國立政治大學國際傳播英語碩士學程

International Master's Program in International

Communication Studies

College of Communication

National Chengchi University

碩士論文

Master's Thesis

論文題目

An Analysis of Entertainers' Image Remedy in Blog: A

Case of Yi Neng Jing

Student: Chih-Hsiang Yu

Advisor: Dr. Pao-Fang Chang

中國民國一〇〇年七月

(July, 2011)

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Yi Neng Jing

藝人如何利用部落格修護形象之分析：以伊能靜為例

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國立政治大學國際傳播英語碩士學程

碩士論文

A Thesis

Submitted to International Master's Program in International

Communication Studies

National Chengchi University

In partial fulfillment of the Requirement

For the degree of Master in International Communication Studies

中國民國一〇〇年七月

(July, 2011)

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Yi Neng Jing

A Master Thesis

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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Art

by
Chih-Hsiang Yu
(July, 2011)

Abstract

The main purpose of this research is to explore Taiwanese celebrities' use of blogs to repair their image and the change in the interaction among media, celebrities and audiences when celebrities start to blog. In conducting this research, the researcher intends to further clarify the relationship among these three actors in the new media era, as well as understanding how celebrities attempt to repair their image in cyberspace.

Yi Neng Jing (伊能靜), a Taiwanese celebrity, is chosen as the case study in this research. A content analysis is adopted as the research method to investigate the way in which she remedied her image in a blog when it was jeopardized by news of her extramarital affair in 2008. Apart from her blog content, the mass media's coverage and audience's response to her in a specific time segment are also analysed.

The research findings show that Yi used bolstering, transcendence, attacking one's accuser and denial as the major strategies to restore her image. These strategies are basically consistent with Benoit's research into Hugh Grant's case of lewd behavior (1997). The research findings also show that the mass media does not necessarily take what celebrities say as being fact and often makes its own interpretation of celebrities' blogging texts. Thus, celebrities' efforts to repair their image tend to be offset in a mass media framework.

Keywords: Image Repair Strategies, celebrity, image crisis, blog

Acknowledgement

Four years of graduate school life, to be honest, is not expected. Before I entered in IMICS, I was a pretty confident man and believed anything can be achieved easily, as long as I wanted to. However, the thesis writing process was indeed a huge strike toward my confidence. I don't understand why it seems to be an easy thing for others, but is like a huge rock on my shoulder when I try to complete it. There were so many nights that I could hardly breathe when I tried to sleep; there were so many times I yelled out loud on the street to ditch my pressure, when nobody were around; there were so many severely depressed moments, during my thesis writing journey.
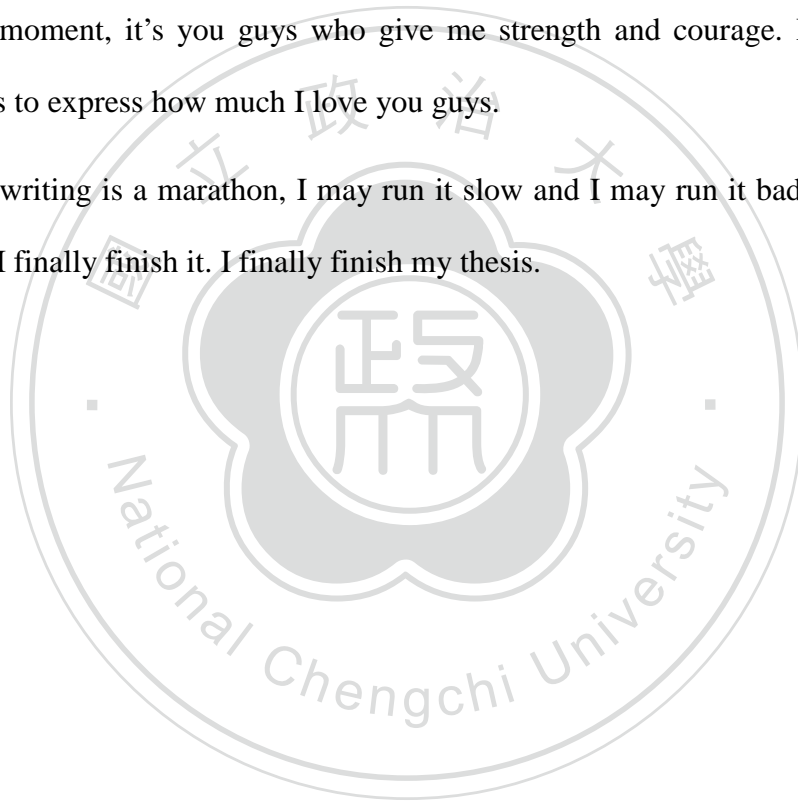
Several months ago, I was still wondering if I could really finish it and write this acknowledgement. Right now, at this moment, I am writing it. There are just too many complicated thoughts coming to my mind. First of all, I want to show my greatest thanks to my advisor Pao-Fang Chang. Thank you so much for your valuable advices on my thesis. I have always known that I am not a smart student. And there are still many things could be improved in this thesis. Thank you so much for not giving me up and still willing to spend your time on my thesis. I wouldn't be able to finish this thesis without your help. I also have to show my greatest thanks to Professor Yi-Ning and Professor Ling-Ling. They have been very kind and patient and willing to help me solve my problems. Thank you for your solid suggestions toward the drawbacks of my thesis and all the encouragements you gave me.

I want to thank to all my IMICS classmates. They are Marcos, Linda, Benoit, Sarah, Ann, Grace, Betty, Peggy, Viktorija, Justyna. Thank you guys for accompanying me in my graduate school life. There were so many wonderful memories we had been through together and I will always keep that in mind. Hope we will keep in touch forever. I also want to show my appreciation to all my friends who had given me support and faith to

sustain me moving forward. They are 黑龍, 陳敬熙, 鄒偉, 陳韋成, Daniela, 周大亨, Steven Mu, Celestin. Thank you for accompanying me when I was down and always by my side.

Finally, it's my dear family. My parents, two sisters, other family members and my girlfriend Avis. I couldn't imagine how would I become if I didn't have all the help and support you guys gave to me. All the love and concern from you are the most powerful force for me to stand up again and keep moving forward. When I was at the most helpless and frustrated moment, it's you guys who give me strength and courage. I couldn't find other adjectives to express how much I love you guys.

If thesis writing is a marathon, I may run it slow and I may run it bad. But at least I never give up. I finally finish it. I finally finish my thesis.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research Background and Motivation

"Without convenient personal media, it seems that all the reporting of celebrity gossips and news are mass media's privilege; however, when blog gets popular, sharing personal life on blog has become celebrities' new tool to be renowned on cyberspace." (Business Weekly, 2005)

Contemporary celebrities are products of mass communication (Boorstin, 1961; Gamson, 1994; Rein et al, 1987) and symbolic icons created and promoted by the media. According to Dyer (1986, p 2), celebrities' persona is not confined to their professional images, but is composed of everything about them which is publicly available. Thus, celebrity is an inter-textual sign formed in multiple ways. People used to form impressions and images of a celebrity mainly through traditional media such as newspapers, television, radio, gossip magazines, etc. However, as new media technologies have advanced, Internet-based applications such as blogs, social networking sites, and microblogs, all of which may be referred to as social media[1], have gradually become significant platforms for the molding of celebrity images.

When talking about social media, Web 2.0 and User Generated Content (UGC) are two important concepts (Kaplan& Haenlein, 2010). According to Kaplan and Haenlein (2010), Web 2.0 is a term which was developed in 2004 to describe a new way of creating and publishing Internet content and applications. These are no longer produced by one person; instead, they are continuously modified by all users in a participatory fashion. On

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[1] According to the definition from Wikipedia, social media is the use of web-based and mobile technologies to turn communication into interactive dialogue. It includes applications such as blog, wiki, podcast, etc.

the other hand, UGC refers to the various forms of media content that are publicly available and generated by end-users. Thus, based on these two concepts, social media consists of a group of Internet-based applications which are built on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and enable the creation and exchange of UGC (p 61).

The interactive nature of social media has opened up a conversation between celebrities and the general public. For example, Lin Yi-Chen (林依晨), a famous Taiwanese actress, once *said*, "…blogs allow fans to better understand a celebrity" (Apple Daily, 2005). Twitter, the largest microblogging service in the U.S., enables various Hollywood stars to tell the public what they have for breakfast. On Facebook, celebrities can create their own page, share their thoughts, and be "liked" by millions of people. These user-friendly interfaces enable celebrities to keep a log of what they are doing in their lives. From what they are working on, to their specific mood at that minute, and even self-promotion, celebrities are able to inform the world of anything on their minds with the click of a button. Thus, traditional media is no longer the only space where a celebrity is molded, and celebrities, just like many of us, have become active content generators.

These interactive platforms also provide the mass media with a new source from which to gather news. In the past, celebrities lacked the means to produce wide-scale publications and they needed to maintain a symbiotic relationship with the mass media to have their latest news delivered to the public. However, the development of these interactive interfaces gives celebrities a new space, other than mass media, where they can get exposure. Celebrities can write diaries, upload photos, post links in a space which they can control. Thus, all of these contents have become an important source of news for the traditional media to write news stories; for example, Liu (2007, p.ii) conducted research on how blogs are used as one of the major sources of entertainment news in Taiwan. She found that Taiwanese reporters go to celebrities' blogs to dig for newsworthy materials when

celebrities decline to be interviewed or when they have no other means of accessing them. Liu (2007) further suggested that, although the information collected by reporters in this way is not word-of-mouth, it is still considered to be a source of credible information, since it comes from the celebrities or their agents, and represents their official voice. For celebrities, social media is a trustworthy space for them to share information. They can decide the words and phrases to use without worrying that they will be twisted by unauthorized sources. This also prevents the possibility of erroneous words being spoken when faced with the on-the-spot pressure of a microphone.

Since celebrities are aware that their updates or publications on the Internet may be adopted as news material, they also take advantage of this power to voice their opinions. The China Times made the following comment regarding this trend:

"Zhou Yu Kou(周玉蔻) and Chen Jian Zhou(陳建州) made their statements on blog regarding the social welfare; Yi Neng Jing (伊能靜) wrote her feeling of being single on her blog after divorce…blogging news has become so popular among celebrities and their 'news releases' are almost as instantaneous as reporters." (China Times, 2010)

Celebrities share their private lives using social media. However, the fame of celebrities, the number of viewers and the media attention that follows, has made these social media interfaces different from those operated by ordinary people. In other words, all these private thoughts being shown publicly have become kinds of "performances" that will inevitably be examined by the public and mass media.

For example, the YouTube channel of Lady Gaga, one of the most renowned and successful pop stars in recent years, has garnered more than a billion views. She has accumulated over 30 million "Likes" on Facebook and has become the "Queen of Twitter",

surpassing Britney Spears as the most-followed user on the platform. *ThinkTank Digital*, the company that organized Gaga's promotion on social media, pointed out that the main focus of its strategy was a "good balance between promotion and authenticity." Although Lady Gaga's Facebook account is operated by a number of people, including Gaga herself, she alone maintains her Twitter account. Elshahawi, the co-founder of the company, said "she didn't want anything promotional on her Twitter account" (Elshahawi, 2011). This suggests that, if snaps taken of celebrities by the paparazzi enable audiences to peep into their private lives, celebrities' own social media texts may present another version of the "truth", which is subtly manufactured to feed the mass media and the audience's craving for authenticity, and to create certain images that meet celebrities' needs.

This public-private nature of celebrities' social media behavior was also addressed by Holme and Redmond (2006), when they contended that the intensity of the glare and nature of surveillance in contemporary society have created a visionary regime which leaves very little space for stars and celebrities to be "offscreen, out of print and switched off", and they are often forced to be continually "in role, in performance, as media beings." They argued the following:

"The constant search for truth—even if it is a search for the 'lies' that hide behind the idealized mask of stardom and celebrification—is intensified in an age where new media technologies and new media formats have increased the range and nature of surveillance." (p.210)

Thus, under this ubiquitous surveillance, how a celebrity uses social media, a space where the boundary of public and private blurs, to represent themselves, is the primary motivation for conducting this research.

1.2 Research Purpose and Significance

There are no previous studies regarding Taiwanese celebrities' social media behavior. Only Liu (2007) has conducted research analyzing how blogs are used by the Taiwanese press as one of the major sources of entertainment news. Liu's research (2007) consisted of interviews with celebrities, reporters and editors, but did not directly investigate the text. The "content" deserves more attention in terms of how it helps celebrities to represent themselves in the social media.

There are various forms of social media, and in this research, blogs are chosen as the major platform for analysis. Thus the purpose of this study is twofold. Firstly, it intends to investigate the relationship between celebrities' blogs, the mass media and audiences in the new media era. Celebrities are cultural symbols of society and their manufactured discourse is strongly related to the communication of traditional media. However, when celebrities have the personal power to publish and voice their opinions, does this change the way in which they interact with each other? How do the mass media and audiences perceive and use celebrities' blog content?

The second purpose of this research is to realize how blogs are used by celebrities to repair their persona when they encounter an image crisis. In the past, they had to rely on the traditional media to repair their image. For example, Benoit (1997) conducted a study which investigated how Hugh Grant, the famous English actor, restored his image when he was caught performing lewd behavior. He (1997) examined Grant's appearances on TV talk shows in order to identify his image restoration strategies. However, these days, celebrities can also project their voice by using blogs, so when they are blogging, what strategies do they use for image restoration? Are they different from those used in the mass media?

By investigating celebrities' social media contents, this study will be the first benchmark study to analyze the text of celebrities' social media and their power of

mediation. Most of the analyses of social media have been aimed at ordinary people, and few studies investigate how celebrities make use of their social media content and the possible influence on the mass media and audiences. By analyzing celebrities' use of social media, this research can be the pilot work for celebrity studies in the new media era.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Development of Blogs & Convergence Cultures

The following paragraphs will contain a brief description of the origin of the blog and its application in the academic field. This will be followed by an introduction of the change blogs made to traditional media outlets. Then, Henry Jenkin's idea of convergence cultures will be discussed.

2.1.1 Definition and elements

According to the definition by *Merriam-Webster's online dictionary*, a blog is "a website that contains an online personal journal with reflections, comments, and often hyperlinks provided by the writer; also the contents of such a site". *Blogger.com*, one of the earliest blogging services, defines a blog as being an "easy-to-use website, where you can quickly post thoughts, interact with people, and more". Goldsborough (2003) defined a blog as being a space in which people often write in a direct way about their observations, experiences, thoughts and emotions. *Business Week* declared that blogs were "the most explosive development in the information world since the Net itself" (Baker and Green, 2005).

A great many researchers have investigated why people blog (Kavanaugh et al., 2006; Nardi et al., 2004b; Efimova, 2004). For example, Nardi et al. (2004) discovered five major motivations for blogging, including recording one's life, providing opinions and comments, revealing personal emotions, expressing ideas through writing, and maintaining community forums. Efimova (2004) divided blogging into two categories: motivations for starting a blog and maintaining a blog. The first includes: acquiring blogs using experience, exploring more chances in other fields, a communication channel, and a need to express ideas. The second includes: sharing and developing ideas and gaining more skills and knowledge.

Stuart Allan (2006) argued that the rapid growth of blogging followed the 911 terrorist attack in the U.S., when many people were feeling a sense of "dissatisfaction with older, more traditional types of reporting. Voices challenging the preoccupation of mainstream media …were being heard from across the political spectrum and from within every corner of the emergent blogosphere" (p 73). In 2003, *Perseus*, an Internet survey company, estimated that 4.12 million blogs had been established on eight major blog services, based on its sample of 3,634 blog services. In 2005, the *Pew Research Center* estimated that 8 million American adults had created blogs, based on a national telephone survey conducted in November 2004.

Basically, the visual expression of a blog can be divided into three parts: a header, a post column, and a sidebar or sidebars (Lenhart, 2005). The header appears at the top of a blog page and includes the title of the blog, often with a sub-heading. Also, the header may contain graphics or images, depending on the design of the blog.

Figure 1. Research Source: www.wretch.cc/album/teriousmo

Blogs often consist of layouts of one, two, or three columns and the bulk of the blog or the central column usually contains the most frequently-updated posts. This is the part of the blog that makes it different from a static website (Lenhart, 2005). Most blogs contain at least one sidebar, and sometimes more. Sidebars are archives of important but less frequently-updated content. They may contain an image or other graphical representation of

the blogger; a list of links to other blogs, also sometimes called a "blogroll"; lists of favored or currently consumed contents; links to other websites, etc (Lenhart, 2005). She suggested that, on the one hand, sidebars can serve as a navigational tool for readers to search old posts efficiently; on the other hand, when they are coupled with a header, they serve a "scene-setting" function, rendering a sense of "context" to the author of the blog. In addition, the content of the sidebar reveals the blogger's activities, hobbies and styles (Lenhart, 2005).

Figure 2. Research Source: www.wretch.cc/album/teriousmo

The bottom of each post often contains a permalink, a comment link and a trackback link. According to Lenhart, permalinks are permanent links to specific blog entries, which enable bloggers or readers to refer back to a specific post in their own blog. Comment links connect readers to the author, and by clicking on the link, interested parties can post their own comments responding to the blog entries that have been posted. They also can read comments posted by other readers. Trackback links are a function whereby bloggers write

about something they have read or seen in another blog and pass a notification back to the first blog with a link to their post (2005).

As for the content aspect, Blood (2002) and Herring, et al. (2004) proposed that there are three different styles of blogs: journal style, filter style and knowledge style. Journal style blogs are composed of the blogger's anecdotes, thoughts and life stories. They tend to be more private and are read by the blogger's personal networks. Filter style blogs usually provide readers with links which direct them to diverse topics of interest, and bloggers often make subjective observations or explanations regarding topics of interest. Knowledge blogs, often abbreviated as K-logs, focus on a specific field and provide readers with longer, more in-depth content. Nardi et al. (2004) also distinguished blogs into five categories: blogs as journals, as commentaries, as catharsis, as a muse and as community forums.

2.1.2 Blogging: as Alternative Media

The rapid development of blogs has provided individuals with the opportunity to become news producers and distributors. As early as 2002, bloggers themselves began to question whether they were a form of "online" journalists (Hiler, 2002a). It is argued that bloggers have forced traditional journalists to re-think the exact nature of a journalist and who can be called a journalist, since many bloggers can provide readers with more timely and abundant news stories if the topic is related to their particular expertise.

Research shows that many users view blogs as being a new and better form of journalism than the mainstream media; one that is opinionated, analytical, independent and personal (Johnson & Kaye, 2004). For example, people who witnessed incidents such as the 911 attack or the South Asia tsunami wrote stories on their blogs, describing what they had seen and heard, with many valuable pictures or video clips. Since those stories were not

filtered or framed by traditional gatekeepers, most of them were considered to be more real and were able to attract more audiences. John Schwarz, a journalist from the New York Times, declared that "for vivid reporting from the enormous zone of tsunami disaster, it was hard to beat the blogs" (2004). Therefore, the grass-roots nature and user-generated content of blogs have forced traditional media to reconsider the role of their conventional "customers". Dan Gillmor, the famous American technology writer and author of "*We the Media*" even said:

"For the first time in modern history, the user is truly in charge, as a consumer and as a producer."

(Gillmor, 2004)

It is the free, uncensored qualities of the internet which have led to the rapid development of blogs in many different fields; however, this is also an environment which produces problems. Shawn argued that blogospheres are still doubted as spaces where the facts and accuracy of stories can be questioned and debated, while most traditional journalistic ethics, such as balance, fairness, and thoroughness are not considered (2005). Bloggers do not need to bear the responsibility of being "the fourth state", so they can cite or publish articles without considering or investigating their accuracy in advance, which may lower the overall credibility of blogs as a news source.

Drezner et al. (2004) also argued that blogs are just an alternative source of news and commentaries for audiences, especially in those countries where the mainstream media is controlled by the government. According to them, most bloggers have limited sources of news coverage, and often follow the agenda set by the mainstream media. Rebecca MacKinnon, a former CNN reporter and co-founder of the *Global Voice Online*, indicated

that a complimentary relationship, rather than a hostile one, should be established between blogs and traditional media. She suggested that bloggers all around the world could act as news sources for journalists or fact-checkers; on the other hand, journalists could play the role of gate-keeper and examine the reliability of blogging information.

2.1.3 Convergence Culture

Henry Jenkins wrote "*Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*" (2006), in which he illustrated that new media interacted with old media in a complex relationship, which he called a "Convergence Culture", and that this new way of interaction influences the relationship between audiences, mass media and content. He proposed three critical notions in the book, including the convergence of the media, a participatory culture, and collective intelligence. In terms of the convergence of the media, he indicated that convergence represents a shift in cultural logic, and consumers are encouraged to look for new information and make connections between diverse media content. Convergence can not only be understood to be a technological process. As for a participatory culture, he saw media producers and consumers as participants interacting according to the new rules, about which none of us have a clear understanding. These big companies or people working in the media still exert greater influence than individual consumers, but some consumers are demonstrating more skill than others in the convergence culture. In respect of collective intelligence, he suggested that consumption has become a collective process. Although none of us can know everything, each of us knows something, and by pooling individuals' resources and skills, collective intelligence can be an alternative source of media power (p 3-4).

Jenkins (2006) argued that, in the convergence culture, corporate media has gradually recognized both the value of fan participation and the threat it poses. Fans use new media

technologies to actively engage with old media content and see the Internet as a vehicle for collective problem-solving, public deliberation, and grassroots creativity (p 169). Thus, the interplay and tension between the top-down corporate-driven process and the bottom-up consumer-driven process have resulted in many changes in the convergence culture. Sometimes these two forces are complimentary, but sometimes they are at war with each other. For example, prohibitionism and collaborationism are two particular responses accorded by Jenkins to describe the interaction between the two forces. The former describes media outlets which adopt a scorched-earth policy toward their consumers, trying to control and criminalize many forms of fan participation that used to fall below their radar. The latter refers to those which are experimenting with new approaches, and see fans as crucial collaborators in the production of content and as grassroots intermediaries helping to promote the franchise (p 134). He argued that, eventually, the prohibitionist position will be ineffective and media companies will have to respect the growing public consensus of what constitutes the fair use of media content, and they will have to allow the public to participate meaningfully in their own culture.

Compared to the past, when people were powerless to make any difference to mass media text, the voices of consumers are much more easily heard in the convergence culture. The participation and positive engagement of audiences may change the way they receive and interact with the media.

2.2 Celebrities and media

The term "celebrity" and its definition will be introduced in the following paragraphs, after which Dyer's work, "stars", will be discussed in order to better understand the context of celebrities' studies. Finally, outline celebrities' interesting relationship with the mass media will be outlined.

2.2.1 Definitions and characteristics of celebrities

According to the *Cambridge on-line Dictionary,* the word *celebrity* is defined as "someone who is famous, especially in the entertainment business," and as "the state of being famous." It originates from the Latin word, 'celebrem', which suggests "fame" and "being thronged". The Latin root indicates a relationship in which a person is marked out as possessing singularity and a social structure where the characteristics of fame are fleeting (Rojek, 2001). The most widely-quoted definition of celebrity was given by cultural historian Daniel Boorstin (1961), who said:

> "The celebrity is a person who is known for his well-knowness…He is neither good nor bad, great nor pretty. He is the human pseudo-event…The hero was distinguished by his achievement; the celebrity by his image or trademark. The hero created himself; the celebrity is created by the media. The hero was a big man; the celebrity is a big name." (Boorstin 47, 57, 61)

Although just being "known" seems like an easy standard for distinction, in the contemporary celebrity landscape, a celebrity cannot be distinguished merely because he or she is "known". According to Rojek (2001), the definition of celebrity can be referred to as a more fleeting concept of fame. Geraghty (2000) suggested that 'meaningful' distinctions and hierarchies to address the state of 'being famous' have diminished, and fame can also be referred to as the private life of a person, instead of his or her performing presence (p 187, cited from Holmes 2005).

Neal Gabler (2001) made a similar statement, arguing that "popularity is only the by-product of celebrity, not its source" (p 5). He made an interesting comparison as follows:

> "Queen Elizabeth is certainly famous, but one doubts whether most Americans

would call her a celebrity the way Princess Di was. George Bush, Sr. is famous, but he is not a celebrity. His successor Bill Clinton is. Vice President Dick Cheney is famous, but he is no celebrity. There are no paparazzi elbowing one another aside to snap Cheney's picture, no swooning Cheney fans crying out, "Dick, Dick," most of all no Cheney stories filling the tabloids." (p.4, 2001)

According to Gabler, a celebrity is "…a person who, by the very process of living, provides entertainment for us—a definition that embraces most conventional entertainers…whose lives fill the gossip columns and magazines." Thus, it is not only limited to traditional entertainers; instead, those who can provide people and media with "narratives that have entertainment value", can be considered to be celebrities.

The academic field contains various interpretations of the definition and concept of celebrity status. Bonner suggested that celebrity status can function to indicate how the media contexts of fame are now less specific, with individual celebrities rarely restricted to a single media form (2005:65). According to Rojek, "celebrity = impact on public consciousness" (2001:10), whereas Geraghty perceived celebrity status to be a broader redefinition of the public/private boundary, and the primary consideration is increasingly a person's "private" life or lifestyle rather than their professional role (2000). Turner made the following comment:

We can map the precise moment a public figure becomes a celebrity. It occurs at the point at which media interest in their activities is transferred from reporting on their public role…to investigating the detail of their private lives. (2004: 8, cited from Holmes and Redmond, 2006)

Rein, Kotler and Stoller (1987:15) defined two important characteristics of celebrities: large-scale public attention, which is the publicity celebrities experience and the positive

emotional responses elicited from the public. However, Gabler (2001) suggested that, apart from publicity and emotional responses, "foundation narrative" is also a suitable prerequisite of celebrities, and as long as a figure has an interesting "narrative" to be written about, he or she already has the basic premise to be considered as being a celebrity.

2.2.2 Stars studied by Richard Dyer

Richard Dyer's work, *Stars*, written in 1979, is considered to be the authoritative discourse in the study of celebrity. Dyer famously argued the analyses of stars in the realm of representation and ideology, suggesting that stars could be understood as being "signs", read as "texts" and "images", and investigated the use of semiotics (Barker, 2003: 6, cited from Holmes & Redmond, 2006). Their images can be seen as intertextual constructions because they are produced via the sharing and linking of meanings between different sources of star texts. Thus, when the star-as-a person is substituted by the star-as-image, the significance of particular stars lies in how they are constructed through the tangible textual materials where the images of stars are circulated.

According to Dyer (1998), the search for the "authentic" person behind that manufactured mask of fame is the important factor of fandom and the construction of stars and celebrities. He argued that celebrities are produced by the assertion that their private selves are behind the public image, but these assertions "take place in one of the aspects of modern life that is most associated with the invasion and destruction of the inner self[…] namely the mass media" (1987:89). For example, people buy gossip magazines and tabloids to find out about the "private lives" of celebrities, even if they are reflected in a negative light, involving such elements as lies, violence, drunkenness, and so on. Although audiences cannot make media images mean anything they want to, they can still choose from within to find the image that "works for them"(Dyer 1986, p 5).

This complexity is the basis of the fan/star/celebrity relationship (Holmes, Redmond, 2006), and it offers fans "the ultimate sign of availability—the unlicensed display of their naked bodies" (Turner, 2004:125). According to Holmes (2004), "the famous" are increasingly brought into view through what is presented or reported and perceived to be an 'unmediated' close-up of their actual lived experience. Therefore, when celebrities are operating a social media platform, they seem to be providing fans and the public with another channel to know who they "really are", whether it presents their lives, behavior, interior selves, or is just a strategy for greater celebrification. This direct contact has enhanced the intimacy between the celebrity and the fan.

Dyer (1979) indicated that a star image can only represent an identity produced and circulated via channels of mass communication, and can never be a straightforward portrayal of the real personality of a star. Yet, this does not mean that the star image is untrue or inauthentic; instead, star images are the only access by which the public knows a star, and the truth or reality of any star is *in the image* [emphasis added].

2.2.3 Celebrities and mass media

In the early stage, celebrities were limited to figures such as political and religious elites; yet, with the growth of art and technology, by the middle of the 19th century, celebrity was considered as a *"mass – and more democratic – phenomenon"* (emphasis added, Gamson, 2001). The Hollywood studio system made "star quality" and "talent", rather than "greatness", the defining quality of celebrities (Gamson, 2001: 264). The explosion of media outlets in the second half of the twentieth century turned fame into a manufactured discourse, suggesting that celebrities are produced and made, not "born" (Holmes, 2006). This manufactured nature of stars and celebrities is one of the over-riding discourses that contemporary fame is circulated and interpreted (Gamson, 1994).

The "body" of a star or celebrity is key to the search for the "truth" behind those stars and celebrities (Holmes and Redmond, 2006), and the suffering and damage caused by fame is an increasingly prevalent trend in the production and consumption of stars, celebrities, and personalities (Redmond, 2006). In an environment where stars and celebrities are manufactured, people tend to seek their unmediated, natural, even flawed images because that makes them feel more intimate and close. These naked, stripped images not only draw people closer to the damaged star or celebrity, but also render the potential of the appearance of resistant behavior. For example, when a celebrity's image is damaged, he or she often shapes an immediate connection to his or her fans, who often consider themselves as being similarly damaged, and thus construct resistant, symbiotic "relationships", which counter the dominant ideology (ibid, p 40).

Nowadays, celebrities are no longer confined within specific media. Instead, their images are demonstrated through different channels and consumed by folk in general (Holmes, 2005). In the past, these channels referred to traditional media such as newspapers, television, magazines, etc; however, today, the Internet and its related applications have become a crucial platform for celebrities to be represented, since it eliminates the barriers of time and space and enables fans to directly negotiate with their favorite celebrities or characters. Holmes and Redmond *(2006)* said:

> New and old media technologies have enabled stars and celebrities to be endlessly circulated, replayed, downloaded and copied. Their images, qualities and cultural values are found almost everywhere, invading many areas of social life…the digital and the virtual media technologies have also opened up the number of spaces where the star or desire can be found out, re-written, and seen in the flesh as they really are. (p.4)

Thus, as more new media outlets are emerging, traditional media can no longer maintain its indefinite power over the interpretation of celebrities. Celebrities themselves can also actively engage in the shaping of their images.

2.3 Self-Presentation and Image Restoration Discourse

Goffman's work and his main idea regarding self-presentation will be briefly presented in this section, before turning to the difference between people's self-presentation in on-line words and the off-line sphere, as well as celebrities' self-presentation online. Finally, the image restoration discourses developed by Benoit (1995) will be introduced, together with the research questions.

2.3.1 Self Presentation Offline

In 1959, Eriving Goffman's work, '*The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*', famously addressed the phenomenon of self-presentation and impression management. He used metaphors from theatrical performances to analyze human behavior in social interactions. The basic premise of his theory is "the meaning of people's doings is to be found in the manner in which they express themselves in interaction with similarly expressive others" (Brissett & Edgley, 1990: 2-3; italics in original, cited from Gardner & Avolio, 1998). People perform their identities through playing different roles on stage, and thus reach a consensus between themselves and their audiences. The main purpose of the performance is to maintain a specific impression during the interaction by continuing to enforce and interpret the role they try to play, thus giving others an idea of what to expect of them. The performance is influenced by both environmental factors and the audience.

According to Goffman, people are actors, who try to form the desired impression in their encounters or interaction with others. People create impressions via what Goffman calls *sign vehicles*, which includes our languages *given* and *given off* (Goffman 1959: 13-14). The former is more verbal and explicit, such as gestures, facial expressions, etc., and the main goal is to disseminate messages that both the performer and the audience know about. The latter is more unconscious and often related to self-characteristics, and it is more likely to be a stimulus instead of a specific message, such as one's gender, ethnicity, etc.

From Goffman's perspective, people's actions can be divided into the *front region* and *back region*. The front region is where the performance takes place, and both performers and audience are present. According to Goffman, the front region is the place where people try their best to demonstrate themselves, to fit into the expectations of society and the role they play. For example, a flight attendant will try her best to maintain a polite manner when she is dealing with a very rude customer. However, when she goes back to her kitchen, she may complain about the problem customer. The kitchen would be the flight attendant's back region, where the performers are present, but the audience is not. Goffman defines the back region as "a place, relative [to] the performance, where the impression of the performance is knowingly contradicted" (Goffman, 1959: 114). In here, performers can relax, drop their act, and take themselves out of the character, and the contradiction does not necessarily mean the opposite of what is seen in the front stage; instead, it could be a significant difference in the role the person is playing.

Thus, people can calculate their activity and consciously express themselves in a particular way, making their audience believe that "the character they see actually possesses the attributes he or she appears to possess" (Goffman, 1959, p 17). Goffman divides impression management techniques into three categories: "defensive measures used by performers to save their own show; protective measures used by the audience and outsiders to

assist the performers to save their show; and, finally, the measures performers must take in order to make it possible for the audience and outsiders to employ protective measures on the performers' behalf" (p 212). He further stresses that, although people are usually what they appear to be, it is possible that such appearances could still be managed and controlled. (ibid, cited from Trammell & Keshelashvili, 2005)

Jones conceptualized self-presentation into five strategies including ingratiation, competence, intimidation, supplication and exemplification. Researchers have found that ingratiation and competence are the major strategies used in off-line and online contexts (Bortee, 2005, Jones, 1990, Trammell& Keshelashvili, 2005). Based on Jones' division, Dominick (1999), defines these strategies as follows:

Ingratiation: A person who uses this strategy has the goal of being liked by others. Some common characteristics of ingratiation are saying positive things about others or saying mildly negative things about yourself, making modest, familiar, and humorous statements.

Competence: The goal of this strategy is to be perceived as being skilled and qualified. Common characteristics include claims about abilities, accomplishments, performance, and qualifications.

Intimidation: People using this strategy have power as their goal. Typical characteristics are threats, statements of anger, and potential unpleasantness.

Exemplification: The goal of this strategy is to be perceived as being morally superior or possessing high moral standards. Typical characteristics include ideological commitment or militancy for a cause, self sacrifice, and self-discipline.

Supplication: The goal of this strategy is to be nurtured or appearing to be helpless so that others will come to your aid. Typical characteristics of this self-presentational approach

include entreaties for help and self-deprecation. (Dominick 1999, p. 648)

2.3.2 Self-Presentation Online

The asynchronous and anonymous nature of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) makes online self-presentation more adaptable to self-censorship than face-to-face self-presentation (Ellison et al, 2006; Walther, 1996). The emphasis on verbal and linguistic cues over non-verbal communication cues in CMC contexts enable individuals to choose the aspects they want to reveal, and help them to achieve image optimization through direct textual expressions or indirect expressions, such as hyperlinks, images, animations, types of colors and fonts (Boyd & Ellison, 2007; Papacharissi, 2002a).

Papacharissi (2002a, 2002b) employed a content analysis and surveys to investigate the utility of personal home pages for their creators. The findings showed that the main aims of Web page authors are to provide information and entertainment. However, some users still use Web pages for self-expression and communication with family and friends, especially when other forms of communication are not available or cannot satisfy their needs. Papacharissi (2004) then conducted a similar study on blogs to investigate their personal and social utility, descriptive dimensions and speculated uses and gratification obtained from blogs. The results showed that blogs usually "feature personalized accounts of information that resemble the daily format" (p 20), and most blogs are self-reflexive accounts, which serve a purpose of personal expression and render the perceived gratification of self-fulfillment. They also enable individuals to play with the desire to have personal diaries published, fulfilling their personal gratification, publicity, and perhaps a sense of assurance that these private thoughts matter (Papacharissi, 2004). Thus, they not only spaces to write, but an interesting paradoxical combination of private and public information. She argued:

[blog] challenges our conventional understanding of the private and public sphere and follows in the tradition of new media technologies that empower the individual to project personal experiences, usually considered private, to a mass audience. Blogs allow the private domain to become public and privatize a portion of the public sphere…Blogs are written to be read. (p.35-p.36)

This was also reflected by Boyd (2006), who suggested that bloggers view their blogs as being their online identity and digital representation, which renders blogs a sense of corporeality. Borrowing Goffman's perspective, she said:

…in a Goffman (1959) sense, the blog is one's digital face, showing the traces of past expressions, revealing both what the blogger brings to the front stage and what aspects of the backstage slip through. (p.17)

A tension appears between spatiality and corporeality when there are differences in the perception of bloggers and readers (Boyd, 2006). She contends that the blog is corporeal for the blogger, but for the reader, it is a space for conversation. Although bloggers are well aware of the public nature of their performance, there is still an understanding of a private body in the public blogging world. Thus, the blog is more like an extension of the blogger rather than a place to visit. She used the body as a metaphor for a blog, saying that "we view our bodies as private space in public, just as we view our blogs" (p 19). She said:

The willingness to be public and engage in conversations brings out the spatial aspects of blogging, while the more private protective tendencies emphasize the corporeal nature. Through blogs, the public and private are also blurred and the public is simultaneously expanding across space and time. As a medium, blogs are challenging accepted dichotomies and inviting practitioners to explore the boundaries of these limits through engagement and performance. (Boyd, p.19)

"That also explains why bloggers tend to develop a sense of ownership in that they can decide what should appear on the blog. Because whatever others write will not only affect the blog, but also the bloggers' representation".

Trammell (2005) analyzed impression management tactics and self-presentation on popular A-list blogs, based on Goffman's constructs of self-presentation and impression management strategies. She found that A-list bloggers disclose more information about themselves than others, and actively engage in impression management. Ellison et al. (2006) investigated the self-presentation strategies of online dating participants and found that they responded to small cues online, as well as mediated the tension between impression management pressures and the desire to present an authentic self through strategies such as creating a profile that reflected their "ideal self".

Stern & Taylor (2007) investigated Facebook users' self-presentation and suggested that most of the users accurately present themselves in their profiles. Their studies showed that 74% of Facebook users said that their profile was accurately presented, 23% said that their profile somewhat represented them, and only 3% said that their profile did not represent them. They indicated that the high rate of accurate self-presentation was because Facebook users tended to allow everyone to see their profiles.

Hultin's (1990) research into Bulletin Board System (BBS) messages discovered that participants in CMC create and individualize online characters through self-presentation. Soukup (2004) found that a dramaturgical perspective is valuable to researchers when exploring CMC (p 198), and the performance of CMC participants is closely related to the development and presentation of self, the construction of virtual dramas, and the formation of non-verbal communication expectancies (p 196).

2.3.3 On-line Self-Presentation of Celebrities

Sanderson (2008) examined Boston Red Sox pitcher, Curt Schilling's self-presentation strategies in blog format and indicated that blogs are an important advocacy tool that celebrities can use to counteract negative media framing of their persona, by providing audiences with a space where celebrities can carefully manage their image and control the way in which their image is portrayed to the public. Also, it enables celebrities to convey their self-presentation to the public without being physically present, while ensuring that their self-presentation messages reach a large number of people. The image portrayed by these messages may contradict their portrayal in the mass media and offer blog readers the chance to accurately perceive their identities.

Marshall (2010) suggested that the development of the Internet has made the influence of traditional media such as television and films less profound and less omnipresent, and perhaps more remediated through online pathways. Social networking as a form of cultural production and a type of public engagement has made itself simultaneously a media *and* a communication form. What connects it to celebrity is that, as long as there is an exchange and dissemination of ideas and links to other media or other cyber sources, it is a constitutive and organic production of the self. Therefore, a celebrity's profile, image, and message can become his or her online mask and "a construction of character for a kind of ritual of the performance of the self" (p 38). He used an example of Vin Diesel, the famous Hollywood actor, who has more than 7 million fans on Facebook, and said that it is important for Diesel to disclose something of his professional self in relation to his private self, and he is managing to construct a persona related to his heroic image in films. The following is a message left by Van Diesel on September 28, 2009:

> Special lunch meeting where my father said something so dead on…He
> said…'confidence is the most important thing you can teach someone…if you

can teach them confidence, you don't have to teach them anything else'…Thanks for the love. (Diesel, 2009, cited from Marshall, p40)

When Van Diesel tries to personalize his posts, he is actually using Facebook as a public, accessible diary. The inter-communication dimension of on-line social networking platforms has created a new need for celebrities to stay connected to an audience and the public.

Marshall (2010) further distinguished three ways in which the self is presented in online culture and to the wider public by celebrities, namely, the public self, the public private self,   and the transgressive, intimate self (p 44, p 45).

The public self is the official version of how the celebrity is portrayed as an industrial model of the individual; for example, release dates of recordings and films, premieres and appearances, the way to get tickets for a special appearance, etc. Celebrities' official websites used to do this work; however, since more and more people are using social networking sites to look for information, there is a tendency to use these sites as quasi-official versions of the public self. Marshall (2006) further noted that some of these sites are managed by their publicity assistants to maintain the public persona as a valued cultural commodity.

As for public-private self, this is the version of the self celebrities portray, or at least appear to portray, in the world of social networking. For example, Twitter, a microblog service that allows people to publish short messages to those who follow it, has become the vehicle for many celebrities to maintain a public-private self. It helps the public to identify the thoughts or location of a celebrity. Marshall (2006) contends that for some celebrities, the self-negotiation of the public-private self wrests the control of the economy of their public persona. Also, the value of the public-private self is still being determined, since individuals make different decisions about the parts of their lives they are willing to convey to the public online.

The transgressive intimate self indicates the self motivated by temporary emotion; it is also the kind of information/image that passes throughout cyberspace because of its "visceral" quality of being closer to the core of the being. For example, Elizabeth Taylor's Twitter posts revealed her grief-stricken self as a result of Michael Jackson's death. Marshall (2006) suggested that the transgressive intimate self travels quickly back into the representative media culture and entertainment reports on celebrities. Thus, it is a faster way to notoriety and attention in the world of on-line culture for all users and for celebrities whose "behavioral transgressions expressed in interpersonal registers move swiftly into the powerful viral on-line juggernaut" (p 45).

2.3.4 Image Restoration Discourse

According to Gotsi and Wilson (2001), image represents the sum of beliefs, attitudes, and impressions that a person or a group of stakeholders has toward an object. Benoit (1997a) argued that image is the perception of a person (or group, or organization) held by the audience, which is shaped by the words and actions of that person, as well as by the discourse and behavior of other relevant actors. Schlenker (1980) also indicated that individuals form an image of the actor involved based on the information made available to them, and certain predicaments can "damage" one's identity and "adversely affect the relationship with the audience". In the past, the major channel for audiences to perceive the image of a celebrity was through the traditional media; however, since celebrities have begun to operate their own blogs, they have provided their audience with an extra channel to discover and explore information, and thus, a new space to shape their image.

By combining typologies from previous researchers (Burke, 1970; Scott & Lyman, 1968; Rosenfield, 1968; Ware& Linkugel, 1973), Benoit (1995) developed the image restoration theory, which included five self-defense approaches: denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, corrective action, and mortification. These are

described in detail below.

Denial

When accused of performing an inappropriate act, one may simply deny that the act took place (Ware & Linkugel, 1973). It is also possible that one may admit to performing the act, but claim that it was far from being harmful (Brinson& Benoit, 1996). Therefore, Burke (1970) proposed the notion of "victimage", which suggests that the third party actually performed the offensive act.

Evading Responsibility

This strategy has four categories, including provocation, defeasibility, accidents and good intentions. Provocation suggests that the accused can claim that his or her action was performed in response to an offensive act perpetrated by another party (Scott and Lyman, 1968). Defeasibility indicates that the wrongdoing was due to a lack of information or control over the situation (Schonbach, 1980; Semin & Manstead, 1983). It is also possible that the accused will refer to the wrongdoing as being an accident, and insist that he or she should not be reprimanded for it (Scott & Lyman, 1968; Semin & Manstead, 1983). Finally, the accused may state that the offensive behavior was perpetrated with good intentions, and that his or her responsibility should be alleviated (Ware & Linkugel, 1973).

Reducing offensiveness

There are six strategies in this category. Firstly, the accused may use bolstering to enhance a positive image, and thus offset the negative impacts of the wrongful act. Secondly, by minimizing the association between the negative feelings and the offensive act, it is possible that the reputation of the accused can be regained (Schonbach, 1980; Schlenker, 1980; Semin & Manstead, 1983). The differentiation strategy argues that the accused may

perpetrate another act, which is similar but less harmful toward his or her image in order to shift the focus of the audience (Ware & Linkugel, 1973). The fourth strategy is transcendence (Ware & Linkugel, 1973), which suggests that the accused justify his or her behavior by putting it in a more favorable context, thus reducing the negative impact (Schonbach, 1980; Schlenker, 1980; Tedeschi & Reiss, 1981; Semin & Manstead, 1983). The fifth strategy is to reduce the credibility of the accuser. If the accused can make his or her audience believe that the accusation is unconvincing, the damage may be somewhat mitigated (Rosenfield, 1968; Scott & Lyman, 1968). Finally, compensation suggests that the accused may make up for the harm caused by the offensive act, and if the audience accepts this reparation, the negative image will be alleviated (Schonbach, 1980).

Corrective action

This strategy attempts to repair the image of the accused and restore it to the state before the offensive event occurred and/or to prevent it from happening again. If the accused is willing to correct or prevent the offensive act, his or her positive image and reputation will be enhanced.

Mortification

Finally, Burke indicated that, if the accused chooses to admit to committing the offensive act and offers an authentic apology, the audience may choose to forgive him or her for perpetrating the act (1970, 1973).

Benoit's theory is based on the premise "that human beings engage in recurrent patterns of communicative behaviors designed to reduce, redress, or avoid damage to their reputation (or face or image) from perceived wrong-doing" (1995a, p.vii). He (1997) conducted research to investigate the image restoration discourse used by Hugh Grant, the famous British actor, when he was arrested in Hollywood for lewd behavior with a

prostitute. He discovered that it was easier and usually more effective for entertainers to adopt a mortification strategy compared with politicians and corporations. Benoit (1997) argued that entertainers are less likely to have third parties make or prolong attacks in the media, which is often the predicament faced by politicians and corporations. Also, admitting mistakes in the political or business world is risky because this often arouses the distrust of constituents or the failure of lawsuits.

Huang (2006) explored the effect of crisis communication strategies (CCS) by investigating how politicians' images are demonstrated in media coverage during a crisis, which is considered to be a crucial factor of the public's perception of political actors, issues and events. Her research was based on Bradford and Garrett's (1995) corporative communicative response model, which includes two basic assumptions. Firstly, it is assumed that the accusation is actively transmitted by the accusing actor and/or news media, so that third parties begin to notice the allegations. Secondly, it is assumed that the third parties have the ability to evaluate or consider the validity of the accusation and can reject the allegation if they believe that the accuser has low credibility.

The fundamental attribution error and discounting principle are the two major themes of the theory. Jones and Nisbett (1971) suggested that the fundamental attribution error is the tendency of third parties to attribute the responsibility for negative actions to the personal characteristics of the actor involved (e.g., greed, selfishness), and if the actor does not provide the third parties with sufficient situational information and/or positive dispositional information (i.e., values, standards), they may make the wrong assumption about the actor's behavior. As for discounting principle, Kelley (1973) argued that a negative disposition may be discounted as being responsible for any action if other convincing explanations are presented. Therefore, if an accused actor can provide third parties with plausible information, they may use the information to re-evaluate their

judgment.

2.3.5 Research Questions

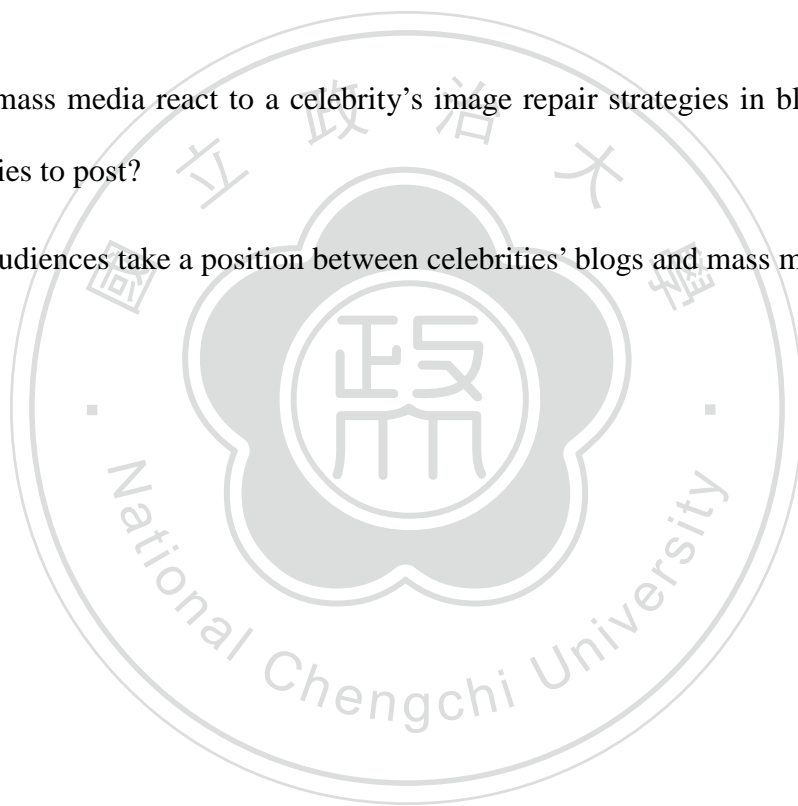Based on the research purposes and literature review, the following three research questions are proposed:

RQ1 What are the image repair strategies used by celebrities in blogs during an image crisis?

RQ2 How do mass media react to a celebrity's image repair strategies in blogs? What are the best strategies to post?

RQ3 How do audiences take a position between celebrities' blogs and mass media reports?

3. Research Method

This study uses a content analysis to investigate celebrities' self-presentation on social media platforms, as well as its influence on mass media and audiences. Berelson (1952) defined a content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of manifest content of communities." Ole Holsti (1961) defined a content analysis as "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages". It combines quantitative and qualitative research and is suitable for large amounts of data. A content analysis can be represented by sets of procedures including: 1) data collection and selection, 2) distinguishing categories, 3) deciding units of analysis, 4) deciding the context of analysis, 5) establishing a system of enumeration, 6) making an analysis. These six procedures have to be analyzed step by step (吳明清, 2002), and they are detailed below.

3.1 Data Selection and Collection

Yi Neng Jing (Yi hereafter) and the Apple Daily newspaper are chosen as a case study for several reasons, the first of which is that Yi fits the standard as a celebrity. According to Gabler's definition (2001), a celebrity is "…a person who, by the very process of living, provided entertainment for us—a definition that embraced most conventional entertainers…whose lives fill the gossip columns and magazines." According to Wikipedia, Yi has been in the Taiwanese entertainment field since 1986 and is widely known in Taiwan, China and Hong Kong. She has released 28 records and acted in 17 dramas and 13 films. She was nominated as Best Actress in the 32nd Golden Horse Awards, the main major film festival in Taiwan. Yi is also a writer. Her book "Words of Life and Death" (生死遺言) was a bestseller in Taiwan for 22 consecutive weeks. She married Harlem Yu (庾澄慶), also a

famous Taiwanese singer and entertainer in 2000, but they divorced in 2009. Her extra-marital affair provided audiences with "narratives that have entertainment value" and was widely reported by mass media and discussed by the public. Thus, her identity as a celebrity is confirmed.

Secondly, Yi is a prolific blog writer and has been writing her blog for many years. She operates her blog on platforms, which include Yahoo, Pixnet, Sina China and Sina Taiwan. The content of these platforms is basically the same. She has also registered accounts on Facebook and Sina's Weibo, and most of the content on these social media platforms is copied from one platform to another. For example, her Facebook content is a mixture of her blog postings and her Weibo; her blogging content on Yahoo and Pixnet is transferred from Sina China, where the latest content of her blog is posted.

The research uses Yi's extra-marital affair in 2008 as the specific event for analysis. Yi's image was seriously jeopardized because of her extra-marital affair. It first came under public scrutiny, when a photograph was taken of Yi in Beijing holding hands with another Taiwanese entertainer, Victor Huang (黃維德). The photos were clear and this became a big issue in Taiwan's entertainment field. Since she was still a married woman when the photos were exposed in the Taiwanese press, it was like a bomb had exploded. Her identity as a celebrity further provoked serious criticism from the public and the media, reprimanding her for being an unfaithful wife. Since Yi did not come out and explain to the public in the first place, her social media became the major space for mass media to collect news. For these reasons, Yi is chosen as a suitable case to analyze.

The Apple Daily is chosen as a case study of the mass media. According to a survey conducted in 2010, the Apple Daily was chosen as the most read, most abundant, and most detailed newspaper in the Taiwanese press. It was established in Taiwan in 2003 and soon became one of the most popular newspapers. The average daily circulation of the Apple

Daily is 570 thousand. Thus, the Apple Daily is chosen for its tabloid style and sensational news stories.

Due to the constraints of time and resources, specific blog sites and time segment are distinguished for data collection. When the extramarital affair broke out in 2008, the main blog sites Yi operated were based on Sina.com and Yahoo.com. However, many of her blogging contents in Yahoo were deleted after her affair. Thus, her Sina blogs are chosen as the main platform for a more complete data collection. Yi has two blogs in Sina.com, namely, Sina China (http://blog.sina.com.cn/yinengjing) and Sina Taiwan (http://blog.sina.com.tw/yinengjing/)[2]. All her blogging posts in the time segment will be copied and pasted to obtain the data.

As for Apple Daily's report, a search engine based on the Apple Daily website (http://tw.nextmedia.com/index/search) will be used to search for news of Yi Neng Jing. Since the search engine will list all the stories with the characters "Yi Neng Jing" in the text and headlines and some of them will not be related to the topic, news report not related to Yi's extramarital affair will be filtered out. Only news reports that based on the affair will be collected.

Audiences' opinions of Yi will be collected from the comments left in her blog in Sina China, where Yi's blogging posts are the most complete. 200 comments will be chosen from the posts cited by Apple Daily. When the comments left in Yi's blog are collected, only comments presented in the form of texts will be selected. Also, comments that obviously reveal their feelings to Yi will be purposefully chosen for analysis.

The time segment for the data collection is distinguished as being between

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[2] Sina China was going to be chosen as the only space for data collection, since it has the most complete data and is the main source of information for Taiwan's reporters. However, it was found that some of Yi's posts are only posted in Sina Taiwan, so in order to acquire as much data as possible, Sina Taiwan is also used for the data collection.

2008/11/11~2009/4/30, which is six months after Yi's extramarital affair broke out.

3.2 Distinguishing Categories

Categories are the basic structures when conducting a content analysis and are the key factors which influence the quality of the content analysis. According to Berelson (1952), categories can be constructed based on "what is said" and "how it is said". Categories can be developed by existing theory or developed by the researcher, and it is important to give a precise definition of each category when building categories. Details will be given of how categories are distinguished based on the research questions:

RQ1. What are the image repair strategies used by celebrities in blogs during an image crisis?

The image repair strategies developed by Benoit (1997) will be used to distinguish how Yi remedied her image in her blog, including denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, taking corrective action, and mortification. Some strategies have variants. Yi's blogging contents will be coded based on the definition given in the literature review.

RQ2. How do mass media react to a celebrity's image repair strategies in blogs?

What are the better strategies for posting?

Apple Daily's reaction to Yi's image repair strategies will be divided by its attributes. These are "reacted positively", "reacted neutrally" and "reacted negatively". These divisions will be evaluated based on the context and intonation to identify the most effective image repair strategies used in celebrities' blogs. Also, the demographic information of Apple Daily's use of Yi's blog will be collected to see if there any patterns are generated from within.

RQ3. How do audiences take a position between celebrities' blogs and mass media

reports?

To learn how Yi's blogging posts led to influencing different types of audiences, the audience in Yi's blog is categorized as Yi's fans and visitors, as shown below.

Table 1. Categorization of Yi's blog visitors

	Fans	Visitors
Definition	Those comments left on Yi's blog comment board that demonstrate the fans' identities or obviously express their emotions as fans.	Those comments left on Yi's blog comment board that demonstrate the visitors' identities or obviously express their emotions as visitors.

By grouping comments with similar characteristics, the different aspects of the opinions they have of Yi can be learned.

3.3 Deciding Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the recording unit. It is the minimum scope used to examine data when researchers are doing a content analysis. Generally, there are five kinds of units including 1.) single word or symbol, 2) sentence or paragraph, 3) item (entire article, etc.), 4) character, 5) theme. There are no particular rules in terms of which unit must be used, and it depends on the volume of the texts and research purpose. When the unit of analysis is decided, each unit is examined and then it is decided what category the unit should belong

to. In the research, item (each post, each news story and each comment) is used as the unit of analysis.

3.4 Context of Analysis and System of Enumeration

The context of analysis refers to the scope of the units that can demonstrate the meaning of the contents. For example, if a word is understood, it is important to examine the context of the word to fully comprehend its meaning. If a paragraph is the unit of analysis, it is important to relate the paragraph with the paragraph above or below to get the complete meaning of the contents. In the research, the upper and lower items will be viewed for a clearer conceptualization of the texts.

The system of enumeration is the recording system of the results. After making a content analysis, it is crucial to enumerate the results to achieve the purpose of the research. Hence, it is necessary to decide the system of enumeration before making the analysis. There are four measurements of enumeration, including 1) presence or absence of the content unit 2) frequency count in which every occurrence of the content units is counted, 3) space (column inches in print materials) or time (duration or length of time in audio or video materials), 4) intensity. Presence or absence is used as the system of enumeration in this research.

4. Data Analysis and Results

4.1 Analysis of Yi's Image Repair Strategies

Among all the image repair strategies used, "Reducing Offensiveness of Event" is the major strategy used in Yi's publication, with 29 presences. "Denial" also has two presences. However, there are no presences of "Evasion of Responsibility", "Corrective Action" or "Mortification" in Yi's blog[3].

The strategies used by Yi in her blog are basically consistent with Benoit's investigation of Hugh Grant's image restoration discourse. Both of them used "bolstering", "attack one's accuser" and "denial". However, Yi did not use mortification in her blog, which was one of the major strategies used by Hugh Grant. As for the variant strategies used, "bolstering" is the most used, with 22 presences, followed by "transcendence", five presences, "attack accuser", two presences and "denial", two presences. These are detailed below.

4.1.1 Bolstering

Yi rarely addressed her extramarital affair directly in her blog, but emphasized her positive characteristics to offset the offensiveness of the event. Celebrities' blogs may be more appropriate spaces for celebrities to use a bolstering strategy for two reasons. Firstly, if we compare blogs to other media, when celebrities use mass media like television or newspapers to repair their images, they inevitably have to interact with either reporters or hosts, and it may not be easy to stress their positive characteristics during an interview. However, on blogs, they can take their time to think about the words and phrases to use without worrying about being pressurized on the spot. This helps celebrities to create the impression they want their audiences to receive.

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[3] See appendix for complete data collection

On the other hand, the use of bolstering may also be due to the nature of blogs. Blogs are spaces for people to record their lives, and so they tend to reflect their more favorable side to audiences. When celebrities use bolstering in a blog, their positive traits can be wrapped up in a more natural fashion to make their audiences believe "that's who they are" in private. Compared to other strategies, bolstering seems to be a better strategy to use in a blog.

In Yi's case, bolstering can be divided into two aspects: her charitable deeds and her personal favorable characteristics. Many celebrities often published their benevolent behavior in their blog to enhance their image. After Yi's extramarital affair, she enhanced her image by publishing the good things she had done. For example, in "Y1201", she wrote about her benevolent deeds with her son; in "Y0217", she depicted her help to raise money for poor kids; in "Y0121", she described her efforts to help victims of then Sichuan Earthquake. When these charitable things are demonstrated, they are put in a natural context, with her own words and moods about the event added. For example, in "Y1201", Yi introduced the idea of the charitable event first, and then described her working process with her son. Doing this gives these bolstering efforts more humanity.

On the other hand, her bolstering efforts are demonstrated through her personal qualities. Basically, they are shown in three dimensions, including her generosity, caring, and talent.

Firstly, Yi created a generous impression by maintaining a forgiving attitude toward her critics. When the affair broke out, many people insulted her and attacked her with all kinds of rough words and mocked her. However, she expressed in her blog that she would take those attacks as life lessons and learn from them. For example, in this post:

"One day I will appreciate all the thistles I have passed and see big flowers

bloomed from the palus. I will reborn myself and walk toward eternal light and love, without any fear."

(Y0105 烙印)

she compares the attacks with "thistles" and says she would be reborn from within. By doing this, she made a contrast between the mass media's aggression and her forgiveness. The following are other examples:

"Those noises will by any means continue. All the exaggerations and provoke will still exist. However, I will stride forward with thanks in mind."
(Y0111 謝謝你們)

"Thanks to those who harm and those who give hands. Keep all the disasters and graces in mind. No matter what, always believe and love……"
(Y1208 一條簡單的道路)

Secondly, she created a caring image to her fans, her son and her co-workers. Fans are the premise of a celebrity's blog and it is important to maintain a bond with them. Yi often shows her appreciation and thankful attitude for the support and love given to her by her fans in her blog. They are often put in the last paragraph when Yi has already finished her description of her moods or work. This connection with her fans was even tighter after the affair. For example:

"I don't feel disappointed toward people's indifference. On the contrary, I can see those people, partners, family, good friend who still by my side in this moment, and those who never met but kept giving me temperatures."

(Y0102 幸福的可能)

"Thank you guys for giving me so much. Trust, love and persistence. Sometimes when I close my eyes, I can feel support from you guys around my ears."

(Y0126 新年新人)

"I will keep going forward. Thank you for your kind heart and love you guys. Please still stay here silently."

(Y0327 心理月刊)

Apart from her fans, Yi also created a "good mother" image in her blog writing. Yi's son is an important character in her blog and is often mentioned. She gives her son the nickname, "Little Prince". In many of Yi's posts, one can see her caring and love for her son. For example:

"Your adorable face is like the cute panda in this picture. Your eyes always full of love to this world and always have smile. Thank you for drawing picture from 6 to 9. Thank the teacher who accompanied you in the classroom, though you still fell asleep on the way home."

(Y1201 小王子的慈善彩碟)

The mass media had reported that she did not treat her son well and often left him alone. However, Yi created a good mother image in her blog through her vivid portrait of their life together. Here are other examples:

"From Christmas, New Year, New Year's Eve, winter vacation to

Valentines' day, I can spend my time with you. That's my happiest moment."

(Y0304 天天快樂)

"On the Valentine's Day we went to beautiful Danshui with Sister Candy. We wandered around in the night market, played video game, tried to catch fish, played beads. It was as if we were also back to our childhood."

(Y0313 因為懂得)

Apart from her fans and her son, she often showed her appreciation to work-related people. For example:

"I really appreciated all the crew members who taking care of me in this period of time…You guys love me as family, comfort me as friends, care me as children. I can say thanks anymore because it can't be expressed by words."

(Y0111 謝謝你們)

"As an endorser of brands, I still believe a responsible client will make efforts to shoulder every result. I wish everyone can look things from a more large-minded perspective. Finally I want to thank to those clients, friends, family and working partners who still accompany me and protect me at this moment."

(Y0402 掌上明珠)

As seen above, Yi used a lot of "thanks" and "appreciated" in her blogging posts, and this gives her a modest and thankful impression in the minds of audiences.

Thirdly, Yi maintained her image as a talented writer. Yi is liked by many because of her beautifully written texts. Many people have left messages on her blog saying that they like her because of her beautiful texts and her intelligence. Stressing her favorable

characteristics that are liked by her fans is a measure to counter any possible offensiveness of the event. For example, she sometimes wrote her blog in a prose style with a lot of metaphors. The texts were like her mood reflecting the extramarital affair. For example:

"See, then run; maybe in the back of the light is just darkness. Listen to the wind and close my eyes. Imagine opening my wings. Maybe there are no wings. But still craving to fly. Feel the temperature, hot and cold and freezing and I hug myself. Know I still exist and breathe hardly. Let my tears drop down and smile."

(Y1226 way back into love)

"As if waking up from hibernation, I gradually feel my body temperature. Finish one job and I can finally sleep well. Without dreaming and awaking, just like death. When wake up, it's already a century passed. The world has changed its appearance."

(Y0112 冬眠)

Some of her fans expressed in her blog that they could feel the kind of person she is from her texts. If this writing ability is the reason she is liked by her fans, enforcing this ability in her blog may help her to solidify her fan base. The following are other examples:

"Maybe there are different styles and appearances, which can't be understood by this world. But I still believe possibility of love and well-being. You also should believe that, life is always on the road of warm spring and flower blooming. It's not far from the days of facing the wide ocean."

(Y0102 幸福的可能)

"The world is big, with many bothering. All the distracting thoughts only

exist in the blink of eyes. Maybe one day I will disappear in front of people's eyes. But what is hardest to forsake is the gaze from you guys."

(Y0130 異鄉人)

As shown above, although Yi's image was jeopardized by the extramarital affair, she did not just keep justifying herself, but maintained her habit of blog writing and emphasizing her positive characteristics.

The bolstering efforts shown above are different from those used by Hugh Grant in the mass media. When Hugh Grant used a bolstering strategy, he created an impression of honesty through his appearance, maintained a modest attitude by praising others, and expressed his concern for his girlfriends (Benoit, 1997), and these efforts are still made "for the wrongdoing". However, in Yi's case, when bolstering is shown in her blog, her positive traits are demonstrated on a daily basis, instead of presented in a deliberate way or specifically referring to the critical event.

4.1.2 Transcendence

When Yi published something in her blog, she sometimes used transcendence to make publications. For example, she connected two of her blogging posts with famous figures to reflect her mood. For example, she cited texts written by Haruki Marukami (村上春樹), a famous Japanese writer, to reflect her mood:

"life cannot be simply divided as bright and dark, in which a shadow part exists. Sound knowledge can be achieved if you can recognize the shadow part and understand it. To obtain the sound knowledge needs considerable amount of time and efforts.   After Dark-Haruki Marukami"

（Y1224 黑夜之後)

The idea of this post is to suggest that there were things in their marriage which were not seen by the public, and it was necessary to know about the "shadowed" part to understand what had happened. She did not use her own words to make an explanation, but connected herself to the texts written by a renowned author. The idea of transcendence is to interpret things on a higher, abstract level to distract people's attention, and this connection may have helped her to amend her image. The following is another example:

"No matter what…..still loves Taipei deeply….Transcribing Mother Theresa's texts from "A Simple Path":*People are often unreasonable, illogical, and self-centered; Love them anyway…*"
(Y1208 一條簡單的道路)

She borrowed these words from Mother Theresa to reflect her mood. On the one hand, linking herself with these great, respected figures shows her intelligence and knowledge; on the other, she can voice herself in an indirect way.

In Yi's blogging posts, she often used metaphors to refer to her status quo. Other than the two posts above, she seemed to be hiding her ideas in some of her other posts. For example, she sometimes made comments after watching movies. In her post "Mei Lang Fang" (梅蘭芳), she seemed to project the movie plot on to her real life. For example:

"How this world interpret their own languages is always an irresponsible hassle; but do harm to other people's heart and body for whole life. Because they always watch for their benefits selfishly…Mei Lang Fang took an injection to show his honest and upright. I am not yours, and neither can you control me."

(Y0108 梅蘭芳)

In the transcendence strategy, Yi used many metaphors to depict her own moods and emotions. On the one hand, this may have been due to her identity as a writer; on the other, by wrapping up her emotions in this sort of literary prose-style context, she creates ambiguity and this may distract people's attention from the affair.

4.1.3 Attack accuser

Yi also used an "attack accuser" strategy sometimes to regain her reputation. Yi stayed silent when the extramarital affair was first revealed and she seldom justified herself. However, her silence did not bring her peace, but only more attacks and rumors. This made her actively justify herself by attacking the credibility of the mass media. For example:

"Please allow me to strongly condemn those irresponsible media, who made up story and do harm to others for their own survival. To escape from legal responsibility, they don't ask for facts but using "Yi's friends said" as their way to make up stories."
(Y0104 沉默不是代表接受)

It is obvious that the intonation of this post is much more serious and solemn compared to her other posts. Yi is very sensitive toward the mass media's use of "Yi's friend said" as a news source and she further suggests taking possible legal action if there are further more unreal news reports.

"I hope you guys understand that silence doesn't mean accepted. I have collected evidence from many magazines and newspapers. If there are furthermore unreal news reports, I will ask for its responsibility."

(Y0104 沉默不是代表接受)

Yi was reported to have had affairs with other men after she had officially divorced Harlem. When this was covered, Yi further countered and said that the media tended to negatively materialize females, especially when they were controlled by males. For example:

"In Chinese Society, what male like most to materialize and discriminate female are genders and ages. When the viewpoints of a media is controlled by a man, the way they question and attack female to make it look more interesting is to use female's gender to describe the working relationship of female and male."

(Y0427 女兒當自強)

This justification further attacked the credibility of the mass media. When the credibility of the accuser is low, all attacks will be less harmful for the accused. Although most of Yi's blogging posts used bolstering to create a positive atmosphere, Yi did not stop using her blog as a platform for attacking and justification. This shows her tough side and persistence throughout all the assaults.

4.1.4 Denial

When denial is used, it is mostly Yi's denial of the speeches attributed to her. It appeared in her very first post, when she was justifying the fact that she had not revealed anything to her friends and all the news sources that used "Yi's friend said" were not true.

For example:

"Any responses on behalf of Yi Neng Jing so far are not real. Yi Neng Jing herself will not make any response right now and in the future. And will stay silent."

(Y1112 聲明)

Interestingly, from the beginning of the extramarital affair to the end of her marriage with Harlem, she never used a denial strategy regarding "the affair". It seems that Yi did not try to deny the extramarital affair, but only the mass media's use of her own words. The following is another example:

" I saw media using many "Yi's friends said" as news sources. I just want to say people's imagination and story-making ability is really great. I have never talked about my private life to anyone. If anyone use our language to speak, they are definitely not my friends. I emphasize again that media don't take "Yi's friends said" as my responses."

(Y0211 對不起，我什麼也沒說)

In Yi's situation, since her photo was clearly taken holding hands with another guy, it would have been inappropriate to use a denial strategy against the affair itself, since it may have been taken as a measure to evade responsibility. Yi chose to make a denial of the mass media's use of her own speech in her blog. On the one hand, this suggests that her blog is her official voice; on the other, indicating problems with Apple Daily's news sources helps to decrease the credibility of the mass media.

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4.1.5 Summary

The researcher argues that Yi's image repair strategies are effective in two ways. Firstly, Yi never faced the central issue directly and that gave her a space to maneuver in respect of the issue. She used bolstering to emphasize her positive side, attacked the mass media to lower their credibility and denied news sources that did not come from her; however, none of this dealt with her marriage issues. If she had used mortification to deal with the marriage issue, as Hugh Grant had done in his case, she might have lost the support of her fans, since many of them supported her based on her persistence that it was love. Thus, the use of other strategies may have been more effective. Secondly, in the beginning when the extramarital affair had just been revealed, she was smart by staying mute in the face of all the criticisms. At that point in time, the public had many questions about their marriage and tried to look for answers. If we posit that she really had been disloyal, staying silent may have been the best strategy to alleviate the pressure from the media.

4.2 Mass media's reaction to Yi's image repair discourse

In the time segment, a total of 78 news reports were published by Apple Daily and 30 posts used Yi's blog. 18 of the 30 posts were cited by Apple Daily, with one post reported positively, six posts reported neutrally, and 11 posts reported negatively. The table below shows the numbers of publications by Apple Daily and Yi in the time segment:

Table 2. Frequency of news coverage and Yi's blog, Yi's blogging posts and number of citations.

	Numbers of Apple Daily's Report	Numbers of Yi's blogging posts	Numbers of Yi's blogging posts cited
2008 Nov	38	1	1
2008 Dec	15	4	4
2009 Jan	13	11	7
2009 Feb	6	3	1
2009 Mar	14	6	4
2009 April	12	5	1

As the table shows, Apple Daily had the most news stories regarding the extramarital affair in the first month, and the number of publications decreased as time progressed. In March 2009, the number of publications increased again. This was due to Yi's official divorce with Harlem, which increased the newsworthiness of the event. It seems that the mass media's use of celebrities' blog contents is related to time and the newsworthiness of the event. Posts published right after newsworthy events have a greater chance of gaining exposure on the mass media. For example, in all the 16 posts published by Yi in the first three months since the affair broke out, 12 posts were cited as news material. However, only 6 of the 14 posts published in the last three months of the time segment were cited.

In all the 18 blogging posts cited by Apple Daily, "bolstering" has 12 presences, "transcendence" has four presences, and "denial" has two presences. However, there are no presences of "attack accuser" at all. This suggests that, when Apple Daily adopted news

material from Yi's blog, they intentionally chose information that was useful to them and automatically neglected information that would have been to their disadvantage. Apple Daily's use of Yi's blogging posts will be detailed according to different strategies in the following section.

4.2.1 Bolstering

This is the strategy used most often by Yi and also the one cited most by Apple Daily. Of the 12 posts that used this strategy, one was presented positively in Apple Daily, six were presented negatively, and five were presented neutrally. Although Yi used a bolstering strategy to emphasize her positive characteristics in her blog postings, half of them were presented negatively by Apple Daily.

The only post that was cited positively was [Y1201]. Yi's charitable behavior helping poor kids was reported as her recent update. This is presented as follows:

"There is a benevolent activity in Beijing this week, the painted plate created by Yi and her son this August would join exhibition too. They will support those poor kids in Sichuan earthquake together."
(A1202 哈林搶先抱女人 伊能靜 21 日可望出面)

This news report is also one of the few that is positive about her image. It is different from other posts since it is more about the description of the activity and the working process she had with her son. However, when the post is more about Yi herself, it is easier for Apple Daily to attack it. For example, one of her posts was a reflection of her mood, and the whole blog article was ambiguously written. Apple Daily thus commented that they did not know what she was talking about and said she should put more focus on her extramarital

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affair:

"Y-Xia saw a new post posted in Yi's Sina's blog in China yesterday. She wrote "see the light, then run. Maybe in the back of the light is darkness….when I have nothing else, at least I still have myself…." Y-Xia didn't understand what kind of light she is talking about, just felt she is getting more and more illusionary. She wrote so many without focusing on her extramarital affair and that's really a torture."

(A1228 伊能靜忽見光　瞎扯找回愛)

Compared to the post that was positively presented, it seems that when she wrote her post in a clear way, it had a greater chance of being presented in a positive fashion. When Yi presented herself as a talented writer and wrote in a prose style, it was not too easy for reporters to know her ideas and they had to guess and make their own interpretation.

Also, from Apple Daily's use of Yi's posts, it can be observed that celebrities have to be very careful about all the texts they write in their blogospheres. A word inappropriately written will be used as material for an attack. Here is another example:

"Yi wrote a greeting post on the first day of Chinese New Year. However, Y-Xia felt confused about one of the sentences. She wrote "A year has passed and there are so many good memories. So many different people, things, landscape passed in front of my eyes, then I suddenly discovered that they are all good. " Y-Xia really didn't see it wrong, she wrote "all good"

(A0128 伊能靜回顧去年　沾黃維德還叫好)

When a celebrity has an image crisis, all the texts he/she has written will be over-examined by the mass media and the public. If they find that blogging texts can somehow be used and connected to newsworthiness, the mass media tend to interpret them in their own way.

Apple Daily does not necessarily cite Yi's blogging texts in news stories every time. They sometimes just cite key words and add their own comments. However, these comments are usually very sarcastic:

"Yi wrote in her blog two nights ago and the content was quite boring, containing nothing but "thank you for your birthday wishes" or something like that. But in the end of article, she used words such as "I am good, I am happy" consecutively, plus the self-taken pictures in the car. One can see her facial expression is "really feeling great". Though she is in Beijing, Y-Xia can still feel she is reborning like a phoenix."

(Y0306 伊能靜 40 歲生日自 po 燦笑 恢復單身爽歪歪)

Also, they do not necessarily take what celebrities say in the blog as being true. They investigate and provide the audience with another version of the truth. For example, the news story below used "on the surface" and "in fact" to present two different versions of her reality:

"Yi hinted in her blog recently that she would lead her life by herself. On the surface, she is single again and has a happy life; in fact she lost much for Victor Huang. Not only did she lose Harlem's trust to her, her clients even asked compensations for damage of image."

(Y0319 黃維德 偷腥貓獲利 4400 萬 逃離伊能靜同住社區)

Although Yi used a bolstering strategy to enhance her image, it is obvious that many of her efforts were ineffective. Apple Daily did not report these positive traits, but only used them for their own purposes.

Five posts using a bolstering strategy were used neutrally by Apple Daily. When used neutrally, they were either fairly paraphrased or cited without adding extra comments. For example:

> "Yi had her son accompanied her in these days and she wrote the post "possibility of well-being" happily, which is kind of rare, in her blog （blog.sina.com.cn/u/1197931472）, appreciating her fans who did the new year count down with her."
>
> (A0103 伊能靜爲 300 萬片酬躲大陸 不與哈林過年)

> "Yi wrote a post named "burned mark" in her blog (http://blog.sina.com.cn/yinengjing) two nights ago, saying "this is the last time I will let myself deeply hurt. I have to walk forward hardly". It's understood that many people tried to use her to promote news or even knocked her down since the extramarital affair. And all that made her feel very sad."
>
> (A0107 今日我最傷 哈林婚變自理 賞袁惟仁臭臉 嗆外人「閉嘴」)

Again, the first post shows that, when Yi's blogging posts are related to her son, they are not usually cited negatively by the mass media; the second post is reported plus other comments; however, they are fairer comments this time.

Apple Daily often estimated Yi's latest update from her words. For example, in two of the following news reports, they estimated Yi's latest whereabouts from some of the texts she had written:

"Yi Neng Jing divulged in her blog that "when I finished my job in hands, I will travel far away". It's apparently that Yi and Harlem have no plan to lead the Chinese New Year together."

(A0114 伊能靜沒手牽　嚷要出走)

"Yi published a post called "outlander" in her blog yesterday, which leaking her whereabouts in Japan. It's understood that Yi and Harlem and their son have traveled to Hokkaido in the New Year for gathering. On one hand they can accompany their sons together; on the other, Yi and Harlem finally have to talk with each other face to face."

(A0131 伊哈一家三口　傳密遁北海道團聚部落格洩行蹤)

[A0131] is the news report that cited most of Yi's blogging texts. The news was about Yi and Harlem's first meeting after the extramarital affair, and the mass media found this out from this blogging post. The post itself has high news value. It is observed that, when the post is of high news value, mass media tend to process it with a fairer attitude. However, if the post cannot be connected with a major news event, they tend to give it extra interpretations to give it more news value. The post below is another example:

"first day after their official divorce, Yi came to Taipei secretly and accompanied her son…She left message in her blog yesterday, saying "Thanks to everyone for respecting our decisions. This decision has nothing to do with anyone else, and no one can speak on behalf of me. I sincerely pray that everything will go back to peace. Please give us good wishes and thanks again to those who give your concern"

(A0321 伊能靜　哈林　隔海各發超短聲明　冷漠終結 9 年婚)

This post was Yi's statement after she officially divorced Harlem. When Apple Daily

cited this post, no other extra comments were added; only straightforward citations of what she had written.

Bolstering is the major strategy used by Yi and it is also the one most cited. However, when the posts were presented in the mass media, not all of them were demonstrated in a fair way. Many of her blogging posts were fragmented and certain sentences or words were intentionally chosen for interpretation. It is crucial for celebrities to use bolstering in the right context, so that it can be more effective.

4.2.2 Transcendence

Four posts using a transcendence strategy are adopted by Apple Daily as news material. Three of them are presented negatively and one is presented neutrally. Yi made a connection between herself and great figures in her blogging posts. However, it seems that this connection with great figures was not effective, but was used by Apple Daily as a contrast. For example, when Yi linked herself to Mother Theresa, Apple Daily's headline was as follows: "Yi's abuse of Mother Theresa's texts to hide her extramarital affair embarrassment", and the news story further made a comparison between her deeds and Mother Theresa's virtues:

"She cited Mother Theresa's texts "A Simple Path" in her blog two nights ago, claiming that she will stick to her faith no matter what. She left messages and said "Thanks to those who harm and those who help. Remember all the disasters and graces. No matter what, always believe and love". Ironically, path of love is simple but she has gone to the wrong way."

(A1210 伊能靜 爬牆挨譙 濫用名言 竟拿泰瑞莎修女遮羞)

The same situation occurred when Yi cited texts from Japanese author, Murakami

Haruki. Yi was citing her texts to reflect her own emotions. However, when it was used by Apple Daily, the main idea was not put on what she cited, but her typo of the author's name:

> "She left a post named "After Dark"in her China's blog, citing famous Japanese writer 村上春樹. However, it's unknown whether she is having a cold and or feeling uncomfortable, she writes the name as "春上村樹"and it's quite dumb-founded."
>
> (A1226 伊能靜老愛裝才女 村上春樹寫成春上村樹)

Apple Daily further reported a similar mistake she had made before to mock her effort to be a talented author, when she kept making errors.

> "Y –Xia remembered that it's not her fist time of making jokes. In the song she wrote the lyrics by herself, she pronounced the word wrong and got mocked by the Internet users of her Chinese ability. She cited the work of 村上春樹 this time, but typed the name of the author wrong."
>
> (A1226 伊能靜老愛裝才女 村上春樹寫成春上村樹)

Transcendence is a strategy to place the act in a more favorable context and point to higher values to justify the act. In Yi's situation, her attempt to link herself with great figures does not seem to have been a good idea, since it gave the mass media a chance to emphasize the contrast.

The post using transcendence and reported neutrally was her comment about the movie "Mei Lang Fang". The whole post was about her feelings after watching the movie; nevertheless, she seemed to reflect her real life situation in the comments. She did not link herself with great people in this post, but only hid her expressions in the movie comments, and this gave no space for Apple Daily to make extra explanations:

> "Yi revealed her mood in her blog（blog.sina.com.cn/yinengjing） yesterday by wring comments of movie "Mei Lang Fang". She wrote " how this world

interpret their own languages is always an irresponsible hassle; but do harm to other people's heart and body for whole life. Because they always watch for their benefits selfishly " to divulge her dissatisfactions."

(A1114 庾澄慶嗆閉嘴　自吞婚變之苦　星友枉作小人)

Yi tried to link herself with great people or movie plots to distract people's attention and offset any possible offensiveness. However, this does not always succeed. If the context is totally in contrast with the image, it may not be a good measure to take.

4.2.3 Denial

Two posts cited by Apple Daily used a denial strategy. One is presented neutrally and one is presented negatively. The one presented negatively is her first post and it is also her first statement about the affair. When it is presented by the mass media, her denial of her own speech was reported. However, her whole blogging article was demonstrated as her means to relinquish responsibility:

"She called her friend and cried, saying her soft heart lead to the status quo. She confessed that her marriage had already had problems. However, two nights ago she published a statement again in her blog （http://tw.myblog.yahoo.com/annieyi-annieyi）, saying that "none of the responses on behalf of Yi were real. And both sides will discuss over this and all the responses made by Mr. Yu will be taken as principles," throwing problems back to Harlem.

(A1114 伊能靜　大陸拍戲狀況特好　哈林閉關落淚)

By saying "throwing problems back to Harlem", Yi's statement was presented as her means to relinquish responsibility. This again suggests the importance of preciseness when

celebrities write blogs after a newsworthy event. On the other hand, although Yi claimed that none of these responses attributed to her were true, Apple Daily did not forsake the use of other sources; instead, it was used as a contradiction of her own behavior. This suggests that, when the mass media cites celebrities' blogging texts, they make evaluations from different sources, and the source of the celebrity still has to compete with their other sources.

The other post using a denial strategy was reported after Yi and Harlem already filed their official divorce statement. This post was neutrally reported. Apple Daily cited Yi's denial of her own speeches without adding any other comments:

"After their trip to Hokkaido, there were a lot of rumors about their marriage. There were media keeping using "Yi's friend said" to express Yi's thoughts. She revealed in her blog yesterday with dissatisfaction, saying that "I have never spoken to anyone about my private life. If anybody speaks on behalf of us, I am sorry but they are definitely not my friends. Sorry I didn't say anything. I will still keep silence toward my privacy in the future".
(A0212 伊能靜 享台北・上海・北京 4 豪宅 贍養費 7200 萬)

As mentioned above, when the blogging post can be linked with a major news event, it can decrease the possibility of extra explanations and also have the possibility of media exposure.

4.2.4 Summary

From Apple Daily's use of Yi's blogging contents, it seems that no matter what the blogging contents were Apple Daily already had their disposition. Although Yi used different strategies to enhance her image, Apple Daily could still frame their stories in a

certain way, even though her original texts were cited. Thus, the influence of blogs can be discussed in the respect. Some used to argue that, as a grassroots medium, blogs finally turned audiences from consumers into producers. Audiences can make active publications. However, what was not considered was the influence of a blogger. A blog's influence is affected by the numbers of visitors and their subsequent mediations. However, in Yi's case, if these mediations can only be communicated among people with similar qualities (e.g. Yi's fans), instead of reaching the public, most people would still only be receiving messages from traditional media. In this situation, the effect of celebrities' blogging may only be confined to their readers.

4.3 Analysis of Yi's Blogging Comments:

200 comments are randomly chosen for analysis. 119 of them are positive comments, 52 of them are neutral comments, and 29 of them are negative comments. The comments are divided into the audience's comments left in Yi's blog as comments left by Yi's fans and comments left by visitors. By grouping comments that show similar characteristics, the researcher can evaluate the audience's opinions of Yi and the mass media reporting and their thoughts about social media platforms. These are detailed below.

4.3.1 Comments Left by Yi's Fans

Many of Yi's fans revealed that they liked Yi because of her texts. They often expressed their feelings about her words and equated her texts with herself:

"Annie Sis, I like you so much. Ha…this is the first time I leave message to you.
I like your texts very much. They make people feel very peaceful."

(海如 2008-12-27 14:57:17)

"I read your texts seriously. I can feel your mood and feeling when you wrote those words. I like those peaceful texts that make yourself stable."

(依依 2009-01-12 16:05:43)

"It's my first time entering your blog and also my first time using blog.

The first time I know you was because your voice; the second time I know you was because your glorious; however, I truly understand you because of your texts."

(新浪网友 2009-01-13 15:16:36)

These fans often made a connection between Yi and her words. For some fans, these texts are not merely texts, but an important power and force in their lives:

"I went through the darkest period of my life recently. But whenever I browsed your blog, I saw words from Mother Theresa, who is also my favorite figures, I become brave again. I believe everything will pass. Darkness will pass. We can feel sad but never pessimistic."

(新浪网友 2008-12-26 15:42:45)

"I am so happy I can see you start writing texts full of love and hope again. It's these kinds of texts that attract me, making me believe love and has courage to believe."

(Smilingfish2009-01-02)

"You, your songs, your texts have given me power in these years. What I can give you back is to give you support on this platform. Any predicament will finally be over. As long as you live, hope exists."

(Antoine2009-03-04 23:09:48)

When Yi came under serious attack from the mass media because of her extramarital affair, many of her fans still believed the image they had formed of Yi from her blog. Some revealed that a woman who could write beautiful words like this could not possibly be as bad a woman as the mass media portrayed her to be:

"I don't care how public talk about you or how media write about you. Those are not important to me. Most importantly, we all believe you are still the knowledgeable and kind-hearted Yi Neng Jing."

(新浪网友 2008-12-24 18:12:35)

"I have never believed those reports in the very beginning. Because I can understand your texts and your songs. Those texts flowed through my heart and are so close to me. I feel really delighted that you still write your blog under this pressure. And I still believe the possibility of well-being."

(新浪网友 2009-01-02 22:59:46)

"When I saw many of your negative news, I still love you. When I heard many of your negative news, I still stick to my faith of loving you."

(伊能回忆 2009-03-06 22:47:48)

These blogging posts are like hypnogenesis. They keep enforcing a particular image for fans to believe in. Although there were many negative news reports of Yi at that time, these blogging posts were like a counter force maneuvering the audience's mentality. The key factor to sustaining this counter force was the "authenticity" Yi appeared to have, or at least, tried to have. Many people believed that her blog revealed her true nature, and that she

was just as beautiful and pure as her texts:

"Sister, please allow me to call you this way. Though I love watching entertainment news and like going after stars; however, what I liked most is the authenticity behind the glory of stars."

(听雨竹帐 2009-03-07 18:53:57)

"Sister Jing, you have to keep going and be happy and brave. A real you doesn't need any explanations. A real self believes to those who really love you."

(心心 2009-01-26 16:50:17)

"Sister princess, I am used to watching your blog. It always gives me a peaceful and stable feeling. I really like you. Not only because of your work, but also your personality. A very true person."

(Smilingfish2008-12-26 23:20:26)

Some of them further denoted the low credibility of entertainment news, saying that it was the truth filtered by the mass media and should not be believed:

"What we are listening now and watching now are from mass media. Though their functions are communicating news, not many of them are real. I already have media literacy ability toward those news."

(肉牛养殖专家 2009-01-08 17:10:21)

"The so-called "fact" that we know has already been filtered out by media once or even several times. They are already not "truth" of the event. So we don't need to feel sad or angry because of those news. The well-being should be

griped in our hand authentically."

(新浪网友 2009-01-09 12:25:59)

"Don't care about those rumors. You like "Yi Neng Jing". That's most important. People have their own life and it's hard for others to understand."

(CC2009-01-01 15:20:37)

Although many of Yi's fans were not influenced by the negative coverage of Yi, a few did show their disappointment when they saw the picture. They expressed their confusion and disappointment in their comments. They did not understand why their beautiful model of true love and wellbeing could hold hands with another guy:

"Thank you for coming back. Many things have happened and didn't come here to leave messages. Because I don't know what to say. No matter what happened, I believe you have your own reasons. A person can write texts like that understands love…."

(娟娟 2008-12-08 23:42:16)

"Maybe you are never that perfect as we thought. But I also believe you are not that kind of person who deceives. No matter it's holding hands or extramarital affair, we don't care about it. The only thing we cannot forgive you is you don't get your well-being."

(新浪网友 2008-12-24 18:12:35)

When I heard your song long time ago I liked you a lot. ⌐ (⌣ ▽ ⌣) ⌐ . The news this time kind of damage my impression on you. I wish you can go through these days with courage, and cherish the person who cherishes you.

(freeyours2009-01-04 11:54:15)

Some even showed their anger and sadness in their comments:

"I still liked you in the past, so pure and beautiful. However you seemed to have changed. I can't stand your behavior recently. Do retrospect yourself, that's the life in entertainment field."

(baifenfen2008-12-09 08:54:31)

"We used to love you. But what you did can't be perceived by us. You have a husband who loved you so much and a good kid. Why you destroy that?

We don't understand. We really don't."

(新浪网友 2009-01-02 23:02:02)

"I hope you can find the well-being you are looking for. Today may be the last time I come to this blog. On one hand, I already passed the age of going after an idol and should look for my own career and well-being; on the other, I think this affair will indeed make you lose many fans. Don't blame me for not being loyal…I do feel sad indeed."

(S2009-01-02 16:27:58)

This is pretty complicated for Yi's fans. Many loved Yi because of her persistent and touching description of love, but after the news of the extramarital affair came out, their role model was no longer so perfect. It can be seen that some of her fans were caught in the middle between Yi's blog and the mass media reporting:

"It's your own life and it shouldn't be judged by others. Because I love you so much so I decided to take a neutral position. No long judge you or think about your right or wrong. I just hope I can hear your true voice."

(樱花虾 2008-12-08 22:46:24)

"You are the person who cares about happiness most. Promise us, you will be

happy. However, I want to hear you say that those rumors are not real and you are still have a good marriage with Harlem. Can I ?”

(丫丫 2009-01-01 15:03:42)

“Sister, I think you have done something wrong in this event. From a more practical perspective, I don't like woman like you; however, I would like to imaging you as another kind of person so I can come visit your blog.”

(新浪网友 2009-02-12 09:34:16)

As their divorce seemed to be settled, it is obvious that there were more comments with question marks left in Yi's blog and more of her fans' confidence in Yi was shaken. For example, the Apple Daily reporters witnessed Yi at the airport with a lot of luggage, waiting for her flight to Beijing on the 9th Feb, 2009. The report covered the fact that she had already moved her stuff out of Harlem's house and they were going to publish their divorce statement. The comments below are some of her fan's responses to the report:

“I indeed hope you and Harlem don't separate. Maybe there are many things you can't speak out in your marriage; however, if you really love Harlem, I believe you can endure them. I don't want to discuss your right or wrong anymore. Maybe there are no things like that in marriage. Wish you best in the future.”

(新浪网友 2009-02-11 16:17:44)

“Are you still the "Little Princess" we used to like?

Have you changed?

We still like you in the past. It's so pure, cute and kind.

Are you still like that?

Are you?”

(镜子 2009-02-11 16:18:32)

"You were once the idol in my mind. But right now you are in decadence."

(新浪网友 2009-02-12 21:25:31)

"I hope those are not real. I hope you can think twice about your future. The kid is innocent. Adults shouldn't ask kid to bear responsibility from the decisions and affect his future."

(新浪网友 2009-02-11 17:14:21)

In the beginning when the extramarital affair broke out, more of her fans still showed their support and believed that she and Harlem would be alright. However, as her marriage with Harlem seemed to be ending, there were more opinions showing their confusion or dissatisfaction. For example, Yi and Harlem finally made their divorce statement on the 20th March, 2009, and Apple Daily covered this news. It was not until then that many of her fans knew that the rumor was true; that their "Prince and Princess Fairy Tale" was finally over.

"There are so many things have passed in these years. You have accompanied so many by your blog, including me. When I saw this news this evening. Frankly speaking, I feel really sad. You finally marked a period in your marriage this time. However, I really don't want to let it go. I still hope it's not real."

(amywang_172009-03-20 19:13:10)

"I really like you and hope you get your happiness. But why are you divorced? Many celebrities' marriage can't last long. I really don't understand why two people loving each other so much can made a quick decision like that."

(心痛 2009-03-20 19:19:24)

"Annie, I have seen entertainment news many times which distribute your extramarital news. There were so many time I chose not to believe them and took them as media's deliberate intentions to knock you down. It was not until

today when I saw the news report, did I believe that it's true. My eyes full of tears and feel so pity for your marriage."

(风中的叶子 2009-03-20 22:39:34)

"I won't support you afterwards. You really make me feel sad."

(給妳壹生的寵愛 2009-03-21 18:12:14)

"Suddenly accept this fact. And all those beautiful feelings that come from you seem to disappear in front of this fact. I feel so powerless. We, those who have see you appear like an angel, have to accept this cruel truth. However, still wish you all the best, and walk on your life path with good luck."

(新浪网友 2009-03-21 06:48:57)

Between the pull and push of Yi's blog and the news media report, the majority of fans in her Sina China's blog still showed their support. However, when there was more credible news that damaged her favorable qualities in her fans' minds (e.g. her persistence in love), more people were influenced because they could not accept the contrast between the reality and her public image. When they had already taken everything she had said in her blog as being true and believed that her correspondent personality was the same in the real world, this contrasting image shattered their fantasy. Maybe the comments below can precisely describe the complicated emotions of Yi's fans.

"There was a moment I don't believe you at all. I originally thought those peaceful words are "you"; however, they are not. I once believed you so much, but you have your own world and you don't have to be honest toward others about your mental thoughts. That's your right and freedom. Nevertheless, you shouldn't harm those people that love you. I wish I could still believe those peaceful and beautiful words, because I like them so much."

 (soursweet135 2008-12-02 16:13:10)

4.3.2 Comments Left by Visitors

Apart from the comments left by Yi's fans, there are also many people who are just visitors and who also reveal their thoughts about her or her texts. For example, some people estimated the kind of person she was from her texts:

"I am not your fans and never leave message. I just like your texts and I believe they are your real self."

(vnita2009-01-12 19:36:37)

"From reading your blog, though not much, I can feel you are a very emotional person, just pessimistic sometimes."

(新浪网友 2009-01-13 15:22:23)

"A woman can write texts like these should have a clear judgment toward her own love."

(新浪网友 2009-01-12 13:09:56)

Also, some people did express that they felt Yi's words came from the bottom of her heart and they could feel that this was her true voice:

"I always pay attention to this blog because I feel it's like reflection of myself. A authentic female voice."

(新浪网友 2009-01-10 21:58:49)

"Yi Neng Jing, I believe you. I believe your texts are from the bottom of your heart. I hope you can really become happy and be yourself."

(心一窝 2009-01-26 22:26:57)

"Your texts always made me feel so touched. A very genuine and pure you. Never pay attention to those interferences but those happiness in your mind. Though you are a star, your texts made me feel you are a woman who full of hope to life."

(新浪网友 2009-01-14 14:42:25)

A visitor even compared her blog with other celebrities' blogs, and again praised her authenticity:

"I seldom paid attention to you in the past. Just feel you are pretty and have a good voice. I read your blog first time today. There are many stars who preserve their privacy in their blog, but I see authenticity in yours. I am a person who follows the feeling. Therefore I believe your honest and kindness. Your blog gives me the feeling of peaceful, pureness…I am not your fans but do have a good impression when I enter in. I believe you are recording your true mood."

(独语 2009-03-18 20:04:26)

However, some visitors did express their dislike of Yi. For example, Yi mentioned Mother Theresa in one of her posts, and a lot of people expressed their anger and said she had no right to compare herself with a holy figure like Mother Theresa.

""Honest and straightforward make you get assault; however, you still have to be honest and straightforward"----Are you qualified of talking about honesty? I really look down on you."

(新浪网友 2008-12-09 08:37:03)

"Yi Neng Jing really thought she can be alright by transcribing some texts from Mother Theresa. She didn't think she is wrong and still believed others try to do harm to her. She should really go see the doctor."

(新浪网友 2008-12-09 08:37:28)

"Take Mother Theresa's words to hide your own embarrassment. You are really shameless, Yi Neng Jing."

(新浪网友 2008-12-09 10:45:27)

Many of these criticisms were deleted to maintain a more positive image on her comment board. These deletions were futher exposed by visitors:

"Are you guys finding she keeps deleting responses and articles? Her blogging posts in Taiwan had been deleted a lot. She deleted all those posts that don't support her."

(新浪网友 2008-12-09 08:49:09)

"I opened a new blog about Yi Neng Jing and people can go there to scold her as much as you want and divulged your angers. Too many posts left here have been deleted and the Internet users can't see people's real evaluations to her."

(新浪网友 2009-03-28 09:00:05)

Some people felt that Yi's blogging texts were authentically written; however, some also thought her beautiful texts were incompatible with the image presented in the real world:

"The written texts are pure, but the person has the other side. Some people can be totally inconsistent between themselves and their texts written. That's my impression toward Yi Neng Jing."

(新浪网友 2009-01-31 14:58:19)

"Still think it's pretty fake."

A visitor even made an analysis of Yi's blogging post, saying that her published blogging articles were a public relations strategy to shape a good image:

"From the last post "Little Prince's painted plate" to this post "A Simple Path", what a nice PR campaign. She tested public's reaction first, then started to justify herself, by borrowing people who have pure hearts. An innocent kid and a kind-hearted great figure…she will be less terrible if she didn't use this strategy."

These comments suggest that some audiences are aware of the propaganda nature of celebrities' social media platforms and do not believe the images presented on them. These audiences did not change their perception of Yi even though they had read Yi's blogging articles. However, an opposite situation occurred. There were also people whose negative perception changed after reading Yi's blogging posts, although they are not shown very often on the comment board:

"I didn't like for a very long time. However, after seeing your post, I suddenly have a mood of crying. I feel more sad when others keep reprimanding you. All my negative feelings toward you disappeared along the assaults. ..I had the feeling that you are a hypocrite woman. It's not until today did I discover you live pretty real."

"First of all, I want to apologize here. I used to think you are only a mediocre woman. But from your written texts today, I can feel you are a emotional

woman who full of hopes toward life. I wish you can have more hopes toward your life in the future. And let us see a brand-new Yi Neng Jing."

(不伦不类 2009-03-21 06:42:31)

"I have to say you are writing really well. I didn't think you are a talented person in the past, but the first visit to your blog gives me a new impression."

(新浪网友 2009-04-01 19:20:15)

"Actually I understand you gradually. I really don't understand you in the past and thing you are wrong. Right now, I think you have many things that deserve me to learn."

(新浪网友 2009-04-20 20:56:41)

If they had not come to Yi's blog, their impression of Yi would still come from the mass media's reporting. A celebrity's blog provides audiences with a chance to know a celebrity in a more "profound" way if the celebrity really pays attention to operating his/her blog and maintains an authentic image for his/her fans to believe.

4.3.3 Summary

Before audiences start to browse a celebrity's social media platform, they already have a pre-existing image of the celebrity in mind, whether positive or negative. After browsing celebrities' social media platforms, some people may change their perception, and some may not. Whether or not it can have an influence on audiences, at least it gives them a chance to re-recognize a celebrity or get to know them better from other angles or viewpoints, which are different from those of the mass media. Therefore, mass media and celebrities' blogs are like two forces, pulling and pushing audiences into their manufactured discourses.

Audiences' opinions would not be exposed if there was not a platform like a blog for them to express their ideas. Thus, an aggregation of these ideas, thoughts and expressions become a source of news for reporters to know what the public's opinions are. Although they are inevitably put under the mass media's framework, at least this suggests that an audience is no longer a silent crowd, but has the power to project its voice.

5. Conclusion

The purposes of this research are to investigate the relationship between celebrities' blogs, the mass media and audiences in the new media era, and realize how blogs are used by celebrities to repair their image in an image crisis. The following outlines the major results, contributions, and limitations of the study, and provides some recommendations for future research in this field.

5.1 Summary of results

The analysis shows that, when a celebrity encounters an image crisis, "Reducing the Offensiveness of the Event" is the major strategy used in blogs; in terms of the variant strategies used, "bolstering" has the utmost presence, followed by "transcendence", attack "accuser" and "denial". The research findings are basically consistent with Benoit's (1997) investigation of Hugh Grant's image restoration discourse of his lewd behavior in the mass media. Both cases used "bolstering", "attack one's accuser" and "denial" to repair their image. This suggests that celebrities use similar image remedy strategies in both traditional media and new media. However, Hugh Grant used "mortification" as the major strategy, while this was never used by Yi in her blog.

In his research, Benoit (1997) argued that it may be easier for entertainers to use mortification than politicians, since their mortifications will not lead to having a serious impact on people's lives. Nevertheless, it is also important to consider the gender difference when discussing why mortification was not used in Yi's case. Woman receive higher moral censorship by the public than men. A woman tends to be more severely criticized if the same extramarital situation happens. In Hugh Grant's case, he admitted his mistake and did not offer excuses to minimize the damage, and this may have given his apology a genuine

feeling and gained a positive influence. Nevertheless, if a woman confesses her extramarital wrongdoings in public, the same positive feedback may be gainedt to a lesser extent Gender difference may explain why mortification was never shown in Yi's case.

Although the image remedy strategies conducted by Hugh Grant and Yi are similar, it cannot be argued that these image strategies are "the" strategies used by every celebrity. Different kinds of strategies have to be applied according to different image crises. For example, Andy Lau, a famous actor and singer in Chinese society, used mortification to confess to his fans in his blog in the first place, when he was found to be already married. Thus, it is important to consider what types of strategies to use in different situations.

As for the second research question, the data analysis shows that, no matter what kind of image repair strategies are used by celebrities, their blogging posts tend to be put under the mass media's framework, which offsets the celebrities' remedial efforts. For example, ten of Yi's 18 posts cited by Apple Daily are used in a negative fashion. Although their texts do get cited, they are often reported with extra explanations or not taken as being real fact. However, if celebrities' blogging content can be published and articulated in the right context, they have a greater chance to be fairly covered.

It is observed that the key points to make celebrities' blogging content effective and influential in the mass media are clarity of articulation and the time point of publication. Unlike being interviewed on the spot, when reporters use celebrities' blogging content, they lack non-verbal cues for observation and what they have is only text. Thus, if celebrities cannot clearly articulate their words, they may be misunderstood by reporters. Also, when the mass media use celebrities' blogging content, they do not necessarily take it as being the truth and often devise their own explanation. If ideas of texts are ambiguously written, they are hard to be perceived and also provide extra room for interpretation. If celebrities can articulate their ideas clearly or provide more non-verbal cues for reporters to follow, at least

that will prevent the possibility of extended interpretations. Besides, it is best for celebrities to justify themselves in their blogs right after a newsworthy event. A celebrity's social media platform garners the utmost attention when there are related news events about him or her, and almost any text published will be adopted as news material as a reflection of their moods. In Yi's case, her first reported justification was right after news of the extramarital affair had broken out; her second reported justification was after the news of her traveling with Harlem. However, as the news value of events decreases over time, justifications are not necessarily used as news material because of less media attention. This decreases the possibility of their texts being seen in the mass media. Reacting fast on social media platforms increases the chances of being exposed in the mass media.

As for the comments left on Yi's blog, it is observed from the analysis that audiences engage in a pull and push between celebrities' blogs and mass media coverage, and celebrities' blogging contents are a counter force against the coverage of the mass media. However, if the mass media can provide audiences with more evidence to prove that Yi's image is inconsistent with the favorable image in her blog, her fan base will be seriously influenced, especially if the evidence is credible. As for fans, the majority expressed an opinion that her blog is the more authentic side of her; and except for those that showed their strong dislike of her, some visitors also revealed that they felt her posts were sincerely written.

The relationship between celebrities, the media and audiences has already altered after development of blogs, and other burgeoning new media platforms are still coming out. In future, there will only be more media outlets shortening the distance between audiences and celebrities. Although they may be demonstrated in different formats and styles, no matter how the trend changes, it is imperative for celebrities to maintain a good and subtle balance with audiences and know how to provide the proper "contents". In an era where information

is much easier to share, to remodel and to reproduce, these contents will eventually decide how their fans and the traditional media interact with them, and will, to a very large extent, affect the image of them which is presented to the public.

5.2 Discussion

The rapid development of new media technology has accelerated the birth of more varied, creative and interesting networking interfaces for people to interact with and share. Considering the essence of fame and the famous, celebrities have to incorporate themselves into this trend to gain more popularity or spread their propaganda. Except for newspapers, magazines and television, they still need to rely on channels such as Facebook, Twitter and Weibo to create furthermore mediations. The cooperation between the old and new media channels will only become closer and closer, and this kind of cooperation will not stop until the day when everything can be totally merged or synchronized "in some way".

This also raises a copyright issue. In Taiwan, some celebrities already emphasize the copyright of their social networking content and refuse any citation by the mass media without permission. Leon Dai (戴立忍), a famous Taiwanese director, states his rules clearly in his Weibo account as follows:

> STATEMENT:
> any texts and graphics are not permitted to publish or communicate unless they are authorized by the blogger.
> (2011, 戴立忍)

This suggests that not every celebrity seeks mediation by the mass media. This may be because they already know that the real ideas of their publication might be different when they are published on TV or in newspapers. Even though they may lose the chance for their

texts to be seen by the public, they can at least be the master of their own spoken voice.

5.3 Limitations and Future Research

The study only used one case for the analysis and other celebrities may use other image repair strategies, depending on their situation. Yi's image repair may be different from other celebrities' strategies. Also, the study faces the dilemma of the "researcher as instrument" (Patton, 1990). The analysis is based on the researcher's perception of the texts, although he tried his best to prevent bias by making constant comparisons and repeatedly reading data at different time points. However, the findings can still only be perceived as a phenomenon, instead of being able to be generalized.

For future research, multiple cases could be used and a comparison could be made of their presentation strategies. It would be more interesting to investigate different self presentation strategies between blogs, microblogs, or social networking sites. Also, it would be interesting to compare the mass media's usage of celebrities' social media content between Eastern and Western countries, to see if there are cultural differences in celebrities' publications in different cultures.

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