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"Creative Labor in Radio" The creativity of radio show host in Hong Kong

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[Background of General Research]

Creativity is an important vehicle for creative labour and cultural industries. This paper proposed a study inspired from the contributions of those key factors affecting creativity (i.e. cultural capital, training, craftsmanship, charisma, and environment) on the creative labours.

Reviewing prior studies, lots of studies focus on creative labour in cultural industry, very few of them however have examined the roles of radio DJs or show hosts in Hong Kong, which is being defined in both traditional media industry and cultural industry in 'new' context. Radio DJs and show hosts are the earliest bundle of creative labour since media age 1920's.

Understanding the creativity work as underpinnings of a DJ is crucial, this research aims to examine why creativeness variations exist among individuals in different working condition - public broadcast organization and commercial radio enterprise.

To understand a creative labour, a group of fifteen skilled show hosts have been interviewed, their working habits have been decoded, and the meanings and motivation behind their creativity have been extracted. Self-realization and self-satisfaction of creative labour have also been investigated.

In addition to self-satisfaction feeling underlying their characters and working habits, it is unclear whether creative skill-set change across different personality, talent, or education background from a cultural capital perspective. Nevertheless, this line of research in creative labour that situates in radio industry is even sparse.

Thus, this research requires a range of comparisons including different generation show hosts from different radio organization. Interviewing three workers from RTHK - pu broadcast organization, most importantly twelve workers from CRHK (CR1 or Cl which is our research focused enterprise. Interviewees: Stephen Chan, Ha, Mag German, Colin, Wasabi, Ken Kwok, Ken Yuen, Poon Siu-Tao, Wong Chi-Chung, Mr. O, David Ho Chung-Yan, Cheng Kai-Ming. Amber Au. Inspired by Janet Wolff, I found there are four questions from her literature which might be answered from my research paper. "All forms of work are (potentially) creative in the same way, and that artistic work, like other work, loses its quality as 'free, creative activity' under capitalism" (1981, p.13). In non-alienated conditions, Marx always retained the view of human labour as essentially creative in the famous discussion comparing "the bee and the architect", however what condition enabling creativity has not yet been investigated. Firstly, I disagree on her notion "market often affect the content... placing limitations on the artist... becomes alienated and unfree labour, market constraints persists". Thus the work autonomy in commercial organization would be analyzed as one of the focus in this paper. Secondly, I agreed on "Structures must not be conceptualized as simply placing constraints upon human agency, but as enabling". This is what called the duality of structure". The existence of structures and institutions actually enables people to act and create, depends on its habitus and field of the people with those structure. Thirdly, the idea of "genius as a gift of God", as an inborn and uniquely individual creative force, the thought first arises in Renaissance society, which offers the individual better opportunities in the Middle Ages (Hauser 1968, p.61), however, this doctrine is over-simplified to conclude cultural labour is all genius. Artistic profession could differentiate itself from craftsmanship and which could also obtained by training and learning, also cultural capital suggested by Bourdieu provided a relatively complete illustration. Finally, art has continued to be a collective product, which collaborative and non-individual production of cultural work is a process of mediating influences from organizational constraints on cultural labours. Radio show hosts might be "constrained by political and financial pressures, following instruction from patrons and sponsors on sound mixers, and government patrons determine the final product" (Chignell, 2009), thus, organization culture is the key of creativeness.



	Interviewees	Position	Date	Time	Type pf data	Typing Time
RTHK	何重恩	Head of Radio 5	2014.03.17	0:34:55	pre-research interview	1:09:50
RTHK	鄭啓明	Head of Radio 2	2015.01.12	0:49:10	formal interview	1:38:20
RTHK	阿O	Host	2015.03.06	0:43:54	formal interview	1:27:48
CR2	阿 BU	ex-Host	2014.03.20	0:44:36	pre-research interview	1:29:12
CR1	郭志仁	Host	2015.02.06	0:56:42	formal interview	1:53:24
CR1	阮子健	Host	2015.02.09	0:46:22	formal interview	1:32:44
CR1	潘小濤	Host	2015.02.09	0:51:10	formal interview	1:42:20
CR1	Maggie	Producer	2015.03.13	0:19:45	casual talk	0:39:30
CR2	Wasabi	Creative Head	2015.02.10	2:49:32	formal interview	9:53:22
CR2	黃志淙	Host	2015.03.11	0:54:36	formal interview	2:43:48
CR2	急急子	Host	2015.03.16	0:39:59	formal interview	1:59:57
CR2	Colin	Host	2015.03.17	0:33:40	formal interview	1:41:00
CR2	German	Producer	2015.03.13	0:17:01	casual talk	0:34:02
CR2	HA	PA	2015.03.13	0:21:36	casual talk	0:43:12
CR1	Stephen Chan	CEO	2015.03.27	0:22:00	casual talk	1:28:00
Total				11:44:58		30:36:29

[Aims and the Scope of Research]

There are three research areas here:

1) To examine the relation between four factors affecting creative labour: cultural capital, training, craftsmanship and genius, under what condition (working environment) will lead a creative labour cause a different in performance (creativity);

2) To reveal the characteristic of creative labour in real life situation;

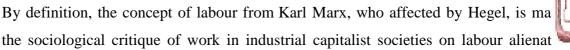
3) To investigate how the creativity of a radio show host is changing with genius talent, in profit-driven cultural industries, well or less trained craftsmanship, and with high or low creative autonomy.

[Literature Review]

The 'Creative Labour' has theoretically been conceptualized from two perspectives: the Karl Marx and Hegel, they suggested that Labour derived from capitalistic economic system, who alienate from their work ultimately; The other conceptualization came from Richard Florida, Creative Class, those workforce are involved in creative industry.

The Concept of Labour – Capitalist

To define creative labour, it could be from fundamental theory and scholar, wl included Karl Marx and Hegel, Richard Florida, David Hesmondhalgh and the n importantly, who from the individual advocates in creative industries in 21st century.



which is built into the nature of work under a capitalist mode of production, published in 1930s. He argued that there are four distinct type of alienation: product, activity, species, and social alienation. The worker, who suffer from alienation, as a result characterized by 'Immorality, deformity, and dulling of the worker and the capitalists' (Marx 1970:121). This dehumanization process did also put impact on the employer. This formed a base for subsequent theorists on further study in creative labour field.

Definition of Creative Labour

The creative class, initiate by Richard Florida, by definition, there are artists, musicians, engineers, businesspeople and venture capitalists... He breaks the class into two broad sections, the Super-Creative Core and the Creative Professions. In addition, usually a smaller group of Bohemians is also included.

Creative Ethos, advocated by Florida in the Creative Age is not without reason. The term "creative class" is really a compressed version of creative work in cultural industries, rather than "artistic labour". It could include the interpretive knowledge workers, such as media broadcast workers in radio industry – Disc Jockey (DJ) or the show hosts. By defining those practitioner and program host from media industry as creative class, both professional autonomy and aesthetic autonomy are applicable and well fitted in.

However, "this *autonomy* (in creative industry) is by no means a complete autonomy, as it is carried out under the supervision of creative managers." according to Ryan (1992) the vital features of creative worker could be analyzed by its function (in occupational group), hierarchy (within organization), and stage (of production team). It accurately point out the relationship between creative worker and its autonomy.

Creative Professional

By Howard Blumenthal definition, creative professional is a person who is working for the creative and innovative endeavors through his or her knowledge equipped, they co be employed or self-employed. He or she also bound with, fight for or share wit common creative autonomy. Creative professions include marketing, scientific resea and development, engineering, teaching, architect & design, medical and more... wil also depending upon the depth and breadth of the definition. In a typical example, there are some significant ways in which journalists and commentators in media broadcast industry have developed distinct professional norms of the kind often identified as forming professional cultures. They might agree broadly on or internalized some criteria of reporting news and social issues, for example; they might tend to judge other practitioner standard or newsworthiness, according to criteria generated by their peers within journalistic industry, rather than others outside the group. In this paper, Maggie and Ken Kwok from Radio One in CRHK are well demonstrated the professional standard they set by themselves.

"So professional autonomy came under critique in journalistic industry, which value may help to provide some resistance to the encroachment of commercial goals, such as influence of advertising, or the requirement to serve the goals of those tied to political parties and governments."

> *Hesmondhalgh, David (2011) Creative labour: media work in three cultural industries (p.66-67)*

[Background of CRHK & RTHK]

Hong Kong Commercial Broadcasting Company Limited (CRHK), was founded by George Ho Ho-Chi on 26 August 1959, is one of only two commercial radio broadcasting companies in Hong Kong along with Metro Radio Hong Kong. It contains a balanced array of entertainment including informative, educational, arts and cultural programs. CRHK is well known for providing updates on current affairs as well as news and weather reports.

In this paper, I have participant observation on their notable programs - "On a Clear Day". Among all 88.1 and 90.3 programs, there are two programs with the same name "On a Clear Day" airs during the weekdays, from Monday to Friday, from 8am to 10am. That actively discussing contemporary Hong Kong political and social issues as well current affairs every day, in different style.

FM 88.1 (CR1) is a talk-based channel which broadcasts current affairs, traffic financial information, with interactive phone-in shows. Its current slogan is "聲為民 which literally means "Our voice is opened for the public", where the word "vo apparently alludes to broadcasting at large, thus, it means "We broadcast for the public".



"On a Clear Day" a four-hour programme hosted by Stephen Chan Chi-Wan, Chan Chung, and Ken Kwok Tze-Yan since 2014 February. The show is a signature in media with its power in being amplify by other press, due to those guests invited by the hosts to participate in the discussion of current issues, the guests who are from government, different political parties and general public in society.

FM 90.3 (CR2) is a music-based channel targeted at the younger generation and audience who are feverish with pop music. "On a Clear Day", a two-hour programme hosted by Jan Lam, Poon Siu To and Ken Yuen Tze-Kin. The programme sharing viewpoints on certain current issues in a more relax, interesting and funny ways by hosts. It is a more critical programme which focuses making joke on the current news on that day. It also features an interactive phone-in programme, gift-of-the-day for audience, which discussions are related to.

Compared with the Public Service Broadcast (PSB) model of Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK), their judgments on radio program by management mainly concern on their mission, how well the public have been served, as well as their educational function instead of pure entertaining. While it is government funded, it has a reputation for maintaining editorial independence. (Appendices B: Background information CRHK & RTHK) This greatly affected the style of radio program production and editing. The organization culture is relatively bureaucratic, thus the motivation on creativity and work attitude in such public service broadcast is different from commercial organization.



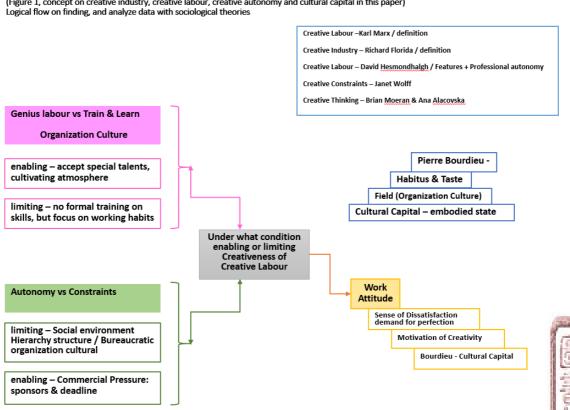
[The Research Question]

To examine the characters of a creative labour in between genius and training; the cultural organization with creation autonomy and constraints; under what condition will lead a creative labour cause a difference in creativity performance, thus enhance creativity.

[Research Methodology]

Formal in-depth interviews, causal short interviews and participant observation have been chosen as method in this research. Table 1.1 shown the name and work position of interviewees, the date and duration of interview, and the type of data.

[Labour in commercial business model vs. public service broadcast in radio industry] Before listing out the research finding, Figure 1 shows few key concepts in this paper regarding creative industry, creative labour, creative autonomy and cultural capital.



(Figure 1, concept on creative industry, creative labour, creative autonomy and cultural capital in this paper)

Research findings 1: View on Genius and Training

According to Janet Wolff radio show hosts or DJs are "genius", who cannot be ea trained up. Wasabi, Kwong told me that skills can be obtained through on-the learning partially, "Every year there is DJ training course in CRHK to acquire new blood. They learn broadcasting skill in order to gain knowledge in write-up. Skill-set is easy to gain, but personal character is rather difficult. Some elements are inborn, something if you do not have it inborn, you may very difficult to learn when growing up, say for example – rhythm. CR2 value rhythm and music flow nonetheless these are my inborn nature, no need to learn. I am a systematic teacher can teach marketing but I cannot teach some knowledge which I have inborn, just like sense of distance when you parking your car. Selecting talent for CR1 is rigid and harsh, lack of smart in the pool with high potential, moreover, with low paid and long working hour. I am emulous; love to pick new blood by personality. Creative is the ability in mastery of logical thinking rather abstract thinking.

Stephen Chan commented on the term 'talent' said, "If talking about the success of a DJ is genius or through training, I would say training result could not be seen immediately and should start from their school day; I feel that talent is important especially the nice voice, sense of intimacy with audience which is definitely inborn, but cannot be trainedup by coach in any radio." Training in CRHK is not formal "more like apprenticeship in daily work, we will told the young hosts what is good and not good, we must evaluate in meeting after the show, help to shape a better role for different hosts. We do have formal radio training but only on broadcast regulation topics, and basic technique such as phone answering manner. But (as a management) I will let them have other radio segments to development themselves and practice, all the teammate help evaluate. If he is with some potential we will further groom him." However, he pointed to the importance of organization culture, "Special voice like Eric Kot Min-Fai, is definitely not be accepted in RTHK, the traditional radio station with old style DJ voice, valuing high accuracy in pronunciation rather stylish and distinctive. However, CRHK is always breaking the rule, choosing to develop some abnormal show host in a stylish way. Kot is not with nice voice but very unique cannot be replicated. He can lead the audience to his funny mode, sparkling the chemistry without distance. He create his own brand."

Stephen provide a new interpretation, the success of famous show host Kot is not c due to his special talent, but also the tolerant and acceptance of "strange" "abnorn innovative thinking of the CRHK management. Whether a show host success creative is determined by where the labour situated and how to bring his talent into play. How the management picks and how the team work cultivated, making i



effective. Is it related to the habitus and taste which Bourdieu suggested? Voice is inborn, if RTHK not accept Kot, no matter how hard he work, he got no chance. The organization culture of avant-garde and the norm of innovative in the team are very important in creative nurture, which also suggested by Richard Florida in his 3Ts creative class theory – talent, technology, tolerance. Training method depends on the character and personal preference, also the requirement and judgement of trainer in apprenticeship learning process. There is no such absolute rule in CRHK creating a radio show, not like the RTHK with standard judgement relatively; it all depends on management preference and host's talent and potential.

Poon Siu-Tao told me his view on Personal ability: "main challenge for me every day is to grasp the news, writing script with short preparation time in the morning. Jan Lam is talented not only speaking with fun, but also with angle, gag and punch line on his own logic. I believe both genius and training, intimacy voice and personality are important. Working attitude is the quality, strong personality is the success of host. I can create the joke same as Jan Lam, but I cannot present in such a funny way as him. That show his genius, experience and competent (energy and ability), those ordinary person without individual thoughts may not suitable radio.

Wong, Chi-Chung reflected a more balanced view on genius and learnt "training is harsh as 'Shaolin temple' learning Kung-Fu, the same metaphor have been used by Wasabi and Colin. It is all-round on-the-job training from concert production to event promotion. However, CR2 lots of stylish show hosts with strong character, like Jan Lam who is really talented and charming." Here is a place of gathering of strange talented person with wired things, but make thing happen, unrestrained and vigorous style that brims with talent. He feel DJs should have their own style in radio program, taking their own choice and keep their work attitude, as well as making their name as a goodwill.

Sammy is hardworking in researching for new things to make good funny joke. Do also hardworking from office boy to program producer in CRHK for 20 years. Howe what is the relationship between work attitude and creativity?

Colin described on *hardworking* as well, "the most admired DJ I would pick Jan L because he is so talented, his thinking logic is fast! He can see the unique angle from news twisted to his own funny language, and connecting different news headline. Is



genius or trained-up? I cannot tell. The fast-thinking should be in-born, but hard-working is a must and necessary to bring out his talent. He is top management, why still get up early, putting effort to make his own radio segment perfect? He is not required to... but he insists. He trains himself every morning through this show, making the show more perfect. I cannot see any new join could have his passion on job with this good working attitude, he deserve to this prestige position in CRHK." The case of Jan Lam serves as exceptional case to counter argue the false on binary defining genius and learnt.

For Amber Au, "there is not much formal training in CRHK, but general regulation and code of practice for broadcast industry only. The content of training is actually a sharing session from senior colleagues. I cannot say Jan Lam is innate or learned to be creative, but I heard that his grandpa is also a funny guy; can I say it is from family background? One thing I can assure, Jan Lam is hard-working person; he is always the first one to come back to office for preparation, the earliest show hosts of Radio 2! I would count the 'talent' of Jan Lam as cultural capital gain from family background rather than genius, also influencing other teammates."

HA felt that: "Donald is really top in sound editing, is the "King of Sound Effects" he has devoted himself to making good sound effects that's why he is top. Hardworking is a must in CR2, everyone is working hard and wholeheartedly devoted into their job, using tones of hours to make high quality good work. For example the jungle of CRHK cost few hours to make few seconds output. German comes back so early to find news sound bite which is ready for use before the hosts back to office."

Ken Yuen is the only one point to cultural capital directly, "To train a new host generally on two levels: technique and thinking. Way of thinking is an accumulation of cultural capital. When we read news, we must have our own judgment and our way of interpretation, of cause with our own style."

A counter view from RTHK, Ar. O also shown that, "Famous show host Tao-Kit i talented, he don't need preparation before on air. Kot is genius and charm as a DJ, b do think hard working is very important, we spend lots of time in absorbing the nutr from news, working actually 24 hours per day. Genius and charm are playing key r include story telling technique, more important than appearance and education.



whole atmosphere in CRHK is different from RTHK, including the people I worked with, and the way of their thinking. The young staff in RTHK is not really creative."

Cheng Kai-Ming, the head of RTHK Radio-One shared, "We assign job according to staff talent, their intension, voice and style. The variety of training in CRHK is wider; DJ can try more different position, strong in story-telling as they need to work on commercial advertising recording. People in CRHK is more creative and flexible, the element of the personal style is the key. The quality of a show depends on the host style, team work and their work attitude, the judgment is very subjective." Organization culture and background also cause the difference in internalizing the standard and way of thinking to labours. Skills and language are important but not as much as hard working. Everyone think they are underpaid, but work satisfaction from getting the radio program perfect is more than other industry, this make them self-exploited. Criteria of selecting a host is their mindset, they should have mentally prepared in taking our mission on serving public broadcasting, care the communities, success the traditions. Being recognize or even being relative famous is important reward in creative industry.

In short, German has concluded by expressing: "Personal style is really important. Poon Siu-Tao seems serious, but he is kind of funny guy with lots of fun gags. Jam Lam is damn creative! The way he thinks is his signature style makes everyone in the studio laugh! But if you talking about this is genius or trained, I could say if not with hardworking, you can never make good outcome with excellence. Geniuses require matching with hard-working attitude, devoting themselves to the show, making great efforts to bring out innate qualities. Hardworking attitude is the key habitus cultivated by CRHK which high standard have been set for new join by senior. Ken Kwok also agreed "the key of success is 100% attitude. Technique can be learnt but not work attitude; I value a person who devoted into work. Deadline is the most effective way to boost creativity. Hard-working make a show host famous even he is not talented. CR2 is more celebrity-oriented, personal charm is very important.

Research findings 2: View on Autonomy and Constraints

The management control in public broadcast organization, and the advertige sponsorship in commercial radio enterprise are considering as limitation on creative also lower the autonomy. However, I found most of the informants rejecting argument.



Stephen Chan mentioned, "If you consider the commercial stress and constraints, the political show and team doesn't be much affected... Our sales team would not give feedback to our any of show to limit our talk; we can criticize what we think right... Sponsor like main client – Koi-Kei Bakery, the boss gave us freedom to ask question even on sensitivity topic."

Maggie stinging commented, "Encouraging actively expressing idea, also cultivating this atmosphere in our team. Train-up internship. We equally treat them and free to express their thought." She continues, "Surprise that after Stephen taking lead in our political affair program, he has not oppress opinion, we are still free to express on sensitive topic... listen comment from every teammate... here is the journalist utopia, platform with freedom of speech."

Colin added, "I feel free in handling my music show, producer seldom comment. This is in line with Amber Au self-reflection, "I just come back to CRHK 4 hours every day in average and then I go out for interviews or researching. I am free at this stage but also with self-discipline. Management understand my out for work." She continues, "Every staff in Radio 2 are treated differently. Management have not comment too much on my work, because I have my own thought and they found it useful. I have my clear mind on what I want to do, like those interview depicted the little character in society, their minimal life story. If you got no idea on what to talk in show, they will give advice and let you try. I do feel in am quite free, management free hand to let me work alone. I think I have done all I want to do in CR2. No guideline to restrict me on what should not say in my show, just cannot call for action in selling commercial product, quote a brand name directly, it is just basic common sense from journalistic education. For myself I am not afraid to offend somebody. I can say what I think appropriate as long as the content is true and valid, no bias as a media practitioner, cannot mislead the general public, I believe it is okay and up to person judgement. As a journalist, we have ruler to meas rule to follow, and every journalist with different set of rule in self-censorship. A journalist, they have a set of rule and demand themselves to say something good, and valid. This person judgement is so-called self-censorship in a positive way. cannot count as constraints instead to make the show better and responsible to public.



German is in management level for more than 20 years' experience. He is helping the young staff and internship checking their quality of work from early morning 06:00am, "It's their attitude. Every morning they (Jam Lam, Ken Yuen and Poon Siu-Tao) come back CRHK office to read and gather news, then they will meeting up around 07:30am sharing some of the top news and hot topics should be go through during today show. He, Jan Lam, never advise and instruct me on the choice of song, music and sound bite, I will suggest on my own choice, then he will say: okay! Go ahead. They don't really need to compromise what they are going to say, just make fun... They will pay attention to news the night before, they have mentally prepared what is going to say on the following morning. They just have to express what they think, their personal style, and their own view. Those part-time staff are trained-up to cut the sound bite, I will then check and edit it. 08:00am just finished the "everyday pick" recording within 15 minutes, then we will on-air. 08:00 – 08:30am we start to make music segment for the in-between break (around 9am) in such a tight schedule. I will walk around the two studios, Live and Recording studio make sure operation are perfect."

Poon Siu-Tao also feel that there is no guideline and constraint on host, nor selfcensorship, "Commercial radio with great limitation not only regulation but also the license issue. The more audience the greater constraints. Radio program itself also with limitation on freedom, foul language is prohibited, and so many constraints from the social value. However, I never heard of colleagues afraid on offending to advertising clients, I never got warning call on this, advertising have not put pressure on social affairs radio show. From this point of view, creation is with much freedom. The most challenge for me is personal ability (I am not sharp enough). CRHK offer quite lots of freedom to show hosts, value on creativity, encourage innovative culture in regardless of your job position in CRHK."

HA also indicated, "Every sound track I made on my own idea will then getting approval from producer – German, he will decide what can be put on-air. German will guide how to do it, and free-hand letting me to make it."

Ken Yuen got high autonomy in his job, "I have tried different type of work in CR which I want to, and I think I am lucky. What I learnt from school not helped directl my work, but the knowledge and logical thinking. Being a show host is a long t investment on cultural capital. The logic of thinking like Jan Lam is actually can le



and eventually close to the way they think, but whether you able to use it or not, it's depends. Human nature cannot be quantify... organization structure and rule of game determine the result, these are count as "constraints". The style and logical thinking of CRHK is the issue of high culture vs pop culture, it is the matter of 'TASTE' as Bourdieu suggested. From my point of view, the constraints of CRHK is from the rights of public and social responsibility, more than advertiser. Sponsors is not a pressure."

Ken Kwok felt self-censorship is subtle and difficult for public to aware it existence in forming a pressure to the society, "By experiencing the golden period of master Cheng and Li Wai-Ling, I feel no difference in freedom of speech in Hong Kong media industry although these worst case happened seems threatening the freedom, 98% free to speak now. Our company management never put pressure on sensitivity topics which cannot be commented too much on our main advertising clients. However we have our self-censorship. As a journalist, we know which tycoon we can never comment only due to protect safety of our life, but not because of advertising income. The most difficult task is naming the show and writing up the slogan of campaign. We care about wordings, and tight quality check by lyrics writer on picking a suitable words for title. It's depends on organization culture."

Cheng Kai-Ming from RTHK point of view, "Although we are hierarchy in management, but still free in brainstorming, open for opinion. The pressure of commercial needs is the potential of enhancing creativity, without that commercial needs, we can ignore the fun, put it in lower priority." David, Chung-Yan HO, the program director of Radio 5 in RTHK working since 1987. He has initiated and coordinated numerous radio programs with his own choice. Seemingly, he enjoyed the highest autonomy in executing radio program broadcasting. With controlling power on Radio 5 programme designing and broadcasting, he is also involved in overall program planning in Radio 5, but still cannot as the top person in high level policy setting and regulatory execution in Bureaucratic RTHK.

Moreover, Wasabi also commented, "I am get used to create within limitation since I young, lyric fill in with fixed rhythm; script writing with limited time are the exam Advertiser is an obstacle in creation, but might not a constraints nor pressure. So responsibility is always surpass profit in CRHK. CRHK is not profit-driven as compa to other commercial enterprise, we focus on quality rather earning huge profit. Eage



break-through and self-request are the main source of stress, our pressure is from wishing to keep high quality, keeping young mind and never fad out. RTHK also facing their constraints, the bureaucratic organization culture is deeply rooted, their radio channel should be supported by good result, those shown on audience survey. They compete with other channel within RTHK.

Ar. O from RTHK viewed that, "CRHK with it limitation from commercial concern and self-censorship. But commercial concern also enhance creativity. Each radio channel with its own limitation and rules. I feel CRHK is not with much mission to the public as compared with RTHK. Although low pay in CRHK, but I have learnt a lots." Creative labour is chasing for the perfect with its innovative output, but there is never a perfect, they drive themselves to make the end product better, keep improve themselves.

Bu, Ka-Ho YIU, is now the Chairperson of the print media - 100 Most Magazine, who previously was being a host in CR2, he agreed that he has relatively low power in strategic level in the organization, however he entitled a high level of freedom in initiating commercial events. He also enjoyed autonomy in proposing, drafting materials without censorship, and chi-chatting on air. He satisfied with the sufficient autonomy in media creation.

Wong, Chi-Chung added from another music show view and help to conclude precisely, "Although sponsor is cigarette, they have not limited our show, and I think that valuable to make a show. We feel free in any show production especially in the year of Mr. Ho in the management broad, with his free-style management philosophy." "Commercial production does not mean constraints from sponsor, they have their need and request, but not aim on limit our creative; public broadcast also with their constraints in another way, for example they have to follow strict code of practice, even though without advertising sponsors." He concluded clearly, "No absolutely good or bad, but just different form of culture. In compare, our commercial organization with brave in breakthrough, and ric experiential production."

Research findings 3: Condition enhance Creativity

"Guided by the data being gathered and the topics, questions, and evaluative criteria provide focus, analysis is the field-worker's derivative ordering of the data" (Lofl: 1995). More insights on research data have been found after reading the books writter



Brian Moeran & Ana Alacovska. Work attitude is vital and also CREATIVITY is the outcome of 'sensitivity from dissatisfaction to satisfaction'; labour with genius could standing without cultivation within a 'Field'; creativity enhanced by positive atmosphere with high autonomy, flat hierarchy, which are also a 'Habitus' at work from Bourdieu point of view.

"First, is the need to move away from generalized creative / constraints dichotomies... Second, we should avoid conflating the different senses of constraints as that which blocks, inhibits or undermines cultural creativity, and that which provides it a *facilitating environment or motivating force*. Creative freedom or professional autonomy are not pre-given entities of absolute value rigidly set over against media organizations, operational routines, state censorship or market criteria. Romanticism informing the sense of creativity ideally as a free play of productive forces, which are danger.... Simplistic picture... as ill-defined freedom." It support that commercial concerns is facilitating environment in CRHK also motivating creative force.

"In qualitative field-studies, developing analysis is conceived as an emergent product of a process of gradual induction" John Lofland & Lyn H. Lofland. In this research, if highlighting the words "working attitude" and "hard-working", surprisingly discovering these repeatedly occur in 12 interviewee's answer, which those wordings were never mentioned in my interview question. Findings is derivative from the set research question, but more meaningful outcome is then concluded.

It seems the key words of "*working attitude*" has been omitted in my research question. When all the interview data have been put into transcript, it is clear that every interviewees has mentioned more or less key words related to working attitude of a program host, such as 'mind set', 'hard working', 'character', 'aggressiveness', '*satisfaction*', 'personal style', 'persistency', 'self-confidence and ego' and 'happine which then I highlight as yellow in the appendix D: Transcript and Coding 1st coc Chinese - hard copy.

Wasabi gave me insightful statement, "None of the new show host is outstanding. T are short-sighted, seeking instant benefit, result-oriented with high ego. I also feel generation is not doing well enough in making a good radio show, nor keeping a l



standard, when I blame how bad the new generation is, I should demand myself more and take responsibility. They don't understand it is not the case anybody sit in studio, laughing in front of microphone is funny and attractive to audience. We have tried very hard, taken long time to build up a relationship and rapport with audience, there are reasons behind the success in making a good joke work. The youth cannot see the calculation, the plan, and the trial behind every funny gag, how people put effort to make good talk show, that's all our fault and not good enough if they cannot learn from it. The mindset of new generation is changing, they don't know how to share and always high ego because they are single child. I would wonder how eager to be the best when they are chasing their dream job – to be a DJ or host. Wasabi value most on soft skills, positive mindset and work attitude. They afraid of hard work as well as low paid, and quoted: "how come I am so handsome, worked for a year but still in PA role?" he said this is the youth nowadays. If they are not wholeheartedly devoted to their job in radio, I couldn't help!" In the 80s to 90s the bloomsome period of radio age, Sammy and Donald listen to radio and learned the high standard, radio for them is charm as a place like palace. As the head of creative department, I can see Wasabi set a very high standard on his job. In our golden age of radio, hosts treat this job as career, do their best with heart, however, the youth now treating this job as stepping stone to be famous or become an artist. If CRHK is Shaolin temple training potential talents, you have the responsibility to train an allround person. I should have to groom new blood, bring up their talent, tailor made a show for them, this is my duty and mission. CRHK is like an evil cult, sharing a norm and unique value, you will be attracted to their organizational culture." Wasabi repeatedly blame his generation not doing the best to set a role model for the young, they should try even harder if not talented. "Even senior as Jan Lam, his show is not perfect, I should know what is good as I am the quality control in creative department here. The concert LIVE MUSIC every year has been built as a brand with its own personality, audience not come for the stars, but for the show. It is not aim on earning money, all sponsor income all used up on concert production cost. They do everything seriously."

Maggie also comment on Stephen, "He don't know news at the beginning stage but h keep studying, he is kind of hard working person, I can see Stephen is working v attitude whole-heartedly." This illustrated Maggie is a person with high standard. Wh ask her "who is the most talented show host you admire?" she stopped and think more than 60 seconds silence then said "no, really cannot find one host I love in all ra channels!" but she do think of one opposite example who she really despised "h

flattery to the power, bias and friendly to some political party, which is absolutely unacceptable from journalistic point of view, the host has left now." I can see Maggie with her standard to judge their teammate with fair and integrity "when questioning the political person, we should stinging comment and pushing them (to answer and taking responsible to public), cannot let them go easily".

Amber Au self-reflection again, "I don't have any career plan but I will do my best once I think that is all I have to get things done." No one push her to write a book on the "small potato lifetime story" but she did it seriously, planned to finish it because she set her standard high. She wish to reveal various angel which different from main stream press on little topic, on HK farmer, traditional grocer owner. When publisher invite her to launch a book, she feel her articles are insufficient to edit as a book, so she start to write more. Her self-request motivated her tidy up the interviews from her show in radio 2.

To show a distinctive example, I would take German from Colin perspective. German is "backstage" operator for over twenty years with Jan Lam, sometime will voice out in the Radio 2 program "On a Clear Day". German is not in-born talented according to few interviewees, however from his subordinates, he is the kind of person with positive working attitude, never *satisfy* his work and aim to do better with self-discipline. He is trained up in Commercial Radio CRHK, however is learning by doing. Practice makes perfect is the training he gave to new join and young internships. He is will never put down his work if he is not *satisfy* with his end product including site bite, interview editing for a new program, for example the Alan Tam 40th anniversary radio drama in 2015 sound clip. With his experienced technique, he do not mind work till mid-night then back to office early morning again on the following day. I would agree with Moeran & Alacovska that the nature of creative thinking of any person is about satisfaction: "If our objective is promotion of creativity we have first to find some way of stimulating our sensitivity to dissatisfaction." Would all creative labour actually with a sense of dissatisfaction in all their innovations and creative works? So that this is the c motivation driving them to make a perfect work, regarded less to their genus or train nonetheless on the autonomy in working condition? The level of satisfaction can the the future research scope on creative labour not limited to those in radio indus Creative dissatisfaction is dialectics between positive sense of creativity and nega sense of dissatisfaction.

They have set high standard on their own work, their final output, as Wasabi mentioned, they have good "QC" quality control in his team. "We aim to be perfect in funny jokes "gag" and wordings." The wordings we use in every program title is totally different from those in RTHK, as you will recognize."

Research findings 4: Condition enhance Creativity by self-satisfaction

I support an idea from Hesmondhalgh, "culture industries... why it might be the object of utopian aspirations for the work we do", we could pay special attention when investigate the motivation of creative labour. What make work meaningful is not merely the monetary reward, but usually the self-realization and satisfaction. Perfect work is come from the meeting the demand from inner self.

I have set my interview question on this *self-exploit* concern regarding to the harsh working condition. After interview with Amber, Colin and Ken Yuen, I find that they fully accepted the remunerate package as being a show host in CRHK. Colin: "long working hours is expected, as recruitment talk hold in university mentioned, you cannot expect you will get rich from this job, but I enjoyed the work. Work is more fun than my leisure time." Amber: "low salary is true in CRHK... I have worked eight years here without much salary increment... but I enjoyed working with great autonomy at this stage." Ken Yuen: "I don't want to work in meaningless finance industry... low pay in this radio field is a must, but I enjoy knowing Hong Kong current affairs... I still can survive so I keep working here." To compensate for the negative situation on low pay, they seek psychological rewards instead, such high level of personal autonomy, work with mission and funny at work. Creative people value on intrinsic rewards, as important as financial rewards. They work with Passion. The definition of worker is basically an ideology of 'work' in the Marxist theory, the capitalist society. By removing the label as a "worker", creative people prefer and have long been desired to create their own "art piece" as their life's work, which were great, ideal and inspiring for self-satisfaction.

Creative dissatisfaction is dialectics between positive sense of creativity and nega sense of dissatisfaction. Labour in CRHK seems very positive on the organization cul they have experienced and they are satisfy with a relatively high autonomy. However motivation to make a perfect work is largely come from their *Sense of Crea Dissatisfaction* from their inner ability. This is valuable finding for future research if



further study cultural labour in creative industry, and on how to manage their work expectation, job satisfaction, as well as momentum on work.

[Conclusion]

"Organization Cultures are internally affected by both forces encouraging change and forces resisting change. These forces are related to both social structures and natural events, and are involved in the perpetuation of cultural ideas and practices within current structures, which themselves are subject to change." Organization culture of CRHK is with its creative norms affecting all the employees on encouraging change, also formed a 'Field' for creative labour cultivated they hard working attitude, high standard on creative products quality, as well as 'embodied state' of high self-expectation. Talents being attracted by CRHK culture, learn their 'Habitus' and form their own norm at work. This is supporting to the cultural capital as a miniature of society.

Therefore, a defining factor for creativeness is the high degree of cultural capital which encompasses such seemingly "natural" characters as talent, craftsmanship, charisma, taste, style, habit, and way of thinking and personality of creative labours. These are all in Bourdieu concept of 'habitus' which gain from '*structure*' (within organization) to '*intension*'. Show hosts in CRHK internalize their habit learnt within organization, transform into their way of act – creative intension, which include way of thinking, standard of quality, self-expectation.

Habitus on the one hand confine the behavior of creative labour, such as rules and regulation; on the other hand enhance the creative act through observing and learning those senior show hosts, who would then be cultivated to have a 'sense of self-dissatisfaction' once their end product does not meet innovative "standard".

"When a sense of dissatisfaction persists, that means it was placed there by God for reason only: you need to change everything and move forward." That's creativity. — Paulo Coelho, Al

Under the condition of avant-garde culture to accept special talents, high autonom work, freedom on creative, less hierarchy in organization structure, with pressure



sponsors needs and deadline, learning positive norms from peers, with 'sense of selfdissatisfaction' and high self-expectation, would then the creativity possibly enhance.

--- END OF PAPER ---

1) Abstract

2) Acknowledgement

3) List of References

Appendices

A: Data Collection / Interview Chart

B: Background information (CRHK & RTHK)

C: Letter to Interviewees and Interview Questions

D: Transcript and Coding 1st coding Chinese - hard copy

E: Transcript and Coding 2nd coding English - soft copy

F: Outline of paper structure

G: Participant Observation Materials – Floor Plan / interview notes - hard copy

H: Final Presentation (PowerPoint)

[Abstract]

This article examines the significance of personal character and organizational culture as a means to enhance creativity of labour in the Commercial Radio Hong Kong (CRHK). The findings are based on qualitative research carried out between 2014 and 2015, based on in-depth interview with 15 radio show hosts working in the Hong Kong radio industry. The article studies three main questions. Firstly, whether genius or training is relatively more important favoring individuals with higher levels of creativity; secondly, the autonomy affected by bureaucratic management style or profit-oriented enterprise is enabling or constraining the creativity in view of cultural organization context; thirdly, under what condition will lead a creative labour cause a difference performance in creativity, thus enhance innovative. Finally this research discovered the sense of dissatisfaction play a key role as a motivation of creative work. Drawing on sociological theories of creative labour psychological responds such as those theories of Brian Moeran & Ana Alacovska suggested and considered if the objective is promotion of creativity we have first to find some way of stimulating the sensitivity to dissatisfaction in a creative labour mindset, it is so called the nature of creative thinking.

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	Interviewees	Position	Date	Time	Type pf data	Typing Time
RTHK	何重恩	Head of Radio 5	2014.03.17	0:34:55	pre-research interview	1:09:50
RTHK	鄭啓明	Head of Radio 2	2015.01.12	0:49:10	formal interview	1:38:20
RTHK	阿 O	Host	2015.03.06	0:43:54	formal interview	1:27:48
CR2	阿 BU	ex-Host	2014.03.20	0:44:36	pre-research interview	1:29:12
CR1	郭志仁	Host	2015.02.06	0:56:42	formal interview	1:53:24
CR1	阮子健	Host	2015.02.09	0:46:22	formal interview	1:32:44
CR1	潘小濤	Host	2015.02.09	0:51:10	formal interview	1:42:20
CR1	Maggie	Producer	2015.03.13	0:19:45	casual talk	0:39:30
CR2	Wasabi	Creative Head	2015.02.10	2:49:32	formal interview	9:53:22
CR2	黄志淙	Host	2015.03.11	0:54:36	formal interview	2:43:48
CR2	急急子	Host	2015.03.16	0:39:59	formal interview	1:59:57
CR2	Colin	Host	2015.03.17	0:33:40	formal interview	1:41:00
CR2	German	Producer	2015.03.13	0:17:01	casual talk	0:34:02
CR2	HA	PA	2015.03.13	0:21:36	casual talk	0:43:12
CR1	Stephen Chan	CEO	2015.03.27	0:22:00	casual talk	1:28:00
Total				11:44:58		30:36:29

Appendices A: Data Collection Chart / Interview

Appendices B: Background information (CRHK & RTHK)

[Background of Commercial Radio Hong Kong]

Hong Kong Commercial Broadcasting Company Limited (CRHK), was founded by George Ho Ho-Chi on 26 August 1959, is one of only two commercial radio broadcasting companies in Hong Kong along with Metro Radio Hong Kong. It contains a balanced array of entertainment including informative, educational arts and cultural programmes. CRHK is well known for providing updates current affairs as well as news and weather reports.

Currently CRHK broadcasts through two Cantonese Channels on the FM ba and an English one on the AM band. All of the channels are 24-hour broad and each of them has its distinct programme formats and audience. In this pa I have participant observation on their notable programmes - "On a Clear Da Among all 88.1 and 90.3 Programmes, there are two programmes with the sa



name "On a Clear Day" airs during the weekdays, from Monday to Friday, from 8am to 10am. that actively discussing contemporary Hong Kong political and social issues as well as current affairs every day, in different style.

FM 88.1 (CR1) has the widest audience base in Hong Kong. It is a talk-based channel which broadcasts current affairs, traffic and financial information. There are also many talk shows and interactive phone-in shows. It also offers some cultural dramas programmes. Its target audience are 25- to 40-year-old professionals. Its current slogan is "聲為民開", which literally means "Our voice is opened for the public", where the word "voice" apparently alludes to broadcasting at large, thus, it means "We broadcast for the public".

"On a Clear Day" a four-hour programme hosted by Wong Wing, Yeung Chun Yiu, Lam Tsz Kit, Yau King Fan and Lam Yu Yan, have been changed to Stephen Chan Chi-Wan, Chan Chung, and Ken Kwok Tze-Yan since 2014 February. The show is a signature in media with its power in being amplify by other press, due to those guests invited by the hosts to participate in the discussion of current issues, the guests who are from government, different political parties and general public in society. It also features an interactive phone-in session.

FM 90.3 (CR2) is a music-based channel targeted at the younger generation and audience who are feverish with pop music. The programmes are more about the latest news in pop music, including Cantonese, Japanese and English songs. This channel is famous for organizing one of the four Hong Kong annual music awards, in which the prizes are awarded to the singers according to how often their songs are plugged, as they call it in Hong Kong, by the DJs. Its present slogan is "叱咤 MY 903", which the literal meaning is "Ultimate – MY 903".

"On a Clear Day", a two-hour programme hosted by Jan Lam, Poon Siu To and Ken Yuen Tze-Kin. The programme has a session called voice column in which some Commercial Radio 1 DJs participate as columnists, sharing their own viewpoints on certain issues in a more relax, interesting and funny ways, for example the column by Jan Lam and Poon Siu To. It is a more critical programme which focuses making joke on the current news in Hong Kong. It also features an interactive phone-in programme, gift-of-the-day for audience, which discussion are related to the news on that day.

[Background of Radio Television Hong Kong]

Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK) is the public broadcaster of Hong Kc operated as an independent government department under the Communicati Authority. Launched by The Hong Kong Government, this is the first ra broadcasting in June 1928 with eighty-seven years history. RTHK operates se radio channels, and produces television programmes that are then broad through local television stations in Hong Kong. While it is government funder has a reputation for maintaining editorial independence. RTHK produces a broadcasts educational, entertainment and public affairs programmes.



With the background of Public Service Broadcast (PSB), judgement on radio program by management concern more on the mission in serving the public, also performing educational function instead of pure entertaining. This greatly affected the style of radio program production and editing. The organization culture is relatively bureaucratic, thus the motivation on creativity and work attitude in such public service broadcast is different from commercial organization.

Appendices C: Letter to Interviewees and Interview Questions

你好,請查看以下會面問題,謝謝。訪問商業電台 - DJ / 節目主持 由 Richard Florida 提出 Creative Class 開始,概念於歐美一直討論,創意工業 被視為炙手可熱振興經濟的新焦點,從事創意的工作者更是知識份子的標誌。而 大多數研究集中在新媒體,並非香港的傳統媒體行業。因此,此項研究將集中於 「香港」的傳統媒體「電台」的「創意文化人」(節目主持人 DJ)。DJ 是天 才?還是後天訓練出過人的技巧?商業電台的「創作自主」需要平衡商業考慮, 而香港電台的「創作自主」會否受政府喉舌的功能限制?此項研究期望有助了解 對「創意文化人」Creative Labour 的爭辯及討論。

Questions:

你是怎樣及何時入行的? 有沒有經歷 60s - 70s 年代的電台?你有什麼印象? 在香港電台行業的盛世年代是 80s?當年,你做節目情況係點呢? (Background question on creative labour)

商業電台 開台初期 DJ 做節目, 談及的時事、說話的內容是否自由? 80's 年代 是怎樣的?

(Genius work over the time in history)

初入行時候有狼狽的情況,做「直播」節目時最深刻的是什麼? 最終練成什麼秘技去補救/改進? (Creative labour start career from junior position)

有什麼情況會特別緊張?做「直播」節目,開咪前緊張,你即時會怎樣舒緩? (Creative labour mindset, attitude toward work and stress? How to handle stress?)

你認為你現在的位置(資深主持人、節目總監、或管理層)有那些技藝是必要 鍊的?將來如果有新人接手你的工作,你會傳受什麼技能/經驗給他呢? (Creative labour craftsmanship, senior and junior)

你的節目: 商業電台 最長壽的節目其中之一 – 的內容是怎樣取材的? 同一般紙媒、電視新聞,或網上新聞(新媒體),你自己認為有何不同之處? (Program content - Creativeness)

由音樂節目、生活娛樂、文化歷史、到時事節目,你覺得邊個節目類型比較適合 你?為什麼?

年代變遷及年歲漸長,節目類型會有所不同吧? 有何轉變?轉變有沒有難倒你? (Program changing, factors affecting skill set is changing)

以你管理的幾位下屬(商業電台之節目主持人,如有),或現在的商業電台之節目主持人入面,你會選邊個表現最好?為什麼好? 有那些節目主持人表現較差?為什麼差? (Comment on Creative labour nowadays)

你點樣開一個全新節目?過程中,用什麼準則決定當時節目的風格?內容?團 隊?

(Create program management view on starting from zero)

作為管理層,你怎樣監製節目?有什麼底線不能超越,必須「限制」你的下屬? 又或作為下屬的你,有否於創作上受管理層限制? (Creative labour limitation, professional autonomy)

** additional: 你認為是什麼因素令成功的 DJ 吸引到「冧到」咁多支持者「fans」?

(Charisma of creative labour: program host /DJ)

有人認為:港台 DJ 是後天努力勤奮;商台 DJ 則靠天才及魅力,你認為怎樣? (Creative labour charisma and learning)

** additional: 你怎樣決定係自由的節目:講咩 / 唔應該講啲咩? (Craftsmanship and judgment)

有沒有由 香港電台,過檔而加入的 DJ 同事? 你覺得他們跟 商業電台長大的 DJ 同事,做節目及思維上有什麼分別?

(Cultural capital can be trained differently in different organization culture)

個人名譽的優越感, 或金錢實質收入, 你認為 港台/商台 DJ 比較, 情況是怎樣?

個人名譽的優越感,或金錢實質收入,是否二者取其一?

(Creative labour value self-realization at work, at the same time self-exploitati

有人認為:港台 DJ 的創意比較少而且保守;商台 DJ 則天馬行空創意爆棚, 認為不同電台,不同機構文化促成怎樣不同的創作? (Creativeness in different organization culture, conditionally creative)

一般而言 DJ 「人工低、工時長」, 但工作模式自由, 你的工作是否這樣?

(The characteristic of creative labour in real situation)

放工/放假的時候,你會不會想著電台的事? 或聽電台? (Creative labour leisure & Work life balance)

** additional: 對於電台廣播數碼化, 在節目創作 / 或創意思維上有沒有變化? 有什麼變化?

(Changing in creativity in the new media age.)

** additional: 如果你將來有兒女, 佢話想做 DJ / 記者 / 編輯, 你會唔會俾下 一代做?

(The future of radio industry: success / failure, blossoming / declining, from his / her own point of view)

未來的 DJ 你認為是怎樣的?DJ 會消失嗎?還是 online radio 網上電台是另一條出路?

(The dead of Radio DJ, the future of Creative Labour in traditional media industry)

Thank you very much! 謝謝。

Appendices E: Transcript and Coding 2nd coding English - soft copy

Stephen Chan – autonomy:

"If you consider the commercial stress and constraints, the political show and team doesn't be much affected."

"Our sales team would not give feedback to our any of show to limit our talk, we can criticize what we think right."

"Sponsor like main client – KOIKEI Pastelaria, he gave us freedom to ask question, he is confidence on his career without limitation on the topic to us, including sensitivity topic."

Stephen Chan – talent:

"If talking about the success of a DJ is genius or through training, I would say training result could not be seen immediately and should start from their school day; I feel that talent is important especially the nice voice, kindness, intimacy with audience which is definitely inborn, but cannot be trained-up by coach in any radio."

"Special voice like Eric Kot Min-Fai, he is definitely not be accepted in RTI the traditional radio station with old style DJ voice, valuing high accuracy pronunciation rather stylish and distinctive. However, CRHK is always break the rule, choosing to develop some abnormal show host in a stylish way. Kc not with nice voice but very unique cannot be replicated. He can lead audience to his funny mode, sparkling the chemistry without distance. He cre his own brand."

"Training in CRHK is more like apprenticeship in daily work, we will told young what is good and not good, we must evaluate in meeting after the ship



help to shape a better role for different hosts. We do have formal radio training but only on broadcast regulation topics, and basic technique such as phone answering manner. But (as a management) I will let them have other segments (radio program) to development themselves and practice, all the teammate can evaluate. If he is with some potential we will further *groom* him."

Sylvia interpretation: the success of famous show host Kot is not only due to his special talent, but also the tolerant and acceptance of "strange" "abnormal" innovative thinking of the CRHK management. Whether a show host success and creative is determined by where the labour situated and how to bring his talent into full play.

How the management picks and how the team work make effective.

Voice is in-born, if RTHK not accept Kot, no matter how hard he work, he got no chance. The organization culture of avant-garde and the norm of innovative in the team are very important in creative nurture. Which also suggested by Richard Florida in his 3Ts creative class theory – talent, technology, tolerance.

Training method depends on the character and personal preference, also the requirement and judgement of trainer in apprenticeship learning process. There is no such absolute rule in CRHK creating a radio show, not like the RTHK with standard judgement; it all depends on management preference and host's talent and potential.

Wasabi, Kwong – autonomy:

Since 1995, I was a copywriter at first place in creative department as General Manager Y.T. aggressively wish to find more advertising clients as source of income. His main duty is to strategically differentiate the image of CRHK from tradition radio RTHK, on the one hand to enhance the commercial advertisement quality and build up a habit for audience, on the other hand to demonstrate CRHK could help advertiser with great value. I am get used to create within limitation since I was young, lyric fill in with fixed rhythm; script writing with limited time are the example. Advertiser is an obstacle in creation, but might not a constraints nor pressure. Social responsibility is always surpass profit in CRHK. CRHK is not profit-driven as compared to other commercial enterprise, we focus on quality rather earning huge profit. Eager to break-through and self-request are the main source of stress, our pressure is from wishing to keep high quality, keeping young mind and never fad out. RTHK also facing their constraints, the bureaucratic organization culture is deeply rooted, their radio channel should response by good result, those shown on audience survey. They compete v

Wasabi, Kwong – talent:

other channel within RTHK.

Every year CRHK have DJ training course to acquire new blood. He le broadcasting skill in order to gain knowledge in write-up. Skill-set is easy to g but personal character is rather difficult. Many elements is inborn, somethin you do not have it inborn, you may very difficult to learn when growing up, rhythm. Radio 2 value rhythm and music flow nonetheless these are my inb



nature, no need to learn and cannot learn and teach. I am a systematic teacher can teach marketing but I cannot teach some knowledge which I have inborn, just like sense of distance in car parking. Selecting talent for Radio 1 is rigid and harsh, lack of smart in the pool with high potential, moreover, with low paid and long working hour. I am emulous, love to pick new blood by personality. Creative should mastery of logical thinking in their abstract thinking.

Wasabi, Kwong – attitude:

None of the new show host is outstanding. They are short-sighted, seeking instant benefit, result-oriented with high ego. I also feel my generation is not doing well enough in making a good radio show, nor keeping a high standard, when I blame how bad the new generation is, I should demand myself more and take responsibility. They don't understand it is not the case anybody sit in studio, laughing in front of microphone is funny and attractive to audience. We have tried very hard, taken long time to build up a relationship and rapport with audience, there are reasons behind the success in making a good joke work. The youth cannot see the calculation, the plan, and the trial behind every funny gag, how people put effort to make good talk show, that's all our fault and not good enough if they cannot learn from it. The mindset of new generation is changing, they don't know how to share and always high ego because they are single child. I would wonder how eager to be the best when they are chasing their dream job – to be a DJ or host. Wasabi value most on soft skills, positive mindset and work attitude. They afraid of hard work as well as low paid, and quoted: "how come I am so handsome, worked for a year but still in PA role?" he said this is the youth nowadays. If they are not wholeheartedly devoted to their job in radio, I couldn't help!" In the 80s to 90s the bloomsome period of radio age, Sammy and Donald listen to radio and learned the high standard, radio for them is charm as a place like palace. As the head of creative department, I can see Wasabi set a very high standard on his job. In our golden age of radio, hosts treat this job as career, do their best with heart, however, the youth now treating this job as stepping stone to be famous or become an artist. If CRHK is Shaolin temple training potential talents, you have the responsibility to train an allround person. I should have to groom new blood, bring up their talent, tailor made a show for them, this is my duty and mission. CRHK is like an evil cult, sharing a norm and unique value, you will be attracted to their organizational culture. Wasabi repeatedly blame his generation not doing the best to set a role model for the young, they should try even harder if not talented. Even senior as Jan Lam, his show is not perfect, I should know what is good as I am the qua control in creative department here. Even the concert LIVE MUSIC every y has been built as a brand with its own personality, audience not come for stars, but the show. It is not for earning money, all sponsor income all used

Maggie – Stinging comment talent

on concert production cost. They do everything seriously.



Encouraging actively expressing idea, also cultivating this atmosphere in our team.. Train-up internship. We equally treat them and free to express their thought.

Stephen don't know news at the beginning stage but he is keep studying, he is kind of hard working person, I can see Stephen is working with attitude whole-heartedly.

Maggie – Stinging comment autonomy

Surprise that after Stephen taking lead in our program (political affair / opinion show), he has no oppress opinion, we are still free to express on sensitive topic... listen comment from every teammate... here is the platform of utopia with freedom of speech.

Maggie – Stinging comment attitude

Sylvia interpretation: the Maggie is a person with high standard and stinging comment. When I ask her "who is the most talented show host you admire?" she stopped and think for more than 60 seconds silence then said "no, really cannot find one host I love in all radio channels!" but she do think of one she really despised "he is flattery to the power, bias and friendly to some political party, which is absolutely unacceptable from journalistic point of view, the host has left now." I can see Maggie with her standard to judge their teammate with fair and integrity "when questioning the political person, we should stinging comment and pushing them (to answer and taking responsible to public), cannot let them go easily".

Wong, Chi-Chung – autonomy:

Although sponsor is cigarette, they have not limited our show, and I think that valuable to make a show.

We feel free in any show production especially in the year of Mr. Ho in the management broad, with his free-style management philosophy.

Commercial production does not mean constraints from sponsor, they have their need and request, but not aim on limit our creative; public broadcast also with their constraints in another way, for example they have to follow strict code of practice, even though without advertising sponsors. No absolutely good or bad, but just different form of culture. In compare, our commercial organization with brave in breakthrough, and rich in experiential production.

We are not aim to find sponsor when producing a show, but if the show going to "mature" and well know, advertising opportunity will come. Here is a place of

gathering of strange talented person with wired things, but make thing happe a heavenly steed soaring across the skies; an unrestrained and vigorous style t brims with talent

Wong, Chi-Chung – talent:

Training is harsh as those in Shaolin learning Kungfu, the same metaphor h been used in Wong, Chi-Chung, Wasabi and Colin. It is all-round on-the training from concert production to event promotion. However, 903 Radio 2 of stylish show hosts with strong character, like Jan Lam who is really talen charming.



He feel DJs should have their own way in radio program, they have to take their own choice and keep their work attitude, as well as making their name as a goodwill.

Sammy is hardworking in researching for new things to make good funny joke. Donald also hardworking from office boy to program producer in CRHK for 20 years.

Sylvia interpretation: he is never stop to chasing his lifestyle, enjoy his music sharing, innovation come from his freedom in trying new way to express new perspective in music, with his own style.

Colin – autonomy:

I feel I am in handling my music show, producer seldom comment. Colin – talent:

Dr. Wong, Chi-Chung bring me to CRHK, then I guided by German in Radio 2 "On a Clear Day", now is HA taking my duty, I have moved to my music show. The most admired DJ I would pick Jan Lam, because he is so talented, his thinking logic is fast! He can see the unique angle from any news twisted to his own funny language, and connecting different news headline. Is he genius or trained-up? I cannot tell. The fast-thinking should be in-born, but hard-working is a must and necessary to bring out his talent. He is top management, why still get up early, putting effort to make his own radio segment perfect? He don't required to… but he insist. He trains himself every morning through this show, making the show more perfect. I cannot see any new join could have his passion on job with this good working attitude, he deserve to this prestige position in CRHK.

Amber Au (急急子) – autonomy:

Every staff in Radio 2 are treated differently. Management have not comment too much on my work, because I have my own thought and they found it useful. I have my clear mind on what I want to do, like those interview depicted the little character in society, their minimal life story. If you got no idea on what to talk in show, they will give advice and let you try. I do feel in am quite free, management free hand to let me work alone. I think I have done all I want to do in Radio 2. No guideline to restrict me on what should not say in my show, just cannot call for action in selling commercial product, quote a brand name directly,

it is just basic common sense from journalistic education. For myself I am afraid to offend somebody. I can say what I think appropriate as long as content is true and valid, no bias as a media practitioner, cannot mislead general public, I believe it is okay and up to person judgement. As a journa we have ruler to measure, rule to follow, and every journalist with different of rule in self-censorship.

Amber Au (急急子) - talent:

Not much formal training in CRHK, but general regulation and code of prac for broadcast industry only. The content of training is actually a sharing sess



from senior colleagues. I cannot say Jan Lam is innate or learned to be creative, but I heard that his father is also a funny guide, can I say it is from family background? One thing I can assure, Jan Lam is hard-working person, he is always the first one to come back to office for preparation, the earliest show hosts of Radio 2! I just come back to CRHK 4 hours every day in average and then I go out for interviews or researching. I am free at this stage but also with self-discipline. Management will know I hang out for work, not for fun. I don't have any career plan but I will do my best once I think that is all I have to get things done.

Sylvia interpretation: would this count as cultural capital gain from family? As a journalist, they have a set of rule and demand themselves to say something good, true and valid. This person judgement is so-called self-censorship in a positive way. This cannot count as constraints instead to make the show better and responsible to public. No one push her to write a book on the "small potato lifetime story" but she did it seriously, planned to finish it because she set her standard high. She wish to reveal various angel which different from main stream press on little topic, on HK farmer, traditional grocer owner. When publisher invite her to launch a book, she feel her articles are insufficient to edit as a book, so she start to write more. Her self-request motivated her tidy up the interviews from her show in radio 2.

German – autonomy:

He is in management level for more than 20 years' experience. He is helping the young staff and internship checking their quality of work from early morning 06:00am. It's their attitude. Every morning they (Jam Lam, Ken Yuen and Poon Siu-Tao) come back CRHK office to read and gather news, then they will meeting up around 07:30am sharing some of the top news and hot topics should be go through during today show. He, Jan Lam, never advise and instruct me on the choice of song, music and sound bite, I will suggest on my own choice, then he will say: okay! Go ahead. They don't really need to compromise what they are going to say, just make fun. They (the show host) will pay attention to news the night before, they have mentally prepared what is going to say on the following morning. They just have to express what they think, their personal style, and their own view. Those part-time staff are trained-up to cut the sound bite, I will then check and edit it. 08:00am just finished the "everyday pick" recording within 15 minutes, then we will on-air. 08:00 – 08:30am we start to make music

segment for the in-between break (around 9am) in such a tight schedule. I walk around the two studios, Live and Recording studio make sure operat are perfect.

German – talent:

Personal style is really important. Poon Siu-Tao seems serious, but he is kinc funny guy with lots of fun gags.

Jam Lam is damn creative! The way he think is his signature style m everyone in the studio laugh! But if you talking about this is genius or traine could say if not with hardworking, you can never make good outcome w



excellence. Genius require to match with hard-working attitude, devote themselves to the show, making great efforts to bring out innate qualities.

Poon Siu-Tao – autonomy:

Commercial radio with great limitation not only black and white regulation but also the license issue. The more audience the greater constraints. Radio program itself also with limitation on freedom, foul language is prohibited, and so many constraints from the social value. However, I never heard of colleagues afraid on offending to advertising clients, I never got warning call on this, advertising have not put pressure on social affairs radio show. From this point of view, creation is with much freedom. The most challenge for me is personal ability (I am not sharp enough). CRHK offer quite lots of freedom to show hosts, value on creativity, encourage innovative culture in regardless of your job position in CRHK. No guideline and constraint on host, less self-censorship. I love freedom, don't like confined by others.

Poon Siu-Tao -talent:

Personal ability is the main challenge everyday grasp the news, writing script with short preparation time in the morning. Jan Lam is talented not only speaking with fun, but also with angle, gag and punch line on his own logic. I believe both for genius and training, intimacy / nice and personality are most important, the key with stinging. Working attitude is the quality, strong personality is the success of host. I can think the joke same as Jan Lam, but I cannot present in such a funny way as him. That show his genius, experience and competent (energy and ability) nice person without individual thoughts may not suitable radio.

HA – autonomy:

I have to work every day start from 06:00am, my duty as an operator is the daily operation in studios. Live studio need a team of 3, the operator, producer and the DJs (show host). If talking about creative, I think both show host and backend supporting staff need to be creative, especially the sound editing. Every sound track I made on my own idea will then getting approval from producer – German, he will decide what can be put on-air. German will guide me how to do it, and free-hand letting me to make it.

HA – talent:

We need normally 3 months on-the-job training to handle a Live show, but depends on talent, he finally free-hand to me after one and half month only the staff is not good enough with sound talent, they won't fire him, every with different talent, will let him try other position. But the new staff automatically fad out himself by resignation if he find he is not capable to do as this job is not easy. Donald is really top in sound editing, is the "King Sound Effects" he has devoted himself to making good sound effects that's v he is top. Hard-working is a must in radio 2, everyone is hard-working a wholeheartedly in their job, using tones of hours to make high quality go work. For example the jungle of CRHK cost few hours to make few secon



output. German come back so early to find news sound bite which is ready for use before the hosts back to office. I will do all the miscellaneous things, including buying breakfast and serve drinks if necessary.

Ken Yuen – autonomy:

I have tried every type of work in CRHK which I want to, and I think I am lucky. What I learnt from school not helped directly to my work, but the knowledge and logical thinking. Being a show host is a long term investment on cultural capital. The logic of thinking like Jan Lam is actually can learn and eventually close to the way they think, but whether you able to use it or not, it's depends. Human nature cannot be quantify... organization structure and rule of game determine the result, these are count as "constraints". The style and logical thinking of CRHK is the issue of high culture vs pop culture, it is the matter of "TASTE" as Bourdieu suggested. From my point of view, the constraints of CRHK is from the rights of public and social responsibility, more than advertiser. Sponsors have the right to choose a suitable show host, if they like you, they will choose you, not a pressure.

Ken Yuen - talent:

To train a new host generally on two level: technique and thinking. Way of thinking is an accumulation of cultural capital. When we read news, we must have our own judgement and way of interpretation, of cause with your style.

Ken Kwok – autonomy:

Through the experiencing the golden period of master Cheng and Li Wai-Ling, I feel no difference in freedom of speech in Hong Kong media industry although these worst case happened seems threatening the freedom, 98% free to speak now. Our company management never put pressure on sensitivity topics which cannot be commented too much on our main advertising clients. However we have our self-censorship. As a journalist, we know which tycoon we can never comment only due to protect safety of our life, but not because of advertising income. The most difficult task is naming the show and writing up the slogan of campaign. We care about wordings, and tight quality check by lyrics writer on picking a suitable words for title. It's depends on organization culture. Self-censorship is subtle and difficult for public to aware it existence in forming a pressure to the society.

Ken Kwok – talent:

100% is attitude. Technique can be learnt but not work attitude, I value a per who devoted into work. Deadline is the most effective way to boost creativ Hard-working make a show host famous event he is not talented. Radio : more celebrity-oriented, personal charm is very important.

Ar. O – autonomy:

CRHK with it limitation from commercial concern and self-censorship. commercial concern also enhance creativity. Each radio channel with its o limitation and rules. I feel CRHK is not with much mission to the public



compared with RTHK. Although low pay in CRHK, but I have learnt a lots. Creative labour is chasing for the perfect with its innovative output, but there is never a perfect, they drive themselves to make the end product better, keep improve themselves.

Ar. O – talent:

Famous show host Tao-Kit is so talented, he don't need preparation before on air. Kot is genius and charm as a DJ, but I do think hard working is very important, we spend lots of time in absorbing the nutrient from news, working actually 24 hours per day. Genius and charm are playing key roles include story telling technique, more important than appearance and education. The whole atmosphere in CRHK is different from RTHK, including the people I worked with, and the way of their thinking. The young staff in RTHK is not really creative.

Cheng Kai-Ming – autonomy:

Although we are hierarchy in management, but still free in brainstorming, open for opinion. The pressure of commercial needs is the potential of enhancing creativity, without that commercial needs, we can ignore the fun, put it in lower priority.

Cheng Kai-Ming - talent:

We assign job according to staff talent, their intension, voice and style. The variety of training in CRHK is wider, DJ can try more different position, strong in story-telling as they need to work on commercial advertising recording. People in CRHK is more creative and flexible, the element of the personal style is the key. The quality of a show depends on the host style, team work and their work attitude, the judgement is very subjective. Organization culture and background also cause the difference in the way of thinking. Skills and language are important but not as much as hard working. Everyone think they are underpaid, but work satisfaction from getting the radio program perfect is more than other industry, this make them self-exploited. Criteria of selecting a host is their mindset, they should have mentally prepared in taking our mission on serving public broadcasting, care the communities, success the traditions. Being recognize or even being relative famous is important reward in creative industry.

Bu, Ka-Ho YIU, is now the Chairperson of the print media - 100 Most Magazine, who previously was being a program host in Channel 903 of Commercial Radio

Hong Kong (CRHK). During his interview, he agree that he has relatively 1 power in strategic level in the organization, however he entitled a high leve freedom in initiating commercial events. He also enjoyed autonomy proposing, drafting materials without censorship, and chi-chatting on air channel 903. He satisfied with the sufficient autonomy in media creation.

David, Chung-Yan HO, the program director of Radio 5, in Radio Televis Hong Kong (RTHK) working since 1987. He has initiated and coordina numerous radio programmes with his own choice. Seemingly, he enjoyed



highest autonomy in executing radio program broadcasting as compared to other interviewees. With controlling power on Radio 5 programme designing and broadcasting, he is also involved in overall program planning in Radio 5, but not the top level policy setting and regulatory execution in RTHK.

Appendices F: Outline of paper structure

Quote: Creative Labour –Karl Marx / definition Creative Industry – Richard Florida / definition Creative Labour – David Hesmondhalgh / Features + Professional autonomy Creative Constraints – Janet Wolff Creative Thinking – Brian Moeran & Ana Alacovska

Research findings & evidence

Research findings 1: View on Genius and Training Program Hosts / Disc Jockeys (DJ) as creative labour are "genius", who cannot be trained up, and skills cannot be obtained through on-the-job learning;

Research findings 2: View on Autonomy and Constraints The management control in public broadcast organization, and the clients sponsorship oriented scheme in commercial radio enterprise, limited the creativity, also lower the autonomy. But why is that the case?

Research findings 3: Condition enhance Creativity Labour with genius, plus on the job training; Company atmosphere with high autonomy, without much hierarchy; Work attitude sensitivity from dissatisfaction to satisfaction

Conclusion: Sense of Dissatisfaction

- Motivation on creativity, from the sense of dissatisfaction to sense of satisfaction, demand for perfection;
- Work attitude in PSB Public Service Broadcast;
- Bureaucratic, mission demand and value are to be investigated;
- Pierre Bourdieu –Habitus & Taste, Field (Organization Culture), Cultural Capital embodied state

