

CASE STUDY

Fifteen Minutes CELEBRITY Interviewing with Insiders



Vivienne Leung S. Y. / Kimmy Cheng / Tommy Tse H. L.

Case Study Introduction

or digital entertainment) as well as its impact, including the construction of self-identity, celebrity-driven consumer behavior, gender and race, stereotypes, and idol worship. Figures of interest to be studied include film figures; music, sports, cultural and political celebrities; and online bloggers. This is fundamentally a preliminary course designed to help students think more critically about the intersection of entertainment and civic engagement in the new media era. It also aims to strengthen students' understanding of the culture of celebrity on the societal values and choices in a Chinese culture.

Culturally relevant case studies are currently unavailable in the market but are instrumental for this course. Real-life examples will enhance students' understanding of communication and marketing theories in specific cultural contexts. It is expected that this pedagogical approach will stimulate active classroom discussion and thus critical reasoning of the topics. A well-coordinated and type-setted e-book will be produced and reserved in the COMS departmental office and HKBU Library and shared by other HKBU students who are interested in exploring the topic from interdisciplinary perspectives.

This project is granted by the Centre for Holistic Teaching and Learning (CHTL) at Hong Kong Baptist University (Ref No: TDC/1314/1).

The Project Objective:

As quoted by Andy Warhol, "in the future everyone will be world famous for fifteen minutes."

This project attempts to enhance active learning, critical thinking and the sociocultural relevance of the course through discussion of real cases of celebrity creation and endorsement in various media industries across Asia.

The key issues and problems being addressed is that most of the existing celebrity and entertainment business-related teaching materials available are developed in the West and based on the Western cultural context, especially that of the US. Culturally sensitive case studies are currently unavailable in the Hong Kong market for enhancing students' critical thinking and learning process. In light of this fact, 7 culturally relevant written case studies would be beneficial for students to learn and apply communication, marketing, and other related theories in the Chinese cultural context specifically. Moreover, these case studies provide real-life narratives from the renowned and experienced individuals who are working in the entertainment industry. Such case studies would bring several benefits to the course.

First, the use of case studies provides an opportunity for students to contextualize the course's theoretical concepts to real-life scenarios, thus bridging the gap between theory and practice.

Second, using case studies as an interactive learning strategy in teaching will shift the emphasis from lecturer-centered to more student-centered activities. With such involvement, students would be encouraged in active discussion about critical issues, the problems inherent in practical application and fundamental dilemmas in realistic scenes. In addition, the process of active learning would provide an opportunity for students to develop important skills such as communication, teamwork and problem solving. Also, this type of learning would increase students' enjoyment of the topic and hence their motivation and desire to learn.

Project Title:
Improving active learning, critical thinking and sociocultural relevance of the course
GDBU1855/GDSS1855 Celebrity and Entertainment Business

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Background of Project:

This project enhances the active learning, critical thinking and sociocultural relevance of the course through discussion of recent and real cases of celebrity creation and endorsement of fashion, luxury and lifestyle brands in various media industries across Asia, particularly in Greater China, Hong Kong and South Korea. Students will read a selected case study of various interviews with communication or entertainment industry practitioners. All case studies are developed based on real examples of celebrity participation in both traditional or new communication campaigns. After reading each case study, the students will discuss its implications and evaluate the social, cultural and economic dynamics of celebrity cultures. These unfold inside stories of celebrity endorsement or celebrity advocacy will stimulate students' interest in rethinking the economic and cultural implications of the phenomenon of stardom and facilitate classroom interaction. This project will improve the pedagogical approach by providing a common experience for active learning, thus facilitating a higher level of sociocultural relevance and more engaging discussion and participation in class.

GDBU1855/GDSS1855 Celebrity and Entertainment Business is a GE course open to students from the School of Business or the School of Communication. In this course, students will learn about the use of celebrity in marketing and creative industries (e.g., film, advertising

The project produced 7 written case studies on the topics as listed below:

Topic	Interviewee	Interviewee background
1. Historical development of entertainment industries and co-creation of celebrities in Greater China	Mr. Wallace Kwok	Artiste/Production Manager, Celebrity management in the music and film industry. Consultant of East Asia Music. The founding member of an independent production company, People Mountain People Sea.
2. The use of celebrity in marketing communication in Greater China	Mr. Anson Shum	Marketing & Communication Director (Greater China), The Bluebell Group. (Affiliated brands include Moschino, Carven, Nancy Gonzalez, Anya Hindmarch, Davidoff, Lauder, etc.; ex-Head of PR & Marketing at Jimmy Choo Asia and Hugo Boss Asia)
3. The use of celebrity – Creating brand values	Ms. June Lee	Communication Director (Asia-Pacific) of a renowned American cosmetic brand. (E-commerce Sales Director, Global Marketing Director, and Regional PR & AD Manager for various European brands.)
4. Hong Kong radio industry and its celebrity DJ and radio hosts	Mr. Francis Mak	Ex-radio host, former head of an independent digital broadcaster, Digital Broadcasting Corporation Hong Kong Limited (DBC). Founder of the Never Give Up Association.
5. Rethinking the Symbiotic Relationships between Celebrity and the Media in the Era of the Korean Wave	Mr. Patrick Suen	Seasoned columnist and film critic who previously worked at Men's Uno, MingPao Weekly and Metro Pop. Korean interpreter & mediator for many famed Korean stars for various commercial projects and events, e.g. Lee Young-ae, Kim Soo Hyun, Super Junior, Girls Generation and Big Bang.
6. The Vicissitudes of Star Identity: Lingering between the Domestic and Public Spheres	Ms. Hilary Tsui	Former Hong Kong actress and wife of famous Cantopop singer Eason Chan. Famed fashionista & fashion blogger in Greater China. Founder of fashion boutique Liger, carrying edge foreign and local labels.
7. Social and political Influences of Celebrity	Ms. Denise Ho and Mr. Pakho Chau	DH: renowned Cantopop singer and actress who won multiple music awards in Hong Kong and Taiwan; founder of HOCC Charity Fund and the BigLove Alliance (an NGO advocating LGBT rights). PC: Cantopop singer-songwriter film actor, who also won a myriad of musical awards in Hong Kong.

Outcomes of the Project:

The CILOs of the GDBU1855/GDSS1855 course are as follows:

1. Identify the use of celebrity endorsement, the culture of celebrity and its impacts such as construction of self-identity, celebrity-driven consumer behavior, gender and race, stereotypes, idol worship, etc.
2. Examine various theories that explain the influence of celebrities
3. Identify an appropriate research method to measure the social, cultural and personal impacts of celebrity endorsement
4. Analyze the ideologies embedded in celebrity endorsement

The new pedagogical approach will assist in the achievement of the first and the forth CILo in two ways. First, it serves as a point of departure for a more informed class discussion. Second, it encourages students to analyze and evaluate ideologies embedded in celebrity culture as well as celebrities' impact on sociocultural values. The process will enhance students' analytical skills and critical reasoning.

The project will also assist in the achievement of the second CILo. As the students are aware of the actual practice of celebrity endorsement and its influence related to branding, PR and marketing communication as well as self-identity, they are more likely to be able to apply related theories and formulate strategies in the use of celebrity, especially in PR and marketing communication.

Authors Biography:

Vivienne Leung is the senior lecturer and programme director of public relations and advertising major at the Communication Studies Department, Hong Kong Baptist University. She received her Ph.D. in communication studies at Hong Kong Baptist University. She has been teaching in communication and advertising for more than 9 years. Previously she held positions at Grey Advertising and Fallon Asia/Hong Kong. She previously worked in advertising as a strategic planner. Her clients include United Airlines, P&G, Wrigley, Audi, PCBW, McDonald's and Bank of China. Her research interests include advertising, celebrity effects, health communication, social service marketing and consumer behavior. Her work has been published in Service Marketing Quarterly, Journal of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing, Intercultural Communication Studies, Asian Journal of Business Research, Journal of Consumer Marketing, Chinese Journal of Communications and Journal of Communication in Healthcare: Strategies and Media and Engagement in Global Health.

Kimmy Cheng is the lecturer and programme director of public speaking at the Communication Studies Department at Hong Kong Baptist University (HKB). She graduated from Western Michigan University with a B.A. in organizational communication. She also received her M.A. and Ph.D. in communication studies at HKB. Her primary research area of interest includes health communication, public relations, crisis management, public speaking, and gender studies. Previously she worked as a PR consultant in various agencies; her clients include Harry Winston, Gucci, Swarovski, Chevignon, SK-II, KFC, Citi Group, and

The Oriental Spa. Her works have appeared in the Journal of Communication in Healthcare and Motherhood – Pakistan's First Parenting Magazine. She has taught at the Culture and Media Domain at HKU SPACE as well.

Tommy Tse is an assistant professor in the Department of Sociology, The University of Hong Kong (HKU), and he specializes in gender studies, literary and cultural theory, fashion communication and the creative industries in East Asia. His work has appeared in the Asian Journal of Business Research (MAGScholar), International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education (Taylor & Francis) and Luxury Brands in Emerging Markets (Macmillan). Tse has experience in marketing and advertising with various media companies and creative agencies, including ADO and TBWA. He has taught at the School of Communication of the Hong Kong Baptist University, the Department of Fashion and Image Design at the Hong Kong Design Institute and the Culture and Media Domain at HKU SPACE.

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Hilary Tsui

*The vicissitudes of
star identity:
Lingerence between the domestic
and
public spheres*

Background of the Interviewee

Ms. Hilary Tsui is a former actress in Hong Kong and the wife of famed Cantopop singer Eason Chan. In 2009, she launched her first fashion boutique, Liger, with her friend Dorothy Hui, a stylist and fashion veteran. Currently a shop owner and a fashion blogger, her selected fashion shops are located in Causeway Bay, Tsim Sha Tsui and Macau and are known for carrying edgy foreign and local labels. Despite being a mother, she is an active player in Hong Kong's fashion scene, an avid marathon runner and a renowned fashionista across Greater China.



Tension between Self-Identity and Public Perception

According to Langer (2006), star identity embodies “idealizations or archetypal expressions” that are “contemplated, revered, desired and even blatantly imitated” by audiences (p. 185). In this sense, the star system is “larger than life,” involving the maintenance of distance between stars and audience, and therefore contact with stars is “unrelentingly sporadic and uncertain” (Langer, 2006, p. 185).

In reality, the ongoing identification process of stars along their career may be even more complex and dynamic, especially when they start to engage in different roles in life apart from the public persona. Ms. Tsui stated clearly that she resisted identifying herself as a celebrity/star anymore, as she was no longer working in the entertainment industry. However, she realized that, in a small area like Hong Kong, she is regarded as a celebrity forever because she was once within the entertainment circle. Personally, she considered herself an ordinary person, “shopping or doing something as she wishes.” In her view, there appeared a discrepancy between how people identify her and how she identifies herself. “In Hong Kong, one who is not a star [anymore] is still regarded as a celebrity,” she indicated. She felt that introducing herself as a celebrity was somewhat “embarrassing”:

“Maybe when I went running in foreign countries, some people would ask me how I introduce myself. I would say that, I was previously an actress, but now I am a celebrity. But I... I myself am opposed to that because I treat myself as an ordinary person. That is, I don’t want to tell others about it, particularly when I am in places outside Hong Kong.”

Yet, she attributed the public perception of her current celebrity status largely to her having a famous husband, Eason Chan. Even though she stopped working in the entertainment industry when she was 27, she understands that she is still widely identified as a celebrity in Hong Kong because of her husband. Being widely recognized as a celebrity is supposedly not a bad thing, yet Ms. Tsui revealed the fact that bearing a celebrity identity also brings her unwanted attention and stress which do not bother an ordinary, unknown citizen in the crowd. As she put it,

“It must be my husband who is next to me. It’s more or less... if he was nobody, and if I worked somehow in the fashion field and showed up sometimes in some events, I might be photographed by paparazzi, but I would not attract paparazzi coming to my home.”

Ms. Tsui further discussed her fluid public identities, which were exemplified by the ways in which she is categorized during fashion events. For example, when she was invited to participate in various fashion events, the organizers sometimes categorized her as an actress, a blogger, a fashionista and sometimes as a celebrity. Reflecting on the experience, she believed that her identities often “touched [and straddled] the boundaries.”



The Boundary between Public and Private Life

Celebrity the Defender

Horton and Wohl (2010) indicated that the public image of celebrity can be understood as a “persona” with which a sense of intimacy is encouraged and that audience appreciates the presented persona as a “real” person. This image “is to some extent a construct – a façade – which bears little resemblance to his private character” (p. 48). While the public life is constructed, a persona also “creates an acceptable facade of private life [...] behind the contrived public image” (p. 49). This implies that both public and private life involves deliberate identity construction.

Ms. Tsui drew a clear distinction between her public life as a celebrity and her private life as an ordinary person. The distinction could be illustrated by her conscious use of social media, which gave her a greater control over the extent of sharing her private life with the public. As she confessed, she was reluctant to share her private life with the public, and she utilized social media mainly for work purposes. Ms. Tsui became active on social media mostly

because she started her fashion business in 2009. Intentionally, she made the links to her social media available, including blogs and Facebook, on the website of her fashion shop, as she explained,

"I opened a public account [on Facebook], which is really for work. So you can see my Facebook, Instagram, and Weibo, but I tend to use Instagram more often. I am quite straightforward. I don't share my private life on purpose. In other words, I don't post anything about my daughter onto it. It is purely for work."

According to Ms. Tsui, the posts that usually appear on her social media platforms publicly can be divided into several standard categories. The first category is her running experience. Secondly, she shares her "look of the day," which is also a nuanced way to promote her fashion business. Thirdly, she endorses any fashion brands/events, if requested, on social media. She was consciously aware of the audience of her online posts and thought about the contents of her sharing thoroughly before posting them online, although that was also the moment when she lingered between the public and private, and divided audience judgments of her semi-public life/identity came in:

"I have made considerations before I post anything. So I am not posting randomly. The posts that I would like to share include sports, fashion, or... sometimes I know they wanted to see whether I am with my husband [in the post]. Sometimes I took a... photo of the back [of my husband] or, that is... I don't do it in purpose. It's really casual. For example, it is his birthday and we hope to make it happy. So I also consider that, that is, making people happy. I may post one about family, or a photo of Eason's silhouette."

She is also aware of her influence as a celebrity and deliberately utilizes social media to promote running and to radiate "positive energy" to the public. Here Ms. Tsui seems to be actively engaged in a self-identification process, consciously or unconsciously, attempting to mediate her private self to public and publicizing her intended star identity as an energetic, sporty and stylish figure. She realizes that a number of local celebrities have followed suit and shared their own running experiences online as a strategy of image building. When compared to promoting her fashion, sharing her own running experience gives her a greater sense of satisfaction:

"This is the aspect where I gained the greatest satisfaction. Because I feel that I am able to share my interest. For fashion, I encountered some people who attack me and feel that I am weird. That was not a win-win situation. Some people might say 'the price of Tsui's shop is very expensive, and you have to be slim enough to go in [the shop]'. So those were the voices I heard of. But running is one-sided. There isn't any negative comment. So the impacts it has on other people, on me... I feel satisfied and happy. Because it doesn't just benefit me, I can also change people's habits into running. Later I realized that, well, it's funny that people always check my time records. They know that I am okay with the speed. That became a standard, 'Tsui can make it and so do you.' So that

means I have set a standard for people out there. They always challenge me. Then I will have an impetus, feeling there are so many people checking my time records. So I am quite happy about this aspect of sports."

Despite her clearly stated purpose, Ms. Tsui insists that she is not using social media to improve her public image. Instead of serving some utilitarian purposes, social media is a platform for her to express her true self. Defending her private and authentic identity from being eclipsed by the endless expansion of her socially and rigidly constructed public image, as Ms. Tsui claims, is a remedy for self-actualization and emotional fulfillment rather than a careful commercial tactic:

"In fact I didn't make it so complicated, because I was just being myself. Perhaps ten years ago, I would pour water or soup on paparazzi. If I had Instagram, I would take photos of them. I could be like that... I am not a signer or an actress, so I don't need to establish an image, a good image. What I need to establish is my personality."

Paparazzi the Intruders

Van Krieken (2012) pointed out that audiences structure and organise their perception of celebrities "around ideals of gendered identity, appearance and behaviour" (p. 73). They can closely monitor celebrities through mass media by holding them against certain norms and values. In this respect, celebrity identity is partly subject to the control of the portrayal by the mass media and how audiences receive and interpret the messages. Such power relation between audience and celebrity is further complicated by the widespread paparazzi culture, whose basic interest is in the attention capital of the celebrity and the rewards in circulating the attention capital, often without gaining consent from the celebrity. This question of invading the private life of celebrities raises the question of where the boundaries between the public and private spheres lie (van Krieken, 2012, p. 76).

In contrast to social media, paparazzi intrudes in the private life of celebrities and blurs the boundary between the public and the private. Ms. Tsui perceived the emergence of paparazzi as one of the greatest changes in the Hong Kong's entertainment industry in the past 20 years. According to her personal experience, in the past, proper celebrity interviews conducted by print media journalists were the major source of celebrity news. However, nowadays, paparazzi's scandalous and invasive reporting style has become the major source of celebrity news: "I think the culture... It still dwells in my memory that paparazzi came to be the way it is around in 1995 or 1996, or 1997. The paparazzi culture has occupied significantly the entertainment industry – today the messages that we all receive are part of the paparazzi culture."

Ms. Tsui sees paparazzi as intruders into her private life, especially her family life. She used to scold the paparazzi when she saw them following her. But now she has changed the way she reacts. As she described, she is now mild-mannered when dealing with paparazzi:



"Being myself is what I always do. And because of this some people dislike me. I scold them whenever they [paparazzi] follow me. Well, for a normal person, if you find that you are followed or that your family members are disturbed by them, you will scold them. I think what I was doing was absolutely normal. In contrast, now I feel I am a bit abnormal, pretending I don't see them."

No matter how hard she tried to distant her private identity from her public one, Ms. Tsui feels that it is very difficult for her to control the extent of the sharing of her private life with the public, when the paparazzi only seek to collect the "partial fact" (say taking a picture of the celebrity or anyone closely related unexpectedly, or verbally agitating him/her for a controversial response) and then fabricating the remaining parts on their own. For example, Ms. Tsui recalled a recent happening:

"It's always the case that even in these few days paparazzi waited for my daughter getting off school [outside her school]. I think this is really bad. I have stated again and again in interviews and Weibo that they should not disturb the kid... I think from time to time, all of us kind of know how old my daughter is. In other words, she is not too mysterious. So I feel... [why] do they need to keep following and covering this? So we three as a family... sometimes it's funny that if there is a paparazzi can waiting for us, my husband will say, 'I can go distract them.' We will be lucky if he doesn't care and isn't annoyed. He knows that I am irritated. So sometimes he would say, 'Well, they don't follow me. They are waiting for you. The target is you.' So that means we need to look for an alternative. So my daughter was affected by such... well, paparazzi's reporting in such a way."

Growing up in a celebrity family, Ms. Tsui's daughter has been socialized into knowing what paparazzi is since her young age. Ms. Tsui recalled how her daughter mixed up the stigmatized term "paparazzi" (translated as "doggie team" in Chinese) and the real "doggies" when she was around two years old:

"She has seen this since she was small. When we are in a car, she sometimes says, 'There are doggies, and we bend down. Sometimes, perhaps she was at that time two years old. She said, 'Where is "woh woh" [the barking sound emblematising doggies]?' We told her to bend down first. That came suddenly. I said, 'Not those dogs. It's the paparazzi.' Now she is older and is very smart: 'Mummy, there are doggies.' So she has already, in other words, accepted this."

Paparazzi presented a challenge to Ms. Tsui and made her contemplate her identity as a public figure. Ms. Tsui assumed that she always appeared on the cover page of magazines and became the target of paparazzi because of her status as the wife of Eason Chan – the multiplied media buzz generated by a celebrity couple. She admitted how she felt about this:

"I don't understand indeed. Even my husband always says, 'Look! You are on the cover

page of magazines more often than I am.' What he meant is, that is, of course, not a good thing... In fact we... he has also asked why it was the case, that is, why I appeared on the cover page more often than he did. In fact I don't understand why. Of course, half of the reason is that I am his wife."

On the other hand, she felt that paparazzi's action is beyond her control as she indicated, today's paparazzi is so accustomed to fabricating news. Ms. Tsui noticed a huge contrast between her self-image and the media image, in which she is often portrayed as an ill-tempered woman. With this sense of losing control over the public image to the paparazzi, she taught her daughter how to uphold her self-image in front of the paparazzi:

"But I'd rather let it be, because it is something beyond my control and that I need to face. I can't waste my energy to denounce them [paparazzi] every day. The major premise is that I can protect my kid. And I need to consider my image in front of my daughter... I told my daughter, 'You need to pretend that you don't see them, just smile.' So you have to instill this message constantly. In fact my daughter also knows that I am unhappy about it. My daughter says, 'They are so bad. Why do they need to take photo of us?' So you also need to take care of that and educate the kid."

Extended Stardom in the Fashion World

According to van Krieken (2012), "celebrities are indeed 'powerless', dependent on the allocation of attention from their audience" (p. 73). In order to gain power and commercial returns, celebrities need to maintain their public attention. Although Ms. Tsui's quasi-celebrity status dissatisfies her in various ways, it benefits her fashion business and the fabrication of a new identity. Her active engagement in the fashion world and the business field helps her craft her positive, authentic and multiple identities as a female entrepreneur, a marathon runner and a fashionista, rather than confining her public persona merely as a "former actress, a Cantopop singer's wife or an irresponsible mother". During the initial period of the opening of her store, consumers followed her blogs and her "look of the day", and they might purchase the same items in order to imitate her clothing style. Social media, such as blogs, allows her to keep her audience abreast of the latest news, and this pushed her to "keep updating the things that happened." Apart from blogging, her relationship with fashion houses is also important to her status as a player in the fashion industry. She recognizes that attending fashion events is beneficial to her fashion business, and she describes her attendance as a win-win situation:

"For example, tonight I will go to [an event organized by the American fashion brand] Coach, doing something related to fashion. It might not be related to my store, but I think [it is useful] for self-positioning, that is, one's influence in the fashion industry, and one's importance to brands. So I need to participate... this serves as a complement. Also, they might be promoting their products or new collections by taking advantage of me."

Hence, while she helps the brands promote certain merchandise, the invitations of the brands acknowledge and promote her as a significant influencer/fashion blogger in the fashion industry – being famous and identified in a professional way, but not exceedingly reliant on the legacy of her husband or her former career.

Ms. Tsui's family-oriented approach demonstrates that celebrities' image management takes into consideration both personal and family values regarding what is good and what is bad. Despite being put under the surveillance of the public eyes, Ms. Tsui cares more about her perceived impact on her family than on that of the general public. The image that she presents to her daughter matters more to her, as she smiles and repeats the words,

"What I always say is, I need to be held responsible to my family members, not to the audience outside, that is, the readers of entertainment magazines. The most important thing is my family members. That is, I know what I am doing and their opinions. I'd listen more to what they say. So in terms of choosing jobs, good, I am always doing something positive and healthy... I don't take up jobs that I am not familiar with."



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Conclusion and Implications

In this case study, we have seen how the interviewed celebrity resists and differentiates her authentic self from the contrived public image in the context of Hong Kong by lingering between the public and private life, thus creating an acceptable façade of private life via social media, improvising new ways to “collaborate” with paparazzi and diversifying her identity as an entrepreneur and fashionist.

While the image of celebrities may be shaped by traditional media and their private life is often intruded by paparazzi, celebrities have the capacity to use social media to their own ends, seizing control of their own attention capital to elicit positive public responses. As demonstrated earlier, Ms. Tsui uses social media platforms actively to promote her fashion business and marathon running to the public. Ms. Tsui's case raises concerns about the problems derived from the blurring boundary between celebrity's public and private spheres, in addition to the tensions between the public perception of celebrity and self-identity of celebrity, which triggered Ms. Tsui to improvise new strategies in protecting and upholding the image of herself and her family in front of mass media. Meanwhile, her multiple, intertwined identities challenge the traditional notion of “celebrity”.

Most importantly, the interviewee's negotiation of her star identity is not only based on the commercial logic of entertainment industry, but also her desire for self-actualization, emotional fulfillment and radiating positive energy to the society, in addition to her resistance against mass media's holding her against social norms and ideological values by highlighting her unique traits – married but not overly feminine, active and sporty, enjoyment with being a fashion consumer and also be capable of being a trendsetter, a cool hunter and a fashion entrepreneur.

Discussion Questions

1. How does Ms. Tsui define her own identity? Do you agree with her definition? Why?
2. How does Ms. Tsui use social media to construct her own identity? What aspects of her life are shown through her social media accounts?
3. Do you think it is possible for a celebrity to draw the boundary between public life and private life in today's Hong Kong? Why?
4. Do you think celebrities have a strong impact on the fashion industry? Why?