Web TV in Network TV:
Digitextuality and Hybridization of Media Labor in My Little Television

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The emergence of the new audiences floating across multimedia platforms and engaging in TV production and distribution have forced producers and broadcasters to think of not only the fragmented distribution of their content but also the development of a new format beyond the frame of traditional TV production. A Korean entertainment TV show My Little Television combining the form of live webcasting and traditional TV show reflects such a trend. Because of the distinct format, My Little Television carries out a unique strategy in managing the two screens – Internet and TV. The dualistic production requires all players to understand not only online subculture and communication styles and methods, but also implicit and explicit rules of traditional TV production. Through text and visual image analysis on the show, this study discusses how MLT negotiates with the original Internet text, the producers' paratext, and the supertext of the national TV network in the context of the transitory screen culture.

Keywords: TV format, webcasting, interface, media labor, paratext, supertext

Introduction

As new media technologies are empowering and fragmenting audiences, TV industry can no longer expect high ratings on a traditional TV channel only through the traditional exposure-centered approach to audiences (Neuman 1991; Napoli 2010). The development of online streaming services, IPTV, and mobile devices enable audiences, particularly young generation who utilizes all of the different platforms, to watch television anytime and anywhere. To increase the viewership on TV and Internet, current television shows tend to be provided with diverse forms fitted to the different platforms. Along with "original" and "traditional" television programs, this "remnant," "debris," and "derivative" content plays a crucial role in attracting audiences' attention and participation in production, consumption, and distribution of the content in the "connected," "wired," and "networked" media ecology (Grainge 2011).

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The emergence of a multi-channel network (MCN) resulted from such a changing trend of TV industry. As global smartphone sales have dramatically increased for the last decade, watching TV content via smartphone has become more common (Cho 2015). According to the annual survey of Koreans' broadcast media usage behavior in 2016, a TV set is still a dominant medium to watch TV programs, whereas young audiences in their teens (88.7 percent) and twenties (83.6 percent) consider mobile phone as an essential medium used for various purposes such as searching information, communicating with others, and watching videos (Korean Communications Committee, 2016). The online survey conducted by CJ E&M and TNS Korea in August, 2015 reveals that Korean smartphone users aged 15 to 49 enjoy all kinds of video content ranging from original TV programs and their derivative content to topical videos and personal web TV content using diverse devices such as a TV set, smartphone, tablet PC, laptop, and personal computer. Particularly, young audiences in their teens (43.5 percent) and twenties (28.7 percent) prefer MCN content to other digital-only content (CJ E&M 2015). For this reason, advertisement revenue of three Korean major terrestrial TV networks in the first quarter of 2016 plunged by about 24 percent compared to the same period of the previous year (Mediatoday 2016). To offset the diminishing profits from traditional TV production, South Korean broadcasting companies started to pay attention to personal content creation through P2P technology-based video streaming services. KBS and MBC, national public TV networks, launched their own MCN platforms for content creators in 2015, following an entertainment conglomerate CJ E&M that began the service in 2013.

A new Korean entertainment TV show, My Little Television (hereafter MLT), combines the form of MCN and traditional TV production. As the format of MCN, four to six famous celebrities perform live shows in separated rooms of a television studio and compete for the highest rating. The live web TV show released on Daum, a Korean Internet portal site, are edited and packaged into a network TV version and air through MBC, a national terrestrial TV channel, every Saturday night. With the new concept of the format, MLT garnered a massive attention as soon as it premiered. At the beginning of the show, the number of viewers on the live webcasting was over 1.3M and the network TV version recorded over 7 to 8% viewer ratings, which means great ratings on Saturday night time slot (PD Journal 2015a). The success of MLT has led to the creation of several generic versions in other TV stations and portal sites, such as Flower Crew (SBS), Welcome to the SHOW (KBS), V LIVE (Naver), etc.

Although the show is broadcast through two platforms – both a web TV on the Internet and a terrestrial network TV channel, the main platform that distributes almost every kind of content is not TV channel but Internet. This is because audiences can access more easily to the content on the Internet rather than the network TV channel on which only real-time watching is available. Moreover, the Internet homepage of the show provides a large amount of video clips and additional information regarding the show, from its preview, TV rating statistics, and cast information to the related news articles, blog postings, and social media comments. The Internet-centered distribution linked to multiple platforms and devices is pervasive in current Korean TV industry.

The new format of MLT joining personal web TV broadcasting and network TV broadcasting together has unique distinctions in terms of content and aesthetic design. While the live web TV performances embrace online subcultures following popular web video types like how-to-content,

the editions for the network TV reinterpret and adjust the online performances to the norms of traditional TV. The dualistic TV production expects all players including audiences, performers, and producers to change their traditional roles. They are required to understand not only online subculture and communication styles and methods but also implicit and explicit rules of traditional TV production. Thus, MLT uses a dualistic strategy that meets the conditions of the two platforms.

This paper investigates the production strategies of MLT, particularly focusing on its appropriation and exploitation of all players' online activities and its adaptation to television programming. Through text and visual image analysis, how the show program mediate between online and traditional television broadcasting and how it designs the two screens are examined. By analyzing the characteristics of the show and the changing roles of the players, it discusses how MLT negotiates with the original Internet text, the producers' paratext, and the supertext of the national TV network in the context of the transitory screen culture.

Literature review

Supertext and intertextuality: value creations in network TV flow

Network-era television is typically defined by an incessant flow of programs and segments that entail synchronous liner viewing (Williams 1974). The television flow is partitioned by advertising spots, isolated news stories, short scenes of a drama, etc., but at the same time, recursively organized by series and serials across time and space (Ellis 1982). The time and content units including a segment, program, series, and serial are arranged by scheduling, thereby creating a single flow on a network. Williams asserted that television critics should pay more attention to the cumulative succession of television materials including programs, previews, and ads, because the flow is "the defining characteristic of broadcasting, simultaneously as technology and as a cultural form" (Williams 1974:80). Connecting the concept of flow to TV industrial practices and strategies, Browne (1984) insisted that television text provided by daily-base programing and scheduling consists of "supertext" as the political and economic ideologies that manage the temporal organizing strategies. The notions of flow and supertext allowed television scholars to consider political economy of TV industry as a whole text of programs.

However, television is also a mass media sphere where producers, texts, and audiences interact in a particular historical and social context. Since television has a great tendency to reflect social practices, meanings, and texts in the process of adaptation and combination of each segment, hybridization, destruction, and recreation of genres and formulas normally happen. That is why TV programs look hybrid, mutable, and even new, despite being standardized and repeated on the flow. Pointing out the tendency of TV culture, which combines social practices, meanings, and texts, Fiske (1987) suggested the concept of "intertextuality," which lies in the horizontal and vertical space 'between' texts. Fiske defined that horizontal intertextuality occurs between primary texts transferred across genres and vertical relations are between the primary texts and secondary texts such as studio press release and journalistic criticism or tertiary texts including audience

letters, gossips, and conversations produced by audiences. With the internal and external relationships of a text, Fiske argued that the meaning of media text does not result from the text itself, but from the interpretation of the reader. For Fiske, how a text is recognized and how its meanings are provoked and circulated is more important than what meanings the text has. He believed that the multitude of intertextual relations increases the polysemic potential of a text and diversity of subordinate social groups in a power relationship of the society.

From intertextuality to digitextuality: value creations in post-network TV flow

Fiske's notion of intertextuality emphasizing audiences' decoding rather than producers' encoding reflects the slightly enhanced power of audience that can surf more than one program or episode with a remote-control device and multichannel system in the mid-1980s. But, it seems to be more visible in a new epoch of television culture – post network TV. As digital media has transited into an alternative vehicle for watching television, the notion of flow that represents television culture of the network TV era has been destabilized by a term of "convergence." According to Jenkins (2006), convergence refers to a paradigm shift, which blurs the boundaries between production and consumption of media when information flows over multiple platforms, thereby stimulating the audience/user's reuse, rework, and recreation of the original texts. In the convergence media environment, audiences even overcome the planned flow of television with diverse actions such as binge viewing and skipping ads. Reflecting these changes in television culture, Uricchio (2004) defines the post-network television flow as the shift from the program-centered flows controlled by the broadcasters to the new set of flows dominated by the digital viewers' choices and actions.

To account for the interactive protocols, aesthetic features, and transmedia interfaces of digital technology that remediate established media modes and codes through users' clicking actions, Everett (2005) suggests a new terminology "digitextuality" as a useful heuristic for recognizing the impact of digital media in everyday life. Reinterpreting intertextuality as the transition of existing cultural sign systems into a field of transportation demanding rearticulation of traditional media culture via media convergence, she defines digitextuality as "a meta-signifying system of discursive absorption whereby different signifying systems and materials are translated and often transformed into zeros and ones for infinite recombinant signifiers" (p.7). That is, new media technologies based on users' participation not only create a new text by absorbing and transforming other texts but also embed other analogue and digital texts in entirety seamlessly, thus making new meanings.

The notion of digitextuality enables us to explore the remediation of digital media across different sign systems and analyze their aesthetics, ethics and rhetoric in the cultural context of global convergence media. Highlighting remediation as a defining characteristic of digital media, Bolter & Grusin (1999) argue that digital media archive, compete, and reshape linear-perspective old media, thereby constructing remediation relationship between media, which means the representation of one medium in another.

Particularly, digitextuality on multiplatform television functions in aesthetic enhancement through digital special effects and techno-color, and at the same time, diminution of the high-definition televisual images (Everett 2003). With dominance of graphical user interfaces, post-network television is no longer a "window on the world" with transparent surface, but a "window interface" with multiple and simultaneous images, icons, and audio tracks (Vered 2002). The television interface becomes a meeting place for the text and the audiences. Since individual audiences create their unique schedule and put their profile into the interface where programs, intros, and interstitial materials are already embedded, the window interface, as part of supertext of TV industry, has capability to turn the viewers' actions into a form of text, as a commodity of TV industry. Through the participation at the interface, the audience is also commodified and reconfigured as marketing content. Caldwell (2003) criticizes that the digitalized and augmented televisual texts not only call users to click and purchase commodities in reciprocal and circular protocols, but also provide them attractive narrations that assimilate themselves into. As the disperse flow of post-TV texts and audiences' fragments revenues, media corporations try to utilize incorporative managing strategies targeted to the scattered audiences – aggregating, tiering, and branding. By involving management of ancillary digital sites linked to original texts, the shifted television aesthetics towards audience flows become more complex and complicated, thereby increasing the number of clicking.

Ephemeral media and precarious labor

The network-era television watching, defined by its ontological nature of "livenesss," is basically considered as a distracted form of looking – "glance." However, online television services and digital platforms have changed the fleetingness of the television broadcasting into two directions. The aggregating function of online streaming services extends the retention period of television content, but at the same time, the burgeoning "snack culture" makes the original television content abridged or fractionized to fit the mobile and internet-based platforms. Thus, post-network television is "less ephemeral in the evanescence of program content but much more ephemeral in the brevity of the promotional and paratexutal forms that surround, mobilize, and give meaning to that content" (Grainge 2011:7).

The proliferation of short-form content resulted from the flexible business models of contemporary television industry (Dawson 2011; Kelly 2011). Competing for more consumers' attention, television networks have adopted heterochronic multiplatform programming and promotional strategies. The ephemeral forms of post-network television range from the "unbundled" network content such as TV idents, abridged episodes, hypercast advertising, etc. to emergent forms of mobisodes and webisodes and user-generated videos. These short-form audiovisual materials are organized on the interface where viewers can browse through icons and links and unbundled for "going viral" easily.

The pervasive phenomena of ephemeral media content entail inevitably the increase of precarious labor in television industry (Caldwell 2011; Mann 2014). Since post-network television programs construct diverse layers of audience engagement, viewers are enmeshed with the layers at all stages of production, consumption, and distribution. Producers are also mobilized to build the layers by creating the "remnant," "debris," and "derivative" paratext. This industrial imperative imposes

free or low-cost labor on audiences and producers. The rise of viral marketing and fan-focused narrative strategies triggering media producing fandoms threatens the conditions of media labor (Caldwell 2011).

In addition to the audience's participation in media working, emergent labor strategies including production outsourcing, non-unionization, and transnational co-production externalize risk and cultivate flexibility of media professionals' labor. As digital marketing campaigns require a delicate balance and collaboration between fans, brands, and content, big media corporates prefer non-union low-level laborers who are familiar with DIY-style amateur aesthetics to high-level skilled professionals who create scripted original content. Thus, growing digital marketing campaigns of the contemporary entertainment industry tend to divide professional laborers into the high-level and low-level groups and increase their reliance on low-cost digital labor (Mann, 2014).

The post-network television system shifted the cultural paradigm of television from liner broadcasting flow to the navigational database (Bennett, 2008). Television wired with the Internet became more contradictory and paradoxical media sphere that is more dispersive, but at the same time, aggregative, and more ephemeral, but simultaneously, perpetual. As a case study of an entertainment show format combining the forms of network TV and web TV, analysis of MLT is helpful to understand the complicated characteristics of post-network TV and its cultural, political, and economic implications. The research questions are as follows: (1) What brings the emergence of MLT?; (2) What is the role of the players in production and distribution of MLT?; (3) How does MLT appropriate and exploit audience activities and online culture?; and (4) How does MLT mediate and negotiate between online culture and traditional TV norms?

Methods

This study conducts textual and visual analysis on the Korean entertainment TV show, My Little Television. MLT consists basically of a two-step production process. At first, four to six celebrities' live web TV performances are broadcast respectively on a Korean portal site for three hours – first half and second half, each 90-minute length – on every other Sunday evening. These two parts of the live web TV performances are edited and packaged together into network television editions and aired through a national terrestrial TV channel every Saturday night. That is, the live online performances are divided into two episodes of network TV program. Total 360 to 540 minute-long files (90 minutes per one performance), and additional studio-scene file featuring the studio MC are used as raw materials for a single television episode. During the 30 months of the entire broadcasting period, from April 2015 to June 2017, MLT conducted total 50 online live webcasting performances and aired 101 episodes via the network television channel.

Because of the two-platform production, analysis on both web TV screen and network TV screen were needed. Although I intensively observed four live online performances and their television versions from June to August, 2016, I also examined episode 3, 4, 13, 14, and 15 that created a lot

of review articles and public attention at the beginning stage of the series via VOD service on MLT's online site. To understand the process and rules of the live online performance, I first participated in the web TV as an Internet user and mainly observed the roles of audiences, performers, and producers. At the stage of network television broadcasting, I analyzed how the live web TV performances are edited, what scenes are deleted and added in the episodes, and how the producers differentiate the television version from online version. Comparing the both screens, I also examined the aesthetic expressions such as subtitles, screen composition and images, special effects, and logos. In addition, I investigated the MLT page on Internet portal site as a main platform of the show program. What information and content were circulated through the online page and how the online page functioned in the production, consumption, and distribution of the show. As complementary research sources, related news coverage, media professional magazines, interview articles, blog postings and online communities were explored. Through the analysis, I picked out the meaningful findings, and then rearranged them according to the production process.

Analysis

MLT was designed for drawing the Internet culture and its consumers into network television. According to the interview with the chief producer (Magazine ize 2015), the producers wanted to develop a new entertainment TV format that had never seen before on TV channels. Considering the time slot of Saturday at 11:15pm to 12:30pm, they tried to find the content and program items targeted to younger generations in their 20s and 30s. Since the young audiences prefer online video viewing to real-time television watching, they adopted intentionally the modes of personal webcasting as a basic structure of the new TV format. At that time, the rapid growth of webcasting services based on multi-channel networks at home and abroad also affected their decision.

Interestingly, the producers are the Internet generations born after 1980 (Magazine ize 2015, PD Journal 2015b). The producers say that they have grown up with Internet-driven youth culture. Most of them have enjoyed playing diverse games including board games, handheld console games, and online games since childhood. They are very familiar with online subcultures such as manga, anime, webcomic, Si-fi, and related fandom activities. These cultural experiences played a crucial role in planning the show format.

Gamification of the show format

The live webcasting performances basically follow popular web video types like how-to content. The items include cooking, make-up, dancing, acting, hairstyling, yoga, street photo, magic show, sports comment, etc. The performers are entertainers and experts with distinct talents and abilities to appeal to viewers for three hours. They can invite some guests to help their online performance. Most cast is usually changed every week in order to avoid monotony and give a fresh turn.

Based on the form of webcasting, the producers added game structures and elements to the show. During the live webcasting, the MC announces intermittently the real-time viewership rankings to

facilitate the competition among the performers. The winner is finally decided after the three-hour live performance depending on the total number of audiences who visited each chat room. The winner gets an "MBig" badge – "Mbig" is a mascot of the TV company MBC – as a prize and can hold a champion belt until the next live performance. A five-time champion is awarded a gold badge (See picture 1).

The MC plays a role as a narrator and mediator of the competition game and often assists the casts' performance. The show host Yuri Seo, nicknamed "Ms. MLT," is a voice actress who has wide experience and knowledge about online subculture and popularity for her costume play and personal webcasting in reality. Making a use of the experience, she often appears on the show wearing popular costume play fashion like Robert E.O. Speedwageon, a character featured in Phantom Blood and Battle Tendency of the manga JoJo's Bizarre Adventure and Fiora Lorent, a game character of League of Legends (See picture 2). In the show, she plays as a non-play character (NPC), which means a supporting cast or extra of a game narrative, not controlled by a player but by the game master and referee. Like other NPCs, Ms. MLT is controlled by the "Master" whose character is a villain who wants to take over the media world by gathering as many people as possible (See picture 3). Taken from a popular Japanese manga series 20th Century Boys, the master wearing a white mask has a right to punish those who violate the broadcasting deliberation regulations that the show decides arbitrarily. But actually, the regulations are not stipulated but often used as parody. As a character of the parodied regulation committee, demonized "MBigs" which are originally the mascot of MBC executes the punishment on violators under the control of the master (See picture 4). Whenever the demonized MBigs appear, Ms. MLT's dark and grim energy increases. These strange but adorable backstory and characters are lifted from game culture.

P1. A winner with the champion belt

P2. Ms. MLT in Cosplay of R. Speedwagon

P3. Master wearing a white mask   P4. Ms. MLT & a demonized MBig

Audiences' participation in the live webcasting performances

Live webcasting of MLT is usually released on every other Sunday from 7:30 pm to 11:00 pm including a 30-minute halftime break through Daum Podplayer. Audiences access the platform using any computer devices and mobile phones. On the program homepage of the Podplayer, there are four or six buttons linked to each screen where the casts conduct live performance. Audiences can get in and out each room anytime during the live performances. They also can leave comments in the chat rooms.

In terms of the visual aesthetics, the live webcasting releases the scenes of the performances filmed by only one camera in each room, even though several cameras film the performance simultaneously. This is because those scenes taken from the other multiple cameras are televised via the terrestrial TV channel. Thus, the screen of the live web TV is unedited and monotonous. At the top-left of the screen, the show's logo and the episode number of live performances are placed. The network TV station's ident and the notice of the show's airtime appeared at the top-right of the screen. The chat room is at the right side (See picture 5). Although the screen of the live webcast looks very simple, the viewing experience of the screen is not simple, because users' comments constantly pass through very fast.

P5. The screen of the MLT's live webcasting
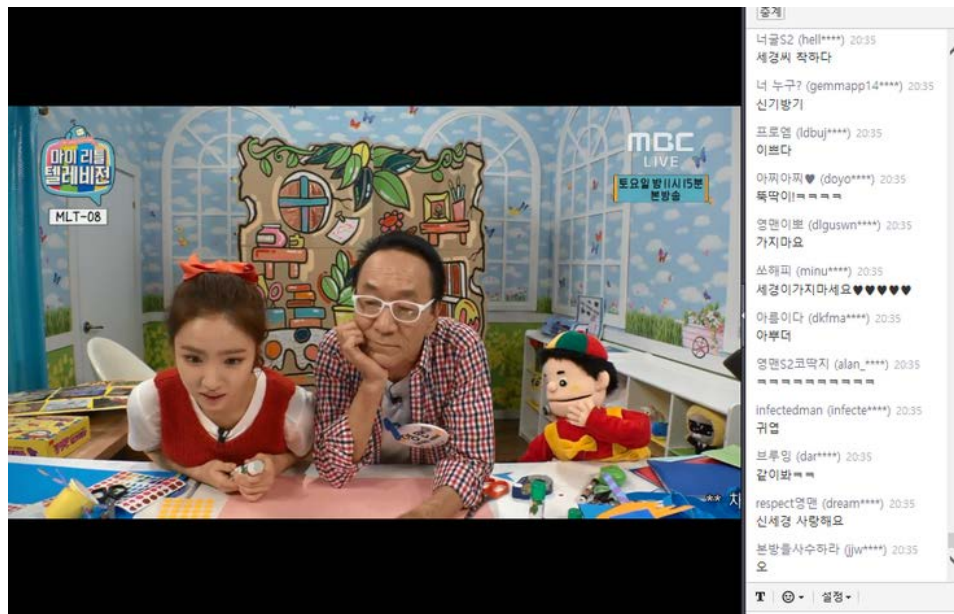
At the stage of live webcasting, the most important work is communicating with audiences. Their comments in the chat rooms not only are used as raw materials for the network TV editions, but also influence the casts' live performances by responding to them immediately. Because sometimes more than 100,000 users log in a chat room simultaneously, the performers are required to catch up the comments very quickly and respond to the users accordingly. Even just a brief phrase can impact the performers' minds as well as the storyline of the performances. For example, in the performance for making a new logo song (among the live webcast episode #30 on June 19, 2016), audiences actively suggested lyrics and evaluated the impromptu verses. In this case, audiences played a role of co-performers. Users often show a strong tendency to make fun of the performers' private life or scandalous topics during the live webcast performances. Some celebrities who are not familiar with the personal webcasting culture suffer a failure in the show despite their tremendous popularity. In this way, the users' comments are a critical factor in the success or failure of the show. The chief producer says that the users who participate in the chat rooms are "the second show host of the program" (Magazine ize 2015).

For the producers, it is very essential to understand how to interpret and appropriate the users' comments containing online subcultures. The producers try to deliver the hidden meanings of the viewers' comments with various textual expressions, but at the same time, adjust the comments to public television. Also, they need to prepare a string of safety to prevent vicious replies and hatred speeches and to facilitate good and meaningful comments. There are several tactics regarding audiences' comments. First, the producers constantly remind the required behaviors and moral codes in chat rooms by using subtitles on the live show screens and social media postings. For a more direct approach, over three monitors keep watching the users' comments. If someone keeps

replying with mean comments, the monitoring team can expel the online hater and manage the blacklist of users. On the contrary, the users who leave good and valuable comments in the chat room are rewarded with gifts. The selected users who receive the gift are asked to upload the proof photos and comments about the gift on the bulletin boards of the online homepage. That is, the carrot and stick approach is taken for managing audiences' comments. In addition, the full-version of the live online TV show and audiences' comments in the chat rooms are opened only during the real-time performance. The recorded files of the live webcasting are not provided publicly to prevent audiences' information loss and hate comment spills.

Producers' reinterpretation and representation in the network TV production

At the stage of producing the network TV version, the most important goal is how to differentiate the images and narratives of the network TV edition from those of the live webcasting. Because many audiences already know the whole storyline and competition results through watching the live web performances, the producers are forced to present audiences something new and different, which the audiences cannot feel from the live webcasting. This is the prerequisite and essential skill for the producers to put over the show.

Unlike the one-camera footage of the webcasting, the screen of the network TV version consists of the scenes filmed by multiple sets of cameras. These cameras shot the performances from different angles. They can capture an unexpected scene that even the performers or producers do not realize during the live performance. Also, another set of cameras follows the show host Ms. MLT announcing the viewership ratings and introducing each room's situation. Due to the multiple camera system, the total footage used for the editing work is usually over 20-hour length (Park 2015).

The producers say that the editing work of MLT is one of the most difficult tasks that they have ever experienced, because it requires not only rearranging properly each of the performances and additional footages into a united narrative structure of the 70-minute-long TV show, but also understanding online subculture and audiences' responses and connecting with universal emotions and values that network television pursues (Park 2015). To achieve these goals, the producers use diverse strategies in terms of aesthetics and narratives. On the screen of a network television version, the chat room disappears. Instead, some selected user comments are displayed with the form of CG-processed subtitles (See Picture 6 and 7).

P 6. Audience comments on the television screen – example 1

P 7. Audience comments on the television screen – example 2
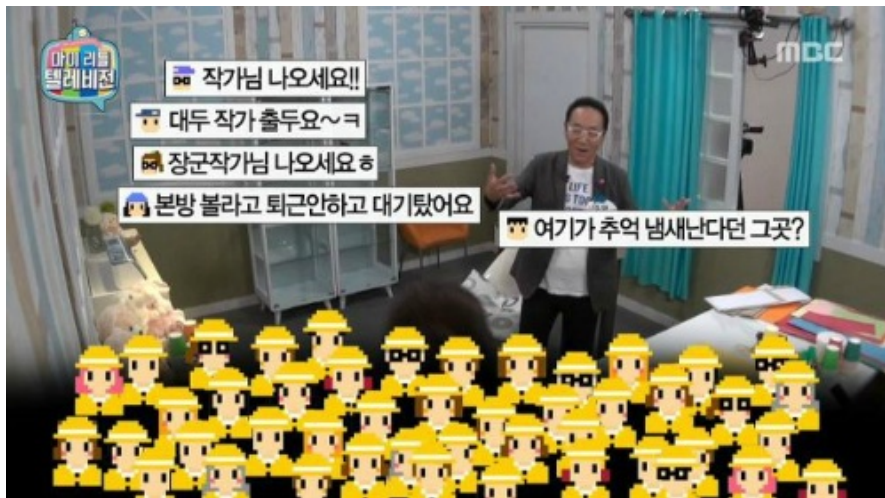
As Picture 6 and 7 demonstrate, the computer graphics of audience comments on the TV screen not only deliver the response texts, but also convey audiences' emotions. The brief comments that audiences leave in the chat room are abridged and tuned to the television screen. The kinetographic subtitles with popular Internet slang terminologies and emoticons arouse a sense of kinship among audiences. The graphic images of the audiences on Picture 6 express a pleasant surprise that they

feel when an unexpected guest appears. The woman on the screen is very popular actress but rarely appears in an entertainment show. But she was an assistant student for an origami-tutoring program where the performer on Picture 7 hosted at the Korean educational broadcasting channel two decades ago. They received an explosive and warm welcome from the audiences who have grown up with his tutoring shows in childhood in the 1990s. The graphic images on Picture 7 symbolizing kindergartners with a yellow school hat reflect the nostalgic feelings of the audiences.

Besides, computer graphic technology is variously used to express on-the-spot atmosphere as well as online subculture. Picture 8 shows how MLT utilizes CG images in relation to the audience's response and online culture. The woman on Picture 8 is a staff-writer of the show. She often appears as a helper or taster in a cooking performance as part of the show. Her reactions after tasting a dish cooked in the studio are interpreted by computer graphic images and texts: i.e., "a beautiful taste" with the big bang image (the left-upper corner) and "a sweet and sensual anesthetic" with the "feeling like flying over the Earth" image (the right-lower corner). These exaggerated images and subtitles reflect the expressional legacy of Japanese manga and anime series. Such a kitsch-typed visual expression is one of the characteristics of the show, which is distinguished from other Korean TV entertainment shows.

P 8. A taster's reaction with computer graphic images and texts

Unlike the live webcasting, the network TV editions tend to concentrate more on a particular interesting moment in each room rather than explaining the overall situation. To maximize the sense of fun at the interesting moment, the producers mobilize diverse cultural sources, visual

images, and audience comments intensively. Even though some webcasting performances record lower viewership online, a specific part of the performances that are edited and repackaged by the producers can receive higher ratings on television channel.

Another strategy of the network TV version is maintaining tensions through facilitating the competition among the performers. Although performers and audiences already recognize about the competition, they often forget the fact while immersing themselves in the online chatting and performances. Thus, the competition becomes invisible in the live performance. However, on the screen of the network TV, the producers keep showing the viewer ratings graphs and Ms. MLT's announcements with notice subtitles (See picture 9). It is also effective to lead audiences to view the whole situation over each room rather than to focus on a particular room.

P 9. The live webcasting's viewer ratings announced in the network TV version.

Distribution through the convergent media

As the production platform for the live webcasting as well as the archival platform of MLT, the homepages of the show on both the Internet portal Daum and the television company MBC are considered as the main gates to access all kinds of the related content. While the homepage of webcasting on Daum tvpot mainly provides non-aired scenes, fragmented video clips of the past episodes, and audiences' comments and social media references, the official homepage of the show on MBC's online site offers not only the full-versions of the whole episodes but also special editions that the producers repackage, on-the-spot photos, and additional information related to the live performances such as cooking recipes, hairstyle and make-up tips, yoga tips etc.

However, the gap between the number of hits on the videos of both Daum's and MBC's site is more than 10 times, because Daum, the second largest portal site in Korea, has a much bigger capacity to access information and data than MBC's homepage. On the Daum's page, users can get a glimpse of diverse kinds of materials, including not only the video clips and user-generated content, but also related news articles, blog postings, and social media references. Audiences can also move to the official webpage of MLT through a link icon on the Daum's page.

Except for the full-versions of the television episodes, the related video clips are offered without cost. These video clips include non-aired scenes of the webcasting versions, one-minute long highlight videos, special editions with a supplementary story, and so on. These short-form videos often go viral because of its optimized form for the Internet or mobile platforms. Even the viewers who do not watch the show with a television set, most new media users recognize some popular clips of the show.

Discussions

The successful launching of MLT has significant meanings in Korean TV industry. The format combining multiple media platforms gives us a hint about the production strategies of network television in the upheaval of media industry structure. MLT shows how the television format can be developed and innovated in accordance with the convergence media culture.

Full-scale appearance of audiences and their online folk culture

What is the most distinctive in MLT is appropriating audiences' activities and their online culture as a main source of the program. Particularly, the audience's comments are used not only as the textual elements that help to establish the narratives of the show, but also as visual images that express their emotional responses to the performances. Audiences are no longer passive objects, but active players to collaborate with the performers and producers in the show. With the interface of the live chat room and kinetographic subtitles, their voices fully emerge in front of both the Internet and TV screens. Their comments inspire the producers' imagination and improve audiovisual expressions of the TV screen.

The full appearance of audiences in MLT demonstrates how quickly, actively and densely intertextuality occurs across the media. Particularly, horizontal intertextuality between the primary texts and tertiary texts such as audiences' responses, gossips, and conversation take place in the production of webcasting, and at the same time, they are used as the primary texts of the television version. In this process, intertextuality is generated not only by audiences' interpretation but also by producers' practices. In contrast to Fiske, Collins (1993) viewed intertextuality from the perspective of producers. Considering the logic of postmodern culture, which replicates, reproduces and reinforces the consumer capitalism through constant circulation and re-circulation of texts, technologies, and signs, Collins argued that intertextuality, as an inherent to some texts, is an identifiable stylistic device that the producers strategically employ to attract audiences. In the

cultural production, authors array and appropriate intertextuality at the level of character adventures and text's adventures. Although the two perspectives – i.e., audiences' unconscious interpretive practice and producers' conscious textual strategy to invite audience – describe intertextuality in the opposite direction facing each other, both perspectives basically assume the interactions between audiences and producers. The dual legacy of intertextuality embraces both the interpretive practice of decoding and a specific strategy of encoding. As a theoretical approach of how TV messages are produced, distributed and consumed, Hall's encoding/decoding model elucidates the role of audiences' interpretation and social contexts in television discourses (1973).

However, the quick, active, and dense intertextuality of MLT requires us further consideration on the relationship between producers and audiences, and between texts and media in post TV culture. In the production process of MLT, the simultaneous interactions between producers and audiences via webcasting are transported and remediated into traditional television broadcasting. As Bolter & Grusin (1999) emphasizes, MLT demonstrates that television itself also remediates digital media by refashioning the code and mode of webcasting in the name of the real. With regard to such a phenomenon, Everett (2003) says that new media signifying systems embracing "the gaze of the object" overcome reality's limitations and expanding the practice of digitextuality as "an overreal and grand real construction with signifying powers beyond the simularcrum" (p.9).

Communicating with audiences enables the producers to share with their online culture on the screen. Ranging from audiences' chatspeak to their subculture, the online culture that has been suppressed in the network TV production are actively consumed and circulated in the TV show. Diverse fan activities that have been exclusively enjoyed in online communities are publicly released in the television sphere. The new folk culture serves not only as fresh cultural materials to the traditional TV audiences, but also as a source of sympathies to the online enthusiasts. Indeed, the online users showed enthusiastic responses to the manga and game characters on the TV screen, which they have been enjoying. The origami tutoring performance is one of the representative examples to demonstrate how audiences' common interests and cultural memories play a role in attracting viewers to the show. Some users expressed the delight of seeing the tutor by calling his nickname two decades ago. The users often treat the producers and performers like a member in the same community. It is one of the characteristics of personal web TV's viewing community, as Ahn and Choi presents (2016). They insist that audiences achieve a sense of connectedness and feel a sense of family membership by sharing their cultural tastes and interests in the webcasting shows.

However, the affirmative atmosphere among audiences, performers and producers is barely maintained in lots of tension and anxiety. The online users' freewheeling comments can easily attack the performers and sometimes drag the conversations in an unexpected way. During the webcast, performers are required to parry the abusing comments with wit and bold personality, and producers need to control the audiences' activities timely and firmly. Likewise, the viewing community of MLT becomes a public sphere where the all players are fiercely competing around the hegemony of the discourses, but at the same time, forming cultural ties and affective solidarity with another.

Dual strategy for the Internet and TV

For the producers of MLT, active engagements of online users are like a double-edged sword, because the webcasting performances are also exposed to traditional TV audiences who are not familiar with online culture. The constraints of traditional TV production force the producers to try to differentiate the TV versions from the Internet webcast rather than integrate the two versions, thus leading them to adopt a dual strategy in forming visual images and narratives. While the live webcasting focuses on drawing high-quality performances and active communication with audiences, the network TV broadcasting concentrates on reinterpretation and representation of the live webcasting. In other words, audiences' engagement in the live performances is essential at the stage of webcasting, whereas producers' creative imagination is more significant in the production of TV broadcasting.

The dualistic strategy is also applied to managing the communication with audiences. Since audiences' responses and reactions are crucial in building a storyline of the show, the producers basically appeal audiences' voluntary and self-controlled engagement. To facilitate valuable comments, they offer an incentive to the audiences whose replies are selected on the TV screen. But in case online haters mass up the chat room attacking the performers with abusive replies or false rumors, the producers exert their authority to expel the problematic users. It means that the online viewing community has a hierarchical structure.

The differentiated and hierarchical strategy results from the television-centered production process of MLT. Although the Internet webcasting plays a prominent role in generating new values from audiences, the audiences' products are still used just as raw materials for the TV show. The primary rule penetrating both webcasting and TV broadcasting production stages is following the production criteria that Korean public TV system adopts. All the players' practices are only allowed within the broadcasting deliberation regulations and the media industry's supertext, such as scheduling and programming. Audiences' engagement as well as producers' creative imagination can hardly be free from the dominant norms and ideology embedded in the network TV platform, as long as the activities are publicized as a form of TV program. But it is not to say that the norms and ideology are always fixed. Rather, there exist dynamic negotiations among audiences, producers, and media corporates in the production, consumption and distribution processes. In deed, the interaction among all players in MLT is much higher than that of any other traditional TV program. Such a higher interactivity of the show requires all players to have extemporaneousness, patience, and openness in the production practices, thus making its narrative and images more flexible and coordinated.

Changing roles and labors of the players in MLT

There are three main players in MLT: an audience, performer, and producer. Apparently, what makes MLT distinguished from other entertainment TV shows is the role of audiences. In the live webcasting, they are invisible performer as a responder to the main performer. Their responses and reactions influence the directions of performances and the producers' creation. They also play as a consumer and distributor of the content. The performers who are usually famous celebrities

and talented experts not only conduct their own performance as a content creator, but also play as a master or interrogator who directly communicates with audiences and draws their reactions. As a controller, the producers plan and supervise the whole program and sometimes judge the communication of audiences and performers. They edit and package the TV episodes as a manufacturer. They provide the content to the multiple media platforms, thereby mediating the different platforms. From time to time, they participate directly in the performance as an assistant performer.

As mentioned above, all the three players carry out more tasks than their traditional roles assigned in the network TV era. And the roles of the players are intersected with each other. Particularly, audiences' interactions offer not only diverse forms of content, but also very detailed qualitative and quantitative data including their preference, behaviors, and watching practices (Napoli 2010). The producers also take more responsibility for making diverse paratexts in accordance with the multiple media platforms. However, the reward for the additional work is not provided or insignificant, because such a derivative work can be easily replaced by low-cost labor or unpaid fan-driven activities (Mann 2014).

As Caldwell (2011) collectively suggests, the emergence of participatory audiences with production capacity and increasing industrial desires to exploit them are transforming television business model toward a new set of strategies for cross-media promotion and branding. The business model of network TV has a set of distinct strategies: measurement-based decisions like viewer ratings; regulated management controlled by internal TV company policies and external government policies; economic scopes depending on niche taste and narrowcasting identities; and economic scales relying on series franchise and blockbuster TV. In contrast, the emerging strategies of post-network TV business include extraordinary authorship, charismatic management, mediocre programing, and risk-diversification content. The strategies of the new television business model push constantly production of the attentive content and distinction-making paratexts.

While MLT adopts both webcasting and network TV broadcasting practices in the production process, it still follows the strategies of traditional television business model. Particularly in terms of monetization, webcasting of MLT chooses the viewership measurement mode of one-way sequential flows. This is because the MLT does not seek to build a truly cross-media system, but borrow only the form of web broadcasting to discover and attract new audiences to network TV. The monetization system of emerging personal webcasting services is obviously different from that of traditional network TV, which pays advertising costs depending on the viewing rating. Along with various types of advertisements such as TrueView in-stream ads, non-skippable pre-roll ads or skippable ads after five seconds, viewers of MCN channels, can give money directly to the content creator with cyber items like "balloons," "chocolates," or "stickers" in Afreeca TV, which are transferred into real money or cyber money. The mediocre financing method empowers audiences to be able to exercise their influence to the content creators. In the tension between traditional television business model and the new model, professional media workers are placed

in a more vulnerable condition that they have to struggle against empowered users as well as corporates' profit-making desire.

Conclusion

So far, this study examined the production strategies of a new television format MLT in the context of convergence media culture. The case study of MLT, which combine webcasting and TV broadcasting production, uncovers an ever-changing technological business in TV industry as well as increasingly complex television production and distribution practices in post-network TV era. The connected multiplatform production and distribution system enhances and intersects the roles of audiences and of producers, and draws online folk culture to the public sphere of television. While the show achieves textual and visual innovations through the interactive communication and collaboration with the connected audiences, the production practices and norms based on the traditional television business model are still hierarchical and ideological.

From the theoretical perspective, this case study has significance to reconsider the nature and mechanism of intertextuality in the convergence media environment. Given the aesthetic, practical and ethical shift from program-centric flow to audience-centric flow, this study attempted to expand the notion of intertextuality to the multidimensional flow of digital media, and connect with the concept of digitextuality embedded in digital media technology, which transports and remediates a media text into other media. In addition, it explores the implications of digitextuality in relation to the transformation of media labor in post TV culture. Thus, the case study of MLT uncovers how the current Korean TV producers and audiences are interacting with each other, how the innovative TV format promotes and exploits the players' visible and invisible labors, and how the values generated by the interactions between the producers and audiences make the TV show remarkable in transmedia cultural market. Since Korean entertainment TV industry has recently applied such a new type of format combining traditional TV production and standardized the production of paratexts fitting to the convergence media, the case study of MLT can provide important clues to understand the production practices of Korean TV industry and the local audiences' cultural behaviors in the post TV culture.

Considering that MLT is an experimental attempt to discover new programing models and new business models in accordance with the post-TV era, it is throwing many inquiries in need future investigations. Three different trajectories can be projected for future research directions. First, further research is required to analyze the socio-economic motivation of TV industry by investigating the changing demands of audiences, broadcasters, and advertisers in the media convergence environments. Second, cultural innovations in television production and distribution need to be studied to understand the impacts and dynamics of online culture on image and narrative building in post-network TV system. Finally, it is valuable to uncover the power relationships between audiences, celebrities, and producers in both online and television to obtain comprehensive explanations on how televisual discourse are expanded and constrained. Therefore, it is expected to theorize interdisciplinary models to connect the technological, economic, political

and cultural transformation in television production, distribution, consumption, and regulation because current television industry is ongoing paradigmatic shifts that have never seen before.

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