

Antecedents of Interaction with Media Personae: An Extended Model of Live Streaming Setting

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Abstract: This study investigates the relationship between audiences' interactive behavior intention and motives in a live streaming setting with the Confucian cultural background, using a conceptual model of analysis that incorporates aspects of emotional energy, group identity and peer influence. The findings indicate that interaction rituals as subjective norms play an important role in interaction intention. Emotional energy, group identity, external motives and peer influence motivate audiences to have more interactions. Adopting a grounded theory approach, this study provides new theoretical implications. For the question whether the interaction ritual theory still proves individuals' need of face-to-face communication, this study includes different answers in live streaming setting. The findings demonstrate that audiences do not have to look for face-to-face communication because of direct communication, immediate feedback, group identity and distinct membership.

Keywords: Intention ritual, emotional energy, social norm, external motive

1. Introduction

With the development of social media, the impact of media on viewers has substantially increased. Studies have quickly expanded beyond the traditional media and look upon how media audiences construct relations with media personae in new media. Media personae are defined as personalities with whom audiences relate media figures, such as famous political leaders, celebrities, artists and public idols. (Horton & Wohl, 1956; House, 2006). Media personae represent not only real people but also fictional characters that audiences emotionally and psychologically attach to (Chia & Poo, 2009; Head, 2003).

Empowered by the widespread use of the Internet, live streaming has become very popular in recent years as one new type of social media. A great number of broadcasts have grown quickly and diversified (Zhao, Chen, Cheng & Wang, 2018). Through the Internet, a group of broadcasters is known as live streamers and other individuals act as viewers (Pires & Simon, 2015). The prior study suggests that any fictional character or created personality in the media might be regarded as a persona (Brown, 2015). In this study, the focused media personae are the non-professional live broadcasters. They construct their media personalities through various performances such as eating, painting, dancing, cooking, traveling and playing video games (Recktenwald, 2017).

Not a few studies have explored psychological and emotional involvement in recent years (e.g. Nabi & Wirth, 2008; Klimmt & Vorderer, 2003). Broadly, involvement refers to the degree of an individual's psychological response to a persona or mediated information (Brown, 2015).

Media consumers interact with personae during and after media use (Ruggiero, 2000). Notably, there are many complementary interactions between broadcasters and viewers through a live streaming platform (Scheibe, Fietkiewicz & Stock, 2016), such as audiences sending live streamers comments and virtual gifts during the broadcasting time (Bründl & Hess, 2016).

The grounded theory approach (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) was used in this study. The grounded approach helps researchers to develop or discover a new theory based on the opinions of interviewees (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this study, the grounded theory approach enabled the author to explore motivational factors, attitude and social norms in audiences' involved behaviors.

2. Social Context

In China, *Guanxi* is one of the most significant cultural concepts explaining personal relations. Chinese people depend on traditional Confucian cultural values to define different relationships, such as relations between government and citizens, parents and children, husband and wife, and siblings and friends (Ji, 2017). Based on distant and proximate relations, individuals adopt different ritual behaviors. Chinese people would like to express ritual behaviors to their family members and close friends who are named as *guanxi*. Notably, people do not expect to get material or capital gain back for close *guanxi* (Lin, 2018). For moderate relations, Chinese people prefer to show a high level of ritual behaviors and want to exchange information and social resources in return. In comparison to close and moderate relations, people seldom show their ritual behavior to distant relations (Ji, 2017).

Apparently, the activities of live streaming viewers do not match the traditional values. According to the Chinese *guanxi* definition, online broadcasters belong to the distant relations. However, viewers express their high level ritual behaviors to live streamers, such as sending gifts, writing positive comments and maintaining broadcasters' images. Given the mismatched situation, it is meaningful to explore how social and cultural changes influence young people's ritual behaviors in China.

Due to globalization, more western values are endorsed among Chinese societies (Chan & Cheng, 2002). The cultural shift also has impacts on Chinese interpersonal relations. According to Ye (2004), interpersonal communication plays a significant role in Chinese social interactions. Traditional values guide people to treat strangers and acquaintances with different attitudes (Ye, 2004). However, the young generation breaks the old traditions, ignores social distance, and demonstrates their ritual behaviors towards online strangers.

3. Theoretical Framework

There are various reasons that lead to individuals' involvement. Based on Fishbein and Ajzen's research (1975), a great number of studies examine people's intentions to engage in one behavior. Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) conceptualizes the whole process of individuals' assessment of alternative behaviors. Prior studies show that subjective norms and attitudes significantly predict intentions (Fekadu & Kraft, 2001; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, 2005). People perform one behavior depending on their consideration of potential results especially desirable

outcomes. Individuals think over their belief about behaviors and outcomes, and gradually generate intention of action (Weber, Martin & Corrigan, 2006).

In this study, TRA is applied to explore how live streaming audiences' attitudes and subjective norms influence interactive behaviors. Specifically, this study mainly focuses on motivating factors that lead to a positive attitude towards interacting behaviors. As mentioned above, it derives attitude from personal, appropriate behavior belief and consequence assessment (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2005). In terms of subjective norm, TRA suggests that individuals may consider other people's perceptions of behavior and form their subjective norm (Gross, Whitbred, Skalski & Liu, 2013). Towards one behavior, individuals form their attitudes based on their own belief and consequence evaluation, and gain the subjective norm derived from the other person's opinions and traditions. Both attitudes and subjective norms lead to behavioral intention (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2005; Gross, Whitbred, Skalski & Liu, 2013).

Taking the theoretical framework into account, the following research questions are raised:

- RQ1: What are the general media use patterns of live streaming audiences?
- RQ2: What subjective norms may influence Chinese live streaming audiences' interactive behaviors?
- RQ3: What factors concerning consequences evaluation may influence Chinese live streaming audiences' interactive behaviors?
- RQ4: What factors concerning behavior belief may influence Chinese live streaming audiences' interactive behaviors?

4. Method

4.1. Sampling

This study used a purposive sampling method and attempted to recruit the sample of live streaming audiences who appeared to represent experienced viewers. Specifically, they spent relatively much time in watching live broadcasting and had rich involvement experiences. Finally, two focus groups and six in-depth interviews were conducted in 2018. A moderator directed the focus groups and two trained interviewers conducted deep interviews, respectively. Every focus group comprised five participants and continued for about two hours. Each deep interview lasted around 1 hour.

A total of 16 live streaming viewers were recruited and the statistics of all samples were summarized in Table 1. Among them, males made up 69% while females were the remaining 31%. All interviewees were 20-24 years old and well-educated (college level). All group discussions and interviews were executed in Chinese. A PhD holder translated the questionnaire into the Chinese version and translated the transcript into English. All interviews were recorded and transcribed in full and verbatim.

Table 1. Sample Statistics

Characteristics of Samples		Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	11	69%
	Female	5	31%
Age	18-24	16	100%
	25-30	0	0%
Vocation	College Student	16	100%
	Employee	0	0%
Grade	Year Two	11	69%
	Year Three	3	19%
	Year Four	2	12%
Marital Status	Unmarried	16	100%
	Married	0	0%

4.2. Interviewing, Coding, and Analyzing

This study developed one interview guideline and an informed consent form. An interview protocol was developed from a prior study (Boyce & Neale, 2006) to guide the administration and accomplishment of all the interviews. There were corresponding illustrations following each question to guide follow-up questions, guarantee consistency between interviews, and ensure the reliability of the findings. All interviews used a predetermined and open-ended questionnaire which addressed 20 questions. For example: “When was the first time for you to watch live broadcasting?” “What platform do you prefer to choose?” “What criteria do you adopt to select live streamers?” “Do you like to reward live streamers during broadcasting?” and “What comments do you usually give?”

The software NVivo-11 was used as a basic element for coding and analyzing in this study for this software can increase both validity and reliability (Zapata-Sepúlveda, López-Sánchez & Sánchez-Gómez, 2012).

This study used the grounded theory approach to interpret the data. As one of the fundamental qualitative research methods, the grounded approach empirically focuses on raw data and concepts with an eye to relations between concepts and enables scholars to explore new factors (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). For the grounded approach, concepts are important elements of analysis.

According to the methodology of Strauss and Corbin (1998), the initial analysis examined data and developed categories and subcategories in the open coding. In this study, all transcriptions were encoded based on gender, age, and name. Media use time, frequency, platform use, broadcast contents, watch habits, specific motivations, and personal experience, etc., were encoded. In axial coding, core categories were generated by interconnecting and regrouping the data. Core categories such as media use pattern, interaction behavior, peer influence, subjective norm, and general opinion emerged as the tightly interrelated codes. The following selective coding established the levels of abstraction and integrated core and sub-categories (Please see details in Table 2). Most categories were used in the analysis process.

Table 2. Open and Axial Coding Categories

Open Coding		Axial Coding
First Coding	Second Coding	
Watch Time		
Frequency		
Platform Use		
Broadcast Contents		
Watch Habits		
Criteria for selecting live streamers		Media Use Pattern
First Experience		
Rewarding		
Cost of Rewarding	Emotional Energetic	
etc.	Motivation	Interaction Behavior (Consequence Evaluation)
Upgrade fan's rank		
Drawing Lottery		
Comments on		
Broadcast		
Entertainment		
Increase Skills	Extrinsic Benefit	
Kill Time		
Influence from		Peer Influence
Friends		
Symbolized shared	Group identity	Subjective Norm
meanings		
Will do broadcast by		
yourself ?		General Opinion
Comments on Live		
Streaming		

5. Findings

5.1. The General Use Pattern of Live Streaming (RQ1)

Research Question 1 mainly concerned the general media use pattern of live streaming audiences. This study showed the findings from the following perspectives: time and frequency, platform, broadcast contents, watch habits, criteria for selecting live streamers and first experience.

Twitch is one of the most popular live streaming platforms in the world, especially for its video game broadcasting (Gandolfi, 2016; Zhang & Liu, 2015). The situation in China was in deep contrast with the swarmed phenomenon of Twitch. Chinese audiences had various choices, such as Inke, Changba, MP, Douyu, and Panda. They selected different platforms based on roughly the same reasons, such as low threshold, easy entering, and popularity.

According to the results, the participants showed a strong eagerness towards the use of

broadcasting platforms. Almost all interviewees began to view live streaming from high school and only one was first exposed to live streaming at college time. Most viewers usually watched live broadcasting every day, and a few participants mentioned that they did two to three times per week.

Watching habits were another interest in this study. Most respondents colorfully reported their habits.

- My roommates and I watch broadcast at a very fixed time. We like to watch during eating.
- I may watch broadcast after playing video games.
- When I am in the room, I prefer to open one broadcast as background music.

These audiences focused on different topics in their selection, such as video game, sports exercises, makeup, funny video and singing. Being asked what criteria they used for live streamers, they gave a variety of answers. For instance:

- I look at the anchor's face. If it is ugly, I may leave.
- Unless big anchors, I seldom notice their looks. I care more about the skills.
- Well, I expect anchor's appearance. If she looks good, I may join in her broadcast. Last time, I saw one anchor's eyebrows were not beautiful. Then I wouldn't watch her anymore.
- I always choose those who are far ahead in the popularity list.
- I choose anchors based on their fans' number.
- I pay attention to these anchors whom my friends or websites recommend to me.
- I care more about their topics not appearances.
- I usually look for funny and antics streamers.

Generally, they chose live streamers mainly based on popularity, number of fans, appearance and skills. Another criterion was the pursuit of a variety of novel and funny shows.

5.2. Interaction Rituals' Influence on Interactive Behaviors (RQ2)

In terms of interaction rituals, Research Question 2 tried to explore subjective norms and their influences on dynamic interaction. Being asked what interactive behaviors they often did during and after broadcasting, these participants mainly mentioned the following actions: rewarding (i.e., spending real money to buy a virtual gift and send to broadcaster), drawing a lottery, communicating with anchors and giving comments.

The follow-up question focused on the motives of the above behaviors and the interviewees replied with various answers. The interview results showed that the interactive behaviors brought emotional energetic motivation which might motivate them to have more interactions with live streamers. Specifically, audiences were encouraged to send gifts by significant symbols such as highlighted words, upgraded fan's level and special fan's card. For example:

- I try to upgrade my account so as to improve my membership level. Then, my words on

the screen will be highlighted and the anchor can see my messages. I wish to be seen by anchors.

- I may get the fan's card if I reward the anchor enough. I like this anchor and want to join his fans group. He sometimes gives benefits to his fans. I may enjoy more benefit with the card.
- I often reward one plane to anchor. The biggest gift I sent is a rocket. (Note: plane and rocket are virtual gifts which cost 100 RMB and 500 RMB, respectively. Viewers give the virtual gifts within one of their apps.)
- Yes, rewarding is a must! I like to give a lot of gifts to broadcasters especially those who do a good performance. I also enjoy seeing how the streamers try to catch audiences' attention and communicate with viewers.
- To get more rewarding to improve their rank, broadcasters sometimes use lottery to push their fans to send more gifts. As a faithful fan, I always actively respond to their requirement.
- I often reward anchors to upgrade my membership and account level.

The platform divided audiences into different levels based on their expenditure and gift quantity. Viewers spent much money in rewarding and drawing lottery to increase their account level, get fans' group membership and gain the broadcaster's attention. Notably, beyond the plain benefit, they looked for more deep emotional happiness from the online communication with live streamers.

Considering the issue of communication, respondents were asked to talk about their experiences such as comments, feelings and so on. Most interviewees expressed the characteristics of protecting their media persona's image.

- Some people usually brush screen crazily and try to get anchor's notice. In my case, I prefer to support my favored anchor especially when he or she feels sad.
- When playing video game, I may give positive comments, and say something funny if the anchor does a good job.
- I often give simple comments on broadcast, for example, three smile faces. The anchors also wish to see such comments. This will make them feel that they are popular.
- If some people say bad words towards the anchor, I will call them to get out. As a faithful fan, I would like to support my favorite anchor.
- I often follow up the group opinion and send good comments on the broadcast.
- Yes, the anchor will feel sad if no fans speak during his or her performance.

During the communication process, most respondents talked more about their emotional echo with live streamers. For instance:

- Some broadcasts let me feel relaxed and some touch my heart.
- I feel close with those broadcasters who have the same experiences as mine. For some, I sympathize with them.
- We all have different backgrounds. However, when we meet online and listen to the

broadcaster's opinions, they give me a different understanding of social events. It is very good!

- Our knowledge is asymmetrical. For social issues, we may get to know more about other people's opinions and get better understanding.

According to the respondents' opinions, they thought the live streaming platform offered one opportunity for these non-professional live broadcasters and common audiences to work together. From the social rank aspect, both presenters and viewers were all common people and there was not a huge gap between them. From the communication aspect, they talked online and exchanged ideas because of the similar interest. Using one respondent's words, it was "more easy to accept and feel more closely". Different people formed groups based on their taste and interest. The group identity pushed them to have more interactive behaviors and online communications.

5.3. Motivational Factors of Interactive Behaviors (RQ3)

Research Question 3 focused on how motivational factors, concerning consequences evaluation, affect interactive behaviors. Among different motivations, one of the influential factors was extrinsic motives including financial and non-financial rewards. As respondents reported, money and gifts were significant motivational factors for both broadcasters and audiences.

- The more gifts I send, the higher rank I may improve for my account. Moreover, I will get more audiences' benefits.
- In my case, there are not many entertainments in my life. It is a pleasure for me to watch other people play video games online.

Non-financial rewards and self-esteem were also extrinsic motives for these audiences. Some respondents mentioned that they wanted to attract the attention of anchors. One interviewee talked frankly that he wished to be distinct through interactions.

- I'm happy to send gifts. My Barrage will be distinct from other viewers' if my account level is high enough.

Another important extrinsic motivation was a social benefit. These respondents were encouraged to have more interactions with different mindsets (see the following examples). Reviewing the transcript, it was obvious to see the keyword "communication".

- I want to communicate with other people when I see broadcast.
- During the online communication, some anchors open my mind. They have a different understanding of the hot topics.
- I sometimes speak boldly in defense of justice. You know, I don't like that some people scold anchors without reasons.
- I can learn how to play video games well during watching and discussion process.

In a social network of performers and audiences, viewers also could release their emotions and had a broad communication through sharing.

Killing time was another influential motivation in this study. A few respondents mentioned that they interacted with broadcasters only because they felt bored.

- When I feel bored, I may watch a live broadcast or a movie.
- I just flip it casually without any purpose.
- I think that watching live streaming is a product of boredom. I might say that there are many people who feel as bored as I am.

5.4. Peer Influence on Interactive Behaviors (RQ4)

Research Question 4 concentrated on the peer (behavior belief factor) and its influence on interacting behaviors. According to prior studies (e.g., Davies & Davis, 2013), peers' behaviors may deeply affect young people. Emotionally, individuals would like to conform to friends' influence (McCord et al., 2001). During the interviews, most interviewees admitted that they started to watch live streaming due to their friends' recommendations.

- I liked to play a video game in my high school. One classmate told me that there was a live broadcasting in which the presenter introduced the game skills.
- I knew live broadcasting from my friends' recommendation.
- I didn't know live broadcast until I went to college. There were four students in the dormitory and they all watched live broadcasting. I did too.
- I only pay attention to the broadcaster recommended by my friends or the website. Otherwise, I cannot know them at all.
- When I see that some of my classmates earn a lot of money through live broadcasting, I want to know more about it.
- When I saw my friends using live streaming platforms, I followed and tried them too.

6. Literature Review and Theoretical Model Development

6.1. Interaction Rituals

Interaction ritual theory emphasizes the feelings of confidence or emotional energy developed from exchanging (Collins, 2004). Prior studies derive four emotion labels as main emotions representing elements of human beings, such as aversion-fear, disappointment-sadness, assertion-anger and satisfaction-happiness (Turner, 2007). These primary emotions show together with different intensities, for example, content with low intensity, enjoyment with medium intensity and joy with high intensity. Emotions play an important role in setting up and strengthening social bonds and networks between individuals and fostering solidarity across groups (Turner, 2007).

Emotional Energy (EE) is an outcome of ritualistic interactions. As a durable emotion, it may evoke confidence, strength, enthusiasm and behavioral initiatives (Collins, 2004). Turner

(1969) regards it as a sense of group cohesion where participants interact as if there is no distinction between them. Emotional energy encourages individuals to look for similar rituals and infuse the dominant group symbols with meaning (Brown, 2011). Also, emotional energy resists individualistic and self-centered goals (Belk, Wallendorf & Sherry, 1989)

Emotional energy motivates individuals' behaviors in different situations (Collins, 2004). Communication processes and interacting with significant symbols are central to how people internalize social conventions and construct special meanings (Mead, 1934). Rituals not only reflect group identity but also create symbolized shared meanings with all ritual participants (Driver, 1991). Interaction rituals circulate symbols and emotions at three levels. At first, symbols are generated by a group. Within this level, symbols are supposed to signify the group and are tagged with the common mood shared by the interactive participants. Second, individuals transport symbols generated at the first level to other occasions and share with other people. Third, people may practice and circulate the symbols alone (Collins, 2004). The audience is anyone involving in the interaction and can include a large formal gathering or a small group of two individuals with a common focus of attention.

6.2. Motivational Factors

Considering motivational influence on people's behavior, prior studies have discussed internal and external motivations (e.g. Shang, Chen & Shen, 2005). External motivation concerns consequences, such as encouragement, rewards, and recognition. People are motivated to receive encouragement, get rewards, avoid punishment and gain other people's recognition (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Individuals satisfy their desires by gaining extrinsic benefits, which refer to external rewards, self-esteem benefit, social benefit and other person's feedback (Kuo & Feng, 2013; Kankanhalli, Tan & Wei, 2005; Zhao et al., 2018). Specifically, external rewards directly link with additional gains, such as money, benefits, promotion and positive circumstances (O'Driscoll & Randall, 1999). Self-esteem benefit refers to the reputation that people gradually earn through doing certain behaviors (Zhao et al., 2018). Social benefit refers to a benefit gained from social networks and interactivity, and improvement in increasing social relationships (Zhao et al., 2018; Zhou, Jin & Fang, 2014). Feedback from other people plays an important role in an individual's social presenting, connecting and happiness (Han, Min & Lee, 2015).

In terms of live streaming audiences' motivations, external rewards positively impact achieving targets and satisfaction (Sun, Fang & Lim, 2014). Rewards also encourage live streamers to improve their performance expectancy (Zhao et al., 2018). Audiences gain material and non-materialistic rewards through interactions which lead to more intentions (Miller, Wiseman & Gomez-Mejia, 2002; Wang, Shih, Jiang & Klein, 2006). As one kind of evaluation of self-worth and one of the fundamental aspects of the human psyche (Sheldon, 2004, Weiten, 2004), self-esteem positively influences self-satisfaction and brand loyalty (Kuo & Feng, 2013). Social benefit significantly affects individuals' participation, active behavior, continual intentions and satisfaction (Yoo, Sanders & Moon, 2013; Zhang, Wang & Zhou, 2014). Seeking feedback has a positive influence on behavior (Renn & Fedor, 2001). Notably, feedback is necessary to personal efforts and behavioral effects (Miner, Smith & Bracker, 1989).

6.3. Peer Influence

Previous studies build a strong theoretical link between peer influence and behaviors (Farrell, et al., 2010; Haynie, 2002). The peer group is an important site of socialization with a sense of belonging (Adler & Adler, 1998). Peer gathering influences not only young people's social development but also their psychological and cognitive improvement as well (Ladd, 1999). Young people spend an increasing amount of time staying with peers. Because of the association with age group, the group decisions may influence the young group members (Kaur & Kaur, 2016). The group reinforces individuals' imitation of peers' behavior (Akers, 1998). The peer group spreads social information and conforms to peers' influence (Davies & Davis, 2013; Valente & Fosados, 2006). Peers impact a young person's behaviors and their reactions to others' behaviors (Farrell, Mehari, Kramer-Kuhn, Mays & Sullivan, 2015). Communication with peer groups helps to build role models and diffuse social norms (Allen et al., 2006).

It is not a simple process for peer influence where young people are passively influenced by others (Kaur & Kaur, 2016). Peers refer to the same-age young people whom individuals often face and with whom they share experiences (Farrell, Thompson & Mehar, 2017). Peers with similar interests and standing opinions attract each other and enjoy doing things together (Kaur & Kaur, 2016). Teens and their friends are very similar to each other through peer influence (McCord, Widom & Crowell, 2001; Sumter, Bokhorst, Steinberg & Westenberg, 2009). Young people will believe the messages from similar persons or groups (Caron, Godin, Otis & Lambert, 2004). Individuals may feel isolated with less social support and low peer attachment (Davies & Davis, 2013). In terms of live broadcasting, social media use closely connects with peer attachment and friendship quality (Richards, McGee, Williams, Welch & Hancox, 2010; Willoughby, 2008).

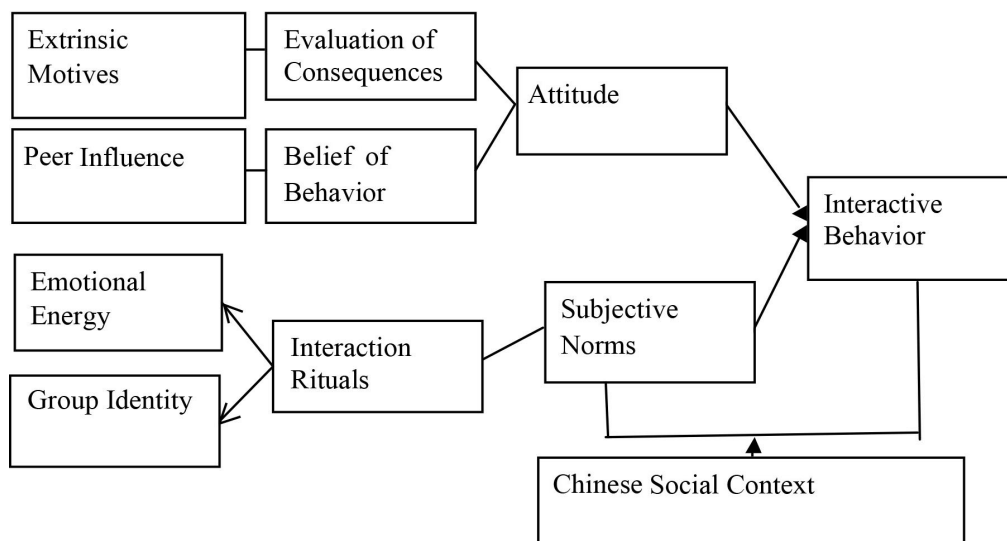


Figure 1. A Theoretical Model of Interactive Behavior and Its Antecedents

7. Conclusion and Discussion

The findings of this study suggest that audiences' interactive behaviors are encouraged by emotional energy, group identity, external motives, and peer influence. Among extrinsic motivations, both financial and non-financial rewards and social benefits significantly influence individuals' interactions. Significant symbols such as member card and highlighted barrage encourage viewers to send more gifts and have more interactive actions. The symbolized shared meaning such as personal account rank motivates audiences to be distinct from other viewers through their heavy interactions. Group identity leads them to protect their favorite anchors especially when anchors are being attacked. The interaction rituals as subjective norms play a significant role in audiences' interacting behaviors.

Besides interaction rituals and external motives, another strong motive is to kill time. These interviewees spend their boring time watching broadcasting without a special purpose. To kill time is recognized as another effective function of interactions.

7.1. Theoretical Implications

This study used a grounded theory approach to explore influential factors of interaction behaviors. Changes in traditional values provide prerequisites and shape the use pattern of social media. The theoretical model in this study develops and extends the reasoned action theory to social media use. All findings may enrich the current understanding of new media, youth, and intercultural studies.

Based on the interaction ritual theory, Collins (2004) mentions that individuals still look for face-to-face communication despite the broad use of computer technology in daily lives. Other scholars support this argument and think people have isolated feelings in online actions (Zembylas, 2008; Kwon, Han, Bang & Armstrong, 2010). According to this opinion, people feel isolated because of "a lack of direct feedback in the form of signs of attention and inattention and a lack of adjustment to the shared emotions of the group" (Bellocchi, Mills & Ritchie, 2016, p. 632). However, this study has different findings in terms of live streaming interactions between broadcasters and viewers. An individual registers in the platform and gradually may have a group identity through account upgrading and fan's membership gaining. When he or she does online actions, especially interacting behaviors, they communicate and share an opinion with fans group members and won't have such an isolated feeling. When individuals keep themselves distinct from other mass audiences through much more interactions, the anchors will notice them and may have specific personal communication. There will be direct feedback from each other. Possibly, audiences may have similar face-to-face communication online and will not continue to seek it in reality. The future study may consider exploring the possibility in greater depth.

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Appendix. Interview Instrument

1. When was the first time for you to watch live broadcasting? (你什麼時候開始接觸直播?)
2. What platform do you prefer to choose? (平時喜歡上哪個平台看直播?)
3. Why do you like these platforms? (為什麼喜歡使用這些平台?)
4. How often do you watch live streaming? (多長時間看一次直播?)
5. How long do you use live streaming platforms till now? (到目前為止使用直播平台多久了?)
6. How long do you watch live streaming each time? (每次看直播多長時間?)
7. What content do you choose to watch? (平常喜歡看什麼內容的直播?)
8. What expectations do you have when you choose a performance? (當選擇直播的時候，你有什麼期待?)
9. Who do you prefer to watch, common or famous people? (在普通人和明星之間，你更喜歡看誰的直播?)
10. What criteria do you adopt to select live streamers? (你選擇主播的標準是什麼?)
11. Will you follow one live streamer based on his or her fans' number? (你會根據粉絲量選擇主播嗎?)
12. Do you like to reward live streamers during broadcasting? (你在看直播時會打賞嗎?)
13. What situation will make you give a reward? (在什麼情況下你會打賞?)
14. What rewards do you often give? (你通常打賞些什麼?)
15. Why do you like to continually give rewards? (為什麼喜歡持續打賞?)
16. What differences will you have when you upgrade your membership? (會員升級後有什麼不同嗎?)
17. What comments do you usually give? (看直播時，你會給些什麼評論?)
18. What will you do when other people attack your favorite anchor? (當有人攻擊你喜歡的主播，你會如何反應?)
19. What are your opinions about live streaming? (你怎麼看待直播這一現象?)
20. If possible, will you do live broadcasting by yourself? (如果有機會，你會自己做直播嗎?)