institutional professionals enjoy the stability of a fixed position, consistent remuneration packages, and associated benefits. Jerry's statement shows both the possibilities and limitations of creative freedom working in the television station. Obviously, 'limit,' 'freedom,' 'constraints,' and other similar discourses embody the tension between creative workers and television stations about autonomy.

[3] 'Funding' refers to financial resources needed for creating a TV programme. It can come from various sources like broadcasters, investors, advertisers, grants, and co-productions. 'Production costs' refer to costs incurred throughout the production lifecycle, including pre-production, filming, post-production, marketing, and distribution.

In Jerry's case, production companies often need financial support from television stations or other entities to produce shows. The conditions under which funding is provided, such as expectations for content quality, influence the professional autonomy of production companies, revealing the dynamics of power structures between television creatives and television stations. For Jerry, his autonomy was limited by certain constraints. Because of the potential limitations of management's control extending to creative workers. Therefore, creativity is not an entirely unbridled force but rather one that operates within the contours of regulations and practical considerations, as Mark Banks (2007) aptly puts it, 'that artistic desires for creative autonomy and independence exist in uneasy tension with capitalist imperatives of profit-generation and controlled accumulation' (p.7). In particular, the evaluation of 'success' in the media industry often depends on market logic and often affects the practitioners involved in the creative process. As Deuze (2007) suggests there is a deep rift in the television industry, as senior managers tend to work according to market logic, while creative professionals seem more willing to accept editorial logic in their work. When faced with limited resources, compromises may become inevitable, potentially compromising the integrity of the creative vision. It is here that Jerry's scepticism becomes apparent, as he raises questions about whether television stations, even if they were to possess substantial financial means, would indeed allocate such resources generously to bolster locally produced shows in Taiwan. This scepticism accentuates the tension between creative ambitions and financial priorities in the industry. As Jerry put it:

> Perhaps I [TV] give you [PC] money, but if you [PC] don't achieve the desired outcome, they [TV] will still expect you [PC] to cover the expenses. Whether it's your [PC] own money or whatever, the bottom line is that when I [TV] provide you [PC] with this funding, it is with the expectation that the show is top-notch and meets all the quality standards.
>
> (Television Station Director Jerry, 1 August 2021)
>
> (The television station is denoted as [TV]; the Production company is represented as [PC].)

In addition to Jerry's experience demonstrating the perpetuation of tensions between managerial expectations (profit-driven imperatives) and professional independence (artistic independence), it reflects an organisational ideological discourse rooted in Jerry's professionalism and professional identity in progress. Here I draw on the concepts from

Knights and Morgan (1991)'s 'subjective self-discipline' and Paul du Gay's (1996) 'enterprising' to explain this ideological discourse.

In the words of Knights and Morgan (1991, p.252), 'subjects whose sense of meaning and reality become tied to their participation in the discourse that produces subjective self-discipline'. The 'discourse' referred to by Knights and Morgan (1991) encompasses the language, values, norms, and narratives that circulate within the organisational context. When Jerry mentions providing funding with the expectation that the show meets all quality standards and is top-notch, the television station aims to shape the professional identity of the production company to align with its own goals and standards, thereby exercising control over the creative process and output. It is indispensable to emphasise that even if the provision of resources does not necessarily take away creative freedom in itself, it does place the creator under a kind of responsibility and expectation associated with it. The emphasis on meeting these standards can be seen as a form of control exerted by the television station over the professional identity of the production company. This expectation sets a standard for the production company to adhere to. Television professionals in production companies who originally had to compromise on creativity to varying degrees due to limited resources may eventually change to an 'efficient' and 'professional' production company that actively complies with the station's requirements and expectations in order to quickly pass station review and get the next contract. As production companies engage with this discourse mentioned by Knights and Morgan, their understanding of 'good work' becomes intertwined with the perspectives and ideologies promoted by the organisation. This process of internalisation is not merely passive; it involves active participation and negotiation, as production company and television creatives interpret and make sense of the discourse in relation to their own experiences and identities, and even internalise them to the point where they regulate their behaviour and thoughts accordingly. In other words, these production companies come to govern themselves based on the standards and expectations set forth by the organisation's discourse, rather than relying solely on external forms of control.

du Gay (1996) observes a trend in the cultural production sector where managers and employers are highlighting the significance of 'enterprise' as an individual quality, rather than tying it to organisations or firms. The idea of enterprise, comprising efficiency, productivity, empowerment, and autonomy, has transformed from being associated with

businesses to individual employees (Deuze, 2007). This shift has affected the professional identities of individuals, whether employed or not (Deuze, 2007). In the television context, workers are encouraged to meet all standards, which can be interpreted as an emphasis on individual qualities such as creativity, adaptability, and responsibility. The purpose is 'to reconstitute workers as more adaptable, flexible, and willing to move between activities and assignments and to take responsibility for their own actions and their successes and failures' (Storey et al., 2005, p. 1036).

Jerry's saying indeed implies that the production company must take responsibility for ensuring that the programme meets the station's requirements, thus shaping their professional identity in alignment with the goals of organisational control and efficiency, where individual qualities are emphasised and employees are encouraged to take ownership of their actions and outcomes within the cultural production sector, even if they work within a television station or production company. Furthermore, this pursuit of organisational goals and efficiency may also be reflected in the recent phenomenon of 'imitating' successful Korean programmes. I will continue to discuss this phenomenon in the next section.

5.1.2. 'We imitate, but add our own creativity'— The Influence of Korean Programmes on Taiwanese Television Production

In Taiwan, producers are increasingly adopting the successful formats of Korean programmes. This trend reflects the television industry's tendency to learn from and internalise successful models, while also revealing the tension between professional identity and creative autonomy. Taiwanese producers adjust or innovate based on Korean formats to quickly attract viewers and minimise the risk of failure. The success of Korean formats provides Taiwanese producers with a convenient reference, encouraging a reliance on established models rather than fostering original innovation in a competitive market.

Jerry specifically pointed to the Taiwanese programme *Mr. Player*[4] as an example, noting that its format was influenced by the Korean show *Running Man*. He mentioned,

> *[Mr. Player]*, in some ways, is a reworked version of *Running Man* [...] It's undeniable that it has gradually been influenced by Korean programmes. [...] The producer of *Mr. Player,* who is my friend, sees it as the Taiwanese version of that concept rather than copying *Running Man*, which they [the production team] have adapted and made their own.
>
> (Television Station Director Jerry, 1 August 2021)

Similarly, *Three Piglets*[5] by Public Television Service was pointed out by both Jerry and Freelance Director Davis as a programme that clearly'imitates'a Korean show.

> [*Three Piglets*] is clearly the type of reality show leftover from Korean programmes [...] Many people praise this show [...] but when I see a programme like *Three Piglets*, I just don't want to watch it, because, in fact, it's the same as the Korean's show.
>
> (Television Station Director Jerry, 1 August 2021)

> They [*Three Piglets* production team] simply brought the three celebrities together to run a guesthouse, and that's something very similar to what Korean PD Na [나영석] has done many shows like this.
>
> (Freelance Director Davis, 22 June 2021)

Both Jerry and Davis's statements illustrate how Taiwanese producers have been influenced by the successful formats of Korean programmes. To maintain competitiveness and secure funding, Taiwanese producers choose to imitate Korean production models to mitigate the risk of low viewership, thereby positioning themselves

[4] *Mr. Player (綜藝玩很大)* is a Taiwanese reality game show that premiered on 19 July 2014 and has remained on air since its debut. The programme has received multiple nominations and awards at Taiwan's prestigious Golden Bell Awards.

[5] *Three Piglets (阮三个)* is a Taiwanese reality show that premiered on 18 February 2022 and has released three seasons to date. The third season concluded on 26 January 2023. The first and second seasons received nominations for the Golden Bell Awards in the categories of Best Reality or Game Show and Best Host in a Reality or Game Show. The third season was honoured with the award for Best Host in a Reality or Game Show at the Golden Bell Awards.

as ‘successful’ producers. Drawing on Alvesson et al.’s (2008) concept of ‘identity work,’ within Taiwan’s television industry, high viewership ratings serve as a benchmark for defining ‘successful professionals,’ shaping a professional identity aligned with market demands. This process not only illustrates how producers negotiate their professional identity under commercial pressures but also reveals how they internalise ‘high ratings’ as a core indicator of professional recognition, ensuring their competitiveness in the industry. Since the professional standing of creative workers often depends on peer recognition or market success, they opt to replicate successful Korean programme formats in a highly commercialised environment to quickly establish a foothold in the market, rationalising this choice as being ‘for the sake of ratings or audience preferences.’ This strategy helps sustain their professional status and gain market validation, thereby legitimising their decisions. As Television Producer Harvey said,

> Some television professionals in Taiwan believe that we might be imitating programmes from other countries [...]. This is not plagiarism; rather, we are drawing inspiration from the best aspects of their programmes. But we also make changes, incorporating our own creativity to develop our own shows. So, we are merely learning from their strengths, not copying them.
>
> (Producer in Public Station Harvey, 17 July 2021)

As a television producer, Harvey, in responding to my question, used the term ‘we’ to refer to those who imitate foreign programmes, unwittingly aligning himself with this group. This statement not only reflects his acceptance of the mainstream market practice but also illustrates how Taiwanese producers employ discursive strategies to legitimise imitation. Whether by emphasising the integration of their own creativity into imitation to demonstrate confidence in their professional competence or by attempting to maintain a sense of self-identity, such narratives ultimately serve to reinforce professional status and market positioning. However, this notion of ‘creative adaptation’ is, in essence, a form of self-justification that does not fundamentally alter the nature of imitation.

More significantly, this discourse fails to obscure the profound impact of market pressures on creative work. Production companies have internalised competition, cost efficiency, and audience ratings as the primary criteria for evaluating professional competence, shifting the definition of professional identity away from creative autonomy

towards market-driven success. As Sluss and Ashforth (2008) emphasise, work role relationships are embedded within broader organisational structures, and within this framework, ‘creativity’ is no longer an intrinsic professional value but rather a means to achieve market success. With the Korean model emerging as a major structural constraint on creative autonomy, Taiwanese producers, in their pursuit of market demands, inevitably yield to commercial logic, relinquishing opportunities for individualised creative expression and subordinating their professional identity and creative agency to market imperatives. Thus, the so-called ‘limited creative autonomy’ is, in reality, a form of market-driven ‘pseudo-innovation’—one that seemingly grants professionals a degree of creative freedom but, in truth, constitutes a strategic compromise under commercial pressures. Within such an industrial landscape, creativity is no longer the core value but has instead been commodified as a market-oriented output.

On the other hand, the transformation of professional identity and the compression of creativity go hand in hand, further contributing to the phenomenon of ‘deskilling’ in creative labour. This ‘deskilling’ is not merely a decline in technical or operational skills in the traditional sense but, more critically, a weakening of creative workers’ professional judgment and innovative capacity. As market demand for standardised formats and procedures intensifies, producers’ creative autonomy is progressively constrained, leading to a shift in professional identity. Driven by market forces, producers may increasingly prioritise adapting to standardised formats rather than exercising their creative abilities. This reflects the phenomenon of why these producers imitate South Korean programmes. To some extent, their role may gradually shift towards that of ‘agents of capital’ rather than purely cultural and creative initiators. Consequently, the professional skills and intellectual value of creative workers are gradually undermined, replaced by more standardised operational procedures and programme formats.

When these television professionals are promoted to higher-level roles with some decision-making authority, they may still be considered in terms of the network’s (television or production company) expectations rather than their own creative autonomy. This phenomenon reflects the transformation of creators into agents of capital. For instance, production company executives may prioritise making their work marketable to broadcasters or streaming platforms, focusing on how to efficiently meet industry standards and quality expectations rather than fostering originality. As a result, television

professionals may find themselves conforming to organisational discourse, prioritising efficiency and compliance over individual creativity and autonomy. This shift in priorities leads to a transformation in professional identity, as creative work becomes increasingly constrained by institutional demands. Ultimately, this process contributes to the deskilling of labour, as the unique talents and expertise of creative professionals are devalued in favour of a more standardised and controlled approach to production. In other words, the value of specialised knowledge and creativity is diminished in favor of standardised processes and outputs dictated by organisational imperatives. As Jerry said,

> The production of programmes is definitely influenced by the top management of television stations, but aren't these top-level executives once from the grassroots? Because if they were, they wouldn't all claim to care about programme quality while at the same time being unwilling to spend money on big productions like this. This has always been a question for me. From what I know, when they climb to that position, they usually prioritise making money for the company [...]. The more money they can make for the TV station, the louder their voice becomes.
>
> (Television Station Director Jerry, August 1, 2021)

Freelance Director Emma also expressed,

> The vice-manager I know at the television station sounds like he holds a high position. He oversees many producers, but above him, there's a director. If the director says no, then he can't do anything. It's a problem with the structure and power dynamics of the entire media industry.
>
> (Freelance Director Emma, July 9, 2021)

Jerry questions the backgrounds and motivations of top-level management personnel, suggesting that they may prioritise company profitability over programme quality or creative autonomy. He also raises doubts about whether these top executives have ever risen from the grassroots level. This reflects the formation of power structures within the organisation and how they influence the direction and decision-making of program production. As noted by Knights and Morgan (1991), discourse within organisations is to some extent internalised and impacts individuals' autonomy and professional identity. In

this context, television professionals may be influenced by organisational contexts and values, such as viewership ratings and market competition, leading to a certain degree of constraint and guidance in their work, even at the managerial level. Furthermore, Emma mentions that although there are promotions from grassroots levels (including creative personnel) to managerial positions, these individuals may still lack influence over program production decisions, particularly in granting greater creative autonomy.

The perspectives of Jerry and Emma collectively highlight the influence of internal power dynamics within the media industry on professional identity and decision-making processes. Jerry points out that senior management may prioritise company profitability over programme quality or creative autonomy in their efforts to attain greater organisational influence ('louder their voice becomes'). When their influence is insufficient, as Emma notes, even middle managers may find it difficult to escape the constraints of higher-level decisions. She mentions that although there are promotions from grassroots levels (including creative personnel) to managerial positions, these individuals may still lack influence over programme production decisions, particularly in granting greater creative autonomy. This is why Emma chose to work as a freelancer, as I will discuss in the next section. Because this choice is not solely about the television station but reflects larger issues within the industry structure and dynamics. These issues may extend beyond the scope of individual television stations or production companies, involving mechanisms and structural problems inherent in the operation of the entire industry.

As I previously referenced Sluss and Ashforth's (2008) concept to emphasise that work role relationships must be examined within organisational contexts, even those senior managers who were once at the grassroots level must prioritise profitability in order to solidify their position within the organisation. This often entails focusing on market-driven indicators such as viewership ratings and cost efficiency, which are essential for gaining greater influence. In contrast, grassroots practitioners tend to prioritise creative practices and content professionalism. However, these differing role pressures are not merely reflective of functional divisions; they are embedded within broader organisational structures. These structures not only reinforce economic, and market demands but also constrain individual professional autonomy, forcing practitioners to seek compromises between creative freedom and commercial interests.

In addition to the pressures of market competition, Taiwan's cultural funding mechanisms have inadvertently supported the perpetuation of this mimicry model. As Jerry mentioned, a programme that once received funding from Taiwan's Ministry of Culture was a clear imitation of South Korea's *Grandpas Over Flowers (꽃보다 할배)*[6]. He said:

> There was a programme that got funding [from the Ministry of Culture], and it was similar to Grandpas Over Flowers. It was a reality show about elderly people taking trips around the world or something like that. They even copied the word 'Flowers' (花漾，the Chinese translation) directly from the Korean programme—*Grandpas Over Flowers.*
>
> (Television Station Director Jerry, 1 August 2021)

Although the Ministry of Culture's funding aims to support the local cultural industry, it may unintentionally encourage mimicry in programme production rather than promoting genuine creative freedom. Even within the scope of government-funded projects, Taiwanese programmes remain dominated by the Korean model, leveraging imitation to attract resources. This not only illustrates the extent to which industry professionals are influenced by Korean programmes, but it also exposes a critical structural issue within the cultural funding system: when a programme so evidently imitates a foreign production yet still receives government support, does it not suggest an implicit endorsement of this mimicry, thereby reinforcing a cycle of cultural dependency rather than fostering genuine local creativity?

Despite the existence of subsidy policies targeting television programmes in Taiwan, the infiltration of market logic remains unavoidable. The funding mechanisms appear to favour models that have already proven successful, thereby weakening the independence of Taiwan's cultural and creative industries. Grassroots producers often face a dilemma: on the one hand, they may aspire to create programmes with distinct local characteristics and cultural value; on the other hand, they must adhere to market-oriented or mimicry

[6] *Grandpas Over Flowers (꽃보다 할배)*, a South Korean reality show, follows four senior actors as they embark on backpacking trips abroad. With an average age of 74, the show offers a heartwarming and humorous glimpse into the lives of elderly men navigating the challenges of travel. The first season aired in 2013, followed by the second season in 2014, the third season in 2015, and the fourth season in 2018.

models to align with senior decision-making or funding requirements. This contradiction profoundly impacts the formation of professional identity and creative autonomy. Ultimately, imitating Korean programmes not only provides a 'shortcut' but also serves as a structural source of pressure undermining Taiwan's creative independence.

5.1.3. 'Everyone is just a small screw'—Production-Broadcast Separation

However, it is worth noting that in the Taiwanese context, the production and broadcasting of programmes typically follow a 'production-broadcast separation' model. In this paradigm, television stations delegate the responsibility for programme production to external production companies. Consequently, these production companies are solely accountable for the creative and technical aspects[7] of content creation. In contrast, the marketing and distribution facets are the purview of the television stations themselves and are typically not included in the production fees remitted by the television stations to the production companies. Therefore, it can be said that the separation model of television production and broadcasting in Taiwan has caused a disconnect in the production process of cultural products. While TV creatives may be focused on creative production, they may lack a comprehensive understanding of the final product throughout the production process. At the same time, because they are not associated with aspects such as marketing and distribution, this may limit their influence and sense of involvement in the overall product.

Another interviewee, Davis (Male, aged 40-49), with over two decades of industry experience, has traversed various roles in the television landscape. He has been an assistant programme director, associate programme director and programme coordinator at commercial television stations. And later, he was involved in programme planning on terrestrial television. He transitioned to become a producer at a production company before embracing the realm of freelancing. Davis is now a versatile freelance director, contributing his expertise to advertising, television programmes, and online videos. Based on his experiences on three television stations, he said,

> [television workers in station], especially younger ones, are often forced into new

[7] Certain television programmes, particularly those necessitating studio facilities, such as talk shows, often economise on production expenses by utilising the studio provided by the commissioning television station and employing the station's camera team for programme recording.

> positions where original incumbents have left [...] But they may not fully understand. [...] For instance, someone might only be responsible for handling tapes. He might be responsible for taking the recorded programmes to the post-production [editor], and then their post-production colleagues tell him what additional content is needed. But when the person in post-production [editing] leaves, he is forced to become the post-production [editor] […] In reality, he might not fully grasp how to handle these tasks or what is required.
>
> (Freelance Director Davis, 22 June 2021)

Davis highlighted that young television station employees may find themselves assuming different roles due to changes in positions, and they may not fully comprehend their new responsibilities. This reflects a lack of comprehensive understanding of the entire production process among television workers in the production-separation model, and they may be constrained by the scope of their work.

Ted (Male, aged 30-39) is another interviewee with whom I had the pleasure of conversing. Although currently functioning as a freelance director with a small-scale studio, he has previously held positions as an executive producer and cinematographer for television and film productions in Taiwan, spanning both cable and terrestrial platforms. Additionally, he has served as a program director at a production company. As Ted stated,

> I feel that the division of labour in television stations is too rigid. There's a situation where I'm at the station and I notice everyone is just a small screw, and there's a mentality that says, 'I don't want to do more'. But as a freelancer, to prove your capabilities, you need to take on more projects, you need to innovate, and then people will hire you.
>
> (Freelance Director Ted, July 1, 2021)

Ted's use of terms like 'rigid,' 'small screw,' 'innovate,' and 'prove your capabilities' may signify his dissatisfaction with the working environment in television stations and his desire for personal career development. Describing the television station's work environment as akin to being a small screw suggests a lack of professional identity and belonging within the industry as a whole. This could imply his dissatisfaction with his

past professional identity while working in television, indicating a desire to be recognised as a professional with unique skills and abilities rather than merely a nondescript component. On the one hand, he aspires to have greater autonomy in his work and to be acknowledged as a professional with both competence and identity. On the other hand, Ted mentions the challenges faced as a freelancer, emphasising the need to actively take on more projects, continuously innovate, and demonstrate one's capabilities, reflecting his desire for autonomy (see next section about freelancer's professional identity).

Similarly, Davis argues working in television is 'casual'. He explained this 'casual' meaning by referring to the work of editors on television stations. This is,

> What you tell him, he only does this for you. He won't help you think […] He can only deal with the basics. Sometimes even though he has edited for 3 years, he can still only deal with the basics because he can't understand if you tell him more about it.
>
> (Freelance Director Davis, 22 June 2021)

> [...] After his initial editing, if the program exceeds 20 minutes, he'll look for the excess and trim it. But we tend to refine it sentence by sentence. This means we might go through and edit out a few sentences in a clip that we don't want, just to make it flow better [...]Instead of making broad cuts. It's about convenience.
>
> (Freelance Director Davis, June 22, 2021)

In Davis's statement, the emphasis on 'sentence by sentence' and 'edit out a few sentences in a clip that we don't want' underscores his ability as a professional, indicating his capacity to determine the optimal approach based on his professional judgment and technical skills. By describing the approach to editing tasks, Davis expresses a commitment to professional skills and judgment, as well as a sense of responsibility and pride in his work. This professional identity positions Davis not merely as an executor but as someone possessing unique professional skills and capabilities. Conversely, the television editor mentioned in Davis's example appears to be portrayed as a passive executor, merely following instructions. This suggests that despite providing the editor with a degree of autonomy, he may choose to relinquish their autonomy for the sake of

‘convenience,’ opting for efficiency by directly cutting 20 minutes instead of considering the overall fluidity of the program content.

Furthermore, the repeated use of ‘we’ and ‘he’ to differentiate implies that ‘he’ cannot be considered a ‘professional’ due to a lack of enterprising and the requisite capabilities associated with professionalism. This suggests Davis’s dissatisfaction with the television station’s working environment and affirms his confidence in his own professional abilities. This statement aligns with Ted’s characterisation of the environment as ‘rigid’ and individuals as ‘small screws,’ indicating that some may be perceived as part of the production line rather than professionals with unique skills and abilities.

Conceived in this sense, this kind of ‘casual’or ‘‘rigid work in a television station exhibits greater similarity to a factory assembly line job than work in the creative industries because it is not necessary for the partitioner of a television station to ‘think’, and as long as tasks are completed according to the instructions. Therefore, these kinds of television workers may perform limited creativity and display a proclivity for performing routine, repetitive tasks, as Davis mentioned.

Similarly, Ada who has worked as a producer on a public station and owns a production company now expressed her idea of working in television. Ada (Female, aged 40-49), freelance producer, is another interviewee with whom I had the pleasure of conversing. She has worked in a public TV station in Taiwan. She said,

> Whether you are a producer, scriptwriter or executive producer, you are a ‘position’. This ‘position’ just does your own thing. You just do your own thing when working in the TV station, you shouldn’t spend time doing other people’s things, but if you only do this, you will never learn from another position.
>
> (Freelance Producer Ada, 15 July 2021).

The production-broadcast separation model, to a certain degree, in Taiwan’s television industry accentuates the disconnect between creative labour and the final product, and the deskilling of labour within the television industry, potentially diminishing the sense of value and satisfaction among media workers. Television workers, especially within

television stations, may find themselves relegated to performing routine and repetitive tasks rather than engaging in creative endeavours. This is exemplified by Davis's description of television editors who may lack the capacity for critical thinking and innovation, instead focusing on completing tasks according to instructions. The emphasis on efficiency and completion of goals over creativity further contributes to the deskilling of labour, as workers may prioritise conformity to established processes rather than leveraging their unique skills and expertise, where creativity is subordinated to efficiency and routine tasks. The production-broadcast separation model within television stations often compels creatives, whether active or passive, to make choices. They may opt to relinquish their creative autonomy and self-actualisation, treating their work as non-creative and focusing solely on efficiency and goal completion. Alternatively, they may choose to pursue autonomy and self-actualisation by 'running away' as freelancers or forming their own small teams (studios) to sustain themselves through project-based work. This model can foster a perception of television work akin to factory assembly line jobs, where routine tasks overshadow creativity.

Disillusioned with the rigidity of television stations, individuals like Davis, Ted, and Ada choose to 'run away' in pursuit of greater autonomy and professional recognition. Thus, while Taiwan's television landscape offers opportunities for creativity, it also poses challenges to the cultivation of professional identities within the constraints of institutional frameworks. Particularly within the multitude of employees in Taiwanese television stations, there is a decreasing participation of individuals involved in the creative generation, thereby causing a disconnection between the creativity and financial productivity of television creative personnel. Especially, viewership ratings (now including online click-through rates and traffic) are frequently seen as key indicators of cultural product success or failure within the television industry. This exacerbates uncertainty among television workers regarding their professional identities and can contribute to feelings of career crisis and 'as a 'professional' television worker' anxiety. As Jerry expressed,

> […] until now, I have been learning, and learning is how to strengthen my own skills. For example, if I do live streams now, then I need to learn something about live streams, so continue to learn. Because I don't know what else we can do in this industry, this is also a kind of career crisis.

(Television Station Director Jerry, 1 August 2021)

For my interviewees, to solve this career crisis, as Jerry said, and attain legitimacy as 'professionals,' they must constantly improve themselves or 'run away' from the 'casual' and 'rigid' television station environment, and transition to a production company or challenge themselves as freelancers to pursue self-actualisation, as I discuss in the next section.

5.2 Television Freelancers

Introduction

The media industry has seen many key organisational and work changes in recent years. During this period, there was a significant shift from full-time, permanent, clerk jobs to freelance and contract work (Storey et al., 2005). In some sectors of the media, such as television production and broadcasting, most workers are now freelance workers (Ursell, 2000). This situation also seems to happen in Taiwan's television industry. In my fieldwork, 12 of the 22 interviewees were freelance workers, 4 of whom had full-time jobs but worked part-time as freelance workers.

In this section, I mainly excerpted conversations from three interviewees: Emma (aged 20 to 29), Ada (aged 40 and 49), and Colin (aged 30 to 39). As mentioned in the Methodology (Chapter 4), while age is not necessarily determinative, it is largely proportional to the professional experience and tenure of these workers. Through conversations with them, my aim is to reveal the relationship between the professional identity, autonomy, and self-actualisation of freelance workers.

Freelancers in the television industry describe an individual or a small collective of professionals, equipped with a gamut of skills, ventures to establish an independent studio or collaborative initiative. They assume the risks, financial responsibilities, and legal obligations involved in developing and publishing cultural products as business startups, freeing themselves from the conventional constraints imposed by employers or publishers. Freelancers operate outside the confines of traditional organisational structures, undertaking project-based collaborations with various production entities. This professional archetype encompasses a diverse array of roles, including but not limited to

writers, directors, and editors, who navigate the industry on a contractual basis. In the television industry, freelance workers typically emerge as seasoned or experienced professionals. As I will demonstrate in this section, autonomy largely defines the professional identity of freelance professionals in the Taiwanese television industry. My interviews indicate a growing trend where more and more practitioners view freelancing as a professional and legitimate option. They often equated personal failure as market failure, viewing success primarily as simply 'getting by'. In this context, success was not necessarily about achieving significant recognition or profit, but rather about sustaining oneself within the industry.

5.2.1. 'People just need to buy into my ideas'—Creative Autonomy in Freelance

In the preceding section, I briefly introduced Ada (a female aged 40-49), mentioning her prior employment at a television station. Currently, Ada serves as the founder of a studio comprising fewer than 10 members (a small collective of professionals). This small team specialises in undertaking outsourcing projects from television stations, particularly projects from public or non-profit television stations, as well as engaging in project-based collaborations with various production entities. Ada assumes the risks, financial responsibilities, and legal obligations inherent in autonomously developing and delivering cultural products as a business startup. While her team may have a slightly larger team size than individual freelancers in the traditional sense, they still exhibit the general characteristics of freelancers. Therefore, I categorise Ada as a freelancer.

Since the freelance market is informal, it can be challenging for some workers to enter to some extent, thus reputation is crucial (Storey et al., 2005). Through her past work experiences, Ada has established her own network and reputation and later left the television station to form her own team. She has long collaborated with public television, with her programmes receiving multiple Golden Bell Awards[8]. Clearly, networking, work experience, and awards constitute Ada's symbolic capital as a 'successful' professional. She has more symbolic power to 'make choices' and select projects she is interested in producing, even if it may affect the studio's viability. However, for her, what matters more is creative autonomy and the pursuit of self-realisation. She states,

[8] Golden Bell Awards (GBA) is an annual awards ceremony for the Taiwanese media industry (television and radio) to encourage outstanding television and radio personnel over the past year.

> The pursuit of life is to feel good about myself, and I must live a happy life […] The reason why I have always been in this industry, despite its ups and downs and without giving up, is because I feel that there are many beautiful and pure things worth recording down […]
>
> (Freelance Producer Ada, 15 July 2021)

Freelancers often find themselves reflexively contemplating the types of tasks or organisational structures they want or do not want to work for (Storey et al., 2005). In fact, this seems to be a defining characteristic of freelancers, namely the notion that at least to some extent, one can 'make choices' (Storey et al., 2005), which is related to autonomy. For Ada, autonomy includes the freedom to choose projects based on her own values and preferences, define her own work boundaries, and pursue career goals. Ada's emphasis on feeling good about herself suggests a desire for self-determination and the freedom to pursue her own path in life, including her career choices and project type.

The transition of individuals like Ada from large-scale organisations such as television networks to becoming freelancers is a common practice in the Taiwanese television industry, particularly among experienced workers.

> Many of my friends […] decided to go out on their own after a few years, and then they were feast or famine, but everyone has great ideas and abilities, and they can produce good works if they have the opportunity […] I feel that after working in a TV station for a long time, your brain will become rigid, so I really don't want to be like that and just work for a salary.
>
> (Freelance Producer Ada, 15 July 2021)

Ada effectively communicates the idea that many individuals choose to become freelancers after gaining experience, emphasising their potential to excel creatively outside the confines of a traditional workplace (television stations). Additionally, it highlights the perception of mental rigidity that can develop from prolonged employment within a structured environment, underscoring Ada's desire to avoid such stagnation by pursuing freelance work.

> I didn't choose a fixed job with a salary. Instead, I work on topics that interest me from anywhere. Sometimes I may be very busy with a project that keeps me occupied for three months, and I may earn a substantial amount, perhaps three hundred thousand. But, the following month, I may not have any projects lined up. Despite this, I find great spiritual happiness in doing what I love. This allows me to maintain enthusiasm, as I prioritise working on projects that I am passionate about, rather than merely fulfilling work obligations. When you engage in tasks that interest you, rather than those imposed by superiors, it brings a sense of fulfilment and satisfaction.
>
> (Freelance Producer Ada, 15 July 2021)

In the three aforementioned statements from Ada, her professional identity as a freelance producer is closely intertwined with her pursuit of autonomy and self-actualisation. This resonates with what Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) highlight about creative autonomy as a fundamental aspiration among creative workers. In their examination of the cultural industries, they distinguish between two forms of autonomy: workplace autonomy and creative autonomy. Workplace autonomy, on the one hand, refers to the 'degree of self-determination that individual workers or groups of workers have within a certain work situation' (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010, p.40). Creative autonomy, on the other hand, refers to the 'degree to which 'art', knowledge, symbol-making and so on can and/or should operate independently of the influence of other determinants' (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010, p. 40). I found most of the freelancing cases from my interviews align with creative autonomy, where individuals opt for freelancing to exercise their creative autonomy. This situation aligns with the concept of the 'enterprising self' discussed by scholars such as du Gay (1996), Storey et al. (2005), and Deuze (2007). For Ada, she can better utilise her creativity and autonomy, gaining more fulfilment and satisfaction in her career, despite facing risks and uncertainties such as 'feast or famine', 'not having any projects', and periods of busyness. Ada's commitment to prioritising creative autonomy and self-actualisation over financial gain is evident.

Additionally, as mentioned in the previous section where Davis and Ted also discuss the 'rigid' working environment in television stations, Ada emphasises the importance of maintaining enthusiasm by engaging in work that resonates with her, rather than simply

fulfilling tasks dictated by others in a traditional workplace setting. Thus, her belief in the value of documenting 'beautiful and pure things' underscores her commitment to finding fulfilment and meaning in her work, contributing to her professional identity as someone who is passionate about storytelling and capturing meaningful moments because it makes her 'feel good about myself'. This process aligns with Nikolas Rose's stress on 'the fabrication of identities within personal projects of self-actualisation in a whole variety of practices and sites' (Rose, 1999, p.190) and on 'individual striving for meaning in work, seeking identity in work' (Rose, 1999, p.244).

> When you take on projects on your own, it feels easier; people just need to buy into my ideas.
>
> (Freelance Director Emma, July 9, 2021)

My participant, Emma (Female, aged 20-29), can be considered a 'successful' freelancer. She has worked as a freelance director for seven years, besides her first year working at a production company. She has a long-term collaboration contract with non-profit television stations in Taiwan. Her expertise spans both Taiwan and China, where she actively contributes to projects, primarily focusing on Taiwan while occasionally participating in endeavours in China. Apart from obtaining contracts subsidised by the Ministry of Culture, she also cooperates with two non-profit television stations, ensuring a stable income and achieving self-sufficiency. However, Emma's journey has been relatively smooth compared to her peers. Because most of the freelancers in my interviewees such as Ada, an experienced worker, had amassed rich experience and networks that laid a solid foundation for her freelance career. In contrast, Emma, having spent only a year in a production company, embarked on her career as a freelance director.

Based on Neff's concept of 'venture labour', Ada and Emma's decision to transition to a freelance identity can be seen as an investment in her labour value and professional competence. This type of risk-taking is a way for 'employees to adapt to bearing the economic and financial risks' (Neff, 2012 p.16) of their employers. Emma's risk may stem from a lack of experience. A director without connections may struggle to secure investment. After spending a year at a production company and gaining foundational experience, Emma applied for a grant from the Ministry of Culture. Successful acquisition of the grant enabled her to rely on freelance work—conducting cultural product creation

with minimal risk, even without a steady income. In this sense, Emma enjoys the luxury of producing programmes without the sole aim of profitability. The 'painful' experience of applying for and obtaining government grants adds to her credentials and may help her gain favour with television networks, especially non-profit ones. As Young (2023) suggests, for freelancers to thrive and generate income in this industry, they must first invest their leisure time (i.e., working without pay) in creating cultural products to gain recognition and experience (Young, 2023). In Emma's case, she needs to dedicate her leisure time to drafting proposals and shooting demos to apply for grants from the Ministry of Culture. Despite ultimately securing funding and getting recognition, the reality is that applying for government funds is highly competitive, cumbersome, and entails significant risk.

Ada is willing to embrace the uncertainties and risks associated with freelancing because she views it as a means to achieve self-actualisation and autonomy. Ada's mention of the potential mental 'rigid' that may arise from prolonged employment in television networks implies a stance towards traditional fixed employment and salary structures. In contrast, she highlights the autonomy and project selection capabilities inherent in freelancing. Ada's argument implies that attitudes towards traditional fixed employment and salaries may be considered ideological, wherein freelancing is regarded as a more professional and legitimate choice. This perspective reflects a particular understanding of work and values, affirming freelancing as a symbol of autonomy, creativity, and self-actualisation. This emphasis on autonomy and self-actualisation reflects a broader trend towards individualism and self-expression in contemporary work culture, where professionals increasingly seek fulfilment and meaning in their careers beyond mere financial compensation or status. This is what enterprise-self encourages. In line with the modern freelance discourse of the 'enterprising self', as previously discussed, the goal is to foster workers who take ownership of both their successes and setbacks, and who exhibit heightened levels of versatility, flexibility, and willingness to move between different roles and duties. (Storey et al. 2005). Such ideology could potentially be internalised and embedded in the minds and social constructions of television practitioners. Confirmation of this can be found in the perspectives on the 'rigid' or 'casual' environment discussed by Ted and Davis, and in the transition to freelancing that follows. Moreover, the significant proportion (13 out of 22) of freelance workers among my interviewees may indicate a substantial presence of freelancers within the industry and widely accepted and

valued as a legitimate career path. The emphasis on autonomy and self-actualisation discourse is among the reasons why many individuals opt for freelancing in the television industry, as acknowledged by freelance director Emma, who admits that freelancers, as creators, possess greater autonomy in the creative aspect of cultural products.

5.2.2. 'Market Failure' and 'Getting By' –Defining Success in Freelance Work

In the context of freelance work, success often involves achieving personal goals, actualising one's potential, and finding fulfilment in one's work. Success in freelance work often shapes and reinforces the professional identity of freelancers. The way freelancers define and pursue success reflects their values, skills, and aspirations, which in turn contribute to their professional identity. In this context, Emma's statement 'People just need to buy into my ideas' implies that her evaluation of work primarily hinges on the acceptance of her ideas by others and the success or failure of projects. This suggests that she defines success as the validation and support of her ideas by others. Conversely, for Ada, success may entail the pursuit of the projects that she is 'passionate about', the capture of 'beautiful and pure things' and finding 'great spiritual happiness' within.

If the enterprising self is regarded as a personal value, it holds fundamental significance in defining success and failure (Storey et al., 2005). When enterprising falters, how do freelance workers justify their predicament? One approach is to define personal failure not as a market failure. Ada shared an experience of proposal failure. She said,

> The reality show plan I submitted to ... I thought it was too bold, so they didn't pass it. They tend to be more conservative [...] But you see, there are many similar things abroad, which are trendy and fresh concepts that can be accepted. So, I think Taiwan just can't do it […].
>
> (Freelance Producer Ada, 15 July 2021)

Ada evidently attributes the failure of her proposal to the conservatism of the Taiwanese market, as she believes such a program might find resonance abroad. Ada's interpretation and evaluation of the proposal's failure may exhibit bias or partiality. By attributing the failure solely to market conservatism, she reflects a mindset that perceives external factors as the sole or primary determinants. However, the failure to secure approval for the proposal may involve multiple factors, including market conditions, the

innovativeness of the proposal, or cost-effectiveness. Moreover, Ada's repeated mentions of Taiwan's conservative market alongside the openness of foreign markets to innovative ideas suggest her intention to highlight the market's lack of receptivity rather than her own creativity deficiency. This stresses her professional identity as a 'creative' professional.

Another approach is to persuade themselves and others that as long as they 'get by' and survive in their roles, they are successful. (Storey et al., 2005). In this context, as observed in the preceding chapter, employees of production companies or television stations may attribute their inability to exercise creative autonomy to the structural inequalities of market dynamics, which curtail opportunities for individuals to demonstrate enterprising. On the other hand, for freelance workers, the 'getting by' perspective indicates a low standard of success within the industry. The pressures and livelihood dilemmas faced by freelance professionals may necessitate a continuous demonstration of their value and survival capabilities (e.g., through winning projects) in a fiercely competitive market, in order to maintain a status of 'getting by'. Consequently, this standard of 'getting by' as a measure of success may effectively obscure the structural issues and injustices confronted by freelance workers. As such, 'success' is the outcome of self-regulation, while 'failure' manifests as symptoms and consequences of inadequate enterprising and self-regulation (Storey et al., 2005).

> As a freelancer, I actually work fewer hours [...] My workload is basically just enough to support myself. My income is not much higher than before, but my workload is very much reduced.
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, 2 June 2021)

Colin, a freelance director interviewed, possesses a diverse professional background, having served as a props assistant and executive producer in a Taiwanese production company, as well as a content producer in a Chinese production company. Currently, he primarily engages in projects in mainland China, occasionally participating in projects in Taiwan. In Colin's (Male, aged 30-39) discourse, he describes his situation as a freelance worker, mentioning although his income does not increase significantly, his workload decreases significantly. Add other scholarship on freelance work Superficially, this

implies that he may adopt a 'getting-by' attitude in sustaining his livelihood. Such an attitude, according to Storey et al. (2005), reflects a lower standard view of success, where merely sustaining one's livelihood is deemed sufficient. However, within the Taiwanese context, the role of freelance professionals often already possesses a certain level of symbolic capital and legitimacy. That is, freelancers are more professional. Like Ada, Colin is an experienced freelance director in the television industry, with a diverse professional background (producer, director, etc.) and experience in producing several programmes in both Taiwan and China, along with a broad network and reputation (experience in producing multiple well-known programmes).

This is corroborated by the statement of television director Jerry, who remarked,

> TV stations only buy programmes, [....] They currently do not hire professionals very much [...] So, relatively speaking, the professionalism of freelancers may be higher than others, so they can get jobs. As for production companies, they rely on whether their relationship with television stations is good or not [...] both are interdependent relationships or maybe some are television stations' own production companies.
>
> (Television Station Director Jerry, August 1, 2021)

In the Taiwanese television industry, freelancers often assume more professional roles. According to Jerry's own definition of professionalism as 'enhancing the quality of work' (August 1, 2021), this entails technical expertise and professional knowledge. While production companies also possess these skills, Jerry's remarks reflect his belief that freelancers typically excel, as their skills and reputation are crucial for obtaining work.

As Jerry said, Colin's definition of success may be more challenging, rather than a lower standard, with 'getting by' representing a higher standard. This requires him to maintain professionalism, secure stable projects, and uphold his reputation and networks, to sustain his 'getting-by' status in the competitive market.

In addition, assessing success requires taking into account the reference group (Storey et al., 2005). Emma said,

> If compared with friends of the same age, I think my efforts are relatively worthwhile. Most of my work comes from my own projects, including previous subsidies from the Ministry of Culture. Although it can be quite painful, it still represents a source of income. But I feel the disparity lies in the fact that many friends are still working in this field, perhaps still serving as production assistants.
>
> (Freelance Director Emma, 9 July 2021)

The phrase 'friends of the same age' may serve as an emphasis, indicating her distinct position and identity within the profession. While her peers of the same age remain engaged in 'assistant production' roles, she has already attained 'success' as an emergent freelance director. As Storey et al. (2005) note that, freelancers often evaluate their success by measuring it against that of their network, using others as a benchmark for relative achievement. Moreover, as a novice freelancer compared to Ada and Colin, Emma encounters heightened challenges and risks during the initial phases. The financial assistance provided by the Ministry of Culture evidently facilitates her propitious initiation as an independent practitioner within the industry. The recognition from the Ministry of Culture, as an authoritative institution, empowers Emma's work with a degree of legitimacy, paving the way for potential access to greater opportunities and resources in the future. With each successive project accomplishment, Emma further expands her autonomy.

5.2.3. Changing Professional Identity

When Taiwanese television professionals transition to freelancing, their perception of professional identity undergoes a profound transformation. While individuals working within traditional television networks and production companies may fulfil diverse roles (such as producers, directors, and cameramen), they often identify primarily as 'television professionals'. However, freelancing prompts a shift in their perception of professional identity. They become aware of their capacity for interdisciplinary collaboration, enabling them to assume multiple roles across different media domains. This diversification of professional identity suggests identities and roles are not fixed but evolve with experience. As Ada describes,

> [...] of course I am a producer [...] When I was on location, I served as a location choreographer, capturing footage, and later editing it myself. I also involved in

> programme planning for some programmes. So, I can handle planning, editing, directing, and producing. I have different identities in different programmes. [...] In recent years, I had the opportunity to make a movie for which I was also responsible for casting. This involved finding the right actors for the roles, selecting, training them, and managing them throughout the filming process.
>
> (Freelance Producer Ada, 15 July 2021)

> In the past few years, in addition to variety shows, I have worked as a director for short plays, and music videos [...] I have also filmed commercials and worked as a screenwriter. my main involvement with teams has primarily been in variety shows.
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, 2 June 2021)

Ada and Colin's experiences have led to a shift in their professional identity from being sole 'television professionals' to multiple identities such as 'filmmakers' or more broadly as 'media professionals,' expressing their ability to undertake multiple roles across various domains. In this sense, the terms and conditions of one's work have a profound impact on shaping one's identity, often leading to a transition from viewing oneself solely as a media-specific (and potentially regimented) worker to embracing a broader identity as a versatile media professional with an array of distinct skills. Moreover, this illustrates how the desire for creative autonomy and self-actualisation among television practitioners has led to the emergence of freelancers and dual-career professionals as multi-job workers in the industry.

5.3 Dual Career Professionals

Introduction

As we have already seen in this chapter, when television professionals accumulate a certain level of experience and professional networks within the industry, they often depart from their original companies (television stations or production companies) and embark on new career paths. These paths may include becoming independent freelancers, establishing their own production companies or studios, and potentially branching out into other media fields. Among my interviewees, many individuals indeed hold multiple roles concurrently and actively engage in various fields. Within this phenomenon, I

observed another trend wherein these institutional professionals opt to pursue YouTube as their secondary or part-time occupation, rather than opting for 'running away'.

5.3.1. 'We can decide to do whatever we want'– Dual Careers as a Solution to Salvaging Creative

The 'dual career' activity might serve as a means to preserve one's sense of autonomy or creative freedom. This involves institutional workers maintaining their primary career (e.g., television director) while simultaneously engaging in a secondary part-time job (e.g., YouTuber) to uphold their professional identity. This phenomenon I characterise as a 'dual career' reflecting a pursuit of an alternative career path while maintaining their primary occupation.

Among my interviewees with dual-career identities, a main part-time job choice entails managing a YouTube channel or assuming the role of a YouTuber. The emphasis here is not on the potential revenue generated, but rather on how it serves as a platform for creative autonomy to the main professional identity of institutional professionals. Also, it needs to be clarified here that my focus lies not on the development of new media platforms per se, but rather on the aspect wherein these institutional professionals regard being a YouTuber as a part-time occupation.

My interviewee, Aaron (Male, aged 40-49), a seasoned television professional in transitions from executive producer and recording engineer to programme director. With experience at a television station, he now also manages a YouTube channel by himself. I classify him as this type of dual career professional. He expressed,

> I actually run a YouTube channel myself, that is, I can create whatever I want, whatever my ideas are. In the past, we used to show our work to clients, but now with our own channel, we have the freedom to create whatever we want without needing their approval. We can decide to do whatever we want.
>
> (Television director, Aaron, 6 July 2021)

Aaron's behaviour exemplifies the point highlighted by Fletcher (1999); wherein creative professionals may opt for work outside of their primary organisations as a means of identity affirmation. Similarly, this mirrors the findings of Paterson (2001) in their

analysis of the British television industry, indicating that workers often seek short-term and unstable employment to more creatively fulfil themselves. By embracing this dual-career approach, Aaron not only diversifies his professional portfolio but also asserts his creative autonomy beyond the confines of institutional constraints, reflecting his desire of creative freely and independently. As Aaron pointed out above, the 'freedom' to exercise creativity in alignment with personal artistic visions, enables the exploration of innovative concepts and styles without undue external influences. In particular, television practitioners often find themselves constrained by institutional professional production practices, which can limit their creative autonomy. As named by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011) as 'aesthetic' or 'artistic' autonomy. Aaron has the time to produce content according to his desires without facing the risks of client or managerial repercussions in case of failure, as television practitioners do not rely on this portion of income, nor do they need to bear the risks associated with freelance work, this is 'venture labour' called by Neff (2012) (See Section 2). Consequently, he possesses what Young (2023) terms the 'luxury to fail' (p.10), a privilege often unavailable to many creative professionals.

Even individuals like Ada from the previous section, operating as freelance producers, prioritise creative autonomy over financial sustenance when taking on projects. However, her creative autonomy is also somewhat curtailed by client constraints, despite her choice of topics and projects that interest her. This differentiation is crucial. Ada and other freelancers Emma, and Colin I discussed, regardless of their pursuits of creative autonomy, still endure the pressures and risks of catering to client preferences and profitability. Conversely, Aaron sees his YouTube channel as part-time work or side hustle rather than a full-fledged business venture. He prefers to take an experimental approach to his content creation, giving him the freedom to pursue creative autonomy without the pressures and risks of traditional television production practices. As a result, his videos have the potential to transcend the boundaries of conventional television without these risks and pressures.

> I use this YouTube channel [...] I think it is when I want to try out some ideas or images [...] It's also a platform for me to express my emotions. Here, I have the freedom to do what I want, which is to post my recent take.
>
> (Television director, Aaron, 6 July 2021)

When these dual career professionals discover that the income from their part-time job has begun to surpass that of their full-time job, they may consider transitioning the part-time job into a full-time position, particularly when they find that their original traditional television platforms cannot provide enough funding. Rather than television, advertisers are more willing to invest in the Internet because the limitations of digital media seem to be unlimited, making the old television market face a more severe problem of insufficient funds (Esser, 2010; Raphael, 2004). Financial constraints have prompted production teams to migrate from certain traditional television platforms to YouTube. For instance, the live YouTube programme, Muyao 4 Super Playing (木曜 4 超玩, a YouTube programme, aired from 2015 to the present), was cited and acknowledged by my interviewees Ivy, Helen, Ada, and Davis as a successful case of transitioning from a traditional television team to YouTube.

> Muyao 4 Super Playing has injected a professional team. This is a traditional television professional team transferred into the YouTube team. Yes, this team is very professional.
>
> (Programme Planner Helen, 4 June 2021)

The professionals of Muyao4 Super Playing demonstrate a strong sense of agency, actively engaging in and shaping the emerging media landscape. Their roles extend beyond passive viewership on YouTube and professionals on traditional television platforms, as they actively participate in and influence this new media domain. This expansion creates new boundaries within the television industry, thereby shaping the multifaceted identities of television workers. As Kevin, a Programme Planner in production company, said,

> In today's world, the line between people in the television industry and those in new media is no longer so distinct. People are not like before just insist 'I am a television person'. This is because new media has evolved to become very similar to television, and there are many online programmes now.
>
> (Programme Planner Kevin 16 June 2021)

Kevin's saying sheds light on a potential shift in professional identity from that of 'television professionals' to a broader identity as 'media professionals'. This observation reflects the ongoing evolution within the television industry and a reevaluation of one's professional identity among practitioners. Such transitions may signify the blurred boundaries between traditional and new media, alongside the fluctuating multiple identities assumed by television practitioners over time, in response to industry dynamics. When they navigate and negotiate uncertainties and precarious work environments and realise their desires for creative autonomy in production practice, they oscillate their professional identity among diverse roles. Against the backdrop of the television industry, the transition from a narrow identity as a 'television professional' to a broader categorisation as a 'media professional' aligns with the notion of identities being flexible and adaptable, indicates these practitioners' adaptability to shifts within the media landscape and the negotiation of their identities within this domain.

Chapter 6 Affective and Emotional Dynamics in Taiwanese Television Production

Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I examined the professional identities of Taiwanese television practitioners, emphasising the internal dynamics that shape their roles. In this chapter, I shift the focus to the external forces that influence both their professional identities and emotional experiences. The globalisation of cultural industries has not only led to intricate interactions between local and international forces, but has also profoundly shaped the emotional and affective dimensions, influencing the professional identities and labour practices of individuals within these industries..

The emergence of the Korean Wave has significantly impacted the Taiwanese television industry, as evidenced by television stations' extensive acquisition of Korean programmes (see Chapter 2) and their emulation of Korean programmes in media production. When Taiwanese pursue better career opportunities and creativity, as highlighted in Chapter 3, many are drawn to China because of the vast Chinese market, rather than Korea, primarily due to language barriers. However, within China's television industry, the widespread imitation of Korean programmes or acquisition of Korean franchise television formats for international collaboration in television cultural products is commonplace. Consequently, Taiwanese practitioners working in China more directly receive guidance from Korean experts and adopt Korean practices through such franchise television formats. Thus, in exploring the impact of the Korean Wave on Taiwanese workers, cross-nation labour is inherently implicated. This is because the Korean Wave is not a single phenomenon, but a highly complex and multi-layered phenomenon, composed of various discourses, cultural practices and life experiences. As previously emphasised, East Asia is witnessing the formation of a shared media sphere (Huang, 2018), conceptualised by Chua (2004) as 'East Asian popular culture,' emphasising the flow among its cultural production, narration, circulation, consumption, and reproduction patterns within East Asia. In this context, drawing upon Hesmondhalgh's (2019) definition of the 'cultural industries' as a system wherein all cultural products undergo exchange, replication, experience, and exploration internally, the impact of the Korean Wave on Taiwanese practitioners and their transnational labour is significant. Given their

role as cultural producers, both local and cross-border Taiwanese television practitioners are notably influenced by the Korean Wave.

On the other hand, in Taiwan, the discourse surrounding the Korean Wave is predominantly shaped into a binary opposition of pro-Korean and anti-Korean sentiments, both of which are deeply tied to emotional responses. However, an interesting observation is that an understanding of anti-Korean sentiment in Taiwan cannot be fully grasped without considering the Taiwan-China relations. The emotional experiences underlying these sentiments are not merely intellectual or political; they are rooted in complex feelings of nationalism, identity, and geopolitical tensions. An understanding of anti-Korean sentiment in Taiwan cannot be fully grasped without considering the emotional weight of Taiwan-China relations. These emotions—of fear, resentment, and sometimes solidarity—directly impact the professional identities and labour practices of Taiwanese television workers, as they navigate these affective landscapes in their transnational careers.

At a deeper level, anti-Korean sentiment in Taiwan is closely linked to the island's broader aversion towards China. The genesis of anti-Korean sentiment can be traced to the severance of diplomatic ties between Korea and Taiwan, coupled with Korea's subsequent establishment of diplomatic relations with China, and it is further intensified by subsequent events (see Chapter 2). As Ahn (2019) observes in her analysis of the 'Tzuyu incident', anti-Korean sentiment reflects the tripartite relations between China, Korea, and Taiwan. I argue that Taiwan's anti-Korean sentiment essentially represents a quest for and positioning of Taiwanese subjectivity through a continual repudiation of 'the other' (inclusive of both anti-Korean and anti-Chinese sentiments), with China playing a pivotal role therein. This is because East Asian nationalism is mediated through politics of hate (Ahn, 2019). Consequently, an understanding of Taiwan's anti-Korean sentiment should be contextualised within Taiwan's evolving political landscape and its ongoing quest for positioning within the global society.

Therefore, this chapter first examines the professional identities of these transnational Taiwanese workers, particularly those concurrently working in Taiwan and China or solely in China. Subsequently, the second section explores Taiwanese workers' anti-

Korean sentiments and how these sentiments influence their production practices and professional identity.

6.1 Cross-border Professionals

As mentioned in the previous Chapter, one of the primary reasons television professionals choose to become freelancers is their desire to pursue autonomy and realise their self-worth. This desire drives them to bravely depart from traditional employment systems in search of more freedom and flexibility to achieve their ideal career paths. Some of these Taiwanese freelancers choose to work in China, primarily attracted by the enormous potential of the Chinese market and its resources.

Chang (2015), in her eight-year field study of Taiwanese television professionals working in China, indicates that during the period from 1999 to 2000, Taiwanese television practitioners were highly valued in China, with Chinese programmes predominantly emulating Taiwanese ones. The years from 2000 to 2008 witnessed a peak in Taiwanese migration to mainland China (Chang, 2015). This was partly due to China's initiation of the separation of production and broadcasting (Chang, 2015). During this period, many Chinese television stations were undergoing transformation, repositioning, or brand reshaping, thus providing numerous opportunities that attracted a large number of Taiwanese television professionals (Chang, 2015). Freelance director Colin (Male, aged 30-39), who shuttles back and forth between China and Taiwan, stated:

> Frankly, it's about the salary gap. And then, you feel like Taiwan is already quite boring because no one is willing to do a new idea [...] But at that time, I would feel like, just like if you're good at basketball, you would hope that one day, you could play in the NBA. It's like you have a feeling of wanting to go up. You want to see how far your abilities can take you in this bigger market [referring to China]. What kind of achievements can you obtain in this larger market? You have a feeling of wanting to go and try.
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, 2 June 2021)

Creative professionals tend to move around frequently and are attracted to vibrant environments (Kong, 2014). This inclination is evident in Colin's considerations

regarding economic factors and his pursuit of higher-level challenges. Colin evidently considers economic factors such as the 'salary gap' and the allure of a 'larger market'. He emphasises that the pursuit of higher-level challenges is not solely about money but stems from an exploration of one's own abilities and potential. He likens this pursuit to a basketball player's desire to enter the NBA one day—a longing to showcase one's abilities and talents on a broader stage. This sense of professional identity drives him to choose China, with its larger market and more opportunities, in pursuit of his aspirations.

However, this desire faces new challenges in the Chinese market. Since the mid-1990s, the Chinese government has actively supported the globalisation of markets and production (Dirlik, 2012). The phenomenon of Taiwanese workers heading to first-tier cities in China for better job prospects, as noted by Lai (2023), signifies their participation in globalisation. Similarly, Zhao (2018) points out that China is now seen as a place for creating new works, with the potential to export creative works to overseas markets. Particularly with the development of streaming platforms in China, Taiwanese and Chinese creative workers are no longer following the old path of acquiring and adapting existing formats but rather collaborating in content innovation (Zhao, 2018). The production of original content not only fulfils the platform's desire to attract domestic audiences but also assists the platform in 'going global' (Zhao, 2018). Nevertheless, they perceive their actions as short-term rather than long-term 'immigration'. Whether China is their ultimate destination remains a question (Lai, 2023). This phenomenon attracts Taiwanese people with various promises and dreams of greatness, yet beneath the surface lie numerous challenges. Some Taiwanese workers find themselves marginalised in the Chinese market, while others find that the political struggle between Taiwan and China hinders their creative autonomy and self-actualisation, and thus impacts their professional identity.

6.1.1. 'They don't need Taiwanese anymore' –Shifting Dynamics in the Taiwan-China Television Industry Relationship

> It was probably about more than ten years ago or so, [a Chinese company] asked me if I wanted to go? Back then, they offered four plane tickets [...] gave you a house, and even had a cleaning lady [...] And the salary was just whatever you made in Taiwan, they'd pay the same over there but... it was about 3-something [RMB

> to TWD exchange rate] [...] it [China's salary] was more than triple [than Taiwan's salary]. But now, there's no advantage anymore. Because they [China] rose too fast, and they can get more money, or their connections are better.
>
> (Freelance Director Davis, 22 June 2021)

Freelance Director David (male, aged 40-49) described a scenario from over a decade ago when a Chinese company approached him for an opportunity to work in China. At that time, the Chinese enterprise presented numerous enticing incentives. At the initial stage, China's presence as a producer of East Asian popular culture could be considered marginal (Chua, 2004). As observed by Chang's (2015; 2016) field, television professionals who ventured to mainland China before 2000, mainly due to possessing the professional capabilities sought after by mainland China at that time, were invited by mainland television stations or third parties to assist in the production of television programmes in mainland China, thus playing the role of educators, as my interviewee Davis.

However, as time passed, being Taiwanese no longer held an advantage. According to my interviewees, there has been a noticeable shift in the demand for Taiwanese professionals in Chinese television production. For example, Producer Stacey (female, aged over 50) and Freelance Producer Ada (female, aged 40-49) mentioned that,

> I've been in China for about 4 years and then I went to help them with some infrastructure projects. When Taiwanese go there, it's usually for stuff like that. After finishing the groundwork for a TV show, it's like 'bye-bye' to you.
>
> (Producer Stacey, 29 June 2021)

> In the past [China] used Taiwanese because they liked our skills. Back then, they were really into hiring Taiwanese professionals. But now, things have changed. China has progressed a lot. They've learned our skills and even improved upon them. You know, they copy your abilities and make them even better. So, working in China isn't as hot for Taiwanese professionals as it used to be. The market is huge, though, so there are still many who go there for projects. But sooner or later, they [China] don't need Taiwanese anymore – it's just a known thing.
>
> (Freelance Producer Ada, 15 June 2021)

Especially since 2008, under the influence of capital, the production environment in mainland China has gradually surpassed that of Taiwan (Chang, 2016). As television professionals in China accumulate cultural capital, they absorb and enhance the knowledge and skills acquired from Taiwanese professionals, thus making them more 'professional'. Consequently, the demand for Taiwanese professionals in China has decreased, while their contributions have become less significant over time. This reflects Ada's remark 'It doesn't really need us'. On the one hand, this may be because Taiwanese workers have long been accustomed to a 'small production' environment, gradually diminishing their advantages in China's 'large production' environment. As Colin explained,

> Taiwanese people might excel in small-scale productions[...] but if you suddenly throw a hundred million to Taiwanese work to handle, they may not know what to do. This is because such environments [of big production] impact them [...] Your ability to handle [such productions] differs.
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, June 2, 2021)

Colin's explanation provides insight into the changing demand for labour skills in China, whereby advancements in mainland Chinese skills and expertise have led to a reduced demand for the professional skills possessed by Taiwanese workers, thus altering the dependency relationship on Taiwanese professionals. Although as early as 2000, some Chinese television stations began to adopt the formatting as a strategy (Nauta, 2018), it was in 2012 that marked a critical year. This year, Chinese television networks shifted towards acquiring franchise formats from overseas and welcomed foreign production talents to guide operations, thereby establishing a model characterised by significant capital investment and large-scale production, leading to the rapid marginalization of Taiwanese professionals (Chang, 2016; Chang, 2017), as Colin pointed out, due to the possibility that 'they may not know what to do'.

This type of large-scale production essentially constitutes a 'capital operation,' typically involving a programme with a large workforce, significant capital investment, and high production costs (Chang, 2017). After acquiring foreign television format franchises, more foreigners become involved in the labour industry chain, although they are not

permanent residents. The 'bible' formats they provide include detailed instructions outlining the production sequence explicitly (Yecies and Keane, 2018). This approach has facilitated the progress of practitioners in Chinese television stations. As Programme Director Polly (female, aged 30-39), who works in Chinese streaming media, said,

> They [China] may not have been as proficient professionally before, but over the years, through this expert-buying mode [television format franchises], there has been considerable self-improvement. Consequently, they have become increasingly systematised.
>
> (Programme Director Polly, 30 May 2021)

On the other hand, in addition to technical expertise that can be acquired from foreign experts, 'creativity' seems to have become less significant. Freelance Director Emma stated,

> China can just copy the Koreans. The reason why the Taiwanese people were recruited to China in the first place was because of the creativity sold by soft power. But now they [China] don't need your creativity because they can just copy the ready-made ones. Then the Taiwanese people don't have any advantages.
>
> (Freelance Director Emma, 9 July 2021)

Taiwanese professionals have often taken pride in their purportedly greater 'creativity' compared to their counterparts in China. However, as China began to replicate and purchase foreign programme formats, the demand for 'creativity' diminished in the Chinese market, leading to a shift in their status. As observed by Chang (2017), under the influence of substantial funding, Chinese television stations and sponsors aim to outsource programme production to large production companies, relegating Taiwanese freelance television workers to smaller units within the international division of cultural labour. This fragmentation of work projects into smaller units requires more creative space for freelance television workers and cultural workers who often lack agency (Chang, 2017). Taiwanese television professionals, in this process, have transitioned from their early role as 'educators' to later being 'educated,' as elucidated by Chang (2015; 2016). Consequently, Taiwanese practitioners find themselves embedded as minor components in the television production processes and practices on the Chinese mainland, akin to what

Miller et al. (2019) describe as the new international division of cultural labour in global Hollywood, they play appropriate roles in the complex television production practices despite their marginalised status. Initially seeking greater creative autonomy and self-actualisation, Taiwanese professionals may come to realise that both China and Taiwan adopt similar conservative, market-oriented strategies, with China's market simply possessing more funds and a larger market size.

Furthermore, for the risk-averse Chinese television industry, the localization of global reality show formats represents an attractive business strategy (Nauta, 2018). Chinese producers perceive developing original content as a risky strategy, not only due to the higher costs associated with creating original content but also because of limited copyright protection in China. Therefore, format adaptation provides a low-risk strategy for Chinese producers seeking to break away from conventional genres (Keane, 2004; Nauta, 2018). As mentioned by Emma earlier, rather than relying on Taiwanese creativity, China opts for the lower-risk strategy of 'copying the ready-made ones' , particularly after the rise of the Korean Wave. Nauta's (2018) case study on China's Hunan Satellite Television (HSTV) confirms the enduring influence of the Korean Wave in China, as evidenced by HSTV's strategic shift towards Korean formats in 2013 (Nauta, 2018). This transition signifies the gradual replacement of Taiwanese professionals' roles and positions in China by Korean television professionals. Polly described the situation when China purchased the Korean franchising format, *Running Man*. She stated,

> When it came to buying *Running Man* format, they brought in some experts, but back then, they definitely weren't Koreans from the show's main team. They might have sent over their second or third-tier crew [...] And during the first couple of episodes, the Korean team handled everything from pre-production to execution and post-production, and then they left [...] After that, the Chinese team figured things out on their own.
>
> (Programme Director Polly, 30 May 2021)

Yecies and Keane (2018) argue that the Sino-Korean format agreements are not merely about the localization of formats but resemble more of a co-production, with Korean practitioners taking a leadership role in these large-scale productions. This aligns with Polly's observations. As stated in Zeng and Sparks' (2017) study on the localisation of

Running Man, they describe how Korean experts 'teach' their Chinese counterparts rather than simply offering suggestions. Although these Korean experts may not be present in China throughout the entire season this emphasises the active involvement and authoritative position of Korean professionals in the franchising process. Polly further pointed out the impact of this franchising model of acquisition, stating,

> […] Through this expert-buying mode[…] they[China television workers] have become increasingly systematised. […] As China develops faster and faster, personnel also develop better and better. So, they don't really need us. Taiwan's advantage is gone. Korea is facing a similar situation, […]. Korea is also encountering difficulties now […] It [China] has been enhancing its own capabilities because it has truly developed rapidly. It doesn't need these [Korean] screenwriters.
>
> (Programme Director Polly, 30 May 2021)

The statement 'Taiwan's bonus is gone' by Polly emphasises the perception of Taiwan losing its position of competitive advantage amidst the dynamic changes in regional cultural power. This dynamic shift resonates with the findings of Fong (2022), akin to the experiences of Singaporean counterparts. Taiwanese television professionals have witnessed the dynamic changes in the relationship between Taiwan and mainland China's television industries. Initially, Taiwanese professionals were sought after by mainland Chinese television stations for their expertise and creative input. However, as mainland China increasingly adopts foreign programme formats and relies on experts from other countries, the role of Taiwanese professionals has weakened. China's 'use and throw' philosophy prioritises cost-effectiveness over maintaining long-term relationships with foreign workers. Taiwanese television creative workers find themselves marginalised and experience a sense of 'they don't really need us'. The next section further examines the professional identity of Taiwanese practitioners within a framework of nationalism, building upon this context.

6.1.2. 'You have to choose a side'–Tensions within the Nationalism Framework

In the first section, the expressions 'bye-bye to you', 'they might not need Taiwanese anymore' and 'it doesn't really need us' not only suggest a reorientation of cultural dependencies, changes in market dynamics and geopolitical context but also reflect

reflects a wider region's experience such as the Singaporean television producers described by Fong (2022) mentioned before, who also face similar career dilemmas and identity challenges as Taiwanese television practitioners.

At a personal level, individuals experience anxiety regarding their professional identities. They struggle to adapt to the changing landscape of their industry, as their skills and knowledge become outdated. The anxiety stemming from Taiwan's perceived expertise being gradually replaced by Korea in the Chinese production industry acts as a barrier to constructing their professional identities. This is exacerbated by the gradual erosion of the centrality of their professional knowledge, prompting them to question their status as 'professionals'. Within the context of China serving as a stage for global capitalist competition, as mentioned earlier, Taiwanese workers' skills and knowledge gradually lose their advantage, leading to marginalisation in the international market and thus generating a sense of anxiety.

Furthermore, the second level of anxiety is based on specific socio-historical contexts, involving the cross-strait political relations between Taiwan and China (see Chapter 2). For some television workers, there is no distinction between 'China and Taiwan' or 'cross-strait'. They believe that national identity does not affect their work in China. As Ada pointed out,

> Basically, I think everyone is out to make money, they wouldn't [be sensitive to political issues] And those who take projects in China do it because of the money, because they pay much higher than in Taiwan.
>
> (Producer Ada, June 15, 2021)

Although Ada suggests that the primary motivation for Taiwanese professionals choosing to work in China is money, thereby implying that industry professionals have already negotiated and compromised on political and national identity issues themselves. However, due to the unique nature of the Chinese market, where the CCP has incorporated television channels into the commercial sphere but still tightly controls media production (Lai, 2023), the dynamics of production within the commercial market are inevitably influenced by political tensions and anxieties. The longstanding political disputes between Taiwan and China, intertwined with their shared historical and cultural

ties, further complicate the situation. The absence of a unified national identity and a sense of belonging in Taiwan, compounded by its lack of international political recognition, contributes to feelings of anxiety among its populace (see Chapter 2). For Taiwanese professionals, the anxiety arising from political disputes within the framework of nationalism is contradictory to the logic of market competition under globalisation forces. As Wang Wang (2009) points out that political nation-building still conflicts with economic development and the evolution of the global market within political and historical contexts.

Stacey and Ada's statements of 'bye-bye to you', and 'they might not need Taiwanese anymore' in the previous section highlight the shifting dynamics within the Taiwanese television industry: a significant number of Taiwanese Television professionals are seeking opportunities in China. This phenomenon also reflects broader geopolitical and economic transitions, indicating the response of Taiwanese workers operating under the backdrop where the Chinese government has successfully engaged in the global capitalist production chain through neoliberal market mechanisms while maintaining strict control over its domestic market (Lai, 2023). Their work necessitates enduring, complying with, and normalising industry norms influenced by political factors, as evidenced by the experiences of Harvey (male, aged over 50) and Colin working in China, which illustrate some challenges and dilemmas faced by Taiwanese professionals.

> I've been in it for a while, but eventually, it's just that the top position wasn't mine [...] At that time, it was almost me who was in charge of the [production] process [...] They said that the Taiwanese could not [take the lead], it's an unspoken rule in the industry.
>
> (Programme Director Harvey, 17 July 2021)

> I've thought about it too, if one day I really become the chief director or chief producer, it would be more difficult, of course, because you are an outsider, it's unlikely they will feed you such a high title.
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, 2 June 2021)

Similarly, Ada shared an instance of collaboration with China, stating,

> I felt at that time that our team was somewhat marginalised, you know, it's terrifying. Suddenly, your investor says, 'I think this director's work is not good, this thing is too outdated, and I think I should change the director'. [...] Shooting in China is just impossible to control all those things, and you can be marginalised at any time, it's quite terrifying.
>
> (Producer Ada, 15 June 2021)

Harvey mentioned that after working in China for a period of time, he found that his name was not highlighted as a leader in the staff credits (rolling card). This indicates that although he played an important role in the production process, his contributions may have been overlooked or replaced by others. Furthermore, Colin and Harvey's remarks reveal issues of identity under the framework of nationalism in production practice (see next section). On the other hand, in her saying, Ada's team seemed to be in a passive position during the collaboration between Taiwan and China, feeling excluded. This could be because, during the collaboration, investors or other key stakeholders (actually Chinese counterparts) intervened in important production decisions, suppressing or disregarding the opinions and decision-making capabilities of the production team.

These instances above portray the uncertainty and precariousness of creative workers' work environments, where their roles and status may be influenced or interfered with by non-work-related factors stemming from the long-standing political struggles between Taiwan and China. There are certain limitations on workplace autonomy and creative autonomy within the Chinese industry due to political factors. Workplace autonomy, as described by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010), in this context, refers to the degree of discretionary power Taiwanese professionals when carrying out tasks related to work in China.

Television professionals are required to accept and endure this exploitation in their work. Pursuing fairness and justice could potentially 'jeopardise getting future work by associating [them] with 'trouble' (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010, p. 10)'. As a result, Harvey lost his original dominant position and the power associated with being listed at the top of the staff credits. Colin's words complemented Harvey's, indicating that as 'outsiders', Taiwanese are unable to play an important creative role and get the highest

position in the production process because this is an 'unspoken rule' of the Chinese industry. Ada's team was unable to fully control various factors in the production process, and she described this feeling as 'terrifying,' emphasising her anxiety and concern about being unable to control the situation and being in a passive position. These three cases all highlight how the institutional pressures generated by political struggles have become forms of exploitation under the dual pressures of capitalism and political sensitivity.

The regulations governing the labour rights of Taiwanese workers within the Chinese labour market are indicative of China's authoritarian neoliberalism (Lai, 2023), which is characterised by the successful integration of internal authoritarian governance and neoliberal market efficiency (Dirlik, 2012). This is also consistent with Chen's (2023) observations on the Hong Kong film industry, emphasising the impact of economic shifts and geopolitical tensions on the industry. Although co-producing with mainland Chinese studios became a key strategy for the Hong Kong film industry in the mid-1990s, the increasing dependence on mainland co-productions highlights the vulnerability of the industry (Chen, 2023). Additionally, the complexities arising from political sensitivities and censorship further complicate matters (Chen, 2023). Similar to Taiwan, in this environment, Hong Kong filmmakers face the dual pressures of capitalism and political sensitivity. Even so, at times it becomes necessary to declare one's stance under such pressures of capitalist and political sensitivities. Freelance Director Emma (Female, aged 20-29) remarked,

> Even amongst us [Taiwanese television workers], you see, many Taiwanese artists have to choose a side whenever something happens. That's China; problems are inevitable in cross-strait [Taiwan and China] cooperation.
>
> (Freelance Director Emma, 9 July 2021)

The ban on Taiwanese participation, issued multiple times in 2019, serves as an illustrative example. Taiwanese media crew and artists, including newspapers, magazines, radio, television, movies, and online media, seeking entry into China are subjected to 'political vetting' (Tong, 2019). Also, the intentional scheduling of China's Golden Rooster Awards to coincide with the Taiwan Golden Horse Awards ceremony in that year compels artists and film staff from both China and Hong Kong to 'pick sides' (Tong, 2019). Similarly, this ban has resulted in some Taiwanese friends of Lai's (2023)

interviewees (Taiwanese screenwriters in China) losing their jobs in China, particularly prominent individuals. This is because the status of political, economic, and cultural relations between Taiwan and China is contingent upon the ruling political party in Taiwan. Consequently, following the victory of the Democratic Progressive Party in the 2016 Taiwanese presidential election, cross-strait relations experienced a deterioration (Lai, 2023). This is also true for joint projects across the Taiwan and China, as mentioned by Emma:

> I previously worked on a project themed in Inner Mongolia, where I served as an executive producer. The director was Chinese, and they received funding from Shanghai Television. Originally, this project had received funding from the MOC. However, China [Shanghai Television] considered it to be Taiwan's national fund, indirectly acknowledging Taiwan as an independent country. So, if that happened, they would withdraw the funding [...] MOC provided very little funding, but they [Shanghai Television] provided a lot, so we had to let go of that [funding from MOC].
>
> (Freelance Director Emma, 9 July 2021)
>
> (The Taiwan Ministry of Culture is denoted as [MOC])

However, this indeed clashed with Emma's national identity, as she told me,

> Back when I was in university, there was this huge wave of Taiwanese media talents going to China. That is the reason I am studying Korean right now because I realised my political stance and situation meant I wouldn't work in China. It felt like Taiwan had hit a dead-end, unless someone reforms things around here.
>
> (Freelance Director Emma, 9 July 2021)

Emma's words go beyond the tensions between commercial and creative autonomy often faced in working in the cultural industries. First, it shows the conflict between her professional identity and national identity in the context of political tensions both within and outside Taiwan. This conflict is manifested in Emma feeling the need to make a choice between her professional career and her support for Taiwan. Her national identity makes her unwilling to work in China, which could potentially impact her professional development, although she compromised due to financial pressure in this Inner Mongolia

case. In this sense, Emma echoes Lai's (2023) fieldwork that Taiwan's democratisation and neoliberalism empower Taiwanese television screenwriters to work in the Chinese television industry. In times of tight labour markets, individuals may opt for stable yet less creatively fulfilling work (Wei, 2012). Faced with survival pressures, Taiwanese screenwriters may feel compelled to compromise on their creative autonomy to ensure income and career stability. Despite being cognisant of China's censorship system and its stifling effect on creativity, they may still choose to work in China out of necessity, driven by market rationality and the need for economic sustenance (Lai, 2023).

However, Emma's decision to learn Korean indicates her efforts to explore alternative options and respond to structural pressures during identity work. This action of acquiring new skills expresses how individuals adjust their behaviour to maintain their identity and relieve the tension in complex social environments to address internal conflicts in identity work. As Hsieh (2004) points out, some people believe that China represents a vast market for Taiwan, and Taiwan should exploit opportunities for business dealings with China. However, many are concerned that excessive reliance on the Chinese market may make Taiwan vulnerable to Chinese influence. In fact, not only Emma but also examples such as Harvey and others demonstrate the need to place their experiences within a broader framework to understand how these elements influence and shape their professional identities. The challenges faced by creative workers in Taiwan extend beyond the tension between creativity and commerce inherent in creative labour.

Finally, Taiwan, as an emerging industrialised country, is known as one of the Four Asian Tigers. Taiwanese identity has long been built upon the so-called economic miracle (Wang, 2009). The economic miracle played an important role in defining its global image and instilling a sense of pride among the Taiwanese. However, the rise of China as a dominant global player has shifted the dynamics significantly, which has made it a more globalised, international, and rapidly developing place than Taiwan. This shift has triggered a profound sense of unease within Taiwan, encapsulated by the metaphorical notion of becoming a 'deserted island,' as termed by Taiwanese scholar Wang (2009). This anxiety stems from the fear of being left behind or overshadowed by China's ascendancy, both economically and geopolitically.

Within the television industry, Taiwanese workers fear being marginalised in the grand narrative of globalisation, where cultural products and narratives are increasingly dominated by China, a larger, and more influential player. The majority of my interviewees (such as Ada, Lance, Jerry, Ivy, Polly, Colin, and Kelly) have indicated that one of the primary challenges facing the Taiwanese television industry is financial issues, which manifest in aspects such as relatively small local market, a lack of investors, low programme budgets, and low salary. For example, Producer Ada stated,

> Most companies don't invest in Taiwan's film and television industry because, you know, it's tough to sell stuff here. I mean, if we can sell without losing money, that's already good. Right now, we can't really call it an industry, we're more like a tiny, tiny niche. We're not quite at the industry level yet.
>
> (Freelance Producer Ada, 15 June 2021)

The influx of foreign investments into China's cultural sector further exacerbates this concern, as investors perceive China as offering a more lucrative and expansive market compared to Taiwan (Producer Frank, 18 March 2021). As a response to these challenges, many Taiwanese television professionals are drawn to China, seeking business opportunities and financial incentives. However, this migration also results in a significant brain drain from Taiwan, as talented individuals seek greener pastures elsewhere. This phenomenon of 'hollowing out' poses a significant threat to Taiwan's long-term economic and cultural aspects, potentially leaving it isolated and ignored on the global stage, akin to a desert island devoid of substantial resources and influence. Therefore, the anxieties faced by Taiwanese workers are indeed multi-layered and interconnected. Taiwanese workers' pursuit of greater creative autonomy, self-actualisation, and ideal career paths in China has ultimately been proven to be a utopian fantasy and rhetoric, overshadowed by broader geopolitical realities.

In summary, this section discusses the multifaceted nature of professional frustration and anxiety among Taiwanese television workers. Firstly, it reveals concerns regarding individual workers' worries about their skills and knowledge becoming outdated in the constantly evolving industry dynamics, especially in the Chinese market. Here emphasises the threat to their professional identity through the repositioning of professional roles and cultural dependencies. Furthermore, it explores the socio-historical

backdrop where the complex political relations between Taiwan and mainland China worsen anxieties and contradictions. Despite the neoliberal market-driven logic promoting equal opportunities, persistent political disputes exacerbate workplace restrictions and anxieties, as evidenced by constraints on creative autonomy and the unstable position of Taiwanese workers in the Chinese market. Finally, it explores broader anxieties regarding Taiwan's national identity and economic status, especially considering China's rise. Metaphorically portraying Taiwan as a 'desolate island' reflects people's fears of fading into insignificance or being left behind due to China's ascendancy, leading to a severe brain drain.

Consequently, Taiwanese television workers find themselves at the nexus of this ever-changing television landscape in East Asia, addressing the fluidity of their professional identities among shifting cultural dependencies and market dynamics. Their anxieties and frustrations are not isolated but rather intricately intertwined with broader socio-political contexts. As they struggle with cross-strait political relations and the global market, Taiwanese workers confront the marginalisation within a narrative increasingly dominated by China's cultural hegemony. Their professional identities are thus in flux, subject to the whims of market forces and representations within the industry. In this sense, their professional identities are complexities, as individuals negotiate their place within a constantly changing television terrain.

6.2 Dynamics of Anti-Korean Sentiment in Taiwan

The previous section illustrated the intricate spectrum of emotions experienced by Taiwanese television workers as they confronted the displacement by their South Korean counterparts within the Chinese television industry. These nuanced sentiments are situated within a broader historical context of geopolitical and cultural entanglements, that I unpack in this section.

6.2.1. 'Korean Philia are 'brainless girls''–Anti-Korean Sentiment in Taiwan Television

The transnational circulation and consumption of media and popular culture have (re)created an imagined cultural community in East Asia (Ahn, 2019), fostering the development of the 'East Asian affect' (Ahn, 2019; Chua and Iwabuchi, 2008). This

phenomenon of cultural globalisation has engendered a novel desire and fascination among young Asians, but it has also cultivated a new transnational aversion (Ahn, 2019). Within this framework, the former is articulated through Korean-philia or pro-Korean to express such desire and fascination, while the latter is adopted by the term 'Anti-Korean Sentiment' to express this aversion in this project. This dichotomy of pro-Korean and anti-Korean discourse serves as a political tool for constructing Taiwanese nationalism. According to Gellner (2006), nationalism can be a 'sentiment (p.1)' or 'the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment (p.1)'. Similarly, Yang (2014) emphasises the role of affects in shaping East Asian nationalisms, highlighting the association between authoritarianism, strong states, and Asian values. However, these aspects are rooted in the intense bond between the state and its people, the ruling and the ruled, which are maintained not only through coercion but also through strategies that evoke positive or negative affects (Yang, 2014). From this perspective, anti-Korean sentiment creates a strong sense of 'us versus them' consciousness, excluding those who do not fit into the imagined 'us' (See Chapter 2). Through the cultivation of 'anti-Korean sentiment,' as Korea assumes the role of a hostile Other, Taiwanese nationalism is shaped and reinforced. As the emphasis in the introductory paragraph of this chapter, nationalism in East Asia is mediated through the politics of hate (Ahn, 2019).

As discussed in Chapter 2, the construction of Taiwan's national identity is intricately intertwined with various political forces and ideologies. The genesis and evolution of this identity are influenced significantly by actors such as Japan, South Korea, the United States, and China. Since the Cold War era, the geopolitical significance of both South Korea and Taiwan as bulwarks against communism has been pronounced due to their geographical positioning. However, with the easing of tensions between China and the United States and the People's Republic of China's admission to the United Nations, diplomatic recognitions based on Cold War ideological considerations began to erode (Rich, 2009), leading to changes in geopolitics. During the cold war, the United States strategically positioned Taiwan and South Korea as frontline entities to contain communist influence. This led to close political and economic exchanges between Taiwan and Korea in the process of anti-communist resistance. At that time, Korea was often portrayed as a sibling country to Taiwan in Taiwanese media reports.

The key event that changed the relationship between the two was the severance of diplomatic ties between Taiwan and Korea in 1992, coinciding with the establishment of diplomatic relations between Korea and China on the same day. For the Taiwanese, Korea transitioned from being 'the other' of Cold War-era anti-communist ally to 'the other' of the detested adversary (more details see Chapter 2). Chu (2022) characterises this generation of Taiwanese people, particularly individuals between the ages of 45 and 65, as the 'severance generation,' viewing their national dignity as compromised. In other words, they experienced a sense of betrayal from a country that had been fighting alongside them against communism for many years (Taipei Times, 2002). The feeling of betrayal and abandonment is what leads to the emergence of anti-Korean sentiment. Thus, behind Taiwan's anti-Korean sentiment, there actually exists a political entanglement between Taiwan and China. In fact, anti-Korean sentiment is a response to the geopolitical tensions among Taiwan, China, and Korea.

Additionally, the anti-Korea sentiment in Taiwan is often event-driven, becoming most pronounced during instances of newsworthy incidents between the two nations (Ahn, 2019). Scholarly research suggests that Taiwan's animosity towards Korea largely emanates from the economic competition of the globalisation era, particularly within the realms of culture and entertainment (Liu, 2015), and from sports enthusiast groups (e.g., Ahn, 2019; Kuo, 2010; Liu, 2015).

Specific examples of the former include the 'Tzuyu incident' in 2016 (See Chapter 2), which marks a shift in anti-Korean sentiment in Taiwan, emphasising trilateral relations involving China, Taiwan, and Korea, rather than just Korea-Taiwan relations (Ahn, 2019). Moreover, as cultural producers, my interviewees' anti-Korean sentiments may simultaneously reflect their identity as cultural producers, indicative of cultural anxiety stemming from issues of national identity and the import of foreign cultures. In fact, within the context of Taiwanese television, some industry professionals also harbour anti-Korean sentiment. Approximately half of my interviewees exhibited or had experienced anti-Korean sentiment. For example, Programme Director Jerry described Korean reality show imports as 'a form of cultural invasion or influence' (1 August 2021), laden with negative connotations. Conceptualising this emotional state not only as a psychological condition but also as a broader social-cultural practice (Ahmed, 2014; Ahn, 2019; Yang,

2014) can better reflect the struggle of industry professionals to negotiate the dynamics of escalating geopolitical tensions in asserting national identity. As discussed in the last section, within the Chinese television industry, Taiwanese professionals were supplanted by Koreans, not only in terms of expertise but also in terms of influence and authority. This displacement highlights a multifaceted struggle for Taiwanese professionals, as they contend not only with the loss of job opportunities but also with a diminishing sense of agency and cultural significance.

The latter is especially the case in sports events involving participation in South Korea and Taiwan. Mainstream media always report a large number of sports events between Taiwan and Korea, especially baseball, with negative images (such as liars, cheating, and unscrupulous means). For example, the Yang Shu-chun incident at the Asian Games in 2010 triggered the largest anti-Korean movement in Taiwan (See Chapter 2). In Taiwan, sports and nationalism are often intertwined, forming a unique relationship within Taiwanese society. Participation in sports competitions represents an opportunity for Taiwanese people to reclaim cultural dignity lost in other domains and to be 'seen' internationally. Among my interviewees, those who identify as sports fans (especially baseball fans) are often anti-Korean sports enthusiasts. For instance, Freelance Director Colin explicitly stated, 'I was one of the parts [anti-Korea sports fans]' (2 June 2021). this anti-Korean sentiment arising from sports nationalism intertwines with the anti-Korean sentiment generated by their identity as 'creative workers' competing with Korea in the Chinese television market.

As such, anti-Korean sentiment should be considered within a broader historical or political framework, as Yang (2014) rightly points out, 'it is not only the effects of affective power that are at issue but also the historical and cultural shaping of specific contexts where these affective vectors are formed and operate and where affective subjectivities are constructed (p. 12)'.

Mainstream media in Taiwan often reinforce anti-Korean sentiments by framing incidents where Korea is depicted as a negative actor and Taiwan as the victim. For instance, the Yang Shu-chun incident was reported by Taiwan's Apple Daily with headlines such as 'The Korean deceivers engaged in malicious pranks, Asian Games Taekwondo team returns to Taiwan tomorrow night, 10,000 people pick up to welcome heroes'. The use of

terms like ‘deceivers’ and ‘malicious pranks’ by Apple Daily (2010) portrays Korea as having harmful intentions towards Taiwan, while depicting the Taiwanese team as persecuted ‘heroes’.

In my interviews, when specifically asked about their dislike towards Korea, most respondents expressed that Korea’s national character contributes to this anti-Korean sentiment. In other words, Korea is perceived to employ any means necessary to win in international competitions. For example, my respondents Colin, Lance (male, aged 30-39) and Jerry stated,

> I think there is a little atmosphere in Taiwan that Koreans have a lot of dirty records in sports events […] So, you should not have a good impression of it [refers to Korea].
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, 2 June 2021)

> They cheat in games, or there are some not very positive news [...] For example [...] In baseball, they also have some patriotic referees [...] they will be biased towards themselves, and in Taekwondo, they will use some tricks at the last moment, and Korea is. They will resort to all kinds of tricks in sports’.
>
> (Freelance Cameraman Lance, 16 June 2021)

> Korea has engaged in some peculiar actions before, such as in sports, where they employ certain tactics to secure victories.
>
> (Programme Director Jerry, 1 August 2021).

As mentioned above, hate discourse towards Korea often revolves around stereotypical perceptions of Korea’s ethnocentrism, especially in the realm of sports. This aligns with Ahn’s (2019) observations on online hate speech in Taiwan. This type of discourse is widely circulated and reinforced through various online platforms (Ahn, 2019). It is noteworthy that mainstream media is also a key influencer of this discourse, as they are responsible for promoting and mediating how Taiwanese people perceive Korea and Koreans (Ahn, 2019).

Furthermore, an interesting observation is that besides stereotypical perceptions stemming from sports events, some anti-Korean sentiments arise from the behaviour of Korean-philia groups. As Carl (male, aged 20-29) and Jerry marked,

> Anti-Korean sentiment may stem from a backlash against Hallyu [Korean Wave] fans.
>
> (Programmer Planner Carl, 6 June 2021)

> I think fans of Japanese culture may show more rationality [...] They may not have experienced a period of crazy idol obsession [...] At that time, what I least liked was that some Korean artists would hold fan meetings and charge very high fees, and I feel sorry for those Korean-philia fans, as it's an opportunity for them to empty their purses.
>
> (Programme Director Jerry, 1 August 2021)

From the above, it can be observed that some people's anti-Korean sentiment originates from their aversion towards Korean-philia enthusiasts/ Hallyu fans/ K-pop fans. Korean-philia enthusiasts in the Taiwanese social context are often labelled as 'irrational' and 'crazily obsessed'. In Jelly's view, K-pop fans are irrational because they have a period of 'crazy idol obsession'. This fanaticism may lead fans to behave irrationally. This is reflected in the fact that even if fan meetings charge a lot of money, they are still willing to 'empty their purses' to attend these events. Moreover, Jerry's remarks might be closely related to his identity as a producer/creative worker in cultural products. As the example shared by another respondent Colin, certain situations at the live programme Red and White Singing Contest of the Taiwanese version. He highlighted the extreme enthusiasm and support exhibited by Korean-philia fans when the Korean idol group FOCUS was about to perform, contrasting it with the reactions during performances by Taiwanese singers Jingteng Xiao and Youjia Lin. This stark contrast incited Colin's dissatisfaction and criticism, even going as far as to associate such behaviour with 'national hate'.

> In the past , there was a programme on TTV called the Singing Contest, where hosts Xiaoyan Zhang and Harlem each led a team[...] It was essentially a concert held at Taipei Arena [...] my former company handled it. Each year, we would invite a Korean group, but due to budget constraints, they were not typically top tier at the

> time. Nevertheless, many girls gathered outside, waving their signs. [...] When FOCUS, took the stage, those girls erupted in excitement and commotion. I remember thinking, 'shit, who are they? Can you support Jingteng Xiao and Youjia Lin? Your national animosity is ignited once again [...] At that age, I was more hot-headed and easily labelled such fans as brainless girls.
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, 2 June 2021)

Similarly, Colin's use of the term 'brainless girls' resonates with the earlier depiction of 'irritation' and 'crazy obsession'. Linking the phrase 'crazy' to Korean-philia enthusiasts bears a resemblance to the utilisation of pejorative discourses such as 'deceivers' and 'malicious pranks' by mainstream media outlets in the context of certain incidents involving Korea, particularly within sports events. Such discourse serves to cultivate a negative perception of Korea among the Taiwanese audience, just as Lance and others' impression of Korea mentioned above is 'cheating or playing tricks in sports competitions'. In other words, the use of fans to associate certain negative characteristics with the nation – painting a nation as having characteristics such as morally deficient (cheating in games), exploiting fans and making them 'crazy' for their monetary benefit – these are tactics often used to 'other' nations and cultures by portraying them as inferior.

Viewing such anti-Korean sentiments within the context of the television industry suggests that they should not be simplistically understood as mere anti-Korean discourse or emotional outbursts, but rather as reflections of anxieties and concerns within the media landscape. The stereotype of 'brainless girls' reflects a broader sentiment of frustration and irritation towards fans (cultural consumers) who display what he perceives as excessive devotion, especially towards Korean artists, rather than supporting local talent. This sentiment is particularly relevant considering the discussion in the previous section, where we explored how Taiwanese television workers are marginalised in China, losing their advantage due to the rise of the Korean Wave in the Chinese market. This situation highlights a complex interplay between Colin's cultural and national identity, intertwined with his professional identity. As Taiwanese professionals witness their diminishing relevance in the face of Korean cultural dominance in China, they may harbour concerns about their employment and creative output. Thus, this aversion to the popularity of Korean popular culture in Taiwan reflects the anxiety originating from

Taiwan's shifting position in cultural exchanges, especially when such influences come from the 'enemy other'.

> When the Taiwanese media reports Korean news, from my perspective, I think...What are the media reporting on, and what does it have to do with me? Why is a Korean actor from a series popular today? What does that have to do with me? […] Why should we silently help others promote it? And nobody wants to watch our plays or programmes. I think this makes me angry.
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, June 2, 2021)

Similarly, this excerpt resonates with the previous discussion surrounding the portrayal of 'brainless girls,' illustrating the marginalization experienced by Taiwanese television professionals. They have voiced frustration and discontent upon witnessing the Taiwanese media and audiences embracing Korean culture, while their own productions are often overlooked or disregarded.

This anxiety also intertwines with broader geopolitical dynamics. Under the influence of the KMT and Chang's regime, as well as subsequent KMT administrations, Taiwan adopted a Sinocentric worldview, prioritising Chinese culture and ideas (Chu, 2022). This perspective positioned Korea as a subordinate state to imperial China, elevating Taiwan's status in its perception of the world. This sense of superiority was also evident in the television production field. Before the Korean wave became the benchmark of Asian popular culture, Japan held dominance in television series and variety shows across East Asia and Southeast Asia. However, due to language and socio-cultural factors, Taiwanese programmes had greater accessibility to China and other Chinese-populated countries. Consequently, Taiwan became the hub of Asian Chinese television during the 1960s and 1970s, although Taiwanese programmes were influenced deeply by Japan (Liu and Chen, 2004), leading other countries, including China and Korea, to seek insights from industry insiders (Tsai, 2018). This situation fostered confidence and a superiority complex among Taiwanese TV practitioners, labelling that era as the 'Golden Age' (Freelance Director Davis, 22 June 2021). It is worth adding here as a linkage that in the current context of the decline of the Taiwanese media industry's status in the region, my interviewees make use of these sentiments of disdain towards K-pop fans to resistance against Korean programmes to establish and maintain this sense of superiority. Particularly among the

generation aged 65 and above, they harbour a sense of superiority towards Korea but not necessarily anti-Korean sentiment (Chu, 2022). For instance, Emma, exemplifies certain tendencies among conservative practitioners who refuse to engage with the emerging influence of Korean media forms. From a broader sense, this represents their resistance to acknowledging the dynamic shifts in global cultural consumption.

> They [referring to the conservative faction within the television industry] are unwilling to comprehend why Korean reality shows have become mainstream [...] They express sentiments such as, 'I have absolutely no interest in knowing about those [South Korean programmes]'.
>
> (Freelance Director Emma, 9 July 2021)

Moreover, it is worth further consideration here how the phenomenon of 'pro-Korean fans', those who are portrayed as irrational and obsessively infatuated with Korean idols or culture, is juxtaposed with 'pro-Japan fans,' those who are comparatively viewed as rational enthusiasts of Japanese popular culture. This phenomenon of contrasting portrayals between 'pro-Korean fans' and 'pro-Japan fans' underscores a class metaphor of Orientalism. The construction of 'pro-Korean fans', within such discourse often involves derogation, ridicule, and, in some mainstream media, even marking them as unpatriotic (The Storm Media, 2002). In contrast, 'pro-Japan fans' are perceived differently, as they are seen as rational admirers of Japanese popular culture, reflecting a postcolonial sentiment amongst Taiwanese. This demonstrates the internalisation among Taiwanese of an affinity towards Japanese culture and the belief in its superiority. This is, Japan is perceived to be consistently positioned within Asia but elevated above it (Iwabuchi, 2004). In other words, for some of my interviewees, a sense of cultural superiority, second only to Japan in Asia, has been established through their experiences of the 'Golden Age', particularly significant for those identifying as creative professionals. Simultaneously, this affective connection fosters a sense of national belonging, thus contributing to the existence of the nation itself (Ahmed, 2014).

However, this sense of superiority has been challenged. Taiwan's perception of its superiority was eroded by Korea's significant economic growth during the 1970s and 1980s (Ahn, 2019). Moreover, the rise of the Korean Wave has diminished Taiwan's centrality as a cultural exporter in East Asia, further undermining this sense of superiority.

Concurrently, China's emergence as a global power has accentuated Taiwan's anxiety and concern over its lack of stable international identity or presence. Consequently, anti-Korean sentiment can be understood as Taiwan's attempt to resist, transcend, or rationalise its predicament of international marginalisation, thereby creating an alternative self-image (Ching, 2001). This process of creating anti-Korean sentiment and perceiving Korea as an imagined adversary or 'other' contributes to shaping Taiwan's national identity and alleviates this kind of anxiety.

In conclusion, this section explores the complexities of anti-Korean sentiment in Taiwan, especially within the television industry, against the backdrop of East Asian influences and cultural globalisation. Anti-Korean sentiment can be regarded as a political tool for Taiwanese nationalism amidst geopolitical tensions, fueled by historical events and media portrayals, which reflects Taiwan's anxieties about international marginalization, shaping its national identity. Moreover, aversion towards Korean culture extends to disdain for irrational K-pop fans, contrasting with the rational pro-Japanese enthusiasts, reflecting class dynamics and as a tool for maintaining the cultural superiority of Taiwanese professionals. However, Korea's rising cultural influence has challenged Taiwan's superiority and anti-Korean sentiment. During my interviews with industry professionals, I noted a discernible mitigation of anti-Korean sentiments. In the next section, I continue to explore this evolving scenario, exploring how these changes impact the professional identity of Taiwanese television practitioners.

6.2.2. 'We can't win against them'—From the Enemy Other to the Ideal Other

As China began extensively adopting foreign models in 2012 (Chang, 2015), Korean television professionals replaced Taiwanese professionals in China. As expressed in the preceding section, phrases such as 'bye-bye to you', 'they might not need Taiwanese anymore', and 'our team was marginalised' symbolise the worries and frustrations of being abandoned in the Chinese television market. In line with this context, sentiments of anti-South Korean or anti-Chinese sentiment could have escalated.

However, through interviews with television industry professionals, it was found that some individuals indicated a reduction in their anti-Korean sentiments. While multiple

factors may have influenced this shift, according to my interviewees, I believe that a critical year could be 2016. Colin stated,

> Actually, in 2016, I received several projects [in China] because of THAAD. Koreans couldn't come in, so they [Chinese companies] found me.
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, June 2, 2021).

Geopolitical changes have the potential to alter the relationships between China, South Korea, and Taiwan's television industries. Colin's experience reflects the impact of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defence (THAAD) deployment on the relationships among China, Korea, and Taiwan. When South Korea deployed the (THAAD) system in 2016, it triggered a series of reactions from China, including economic retaliation and restrictions on cultural exchanges (BBC, 2017; BBC, 2023). Consequently, as Colin experienced, the entry of Korean individuals into the Chinese market became increasingly challenging. This presented an opportunity for individuals from other countries, such as Taiwan, to potentially fill the void left by the lack of Korean talent. Additionally, during the ban on South Korean individuals from 2016 to 2021, they were similarly treated as 'throw away after use' commodities by China. Given this context, I argue that the THAAD incident in 2016 was one of the key reasons leading to a change in anti-Korean sentiments among Taiwanese industry professionals.

On the other hand, anti-China sentiment among Koreans has increased due to the ban on South Korea, especially among the younger generation (King, 2023). This shift toward the People's Republic of China changed the public discourse on relations between Taiwan and South Korea. For example, Korean netizens used 'Taiwan' to anger China. 'Taiwan NO.1' became a buzzword among the young generation in Korea in 2017 (Na, 2017). It is a favorite phrase to irritate Chinese players in online games when Korean players encounter Chinese people in the game (Na, 2017). Politically, U.S. President Joseph Biden and South Korean President Yoon Suk-yeol reiterated the importance of maintaining peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait during their meeting in Washington in 2023 (The White House, 2023) . This is obviously different from Korea's usual quest to avoid direct intervention in any issues related to Taiwan. As such, the THAAD issue not only strains the bilateral relations between China and Korea but also has a chain reaction on regional dynamics, which may change the relationship and

interaction between China, Korea, and Taiwan in various fields, including the television industry. This situation highlights the interconnectedness of political decision-making, economic activities, and cultural exchanges among these East Asian countries.

Perhaps Colin's observation is accurate when asked about recent anti-Korean sentiments, he said,

> If you look at it at least in the past five years, and even in the past ten years, the mood has not been so high, and everyone has gradually accepted the Korean Wave. […] I feel like [anti-Korean sentiment] should be gone by now because we've come to acknowledge that we can't win against them [...] gradually, we've automatically accepted that they're just better than us.
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, 2 June 2021)

Colin's statement 'We can't win against them' signifies a departure from a stance of resistance to the Korean Wave (such as anti-Korean sentiments) indicating a shift in the cultural power dynamics between Taiwan and South Korea. Historically, Taiwan has regarded Korea as a competitor across various domains, including economics, sports, and entertainment. This competitive relationship is rooted in Taiwan's perception of itself and South Korea as occupying comparable and parallel positions. Colin's remarks reflect a recalibration of this perspective. His acknowledgement of the inability to compete with Korea suggests a reevaluation of his positioning and identity. This transition underscores the realignment of cultural power dynamics between Taiwan and Korea, as well as Colin's individual response to this reorientation. Even, he said,

> *Running Ma*n PD [Programme Director] is really impressive. He can create something that makes everyone in Asia want to copy him. But it's obvious that he's created a lot of phenomenal stuff, getting everyone to follow along. That's what makes it meaningful. It's not just about making a lot of money.
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, 2 June 2021)

Clearly, his stance on resisting the Korean Wave has undergone a transformation, significantly impacting his professional identity. This shift extends beyond mere perceptions of Korean culture; it involves a reevaluation of his position and role within

the industry. The *Running Man* director has become his 'ideal other,' inspiring aspirations within him to become an 'impressive creative worker' like the *Running Man* director, and produce a 'getting everyone to follow' show like *Running Man*. This aspiration also stresses his pursuit of self-actualisation, as he emphasises that his endeavours are not solely by commercial motives but by a belief in the inherent meaningfulness of creative expression.

Furthermore, the influence of Korean cultural products on Taiwanese workers is reflected in programme production practices. As I mentioned in Chapter 5, Jerry pointed out that Taiwanese show *Mr. Player* was influenced by Korean programmes, and he acknowledges that *Mr. Player* can be viewed as, to some extent, a derivative or transformed version of the Korean show *Running Man.*

According to Jerry, while he refrains from making categorical claims, he acknowledges that the Taiwanese show *Mr. Player* can be viewed as, to some extent, a derivative or transformed version of the Korean show *Running Man*. The careful choice of words, such as 'influenced by' and 'not copying', underscores the acknowledgement that the Taiwanese show is not a direct replication but rather a product inspired by the Korean counterpart. Importantly, this production practice, conflicting with practitioners' anti-Korean sentiments, and the cultural flow between the two programmes reflect shifts in the power dynamics of cultural capital between Taiwan and Korea. Jerry's emphasis on being 'influenced by' rather than 'copying' involves emotional engagement and conflicts with Korea's transition from a hostile role to a role of imitation and learning. This tension can stem from a desire to assert Taiwanese identity as a 'professional', rather than being perceived as mere imitators of Korean programmes.

Furthermore, Taiwan's sentiments towards Korea indeed involve a triangular relationship among Taiwan, China, and Korea. In the previous section, it was noted that television practitioners from South Korea have gradually supplanted the position and role of Taiwanese practitioners in China, leading to Taiwan's gradual marginalisation in the production relations of East Asia. Interestingly, even against this backdrop, Taiwanese professionals commonly have a sense of cultural superiority towards China, perceiving it as lacking in creativity and primarily imitating Korean programmes. Such perceptions of

creativity shape Taiwan's cultural sense of superiority toward China. For instance, Freelance Producer Ada remarked,

> While the mainland [China] has the conditions, because they have money, they have a large land, a lot of people [...] but they may all be copying Korean shows.
>
> (Freelance Producer Ada, 15 June 2021)

In responding to inquiries regarding anti-Korean sentiment and affinity towards Korea, Colin perhaps, to some extent, consciously or subconsciously conveyed his disdain or negative sentiments towards China. He remarked,

> I want to do something that people will copy [refers to programme making], instead of copying from others [refers to China, he mentioned earlier that China often copies Korean programmes], because you can have the right to speak [...] I believe Koreans should be very proud of this. In this aspect, they are always ahead. Later, it seems that the Japanese participated in Produce101[Korean Show].
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, 2 June 2021)

Both Ada and Colin reveal a sense of cultural superiority towards China. They both perceive Chinese television programmes as lacking in creativity, primarily emulating Korean productions. Additionally, Colin employs Chinese plagiarism as a case study to underscore his goal as a television professional, thereby implicitly advocating for the professionalism expected within the television industry. Concurrently, he reveals his envy and admiration for the Korean television production landscape and its elevation of the television industry's status in East Asia. The identity of Colin is made visible and recognisable in two distinct facets of who he is and what he is doing. His anti-Korean sentiments, representing the enemy other, clashed with his aspiration (the ideal other) to produce a show akin to the 'successful' *Running Man*, what he called an 'Asian phenomenal show' in the previous extract. Throughout the conflict, his anti-Korean sentiment gradually dissipated, leaving behind an aspiration to be emulated akin to the director of *Running Man*.

Thus, akin to the discussion above, Taiwan perceives Korea as an adversarial other, with both countries engaged in competitive dynamics economically, athletically, and culturally,

while concurrently viewing Japan as a frontrunner. Within the backdrop of the television or cultural industry, with the burgeoning influence of the Korean Wave, this competitive stance transmutes into a sense of failure, as highlighted by Colin's earlier emphasis on 'they're better than us' and 'they are always ahead'. Moreover, the dominance of the Korean Wave and this sense of failure propelled Korea to supplant Japan as an ideal other for Taiwan, symbolising that imitating Korean programmes might signify opportunities for international reach. Television practitioners may perceive understanding and emulating Korean production formats and creative styles as avenues to garner greater influence and recognition on the global cultural stage. As Colin jokingly remarked, 'the whole of Asia has been ruined by Koreans,' symbolising the influence of Korean programmes on production practices across Asia, further suggesting that the Korean Wave has an international, or rather, trans-Asian influence that extends beyond Asia.

> The deployment of 20 or 30 camera for a reality show, I find it quite baffling, and it's all ruined by Koreans [laughs], I feel like the whole of Asia has been ruined by Koreans [laughs]. […] [The Korean Wave is] the second Asian culture after Japan that could possibly go international. I think that's it because honestly, neither Taiwan nor China has the potential to go international.
>
> (Freelance Director Colin, 2 June 2021)

Drawing upon Ahn's perspective (2019), which utilises the concept of 'imagination' to stress the relationship between Taiwan and the countries around it, as it manifests respondents' perceptions of the constantly shifting landscape and interrelations, and how they position themselves and their countries on the imagined map. The interviews conducted by Jerry, Colin and other respondents capture the changing dynamics in the imagined relationship between Taiwan and South Korea.Their discourse, from a subjective viewpoint within the television industry, represents cultural practitioners' insights into Taiwan's shifting position within the cultural production sphere, as well as their awareness of Taiwan's international standing on the geopolitical level.

Anti-Korean sentiment should not be solely construed as hatred or aversion towards Korea; rather, it should be regarded as a complex of emotions (Ahn, 2019) and sociocultural practices (Ahmed, 2014; Yang, 2014; Ahn, 2019), involving various emotions including jealousy, inferiority, the sense of superiority, betrayal and failure.

Placing anti-Korean sentiment within the broader East Asian context, as suggested by Iwabuchi (2015), one approach to understanding the complexities of East Asian regional geopolitics is to 'consider how seemingly contradictory vectors of globalising forces such as decentering—recentering, diversifying—standardising, and transnationalising—nationalising work simultaneously and interconstitutively (P.3)', supplemented by Ahn's (2019) proposed emotional vectors: fascination-antagonism.

In short, this section offers an analysis of the complex interactions between cultural exchanges, identity formation, and geopolitical forces that have played a role in shaping Taiwan's evolving relationship with Korea and China in the television realm. First, the anti-Korean sentiment of Taiwanese practitioners within the television industry has shifted or is shifting from perceiving Korea as an 'enemy other' to an 'ideal other' for emulation and learning. This attitude change is underpinned by multifaceted factors, including the pervasive influence of the Korean Wave, geopolitical events such as the THAAD deployment, the raise of China, and complex sociocultural dynamics. Taiwanese professionals initially asserted a sense of cultural superiority over Korea, yet the popularity of Korean cultural products in Taiwan and the trilateral relationship between China, Korea, and Taiwan prompted a reassessment of this stance. While acknowledging the influence of Korean formats, practitioners grappled with tensions between imitation and innovation, emphasising the importance of maintaining their creative identity.

Furthermore, anti-Korean sentiment, characterised by emotions such as jealousy and inferiority, is not just an expression of emotions but involves the process of Taiwanese people establishing their identity within complex geopolitical relationships. This emotion is influenced by multiple factors, including geopolitical events, cultural exchanges, and Taiwan's relationships with other East Asian countries. Hence, in the Taiwanese television industry, anti-Korean sentiment should not be simply understood as mere anti-Korean discourse or emotional outbursts but rather should be seen as a reflection of media field anxieties and concerns. It is a process through which Taiwanese television practitioners establish their professional identity amidst complex geopolitical relationships, reflecting anxieties surrounding Taiwan's changing position in cultural exchanges, particularly, as the context of East Asia forms a shared media sphere (Huang, 2018). Consequently, the anxieties faced by Taiwanese workers are indeed multi-layered

and interconnected, involving not only anti-Korean and anti-China sentiments but also various impacts such as jealousy and worry.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

Against the backdrop of East Asian cultural exchange and the television industry, this project adopts a production studies framework to explore how cultural exchange and the circulation of cultural texts, products and workers shape the professional identities of Taiwanese television professionals, as well as the broader sociopolitical context in which these dynamics unfold. I primarily focus on the elements of autonomy and self-actualisation that shape professional identity because they constitute the identity of television professionals in Taiwan.

Originally conceived as a comprehensive field study involving face-to-face interviews, this research adapted to the restrictions brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic, opting for online video interviews with Taiwanese television professionals. I employed snowball sampling to overcome access issues within the media industry, which used existing relationships to facilitate participant recruitment. I set recruitment criteria, which were established to diversify the sample based on factors including age, gender, position, and work experience. In total, 22 Taiwanese television practitioners were interviewed during 2021. Conducting in-depth interviews aided in understanding the current status and challenges of Taiwanese television industry professionals, attempting to fill existing gaps in empirical research on creative labour in East Asia through the subjective experiences of industry personnel.

My interviewees articulated a clear sense of what they saw as the challenges within the Taiwanese television sector, primarily including shifting towards low-cost production strategies and increasing reliance on foreign programmes. Therefore, in analysing the data, I mainly consider two directions: the internal forces and external forces that influence practitioners in Taiwan's television industry.

7.1 Review of Research Findings

7.1.1. Internal Forces

Chapter 5 discusses how the professional identities of Taiwanese television production and practitioners are influenced by internal forces. In this section, I focus on the prioritisation or significance that my respondents gave to creative autonomy and self-

actualisation - this is something that emerged from the data. I categorised them as professional identities, institutional professionals, freelancers, and dual-career professionals in order to explore the ways that they constructed their professional identities.

The pursuit of autonomy and self-actualisation is the primary reason the individuals I interviewed entered the television industry. However, this pursuit is continually negotiated within the context of financial sustainability. Firstly, a strong theme that emerged in the data is the tension between creative aspirations and organisational expectations among institutional professionals. While institutional professionals perceive stable working conditions and the environment within television stations, their creative autonomy is often constrained by management expectations and financial considerations. They also talk about experiencing tension between aspirations and commercial demands is evident, as production companies rely on television stations for funding but face pressure to meet quality standards and profit goals. This dynamic reflects broader ideological discourses within cultural sector organisations, where the pursuit of creative autonomy often occurs against a backdrop of organisational control and efficiency. Here, professionalism can be regarded as a discourse of internal control mechanisms within television organisations. Managers employ this professionalism discourse to shape work identities and practices, emphasising responsibility and governance (Evetts, 2013). The discourse around individual enterprise and responsibility further shapes the professional identities of television professionals, emphasising conformity to organisational expectations over individual creativity.

Secondly, the prevalent separation of production and broadcasting in the Taiwanese television industry leads to an experience of significant disconnect between creative labour and the final product. This model entrusts programme production to external production companies while retaining marketing and distribution tasks within the purview of television stations. Consequently, my respondents pointed to how creative personnel within production companies may lack a comprehensive understanding of the final product throughout the production process, limiting their impact and involvement beyond creative production. This lack of understanding highlights the de-skilling of the television industry workforce, as workers may focus on completing routine tasks rather than creative work, prioritising efficiency, and goal achievement over creativity. As a result, the

separation of production and broadcasting perpetuates a sense of disconnect and de-skilling. Amongst my respondents, this way prompted some professionals to 'run away' from institutions and become freelancers to pursue self-actualisation and professional achievement.

In my field investigation, approximately half of the respondents were freelancers or had relevant experience. This observation resonates with a significant corpus of literature on creative work, especially discussions concerning its precarity and informality (Blair, 2001; Kalleberg, 2009; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010; Hope and Richards, 2015; McRobbie, 2016; Alacovska and Gill, 2019). Out of 22 interviewees, 12 were freelancers, with 4 holding full-time jobs but freelancing on the side. In discussing freelancers, I primarily focus on Ada, Colin, and Emma in this part. As mentioned in the methodology chapter (Chapter 4), while age may not be determinative, it largely correlates with the professional experience and tenure of these workers. The transition from traditional employment to freelancing is common among experienced workers in the television industry as they aspire to break free from the rigid structures of traditional workplaces and pursue greater autonomy. The informality and instability inherent in creative work can both foster and hinder workers' creative potential (Alacovska and Gill, 2019). My respondents prized the creative autonomy and a sense of self-actualisation that such work brought with it. For example, Ada and Emma spoke of facing challenges and uncertainties, including 'feast or famine' periods, yet finding meaning and satisfaction in their work. They prioritise projects that resonate with their interests and values.

Additionally, the success of freelancers often intertwines with personal goals, realising individual potential, and finding fulfilment in work. When ambitions are thwarted, the freelancers I interviewed justify their plight by either defining personal failures as market failures or convincing themselves and others that as long as they 'get by' and survive in their roles, they are successful. As Colin acknowledges, as a freelancer, his income has not significantly increased because he adopts a 'getting-by' attitude (See 5.2.2). The pressures and livelihood challenges faced by freelancers may require them to continuously demonstrate their value and survival capabilities in a competitive market, maintaining the 'get by' status. However, at the same time, the idea of 'getting by' may mask the structural issues and inequalities faced by freelancers. Moreover, freelancers often assess their success relative to their peers and use it as a benchmark for achievement. Emma compares her success to her peers who still hold assistant production roles,

emphasising her progress as a freelance director. This illustrates how reference groups and the professional environment individuals inhabit influence success.
Finally, I found that the professional identity transformation of these freelancers extends beyond professional identities to simply 'television professionals'. Ada, Emma, and Colin play multiple roles in different media fields, such as film, advertising and music field. My research demonstrates the fluidity of professional identities and roles to adapt to changing environments and experiences. Overall, the success of freelancers involves complex interactions between aspirations of creative autonomy and self-actualisation, professional achievements, and external recognition, shaping the professional identity of individuals within the television industry.

In the final part of Chapter 5, I discuss the emergence of dual-career professionals, where individuals maintain a primary occupation (typically working in traditional media organisations) while also engaging with YouTube (or other new media platforms) as a secondary or part-time job. This phenomenon reflects the trend of television professionals expanding their roles beyond traditional broadcasting and embracing new media platforms. Television director Aaron embodies this trend, managing a YouTube channel while holding a director role in a traditional television station. For him, YouTube offers the freedom to explore creativity without the constraints of client approval or managerial supervision. Transitioning to YouTube as a part-time endeavour provides professionals like Aaron with the flexibility to balance creative pursuits and financial stability. Furthermore, I use the YouTube programme 'Muyao 4 Super Playing' as an example of the transition from a traditional television professional team to a YouTube team, demonstrating the blurred boundaries between traditional and new media, as well as between professionals and amateurs. Finally, Taiwanese television professionals are increasingly embracing new platforms and expanding their roles as media professionals, which resonates with previous discussions of freelancers. This transformation reflects industry dynamics, as well as the fluidity of professional identities.

In summary, the analysis in Chapter 5 attempts to showcase the dynamics of the current Taiwanese television industry under internal powers, and to understand the changes in television practitioners' professional identity within this evolving landscape, as well as how they construct and maintain their professional identity. It demonstrates that expertise and creativity appear to be less important in the production process, compared with

standardized processes and outputs determined by organisational goals in the television institutions. The separation of production and broadcasting perpetuates a sense of disconnect between creative labour and media products, leading 'Everyone is just a small screw''. Freelancers prioritise creative autonomy despite facing market pressures, often defining success by 'getting by' in a competitive landscape. Dual career professionals embrace flexibility by balancing traditional roles with engagement in new media platforms for creative desire in order to uphold their professional identity.

7.1.2. External Forces

Since China's opening up, many Taiwanese television practitioners have ventured to China for work, primarily driven by the pursuit of ideal career paths, including better working conditions, greater creative autonomy, and self-actualisation. Chapter 6 of my thesis examines the experiences of these professionals and explores the challenges they faced in China, and how this affected their professional identity. Secondly, I situate Taiwanese television practitioners within the context of Korean cultural products entering Taiwan, examining the professional identities of Taiwanese workers under the Korean Wave phenomenon. I consider the circulation of these cultural products as part of the significant external forces that impact and shape the professional identities of cultural workers.

Primarily, within the East Asian television production landscape, Taiwanese professionals are gradually marginalised. This cannot be attributed to a single factor but rather to the intricate interplay of various factors and the complexity of these factors emerges in the stories and experiences that were shared during the research interviews. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 6 of this thesis, the dynamics of China's reliance on Taiwan and Korea in television production have shifted. Around the early 2000s, Taiwanese television practitioners were highly regarded in China, with Chinese programmes predominantly emulating Taiwanese ones during this period. From 2000 to 2008, a significant number of Taiwanese practitioners were attracted to work in China. However, with China's adoption of foreign television formats around 2012, Korean television professionals replaced Taiwanese ones in China. China rapidly accumulated professional skills through knowledge transfer from Taiwan and Korea, leading to the gradual marginalisation of Taiwanese practitioners in the East Asian television production environment. At the same time, China is gradually replacing Taiwan as the

exporter of cultural products to Mandarin-speaking audiences in other regions. In this process, Taiwanese professionals may find themselves needing to adapt and learn to maintain relevance in an ever-changing environment in order to survive in the Chinese market, potentially leading to a passive repositioning from 'educator' to 'educated'. These are complex cultural dynamics that reflect the tensions and struggles in the region and the waves of cultural influence, domination and exchange and they were powerfully articulated by my respondents.

Furthermore, this observation, drawn from my interviews, underscores how ongoing political disputes exacerbate workplace constraints and anxieties in the Taiwanese television industry. While neoliberal market-driven logic promotes equal opportunities, geopolitical tensions and the marginalisation of Taiwanese practitioners in China may hinder their ability to thrive in leadership positions or even be offered those leadership positions, affecting their professional identity and impeding their creative autonomy and self-actualisation. As emphasised by my interviewees, Taiwanese individuals are unable to hold prominent leadership positions (such as directors or producers) in productions based in China, despite performing tasks that entail leadership roles during actual work.

The multifaceted nature of professional frustration and anxiety among Taiwanese television workers emerged as a key theme in the data, and I analyse it within the framework of nationalism. The rise of China has led to a repositioning of professional roles and cultural dependencies, threatening the professional identity of Taiwanese practitioners with China's 'use and throw away' strategy, which creates anxieties and worries. These frustrations and anxieties encompass broader concerns about Taiwanese national identity and economic status, involving geopolitics dynamics. Simultaneously, this anxiety reflects Taiwanese concerns about being sidelined or rendered insignificant by China's rise, leading to a significant brain drain and potentially becoming a 'desert island'. As a result, the pursuit of greater creative autonomy, self-actualisation, and ideal career paths by Taiwanese workers in China ultimately proves to be an idealistic fantasy overshadowed by broader geopolitical realities

A second avenue of analysis in this chapter is developed anti-Korean sentiment influences practitioners' professional identities and production practices, as it may aid in understanding the professional identity of Taiwanese television professionals amidst the

influx of Korean cultural products into Taiwan. I position anti-Korean sentiment as a political tool for constructing Taiwanese nationalism among escalating geopolitical tensions. Through a broader historical and geopolitical context, I tried to examine the impact of anti-Korean sentiment on Taiwanese nationalism and identity construction. The anti-Korean sentiment stresses Taiwanese nationalism through a sense of 'us' versus 'them' consciousness and emerged consistently in the interviews. The roots of anti-Korean sentiment in Taiwan can be traced back to historical and political factors intertwined with broader geopolitical dynamics, including the severance of diplomatic ties between Korea and Taiwan in 1992 and subsequent geopolitical shifts (see Rich, 2009; Ching, 2001; Ahn, 2019). Events such as the 2010 Yang Shu-chun incident and the 2016 Tzuyu incident further intensified anti-Korean sentiment, which involves triangular relations among Korea, China, and Taiwan, especially within sports enthusiast circles and cultural entertainment competitions (Ahn, 2019). Mainstream media in Taiwan has played a significant role in reinforcing anti-Korean sentiment by negatively portraying Korea, positioning Taiwan as the victim, and my research demonstrates the salience of these sentiments amongst media professionals.

Secondly, anti-Korean sentiment also stems from aversion affect towards fans of the Korean Wave, who are often perceived as irrational and excessively enamored with Korean culture. This reflects a strategy commonly used to portray 'other' nations and cultures as inferior. This extends the previously discussed anti-Korean sentiment within the sports domain, utilising fans to associate certain negative traits (mindless, crazy) with a nation – depicting a nation with moral deficiencies (exploiting fans). Conversely, juxtaposing views of 'pro-Korean irrational fans' with 'pro-Japan rational fans' reflects a class metaphor of Orientalism. This metaphor perpetuates the stereotype of irrationality among Korean Wave fans while elevating Japanese culture as rational and superior. It reinforces hierarchical notions of culture, positioning Japan above other Asian cultures and shaping and maintaining Taiwan's sense of superiority, second only to Japan. My research demonstrates the ongoing significance of these cultural hierarchies. Taiwanese popular culture has been significantly influenced by Japanese imperialism, and Taiwan's fondness for Japanese culture and belief in its superiority can be seen as a form of 'postcolonial sentiment'. This sentiment reflects the legacies of colonialism and imperialism, with the belief in the superiority of Japanese culture internalised by the Taiwanese, contributing to a sense of cultural identity and belonging while perpetuating

colonial attitudes towards other Asian cultures, thus entailing complex entanglements with Korea.

In the final part of Chapter 6, anti-Korean sentiment should not be simplistically understood as mere anti-Korean discourse or emotional outbursts, but rather as a reflection of media field anxieties and concerns for television workers. It mirrors anxieties surrounding Taiwan's changing position in cultural exchanges. Taiwan's cultural superiority has been challenged by Korea's economic growth and the rise of the Korean Wave, weakening Taiwan's position as a central cultural exporter in East Asia and gradually diminishing anti-Korean sentiment. The examination of Taiwanese sentiments towards Korea in my research unveils a complicated trajectory characterised by a transition from viewing Korea as an 'enemy other' to an 'ideal other' for emulation and learning within the television industry. This evolution reflects the interplay of various factors, including the influence of the Korean Wave, shifting geopolitical dynamics, and perceptions of cultural superiority, especially, the geopolitical impact of the THAAD incident in 2016. In addition, the discourse surrounding cultural superiority dynamics, as shared by my respondents, stresses perceptions of Taiwan's creative prowess in Korea and China. Some interviewees' assertion regarding mainland China's propensity for emulation rather than innovation highlights a sense of disdain towards Chinese television production practices, although Taiwanese workers are gradually marginalised in the Chinese television market. On the contrary, some respondents' admiration for the Korean television production landscape and their aspiration to produce content that garners international recognition illustrates the shifting dynamics of cultural capital within East Asia. and Korea has become as an 'ideal other' for Taiwanese television workers. Therefore, the anxieties faced by Taiwanese workers are indeed multi-layered and interconnected, encompassing not only anti-Korean and anti-China sentiments but also various effects such as jealousy and worry. Moreover, the professional identity of Taiwanese television professionals is fluid and constantly changing.

Chapter 6 explores the external dynamics shaping the Taiwanese television industry, revealing the complexities of identity work amidst geopolitical dynamics. It demonstrates that in the context of China's 'use and discard' economic prioritisation, Taiwanese television creative professionals find themselves increasingly marginalised in the China television market because of the replacement of Korean television workers, experiencing

a sense of ‘they don’t need Taiwanese anymore. Political tensions between Taiwan and China exacerbate constraints and anxieties regarding creative autonomy and workplace dynamics. The anti-Korean sentiment among Taiwanese television workers weakens amidst geopolitical shifts, gradually transforming Korea into an emulation of the ‘ideal other’, reflecting broader cultural hierarchies and evolving.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the examination of both internal and external forces shaping the Taiwanese television industry provides a useful window into understanding the complex dynamics within the industry. Internally, the pursuit of creative autonomy and self-actualisation among television practitioners is often constrained by organisational expectations and financial considerations. The separation of production and broadcasting further exacerbates this disconnect, limiting the impact of creative personnel within production companies. Freelancers recognise the limitations of traditional employment structures and work in an environment defined by uncertainty, precariousness and personal aspirations, where success is measured against individual standards and professional fluidity is embraced as a means of adaptation. Additionally, the emergence of dual-career professionals reflects an industry in transition, with professionals expanding their roles beyond traditional broadcasting to embrace new media platforms. Externally, the marginalisation of Taiwanese professionals within the East Asian television production landscape reflects shifts in China’s reliance on Taiwan and Korea, leading to geopolitical tensions and challenges to professional identity. Anti-Korean sentiment, influenced by historical, political, and cultural factors, serves as both a response to Taiwan’s anxieties about international marginalisation and a tool for constructing Taiwanese nationalism. These external forces intertwine with internal dynamics, resulting in complex interactions that shape the professional identity and experiences of Taiwanese television practitioners. As Taiwan navigates its role within the East Asian cultural landscape, the discourse surrounding cultural exchanges and identity dynamics remains a site of ongoing negotiation and transformation.

Through examining the work experiences of Taiwanese professionals, I aim to comprehend the influence of geopolitical tensions on their participation in the East Asian television production sphere and how this involvement shapes their professional identities. The anti-Korean sentiment experienced by them should be contextualised within broader

geopolitical relations, encompassing complex historical backgrounds, geopolitical dynamics, Taiwan's national identity, and the competitive landscape of the media industry. Taiwan's anti-Korean sentiment effectively constructs Korea as the 'other,' a common adversary necessary to overcome for external validation. This process serves to restore the self-esteem and maintain the professional identity of industry personnel. However, amidst the proliferation of the Korean Wave and broader geopolitical influences, Taiwanese professionals find themselves marginalised when competing with Korean counterparts in the Chinese television market. As the restoration of professional identity relies on the construction rather than elimination (defeating the enemy), feelings of self-esteem and previously shaped professional identity remain unrecovered. The intertwining of professional and national identity anxieties stresses the ongoing creer crisis faced by Taiwanese television creators. While research on creative work is burgeoning, existing studies predominantly originate from Western contexts, leaving a relative dearth of empirical research in the Asian context. Therefore, the primary contribution of this study lies in bridging this gap in empirical research on creative work in East Asia.

7.2 Limitations and Suggestions

7.2.1. Limitations of the Study

While this project has explored the dynamics shaping the Taiwanese television industry and the professional identity of industry personnel, it needs to acknowledge potential limitations. Firstly, as mentioned in the methodology chapter, the shift from face-to-face interviews to online interviews may introduce challenges. This adjustment may lead to difficulties in capturing non-verbal expressions, such as facial cues and body language, limiting the depth of emotional understanding. Additionally, some interviewees may choose not to show their faces, further constraining the ability to interpret non-verbal cues. Therefore, in the analysis phase, greater emphasis is placed on language-based analysis rather than focusing on non-verbal cues. Despite efforts to address these issues through pre-testing and guidelines, connectivity problems and device malfunctions may occasionally interfere with the interviews. Moreover, the shift from office settings to participants' homes may increase the likelihood of interruptions and distractions, as observed when participants attend to familial responsibilities during interviews. While

proactive measures, such as reminding participants to choose quiet rooms at home, are implemented to ensure a conducive environment, some situations may remain unavoidable, such as instances where young children cry and seek their mothers' attention during interviews.

Secondly, in my original plan, I intended to investigate the influence of Korean practitioners on Taiwanese counterparts through the lens of production and circulation practices, combining field observations and interviews for specific insights and comparisons. However, the project was impeded by constraints imposed by the pandemic. During the interview process, I found that gaining a comprehensive understanding of production practices solely through respondents' subjective experience was challenging due to the complex media working environment. As Deuze (2009) highlights, media workers grappled with ever-changing relational ties, demands, and pressures, rendering both individuals and organisations unable to exercise complete control over cultural production. Furthermore, the impact of technological and organisational arrangements on media practitioners might have influenced and shaped the idiosyncratic habits of individual media practitioners (Deuze , 2009). This complexity underlined the difficulty of fully grasping production practices solely through interviews with media workers. Consequently, these challenges prompted a adjust of my research focus.

Finally, although this project covers both internal and external forces shaping the industry, certain aspects may be overlooked or underexplored. For example, the impact of regulatory policies on television production practices warrants investigation. Policies can significantly influence the cultural industry, particularly concerning phenomena such as the Korean Wave. Some studies (e.g., Kwon and Kim, 2014; Wang , 2015) and the perspectives of some interviewees suggest that the success of the Korean Wave is partly attributed to Korean government policies and support. Therefore, future research could explore deeper into the regulatory landscape's influence on television production dynamics in Taiwan.

7.2.2. Suggestions for Future Research

Future research in the Taiwanese television industry may benefit from exploring the intersection of media convergence and production studies. This suggestion is based on

some intriguing perspectives gathered from interviews, yet it was not incorporated into this project.

Firstly, advancements in media convergence pose intriguing questions regarding the impact on television content production and distribution in Taiwan. Building on the experiences of respondents like Aaron, who manages a YouTube channel alongside his traditional television director role, may further explore how media convergence trends are reshaping industry practices and how the trend reshaping the professional identity of Television professionals. Media democratisation allows both professionals and amateurs to participate in content creation, potentially leading to a redefinition of professional identities within the television industry, especially in the small-scale market of Taiwan. The democratisation of media platforms, as exemplified by YouTube, blurs the boundaries between professionals and amateurs, and thus it may be valuable to reevaluation of professional identities within this evolving landscape.

Additionally, the insights from Producer Frank regarding the impact of YouTube on the financial structure of the Taiwanese television industry warrant further investigation. The emergence of YouTube as a viable platform for content dissemination has prompted shifts in funding structures in the Taiwanese television industry. According to Frank, many smaller production companies transform to YouTube due to lower production budgets, while larger companies may attempt to attract investments from international streaming platforms such as Netflix and Disney Plus for gaining larger budget. However, mid-scale production companies face new challenges and career crises as a result of the proliferation of YouTube because they are hard to survive in such kind of environment. I believe this perspective presents an avenue for continued exploration and expansion in understanding the economic dynamics of the Taiwanese television industry.

Finally, I hope that it will throw some light on several issues or at the very least pave the way for new research projects which will contribute to empirical research in the Taiwanese television industry.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Participant Information Sheet

Participant information sheet
研究計畫參與訊息表

South Korean Reality Shows and Local Labour Practices across inter-Asian Cultural Flow: the Case Study of Taiwanese Media Workers

My name is Yi-Fang, Chen. I am a PhD student at Lancaster University and I would like to invite you to take part in a research study about: The influence of Korean reality shows on Taiwanese media workers.
我叫陳逸芳，目前正在蘭卡斯特大學就讀博士課程，我想邀請您參與我的研究，關於“韓國實境節目的對台灣媒體工作者的影響“之研究。

Please take time to read the following information carefully before you decide whether or not you wish to take part.
在你決定是否參與之前，請花時間仔細閱讀下面訊息。

What is the study about? **這項研究跟什麼有關？**	The aim of this research is to understand the domestic/cross-national work experience of Taiwanese TV workers. Also, this study attempts to know your views on the import of Korean reality shows into Taiwan for understanding the cultural flow of Korean reality shows in Asia. Also, I want to know if these Korean shows have an impact on your work or lives. 這項研究的目的是了解台灣電視工作者的國內/跨國工作經驗。本研究試圖了解您對將韓國實境節目輸入台灣的看法，用以了解韓國實境節目在亞洲的文化流向。以及，這些韓國節目的輸入在您的工作或是生活上是否有產生影響。
What will I be asked to do if I take part? **如果參加，我將要做什麼？**	If you decided to take part, this would involve the following: about 30 to 60 minutes one-on-one interviews. 1.The interview questions are mainly about your views on Korean programs, your own work experience, etc. 2.The whole interview will be recorded. 3.If you have any questions that make you feel uncomfortable and do not want to answer, you can refuse to answer. 4. All interviewees will be anonymised, and personal identifying characteristics (e.g. first name and company name) will be deleted. Any part of the interview recording with personal identifying characteristics will also be edited and removed. 5. Your participation is voluntary. 如果您決定參加，將涉及約三十到六十分鐘的一對一訪談。 1.訪談問題主要關於您對於韓國節目的看法、自身的工作經驗等等。 2.訪談全程將會進行錄音。 3.若有任何問題讓你感到不舒服而不想回答，可以拒絕回答。 4.所有受訪者都將被匿名，蒐集資料中若有個人識別特徵例如：名字和公司名稱等將被刪除。 另外，採訪錄音中若涉及帶有個人識別特徵的任何部分也將被編輯和刪除。

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	5. 您的參與是自願的。
What if I change my mind? **如果我改變主意**	If you change your mind, you are free to withdraw at any time during your participation in this study. If you want to withdraw, please let me know, and I will extract any ideas or information (=data) you contributed to the study and destroy them. Although all interviews are in a one-to-one format, for analysis purposes, it is difficult and often impossible to take out data from one specific participant when this has already been anonymised or pooled together with other people's data. Therefore, you can only withdraw up to 2 weeks after taking part in the interview. 如果您改變主意，則可以隨時退出本研究。 如果您想退出，請讓我知道，我將提取您為研究貢獻的任何想法或信息（=數據）並將其銷毀。 雖然所有採訪皆是一對一的形式，但是，為了以便進行分析，如果已經將您的數據與其他人的數據匿名或匯集在一起，則很難並分辨並銷毀。 因此，您只能在參加面試後的2週內退出。
What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part? **可能的不利因素和風險是什麼？**	It is unlikely that there will be any major disadvantages to taking part. You only need to spend about 30 to 60 minutes. During the interview, if you have any psychological or physical discomfort, the interview can be suspended at any time. 參與訪談不太有任何不利之處。 您只需要花費大約三十到六十分鐘。在訪談過程中，若您有任何心理或生理上的不適，訪談可以隨時暫停。
Will my data be identifiable? **我的數據可被辨識嗎？**	After the interview, … 1.Only I, the researcher conducting this study will have access to the ideas you share with me. 2. I will keep all personal information about you (e.g. your name and other information about you that can identify you) confidential, that is I will not share it with others. 3.I will remove any personal information from the written record of your contribution. All reasonable steps will be taken to protect the anonymity of the participants involved in this project. 4.What other people see is data that has been anonymised and the specific individual cannot be identified from the data. 訪談之後，… 1.只有我（進行這項研究的研究人員）才能訪問您與我分享的想法。 2.我將對您的所有個人信息（例如您的姓名和可以識別您的其他信息）保密，即不會與他人共享。 3.我將從您的書面記錄中刪除任何個人信息。將採取所有合理的步驟來保護參與此項目的參與者的匿名性。 4.其他人看到的是匿名數據，無法從數據中識別出特定個人。
How will I use the information you have shared with us and what will happen to the results of the research study?	I will use the information you have shared with me only in the following ways: 1.I will use it for research purposes only. This means no commercial use. This will include my PhD thesis and other publications (e.g. journal articles). I may also present the results of my study at academic conferences. 2.When writing up the findings from this study, I would like to reproduce some of the views and ideas you shared with me. I will only use anonymised quotes (e.g.

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	5. 您的參與是自願的。
What if I change my mind? **如果我改變主意**	If you change your mind, you are free to withdraw at any time during your participation in this study. If you want to withdraw, please let me know, and I will extract any ideas or information (=data) you contributed to the study and destroy them. Although all interviews are in a one-to-one format, for analysis purposes, it is difficult and often impossible to take out data from one specific participant when this has already been anonymised or pooled together with other people's data. Therefore, you can only withdraw up to 2 weeks after taking part in the interview. 如果您改變主意，則可以隨時退出本研究。 如果您想退出，請讓我知道，我將提取您為研究貢獻的任何想法或信息（=數據）並將其銷毀。 雖然所有採訪皆是一對一的形式，但是，為了以便進行分析，如果已經將您的數據與其他人的數據匿名或匯集在一起，則很難並分辨並銷毀。 因此，您只能在參加面試後的2週內退出。
What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part? **可能的不利因素和風險是什麼？**	It is unlikely that there will be any major disadvantages to taking part. You only need to spend about 30 to 60 minutes. During the interview, if you have any psychological or physical discomfort, the interview can be suspended at any time. 參與訪談不太有任何不利之處。 您只需要花費大約三十到六十分鐘。在訪談過程中，若您有任何心理或生理上的不適，訪談可以隨時暫停。
Will my data be identifiable? **我的數據可被辨識嗎？**	After the interview, … 1.Only I, the researcher conducting this study will have access to the ideas you share with me. 2. I will keep all personal information about you (e.g. your name and other information about you that can identify you) confidential, that is I will not share it with others. 3.I will remove any personal information from the written record of your contribution. All reasonable steps will be taken to protect the anonymity of the participants involved in this project. 4.What other people see is data that has been anonymised and the specific individual cannot be identified from the data. 訪談之後，… 1.只有我（進行這項研究的研究人員）才能訪問您與我分享的想法。 2.我將對您的所有個人信息（例如您的姓名和可以識別您的其他信息）保密，即不會與他人共享。 3.我將從您的書面記錄中刪除任何個人信息。將採取所有合理的步驟來保護參與此項目的參與者的匿名性。 4.其他人看到的是匿名數據，無法從數據中識別出特定個人。
How will I use the information you have shared with us and what will happen to the results of the research study?	I will use the information you have shared with me only in the following ways: 1.I will use it for research purposes only. This means no commercial use. This will include my PhD thesis and other publications (e.g. journal articles). I may also present the results of my study at academic conferences. 2.When writing up the findings from this study, I would like to reproduce some of the views and ideas you shared with me. I will only use anonymised quotes (e.g.

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這項研究已得到藝術、社會科學和蘭卡斯特管理學院研究倫理委員會的審查和批准。更進一步關於蘭卡斯特大學如何保護以研究目的為主的個人資料和你的權利，請訪問我們的網站頁面：
www.lancaster.ac.uk/research/data-protection

Thank you for considering your participation in this project. 感謝您考慮參與此研究。

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Appendix 2 Consent Form

CONSENT FORM
知情同意書

Lancaster University

Project Title:
South Korean Reality Shows and Local Labour Practices across inter-Asian Cultural Flow: the Case Study of Taiwanese Media Workers

Name of Researchers: Yi-Fang Chen
Email: y.chen90@lancaster.ac.uk

Please tick each box 請勾選每一個欄位

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily 我確認我已經閱讀並了解研究的資訊表。我有機會考慮這些資訊，提出問題並得到滿意的回覆。	☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary. If the participant withdraws after (not within) 2 weeks, usually my data cannot be removed." 我了解我的參與是自願的。如果我沒有並且在參加此研究(訪談)後的兩週內退出，我的數據將無法被刪除。	☐
3. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, academic articles, publications or presentations by the researcher/s, but my personal information will not be included and all reasonable steps will be taken to protect the anonymity of the participants involved in this project. NOTE: Anonymised data will be offered to the Lancaster University research data repository and will be made available to genuine research for re-use (secondary analysis). 我了解研究人員可能會在之後的報告、學術文章、出版物或是演講中使用我提供的任何資訊，但是我的個人資訊將不被包括在內，並且將採取所有合理的措施來保護受訪者的匿名性。 注意：匿名的資料將提供給蘭卡斯特大學研究資料庫，並提供給其他未來研究做二次使用。	☐
4. All collected data is for academic research only and will not be influenced by any commercial behaviour such as sale or transaction. 所有蒐集的資料僅用於學術研究，不會有任何出售、交易等商業行為。	☐
5. I understand that my name/my organisation's name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentation without my consent. 我了解未經過我的同意，我的名字／我的組織名字不會出現在任何報告、文章或是簡報中。	☐
6. I understand that all interviews are one-to-one. 我了解所有的訪談都是一對一。	☐
7. I understand that any interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed and that data will be protected on encrypted devices and kept secure. 我了解所有的採訪將會進行錄音與撰寫成錄音稿，這些資料將會被加密的設備所保護。	☐
8. I understand that these data will be saved at least three years after the submission of thesis. 我了解這些數據將在論文提交後至少保存三年。	☐
9. I agree to take part in the above study. 我同意上述並參與研究。	☐

_____ _____ _____
Name of Participant Date Signature

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.
我確認參與者有機會詢問跟研究有關的問題，並且參與者提出的所有問題都已經盡我所能給予正確地回答。 我確認沒有強迫參與者的同意，並且該同意是自由且自願地。

Signature of Researcher /person taking the consent_____ **Date** _____ Day/month/year

One copy of this form will be given to the participant and the original kept in the files of the researcher at Lancaster University.
該表格的一份副本將提供給參與者，並將原件保存在蘭開斯特大學研究人員的檔案中。

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Aooendix 3 Programme Name Comparison Table

English Name	Original Name	Translation or Name in Taiwan
Winter Sonata	겨울연가	冬季戀歌
Dae Jang Geum	대장금	大長今
Fireworks	불꽃	火花
Autumn in My Heart	가을 동화	藍色生死戀
Daddy! Where Shall We Go?	아빠! 어디가?	爸爸去哪儿
Running Man	런닝맨/ Running Man	Running Man
Mr. Player		綜藝玩很大
Three Piglets		阮三个
Grandpas Over Flowers	꽃보다 할배	花漾爺爺

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