



# **Media Use and Selectivity**

# New Approaches to Explaining and Analysing Audiences

Jahrestagung der Fachgruppe 'Rezeptionsforschung' der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft

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Abstracts

# **Keynotes**

### Karsten Renckstorf

#### Keynote 1: The 'Media Use as Social Action' Approach: Recent Developments

An action theoretical perspective for communication research is sketched and the general reference model of the so-called 'Media Use as Social Action' Approach outlined. How an audience deals with the media of communication is considered here a form of social action that is not only conceptualized as external action, but also as external action being accompanied by internal action during the process of self-interaction. This change in perspective obviously implies a shift of accent in communication research. Two recent research efforts are discussed.

#### **Friedrich Krotz**

#### Keynote 2: Old Questions - New media

Since the beginning of Media and Communication Research, a lot of controversies have taken place in the field of research on audience and reception.

Questions like 'What is to be understood by communication?', 'Which type of research should be done?', 'Which assumptions about the audience are valid, e.g. is it active or passive?' have coined our theories and our work. Now, the ongoing development of computer and digital media change the field again fundamentally. We for example must think again about what is activity or for what our theories about mass media reception are still valid. The keynote will discuss these problems and thus contribute to the discussion about the further direction of research about audience, reception and situation related interpretation.

#### Hillel Nossek

### Keynote 3: Cultural Capital and Media Use

The keynote speech will focus on the role of the socialization process that takes place in the family, or in terms of Bourdieu (1984) the individual's *habitus*, in media consumption and media use. Theory and research findings that support the effect of different *habitus* on media use by Adults in Israel will be presented and will be followed by a discussion of possible generalization from the case study of Israel to other cultures.

# Uwe Hasebrink/ Jutta Popp

# Media repertoires as a result of selective media use: A conceptual approach to the analysis of patterns of exposure

#### 1. Overview of the proposed paper

Research on media use and selectivity often focuses on single aspects of media related behaviours, e.g. the (absolute or relative) amount of use of certain media or content, the choice between a given set of options, or the strategies of choice applied in concrete reception situations. However little attention has been paid to the question, what is the overall result of all this selectivity, how media users combine different media contacts into a comprehensive *pattern of exposure* or, as we call it, a *media repertoire*. The objective of the proposed paper is to provide a conceptual contribution to theoretical and empirical work on the level of media repertoires. We firstly discuss theoretical approaches which allow for an explanation of media repertoires and relate them to the most prominent approaches to selective audience behaviour. Secondly, in order to empirically analyse media repertoires we propose a combination of a) secondary analyses of existing surveys on media use and b) qualitative studies on the internal "architecture" of these repertoires and their practical meaning in the user's everyday life. These proposals are illustrated by first results of secondary analyses.

#### 2. Relevance of a repertoire oriented approach to media use

There are several reasons to put a stronger focus on the level of media repertoires. Accompanying the recent diffusion of the Internet and mobile communication as new strong tools for information and communication, scholars, politicians and even the media industry discussed the question in how far the new options would complement or substitute classical means of communication. In most cases the answer reminds of Riepl's hypothesis according to which new media do not substitute old media, but contribute to functional differentiation (see for example Scherer/Schlütz 2004). This necessarily leads to the question of how media users integrate the increasing number of options into their everyday lives.

From an industry perspective, a repertoire oriented approach is particularly relevant, since current strategies are increasingly designed as cross-media strategies. This orientation needs to know how media users combine different media and in doing this create their cross-media environments.

Finally, in multimedia environments media effects research cannot rely on the influences of single media. As an example, cultivation processes have to consider that

the whole range of media provides information on a specific field of reality; thus, in order to analyse cultivation processes one has to analyse the repertoire of different sources of information actually used by the users.

# 3. Towards a theoretical foundation of media repertoires

So far, theoretical considerations on the conceptual level of media repertoires cannot build upon a coherent model. Therefore we start with a phenomenological approach. Repertoires are the result of many single situations of selective behaviour. Thus they are compositions of many media contacts, including a variety of different media and content. They are conceived as being relatively stable over time and as such characteristic for individual users. Thus we deal with stable differences or similarities between individuals. In identifying media repertoires we get a basis to build types of media users, which are characterised by their respective media repertoire.

As explanatory concepts we cannot rely on research within the uses-and-gratificationstradition, since the respective hypotheses and empirical evidence refer to a) single aspects of media use, e.g. the amount of use of a specific medium or type of content, and b) the respective gratifications sought and obtained, whereas it is left open in how far different motivations may interact with each other and lead to a pattern of exposure.

According to our approach, individual media use shall not be interpreted just as the sum of single decisions of exposure and choice. Instead, explanatory concepts should refer to the level of everyday orientations and practices. Here we can build on Weiß' (2000, 2001) approach to systematically describe the interrelation between the individual's media use and his/her societal position. This approach refers to Bourdieu's (1979, 1997) concept of habitus as a collective, historically acquired system of ways to perceive and to think. It generates patterns of action and evaluations and as such builds a link between societal position and lifestyle. According to this, media repertoires can be understood as integral part of lifestyles, they have to be interpreted with regard to their practical meaning. Moreover, the collective roots of habitus lead to milieu specific lifestyles with typical patterns of action which are also reflected by patterns of media use (see e.g. Michel 2003). Thus, this approach provides a basis to go beyond the individual level to the level of milieus which are characterised by specific media repertoires.

# 4. Empirical approaches to media repertoires

So far, the link between the theoretical approach as shortly summarized above and empirical evidence has been rather weak. Although there are numerous studies, in particular within industry oriented research (see e.g. Kliment 1997), on different kinds of lifestyles which integrate indicators for media use, the respective "styles" and "types" and "patterns" are quite diffuse and differ in dependence of the set of variables and the procedures which are used to analyse patterns of media use. A recent example for Germany is the "Typology of Media Users" ("MedienNutzerTypologie", see Oehmichen/Ridder 2003), the respective types are built on aspects of lifestyle as well as media use. In order to proceed to a more systematic analysis of media repertoires we propose a series of several steps of analysis:

Bi-lateral relations between different media: By means of a meta-analysis of existing datasets (Massenkommunikation, ALLBUS, Typologie der Wünsche) the correlations between the amount of use of different media shall be analysed. The results will provide first indicators which media are more or less compatible with each other in media repertoires. These analyses shall be run for the whole population as well as for subgroups with different societal positions; the results will indicate in how far the compatibility of different pairs of media depends on the respective milieu.

Identification of media repertoires: Starting from the results of the first step, existing datasets shall be analysed with regard to comprehensive patterns of media use. The procedure will include steps of data reduction (explorative and confirmative factor analysis) and of step-wise cluster analysis. The groups of individuals who share a specific media repertoire will be analysed with regard to their societal position and described as types of media users.

Linking media repertoires to everyday practices: Starting from selected media repertoires as identified in the previous step, qualitative interviews shall be conducted with individuals who show the respective pattern of media use on the level of quantitative indicators. The interviews shall provide information which allows to reconstruct the link between the individual's media repertoire and its practical meaning within everyday life.

The focus of the proposed paper is on the conceptual level, however, in order to illustrate the empirical approach we shall present preliminary results of the first two steps (secondary analyses).

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#### **Wolfgang Schweiger**

#### Trans-Media Use-Styles – Empirical Evidence of a New Concept

When cable TV came up with a tremendous channel multiplication in the 1970's in the US and the 1980's in most European countries, the insight emerged that people use media in an active way. While uses and gratifications research (e.g., Rubin 2002) focused on the question *why* people are choosing media content, the question *how* media selection and reception processes occur was basically ignored. In the last years, this research area has gained a lot of attention. Current academic studies frequently analyze the exposure to specific media types (e.g. Schweiger 2001; Bilandzic 2004; Suckfüll 2004). This orientation tends to lead to a somewhat isolated view of separate media, while connections and similarities between media types are at risk to be overlooked.

On the other hand, there are plenty of theories dealing with human media behavior which do not differentiate between media types. One example is the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957). Other examples for basic media-independent theories on media selection are schema-theory (see, e.g., Graber 1988) or decision-making theories (see, e.g., Bybee 1980; 1981). If it is true that these approaches are capable of explaining at least a *part* of individual media exposure, then there must also exist some mechanisms or sub-processes in media use which are not media-specific but generally apply to different media types. These mechanisms or processes can be imagined as personal and long-term schemata that work behind single media exposure episodes.

The paper deals with the notion that some individual styles of media use that can be observed not only across exposure episodes but also across media types. For example, it is assumed that individuals, who are usually choosing TV programs spontaneously, prefer spontaneous selection styles when using other media types, too. We refer to this approach as trans-media use styles (TMUS).

The basic idea lies in the assumption that media behavior patterns are an instance of general behavior patterns which, in turn, reflect a recipient's personality (as a trait). Media-specific use styles are strongly affected by the specific media's characteristics. For example, obtaining an overview of existing contents within a specific media offering differs significantly across media. Another example: perceiving television or radio content only needs slight attention, while reading online or print articles calls for total

attention. In contrast, TMUS are some kind of the largest common denominator of media-specific use styles. They are, thus, less affected by media characteristics as they represent a person's common way of exposure to mass media. Consequently, TMUS are closer to a person's basic personality than media-specific behavior.

Starting with an overview of appropriate theories and an explanation of the TMUS concept, the paper presents a catalog containing different dimensions of TMUS and suggests media specific operationalizations for television, daily paper, magazine, and web sites.

The catalog was used to create a questionnaire measuring some dimensions of media use styles with one or more statements per dimension that subjects were asked to judge. The statements were applied to each of the four above mentioned media types without any or only little adaptation (as far as possible). In the summer of 2004, the questionnaire was submitted to n=382 persons. Results confirmed the TMUS concept: almost all dimensions correlated across the four media types. Furthermore, different personality measurements (need for cognition, sensation seeking, etc.) were taken. As assumed, most trans-media use styles more strongly correlated with these personality constructs than did the media-specific use styles.

A major withdrawal of the used survey technique is the need to trust respondents' self-reports. Recipients' self-reports on their own media exposure strongly correlate with their actual media behavior, but the correlation is hardly perfect (e.g., Ferguson 1994; Kaye & Sapolsky 1997). Especially when dealing with media use patters, some of them being preconscious actions (e.g., the way people are usually selecting their favorite TV program), self-reports on general media behavior are always to be suspected to deliver methodical artifacts.

Therefore, a second study was conducted. In a laboratory experiment with individual sessions, each of n=51 participants was, firstly, asked to watch television for 20 minutes. The subject could watch whatever and flip channels as much as s/he wished to. All actions were logged to the second. Secondly, the subject obtained a selection of magazines which s/he could read or browse in a free fashion. Finally, a questionnaire was submitted, and a copy-test of all magazine articles read was conducted. These observational (television) and nearly observational data (magazines) permitted a more realistic test of the TMUS hypothesis which, again, could be confirmed.

The papers presents some selected results of both studies and discusses the relevance of the concept. Finally, future steps of theoretical and empirical research are sketched.

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# Explaining exposure to and effects of news

#### Péter Csigó

Why Private TV news have No Effects?

- a "performative" approach to choice mediated media effects

The rise of marked-driven, competitive media in the last two decades has partly invalidated the classical opposition of media effects and audience activities (like choice and selectivity). This opposition invokes other well-known antagonisms in media studies, like "active" vs. "passive" audiences, "hegemony" vs. "resistance", "effects" vs. "gratifications". These binaries result from the "modernist" discourse which has been dominating media research (Silverstone 1994, MacDonald 2000, Grossberg 1996:94). Protagonists of this discourse have grasped audience activities as the evasion of large-scale media effects. This typically modernist trade-off has been criticized by several scholars highlighting the inappropriateness of the presumption that "the ways in which viewers selectively interpret what they see, depending on their own experiences and cultural background ... undermine media effects" (Livingstone 1996:318, for similar criticisms, see Katz 1980:132, Katz 1996:19).

The hybridization of media discourse, the rise of infotainment and reality genres have constituted a competitive context where media effects cannot be simply opposed to audience activities. On the contrary, media effects and audience activities appear as inextricably fused: media effects are increasingly mediated by the choices people make among media actors. Media often affect those people only who feel concerned and motivated enough to invest cognitive and emotional energies to engage with a media actor or a programme. Others may just pass away, too reluctant to receive the message. Would media affect less the "passive" audience than those "responsive" and selective segments which are motivated enough to "get affected" (Katz 1955)? If so, media effects and audience activities (choice and selectivity) are interwoven: they emerge together in moments of engagement, as opposed to moments of routine and reluctance, when people keep distance from media effects by a passive, unselective and superficial attitude. This understanding of media effects grasps the relation between performers of public discourses and their audiences as similar to the fandom relationship characteristic to popular performing arts, like popular music, film, dance or theater (Frith 1996, Street 1997, van Zoonen 2004).

The model I will argue for rejects the modernist opposition of media effects and audience activities. As several "counter-modern" (Grossberg 1996) approaches have highlighted, audiences' emotional and aesthetic gratifications are catalysts of the mental efforts necessary for establishing loyalty to media discourses. Loyalty to media is not simply imposed on passive audiences, for, it demands energy investments, and it results from the motivated and engaged mental work of audiences. This idea has appeared in positivist media research (cf. Rubin's and others' Uses and Effects model [Rubin 2002]), and in several "culturalist" approaches, all suggesting a certain mutuality and "co-productivity" between audience and performer, as the notions like "alliance" (Grossberg 1992), interpretive "contract" (Dayan 1998), or the "fusion" of the performer's influence and the audience's agency (Alexander 2004) clearly show.

In the empirical part of my research I will rely on focus group and survey research made in Hungary for showing that in some cases there is no sense in analysing the effectiveness of a media discourse with no reference to people's basic willingness to "get affected", related to their vivid intentions about the given media performance (why watch it, what to look for in it, how to judge it, whom to watch it with, whom to talk to about it, and so on). In many cases, "tacit" and "transparent" ideological discourses, which have been treated in modernist media research as the ultimate agents of the effects of factual media, cannot be efficient. In such cases, the illusory transparency of a discourse feeds not effects, but "selective perception" (Katz – Lazarsfeld 1955). For, if people do not recognise a discourse as addressing them and speaking in their name, they will not engage themselves with it and will evade its effects. The meanings of nonrecognisable discourses will be "torn up" by the receiver's alternative, more explicit and intentional, self-identifications. That is what has happened to private TV news in Hungary.

The representational practices of private TV news in Hungary were not peculiar enough to be recognised as attractive and to be intentionally selected by audiences. News, perceived as "transparent windows", have not become the object of those everyday discussions in which people elaborate their relation to and expectations about media actors ("what's good and what's bad in this or that programme?", "why do I watch it?", "do I like it?", "does it speak to and for people like me?"). Instead of triggering dense, emotionally overcharged and productive discussions, news programmes remained unnoticed by receivers – the object of their ordinary, unmotivated, elusive "glance" (cf. Ellis 1982).

As all actors in the realm of popular media that are not able to throw off the traps of transparency, private TV news were foredoomed to become the object of audiences' selective perception, oriented by their more intense and more productive identifications. By contrast, those programmes which have been recognised as attractive and intentionally selected were able to transmit their messages.

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#### Silvia Knobloch-Westerwick/ Julia Brueck/ Matthias R. Hastall

### Impacts of Gender, Self-Esteem, Achievement and Affiliation Motivation on German News Readers' Exposure to News Topics

The media have long been said to create and reinforce stereotypes through simplified and biased presentations of social groups (Lippmann, 1992). However, possibly the media audience also plays a crucial role in sustaining such stereotypes by favoring stereotypical information. Media users clearly show different information seeking behaviors depending on their socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, age, and level of education (Schoenbach et al., 1999). Surveys about news interests reveal gender differences with regularity. Men indicate to follow the news on politics, sports, as well as on business & finance, whereas women turn to news on community and health issues. Similar gender differences were found in laboratory research settings for both print and online news (D'Haenens et al., 2004). Why do news interests differ so remarkably for the genders? It appears that not the biological sex but the psychological traits resulting from gender-segregated socialization (Maccoby, 1988) produce these different interests that, in turn, should uphold gender-based differences in worldviews. Gender-split media preferences have not only emerged for news but also for entertainment. It appears as if these media preferences reflect gender orientations at large. Psychological research (Cross & Madson, 1997; Hutson-Comeau & Kelly, 2002)

suggests that life domains can be roughly structured into two categories, for which gender-stereotyped expectations exist and which also seem to be linked to gender-typed media selections and information preferences. In general, Western culture promotes an independent self-construal in men and an interdependent self-perception in women. Men are more expected to focus on achievement and performance, thus to excel in the professional world and in sports. Women, on the other hand, are more expected to emphasize social relationships and to lend support to others in their personal as well as in their professional lives. This falls in line with men preferring competition- and aggression-laden content in the news and in entertainment, while women cater toward the socially- and relationship-oriented news sections and entertainment genres.

There is a gap in conceptual terms between sex as key variable and the behavioral outcome of selecting news sections and topics. The biological sex as such should not

cause the individual to prefer certain types of news. Instead, various psychological factors that are statistically linked to the biological sex, probably due to gender-typed socialization patterns, should actually cause the news selection behavior. Gender-role orientations are the first aspect that comes to mind and will be examined. However, it has been argued that the constructs of "masculinity" and "femininity" are actually composed of other personality dimensions. For example, it is possible that gender-role orientation reflects an individual's tendency toward dominance, achievement orientation, affiliation (Gaeddert, 1985; 1987; Lengual & Stormshak, 2000). Of these facets, the achievement and the affiliation motivation seem particularly interesting, as these are related to the gender-typed domains that can also be observed in the gender-split news preferences. For instance, the sections of business, politics, and sports very much relate to competition and achievement, whereas health and community news sections pertain to social issues. Individuals with a high achievement motivation are probably more drawn to achievement-related news topics, while individuals with high affiliation motivation should favor social news topics.

Another psychological variable that could be related to selective news exposure, according to the the so-called sociometer model (Leary et al., 1995), is self-esteem. The sociometer model postulates that an individual's self-esteem serves as indicator for social exclusion, important for survival and reproduction. Rejection by others is typically experienced as a threat to the ego and lowers self-esteem, whereas social integration evokes positive emotions and bolsters self-esteem. If self-esteem is indeed linked to the need for connectedness, people with low self-esteem should be motivated to connect with others, whereas people with high self-esteem feel prepared to strive on their own. In this sense, low self-esteem should be associated with a preference for social topics in the news and high self-esteem should result in longer exposure to achievement-related news reports.

Based on these considerations, the following hypotheses are subjected to empirical tests.

- H<sub>1</sub>: Women spend more time reading news about social/interpersonal issues than men.
- H<sub>2</sub>: Men spend more time reading news about achievement/performance issues than women.
- H<sub>3</sub>: Recipients with high masculinity spend more reading time on achievement/performance issues.
- H4: Recipients with high femininity spend more reading time on social/interpersonal issues.
- H<sub>5</sub>: Recipients with high affiliation motivation spend more reading time on social/interpersonal issues.
- H<sub>6</sub>: Recipients with high achievement motivation spend more reading time on achievement/performance issues.
- H<sub>7</sub>: Recipients with low self-esteem spend more reading time on social/interpersonal issues and less on achievement/performance issues.

# Method

In a computerized experiment, 245 participants browsed through online news that varied by topic. Reports featured either social/interpersonal or achievement/performance issues. Categorization of presented reports had been established in a pretest. While participants browsed the news, selective exposure was unobtrusively logged. After the scheduled time, a questionnaire was uploaded and collected impressions of the articles. Participants then completed a self-esteem questionnaire, a sex-role inventory, and questionnaires on achievement and affiliation motivation. Finally, socio-demographic information was collected.

### Results

The genders differed in their interest for the topic realms (F(1, 243) = 55.4, p < 001), as women generally dedicated more time to social/interpersonal topics compared to men, while men allotted more time to achievement/performance news than women did (supporting H1 and H2). Regression analyses were performed with masculinity, femininity, affiliation, achievement, and self-esteem as predictors and selective exposure to news on social/interpersonal and achievement/performance issues as criteria. News consumers with higher self-esteem spent less time reading about social/interpersonal issues ( $\beta = -.18$ , p = .014), and so did readers with high achievement motivation ( $\beta = -.17$ , p = .033). In turn, selective exposure to achievement/ performance-related news was longer among news consumers with high self-esteem ( $\beta = .15$ , p = .037) and high achievement motivation ( $\beta = .18$ , p = .023). These findings support H6 and H7. All other predictors did not approach significance. Interestingly, the sex-role orientation had no effect on selective news consumption.



Figure 1: Effect of Gender on Selective Exposure to News

# Hans-Jürgen Bucher/ Peter Schumacher

# Patterns of attention in the reception of print and online media. Results of an eyetracking study

The main focus of our presentation is threefold:

1. It picks up the long lasting tradition of audience research on newspaper reading and put the results in a new cross media context

2. It analyses comparatively audience perceptions for different media (printed newspaper, online-newspaper, e-paper)

3. It shows correlations between attention to and selection of media outlets.

The approach is dynamic which means that it tries to identify different steps in the process of media perception

Besides empirical insights in processes of reception of different media the purpose of the presentation is a theoretical one: we want to build up an interactional theory of media reception which refers respectively on aspects of media and aspects of audience and their interrelations. Attention is – under this perspective – an interactional process between media and audience. The hypothesis is, that patterns of attention are crucial for understanding selectivity.

The study is based on a mixed method approach which combines eye-tracking research, Thinking Aloud procedures, and questionnaires. Thus we are able to collect intentional and – via eye-tracking – non-intentional data for explaining attention and selectivity. Especially eye-tracking research allows

- to describe distribution of attention on a media stimulus (Küpper 1990, Garcia/Stark 1991).
- to follow and compare patterns of attention on a media stimulus (Stenfors/Morén/Balkenius 2003, Holsanova/Rahm/Holmqvist 2004, Outing/Ruel 2004).
- to distinguish on a micro-level different phases of a media reception process like orientating, scanning or reading. (Holmqvist et al. 2003)

Two key questions led to the eye-tracking study presented in this paper. In an intermedia comparative perspective we asked for differences in attention patterns between different types of media. In an intra-media perspective we tried to determine differences in attention patterns between different presentation strategies.

In a comparative study different media like printed newspaper, online newspaper and e-paper were tested. The eye-tracking data of 6 subjects was used to analyse the first exploration of the homepage or title page. The aim was to determine the distribution of attention to key elements like header, visuals and photographs, headlines and lead text. In an additional test series with 12 subjects the perception of three online newspapers homepages with clearly distinct layouts (bild.de, sueddeutsche.de, zeit.de) was compared.

Our results show clearly, first that there are different patterns in different stages of the process of reception. Second, the results indicate that there are some similarities and differences in the attention patterns for the three tested media types. In all three media, an orientation phase was clearly identifiable in which subjects shifted attention to page headers or navigation systems. The distribution of attention on the three elements that constitute the lead story shows differences: On the printed newspaper, the lead photo gets the very first attention, followed by the headline, followed again by the photo. The text is not seen or read in the first ten seconds. In contrast, in online newspapers, the text gets much attention even in the first phase of exploration, whereas the headline is almost ignored.

The comparison between three different presentation concepts (plain text, text and photo, text integrated in a photo) for the lead story in online newspapers shows different patterns in the readers' perception processes. Attention is grabbed by photos accompanying lead stories in an early phase of exploration. After this peak in the first three seconds, these photos get very few attention in the following process. Attention then tends to shift to the text. Text-only presentations get a more steady distribution of attention during the first exploration. Thus, our study shows that attention processes on media stimuli highly depend on design issues, the use of visuals is one of the key factors for that.

Our results contrast in some ways with earlier findings, e.g. those of the Stanford-Poynter-Study (Lewenstein et al. 2000). The text-before-graphics pattern the Stanford-Poynter paper described as typical for online perception could not be confirmed. Our analysis shows that different aspects of layout like salience, position, textdesign or the size of photos or graphics must be taken in account when describing the relations of text and visuals in the attention process.

Visual cues are a determining factor for attention processes especially in the first phase of reception of a media stimulus; or: the first seconds of the exploration of an online edition depend to some extent on the features of the stimulus. Then exploration follows different strategies, that may be qualified as a scheme- or a frame-driven (Stenfors/Holmqvist 1999, Stenfors/Morén/Balkenius 2003). Therefore our results correspond with several studies which assert a higher degree of interactivity and selectivity for online newspapers in comparison to printed newspapers (Althaus/Tewksbury 2002).

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# Emotional aspects of media use

#### Anne Bartsch/ Roland Mangold/ Peter Vorderer/ Reinhold Viehoff

#### Emotional gratifications during media use - an integrative approach

The desire to experience emotions is widely considered as a key motivation for media use, especially for the use of media entertainment. But what exactly do people seek when they seek emotions? What kinds of gratifications do they obtain from the experience of emotions during media use? In this paper, we will give an overview of the research literature on emotional gratifications, and we propose a theoretical framework for modeling the complex interplay of emotion-related goals, needs and desires in the context of media use.

The first part of the paper gives an overview of emotional gratifications that have been dealt with in the research literature. Findings from different theoretical and methodological backgrounds will be considered, including the following research topics: *mood management* (Zillmann, 1988), *sensation seeking* (Zuckerman, 1979), *uses and gratifications* (e.g. Rubin, 1981), *intrinsic motivation* (Vorderer, Steen & Chan, in press), *mood adjustment* (Knobloch, 2003), *reception strategies / modalities* (Gehrau, Bilandzic & Woelke, 2005; Suckfüll, 2004), *downward social comparison* (Mares & Cantor, 1992), *gender socialization of emotions* (Mundorf & Mundorf, 2003), and *meta-emotion* (Oliver, 1993). From this overview, it becomes evident that the experience of emotions during media use can be gratifying in multiple ways – ranging from simple hedonistic gratifications to higher order gratifications such as feeling competent, or morally good.

In the second part of the paper, an integrative approach will be outlined that aims at a more systematic understanding of the heterogeneous research literature on emotional gratifications. The theoretical framework we propose is based on the three-level-model of emotional communication of Bartsch & Hübner (2004). According to these authors, emotional communication comprises three interrelated levels of complexity: 1) innate stimulus-response-patterns, 2) associative schemata, and 3) symbolic meaning. Emotional gratifications can be experienced on all three levels of complexity:

• On a *stimulus-response-level*, emotions can be gratifying because of stimulus qualities that are present during the emotional experience. Emotions give rise to bodily feelings that act as internal stimuli, and they can change the way external stimuli are perceived. This is due to physiological and neuro-physiological effects of arousal such as changes in heart rate, muscle tone, or attention. If emotion-related changes result in stimulus qualities that are pleasant, or fascinating, recipients will be

motivated to continue, or repeat exposure to this kind of emotional stimulation.

- On the *level of associative schemata,* emotions can be gratifying because of their relation with intentional aspects of the reception process. Emotions can be helpful for the attainment of recipient's goals (e.g. getting absorbed in the fictional word), or they can be perceived as a challenge (e.g. keeping ones cool during a horror film). If an emotion is helpful for the attainment of recipient's goals, or if it poses a challenge that can be coped with successfully, this will lead to feelings of success and competence that motivate recipients to stay in an emotionally involved mode of reception and to seek media offers that invite such a mode of reception in the future.
- On the *level of symbolic meaning*, emotions can be gratifying because of their significance in terms of recipient's norms, values, and self-ideals. Emotions can be perceived as a display of personal values (e.g. indignation at social injustice), or they can be regarded as a display of desirable character traits (e.g. being an empathetic person). If emotions are interpreted in such a way as to confirm recipient's norms and values, or to enhance their self-esteem, this will encourage cognitive elaboration and communication of the emotional experience, and result in a preference for thematically related media offers.

The experience of emotions during media use thus turns out to be a motivationally complex situation. Different kinds of emotional gratifications can be obtained using different strategies of selective attention – including selective exposure to arousing media stimuli, selective adoption of an emotionally involved mode of reception, and selective reflection on the moral significance of emotions. On the basis of theoretical considerations, both conflicts and synergy effects of emotion-related motives can be predicted. Sometimes, goal attainment requires a delay of hedonistic gratifications, but not all successful behaviors that are necessarily unpleasant. By the same token, acting morally good can sometimes require a delay of egoistic goals, but not all moral acts are necessarily self-denying.

With this complex interplay of emotional gratifications in mind, the question arises how recipients manage to select media offers with minimal cognitive effort. In the final part of the paper, we will propose a preliminary answer to this question that is based on the multiple appraisal approach of Mangold, Unz & Winterhoff-Spurk (2001). According to these authors, emotions are the result of appraisal processes that evaluate situations with respect to a set of appraisal criteria (cf. Scherer, 2001). Media use is described as a complex situation that allows for multiple appraisals that give rise to multiple emotions. Emotion eliciting appraisals can focus on media content, or on the reception situation. They can even focus on the emotions that are experienced during media use, and thus give rise to so called meta-emotions.

If considered from an appraisal-theoretical perspective, emotional gratifications bear a

striking resemblance with appraisal dimensions proposed by Scherer (2001) and other appraisal theorists. Emotions can be gratifying due to their *novelty*, *pleasantness* (stimulus level gratifications), *goal conduciveness*, *controllability* (schema level gratifications), and *normative significance* (symbolic level gratifications). It can thus be assumed that the gratification potential of emotions during media use is appraised in the same intuitive and effortless manner that is typical of emotion eliciting appraisal processes. In the same line of reasoning, meta-emotions can be considered as a holistic appraisal outcome that integrates information about different kinds of gratifications that can be obtained from the experience of emotions. Just like people use primary emotions to make intuitive decisions, they might use meta-emotions to decide whether they should welcome, or reject emotional experiences that are offered by the media.

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# Christoph Klimmt/ Andreas Nosper/ Hannah Schmid/ Tilo Hartmann

# "Moral Management": Selective-Repressive Processing of Media Content Preserves Enjoyment of Violent Video Games

One of the most striking content features of digital entertainment media such as video games is violence (Smith, Lachlan & Tamborini, 2003), which has triggered substantial research in media effects (Anderson, 2004). In contrast, the question of how users of digital entertainment deal with media violence has been neglected. This lack of research is problematic, as viewer interpretations are closely connected to media effects (Potter & Tomasello, 2003) and their investigation can help to understand the long-term dynamics of repeated exposure to media violence (selection) and media impact on aggressive behavior (cf. "the downward spiral model" by Slater, Henry, Swaim & Anderson, 2003). Violence apparently adds in specific ways to the entertainment value of media entertainment (Goldstein, 1998) and thus affects media selection processes as well as the selective attention of users during consumption. Therefore, this presentation addresses the question of how users of violent video games experience and process the violence they conduct, and offers conclusions on specific ways in which players use digital entertainment.

The conceptual starting point is the implications of the interactivity of video games (Vorderer, 2000). In contrast to conventional entertainment, video game players cocreate the media content, which evokes a strong sense of participation and selfengagement (Klimmt, 2003). They have to claim responsibility for the violent events in the game, and their digital representation in the game world ("avatar") is displayed as actor and victim of game violence (McDonald & Kim, 2001). Video games as a "new" media environment thus establish a strong inclusion of the player's self, which expectably makes distancing from the portrayed actions more difficult than, for instance, watching television.

From this perspective, violent video games forward the responsibility for the violent acts to the players (instead of offering "heroes" and "villains" who can be blamed for the violence in non-interactive entertainment). In real life, the execution of violence is closely connected to moral considerations. Most often, moral concerns prevent violent intentions from being executed (Bandura, 2002). Therefore, participation in video game violence can also be expected to evoke moral conflicts. Such ruminations would, however, undermine media enjoyment (Klimmt, Schmid, Nosper, Hartmann & Vorderer, in press). Yet violent video games are apparently enjoyable for many individuals. Therefore, the major question in the domain of processing video game violence is how players cope with moral conflicts arising from game violence in order to maintain enjoyment.

Moral Management Theory (MMT; Klimmt et al., in press) is a new approach to this question. The theory combines assumptions of mood management (Zillmann, 1988) and affective disposition theory (Zillmann, 1996b) with insights from moral disengagement theory (Bandura, 2002) to conceptualize the selective-repressive processing of media violence that facilitates enjoyment. Specifically, MMT argues that violent acts in video game play are enjoyable as long as moral conflict is avoided or resolved by solid justification. If justification is available, the execution of game violence offers a variety of enjoyable experiential qualities, including feelings of effectance (Klimmt & Hartmann, in press), the pride of victory and simulated experiences of heroism (Klimmt, 2003), aesthetic pleasures of destruction (Sparks & Sparks, 2000), and excitatory relief (Zillmann, 1996a). If moral justification of violent action is absent, however, these enjoyable experiences cannot be accessed, for moral concerns induce negative feelings of guilt (Bandura, 2002). Because entertainment users are seeking enjoyment experiences, MMT therefore expects players to actively search for justifications to perform violent acts.

This way, they apply similar cognitive operations to those described by moral disengagement theory (Bandura, 2002) to explain why 'normal' individuals can perpetrate extreme violence under specified conditions. Bandura argues that people can apply a variety of strategies to avoid moral conflict involved in violent action, for instance, invoking a higher social norm whose accomplishment justifies violence, transferring individual responsibility for violence to others (e.g., "commanders"), or downplaying the consequences of violence (e.g., comparing a violent act to much worse acts by others). Such strategies can resolve moral conflicts related to violence and thus facilitate the execution of violence in real-life. Moral management theory argues that users of violence in order to maintain media enjoyment.

Most violent video games offer substantial support to players to select and perform moral disengagement strategies. Games present various 'moral cues' that users can attend to in order to elaborate justifications (Klimmt et al., in press). For instance, goodversus-evil narratives create a general justification of violence (i.e., violence as morally deserved punishment, cf. Raney, 2005) against all (potential) opponents. Direct attacks from opponents create situations of self-defense that render moral considerations unnecessary. With such information for managing moral concerns available (that is, through a highly selective processing of the violent acts and repressive coping with moral concerns), players can easily access the pleasurable experiential qualities of media violence. In fact, frequent players will automatize moral management operations during (and after) game play and will thus not require noteworthy cognitive efforts to cope with moral conflict (Klimmt et al., in press). In sum, MMT provides a conceptual framework to integrate issues of media selection, selective processing of media contents, and media effects in the domain of interactive violent entertainment media.

Empirical results on the moral processing of violent media entertainment are scarce. The presentation will therefore report findings from a qualitative interview study of players of violent games (n = 12) who were asked about their ways to use violent games and to deal with moral concerns. Preliminary analysis revealed that respondents are not aware of moral conflict during game play. Some of them relied on the playful nature of gaming (i.e., the absence of real-life consequences and actual-physical harm) as key justification for executing violence during gameplay (i.e., downplaying-consequences strategy); others stressed that achievement was much more important for them than violence. Findings will be discussed in terms of conceptual implications for MMT and perspectives for experimental tests of the theory.

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# Integrating media into everyday life and interpersonal communication

#### Lars Holmgaard Christensen

# Understanding the domestication of interactive television through narrative interviews

#### A biographical and narrative approach to domestication

My research departs in domestication theory (Silverstone et.al. 1992), where my focal point is the domestication of a particular media technology, a so-called set-top-box that provides television viewers with new ways of interacting with their television set and various programmes and services. Domestication can be defined as: "fundamentally a conservative process, as consumers looks to incorporate new technologies into the patterns of their everyday life in such a way as to maintain both the structure of their lives and their control of that structure" (Silverstone & Haddon, 1996:60)

It might be argued therefore that domestication is primarily a reception process that concerns the re-contextualisation of the media technology within the household culture in an attempt to reproduce social order in the household. In his work on identity Professor Bernhard Peters has pointed to the fact that: "On the social level there is above all the basic problem of agreement and disagreement, which is different from the problem of the consistency of individual beliefs and attitudes" (Peters 1998:14).

As regards to the collective and individual experiences, media technology does play an important part in the negotiations between household members in their common world within reach. However, media technology does not necessarily play the most important part, and without doubt the common sense agreements and idealized course-of-action in relation to media use are different than the subjective understandings, desires and hopes that are entailed in and carried out in on-going projects by each member of the

# household.

My argument is also that media-consumption is not necessarily a ritual in its own right but part of other rituals and habitual behaviour. Thus, media consumption becomes relevant in specific situations and the motives for actual use are part of personal projects and not necessarily a break from them. In search for the biographic, and how the individual members make sense of media technology within a social group, in my case the familiy, I turn primarily to phenomenology and in particular to the work of Alfred Schütz, where temporal aspects in relation to the organization of experience, becomes important. Taking the temporal aspects a bit further I turn to a narrative approach and particularly the work of Jerome Bruner and Paul Ricouer and pursue an interest in how interviewers 'emplot' their life stories in general but in particular how stories of their lived experience with media technology are emplotted.

# Why narrative interviews

As Polkinghorne has suggested, narratives are *the* most important means by which our experiences are made meaningful. In other words telling stories help us to make sense of our lived experience. When it comes to domestication processes media consumption and media use in households there seems to be little research on subjective experience and individual narratives and its connection to a more or less restraining collective narrative within the household.

In turning to narrative interviewing I was interested in the subjective as well as the collective accounts of lived experience in the household. Thus, the emphasis on narrative accounts highlights the conversation interviews as a reality-producing, a reality-organizing and an identity constructing approach, where media-users make sense of otherwise fragmented parts of their lived experience.

Initially, I sent out disposable cameras as a kind of cultural probing and as an entrance into particular households that were later visited. Before the visit the households had returned the cameras full of pictures that should show who they were and how they used media technology in their household; I then had the pictures developed and brought them with me when I went to visit the families. The pictures were then used in the opening phase of the interviews where we talked about what the pictures were supposed to tell (the interviews took about 2-3 hours in total). Thus the pictures worked both as an icebreaker for the interview conversation between me and them. But it was also a clue and a very natural continuation of their attempt to tell me 'their story' about what kind of family they were and how they experienced their media use and in particular how the set-top box had become part of their everyday life.

Methodologically I have not taken a media-centered perspective, and I have not done media ethnography in the sense of creating ethnographies of social groups and their incorporation of media technology through prolonged participant observation etc.. However, through the semi-ethnographic narrative approach I have been able to understand both what is being collectively taken-for-granted and what kind of individual strategies, hopes and desires are in play within the family. It is in this sense that the narrative approach has much to offer and much to contribute to media ethnographic inquiry in general and domestication research in particular.

The great strength of a narrative approach lies in the wealth of information it generates. However, my interest in the narratives has not limited itself only to the content of the stories; the way people order their stories and the patterns that emerge in the telling have also been extremely significant, in particular as regards to gender, which I did not intend to look for in the first place.

To sum up, my paper will be extremely relevant in relation to the conference topic *contexts of media use* and the ways in which the domestication of new media can be investigated.

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# Veronika Karnowski/ Thilo v. Pape/ Werner Wirth

# "My last Sony-Ericsson?" – Findings of a qualitative survey on seniors' appropriation of the mobile phone

While the diffusion of mobile phones is widely advanced and new mobile services and functionalities keep penetrating the everyday life, seniors are somewhat lagging behind this dynamic. In 2004 only 58,8% of the seniors (age 60+) in Germany own a mobile phone (compared to 78% overall) (see Adlwarth 2004).

These figures have economical and social implications: The senior market constitutes a huge and increasing potential for producers of end devices and service providers. Socially, the growing importance of mobile communication in younger generations' life could lead to a mobile phone divide with older people failing to meet the changing communication demands.

In an effort to technically overcome this problem, mobile telephone producers have created new end devices, respecting seniors' physical restrictions with high usability and considering their specific demands, especially in security concerns (such as the Vitaphone). However, this diffusionistic strategy of optimizing the product with regard to the "laggards'" deficits has mostly led to either rejection of these products or a short-lasting adoption followed by discontinuance

We argue that to permit a sustainable adoption of the mobile telephone, one has to analyze the appropriation process following a first adoption and to meet the demands that come up in the course of this process and go far beyond questions of security and usability. Therefore, the study presented is based on 14 guided interviews with older phone users about their appropriation of the mobile telephone.

### Theoretical background

Referring to the cultural studies (e.g. Silverstone & Haddon 1996, De Certeau 2002), activity theory (e.g. Leontjew 1964) and reception analysis (e.g. Charlton & Neumann-Braun 1992), we understand appropriation of an innovation as taking possession by integrating it into one's personal everyday life beyond the simple adoption-decision. We further distinguish into a practical and symbolical dimension of appropriation: appropriation is realised practically by using and handling it in everyday life and symbolically by deploying it to represent one's identity in the social context. This process is negotiated through metacommunication among users (see illustration 1)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Metacommunication is also influenced by certain external factors such as mass media, the innovations' suppliers, but also legal regulations.



Illustration 1: The circular appropriation model

During the process of appropriation, usage and handling as well as prestige and social identity are constantly developing and changing. By and by, habitual usage forms emerge and stabilize as well as social evaluations on the symbolical value of certain usage forms, namely their appropriateness or style. In this process, metacommunication serves as a catalyst (Hepp 1998). In one hand it powers the ongoing appropriation process and in the other it diminishes during this process until usage and handling as well as prestige and social identity are stable and undisputed among the respective user groups.

#### Method

Since research in this field is still in an exploratory phase, we chose the qualitative methodology of guided interviews. This method has permitted to work out the question from the senior users' perspective despite the inevitable distance to the researchers' own experiences (see Kohli 1978). A total of 14 guided interviews were conducted in summer 2004. The respondents (7 men and 7 women) were aged from 58 to 79 years. The interview guide discusses four spheres. The first part is about the past mobile phone usage: When did the seniors get their first mobile phone? Why did they get it? Who told them how to use it? In the second part the current usage and handling was examined. In which situations do the seniors use their mobile phones? Do they send SMS, and if they do: what kind of messages do they send? Which functions of their phones are important to them? To whom do they talk? The third part addresses communication and watching. Do they talk to their families and senior friends about the mobile phone? Do they ask someone's advice concerning the handling of their phones? Do they notice others using their phones in public? Are they aware of the omnipresence of mobile phones in the mass media? The last part is about the role the mobile phone plays for the social and psychological self. Do the seniors think their mobile phone matches their self? Is the mobile phone a accessory to them? Are they proud of it? Do they individualize it?

#### Results

An important part of the seniors questioned appropriate mobile telephones in a surprisingly complex way, to which the existing devices do not seem to correspond. This complexity lies in the way they adopt their usage and handling of the phone to their changing reference groups, i.e. the families on the one side and their coeval friends on the other side.

Within the group of their friends, the social value of the mobile phone is often very low, nearly negative. Almost no talk about mobile phones and related topics takes place. Often the coeval friends even don't know that they own a mobile phone. Most of the interviewees told us, that they are very uncomfortable with being called while staying with their friends. So the best way is to hide it. As one lady told:

"I put it on the table – like this [puts a packet of handkerchiefs on her mobile phone] because it could ring. This happened already – because W. doesn't know where I am, he can reach me. So I told him to wait and I went down fast [creeps under the table] and then I talked to him." [Interview 4]

At the same time, the mobile phone is much more relevant within the family. In this context, the seniors learn how to use the device – and they really use it. Additionally they take advantage of the higher social value the mobile phone offers to their children and grand-children. Using it and being able to handle the technology is a possibility for them to show to their families that they are not all that old.

"[laughing] But it want to show them that I can handle my mobile phone." [Interview 3]

Summing up, one can say that one key to open up mobile communication for seniors lies in their double appropriation of the mobile telephone. Thus, to overcome the mobile phone divide and expand the senior market in this domain, flexible services are needed which respond to two spheres of needs dependent on the situation: being with the family or being with friends.

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### **Denise Sommer/ Fanny Backhaus**

Observing interpersonal communication about media in the laboratory – A new Approach to reception analysis?

#### 1. Background and State of the Art

Since the "People's Choice" Study in 1940 communication researchers know about the important role of interpersonal communication in the process of media reception and opinion formation (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944). Survey studies point out that recipients often talk about topics presented in the media, especially with friends and family (Wyatt et al., 2000) and that interpersonal communication has a bridging function in the agenda-setting process as it affects salience perceptions (Weaver et al., 1992). Uses and gratifications research reveals the conversation motive as one reason to turn to mass media: recipients tend to use the media for the core reason of being able to talk with other people about it (Rubin & Rubin, 1985).

According to Krotz (2001) media reception needs to be explored within the communicative context of everyday life. People talk about their media experiences and these conversations influence all later reception processes. Field studies have looked at family discussions during television reception and at dinner conversations about the media. They emphasize the important function of interpersonal communication during and after media consumption in order to construct meaning. (Holly et al., 2001; Keppler, 1994)

However, there are very few systematic studies which focus on the *process* of interpersonal communication about media and explore the role of personal conversations in the course of media reception in depth.

# 2. Analyzing reflective communication - A Research Proposal

From our perspective, the exploration of recipients' discussions about media (content) will be helpful to learn more about the actual processing of media messages within a social context and its consequences for subsequent media use. We call these conversations in the "post-communicative" phase of media consumption *reflective communication*.

We postulate that it will be useful to observe reflective communication under controlled conditions in the laboratory. At first sight, a laboratory observation may seem too limited to measure social context variables due to its artificial set-up. However, we assume it will be fruitful to choose a laboratory setting for two reasons:

Research has shown that the usual recall and recognition tests do not adequately represent the process of media reception (Schaap, 2001). Thus, observing conversations about media may be helpful in keeping track of the reception process by making cognitive and emotional mechanisms visible. Interpersonal communication seems to be more natural and casual in this context than think-aloud or thought-listing techniques especially if participants talk to their peers.

The laboratory setting and the research design with experimental and control condition allow for high situational control. Effects of media content can be separated from the effects of reflective communication by comparing experimental and control group. Also, we can compare groups within the experimental condition looking for different individual styles of reflective communication in a comparable environment.

# 3. A Pilot Study

20 dyads (containing two acquainted persons) and 20 control individuals participated in the study. They watched a television news report dealing with immigrants in Germany. Afterwards, participants in dyads were asked to engage in an informal discussion about the report without any special direction given. Discussions were videotaped. Control individuals did not take part in a discussion. Afterwards, all participants filled in a questionnaire measuring their individual recall, recognition and attitudes. Video-taped conversations were verbally transcribed. Transcripts were analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively looking for topic and informational categories, argumentation lines and formal characteristics of the conversations. Furthermore, survey data were compared between experimental conditions.

The research design proved to be successful in examining reflective communication. All participants engaged in comparatively natural discussions. They expressed their opinions especially focusing on controversial issues. Arguments from the news report were used by the discussants to reinforce their opinion. Conversations were highly selective. Especially some debatable statements were thoroughly elaborated whereas other facts and aspects were neglected. The information mentioned in the conversations differed from that participants later recalled individually.

Many personal experiences were mentioned in the talks. Interestingly, these experiences were not always direct ones but also media experiences. Discussants drew several relations to television reports, movies or newspaper articles they had seen or read earlier. Consequently, media contents are incorporated in peoples' everyday experience and influence subsequent conversations about media.

Comparisons between experimental groups and control individuals reveal significant differences in participants' judgments about issues related to the news report, like immigrant quotas (see tab.1). This indicates that conversations reinforce media effects by producing additional salience as postulated in the literature on agenda-setting and interpersonal communication (Weaver et al., 1992).

#### 4. Conclusion and Outlook

The pilot study shows that laboratory observations of reflective communication in the post-communicative phase are indeed useful for the investigation of media reception. Discussions about media messages reveal what recipients "do" with these contents, how they accentuate and elaborate certain issues. Moreover, conversations with peers seem to be more natural than methods of protocol analysis. Laboratory studies, on the other hand, allow for quantitative analyses which may serve as validation for ethnographic field studies on reflective communication. Also, the role of interpersonal communication within the process of media consumption can be isolated.

Results provide promising links for future research. Seemingly, media consumption and interpersonal communication are intertwined within a larger context of communicative action. Personal experiences from everyday life, whether direct or mediated, are related to media content in conversations and thus influence media selection and reception. Interpersonal communication seems to affect the focus of media selectivity. Whereas the media provides information the relevance of specific issues or details is determined in interpersonal communication. This offers interesting implications, for example for political communication. If opinion formation is influenced by the way recipients talk about news contents, laboratory observations of political reflective communication could extend our knowledge about the persuasive roles of mass and interpersonal communication.

Table 1: Judgment differences between experimental conditions

	Condition	Mean	SD	F	Sig
Estimated Immigrant Quota West Germany	Experimental group	15,74	10,10	4,475	,039
	Control group	10,39	6,29		
Estimated Immigrant Quota East Germany	Experimental group	10,05	8,60	5,331	,025
	Control group	5,26	3,95		

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# New perspectives in Uses and Gratifications: Focus on digital media

# Oscar Peters Explaining and Analysing Audiences: A Social Cognitive Approach on Selectivity and Media Use

One of the most prominent research approaches in the long tradition of communication research to focus on media use and selectivity is the uses and gratifications (U&G) approach. Although, the descriptive benefits of U&G are very extensive and significant and may well be sufficient to account for the continued appeal of the approach (McQuail, 2001), the explaining and predicting quality of U&G for media use and selectivity is less pronounced.

Apart from the lack of explaining and predicting quality and the ongoing debate whether or not U&G is a 'legitimate' communication theory (see Ruggiero, 2000), there is also criticism about the measurement and analysis of retrospective self-reported gratifications used in most U&G studies (cf. Babrow, 1988; Messaris, 1977; Hendriks Vettehen & Van Snippenburg, 2002). One could argue whether or not media use or non-use is a result of a deliberate choice and one could also dispute whether or not people are capable of reflecting on their own media behaviour. According to McQuail (2001), media use behaviour is frequently not very rational, motivated or planned, but is a result of habit, circumstance and change, as well as being moved by emotions. Aarts et al. (1998) proposed that when behaviour is performed repeatedly and becomes habitual, it is guided by automated processes, rather than being preceded by elaborate decision processes (i.e., a decision based on attitudes and intentions.)

From a social cognitive theory (SCT) perspective (Bandura, 1986), a promising alternative to the retrospective self-report measures may be found in the use of prospective measures. Attempts made by U&G researchers (e.g. Babrow & Swanson, 1988) to distinguish gratifications from formulations involving outcome expectations were of no avail and failed to produce more robust explanations of media exposure. According to LaRose, Mastro & Eastin (2001) the outcome expectation construct parsimoniously bridges the gulf between gratifications sought and gratifications obtained in U&G research. Outcome expectations reflect current beliefs about the outcomes of prospective future behaviour but are predicated on comparisons between incentives expected and incentives attained in the past. The gratifications sought gratifications obtained formulation is seemingly indistinguishable from an important mechanism in SCT, enactive learning. Enactive learning describes how humans learn from experience. In a social-cognitive view, interactions with the environment influence media exposure by continually reforming expectations about the likely outcomes of future media consumption behaviour (after Bandura, 1986). Seemingly, this represents the same process that describes the relationship among gratifications sought, media behaviour, and gratifications obtained (Palmgreen et al., 1985). According to LaRose & Eastin (2004) U&G can be understood in social-cognitive terms. Where U&G researchers

have explored gratifications, SCT proposes expected outcomes and where U&G researchers posit needs, SCT proposes behavioural incentives. Expected positive outcomes of media exposure should cause further exposure. What people have gotten in the past from media is an important part of the basis for their current expectations about it. LaRose & Eastin's (2004) research suggest that active selection of media that best meet personal needs is not the sole mechanism explaining media attendance. Active selection dominates when new media alternatives appear or when personal routines are disrupted. Self-efficacy beliefs about one's ability to utilize alternative media channels may also contribute to media selection. Thereafter, LaRose & Eastin (2004) poses that repeated consumption is increasingly habitual and automatic as we turn our attention elsewhere. Once habits are established, users no longer think through whether one alternative or another is a better way of obtaining a particular outcome. Users still monitor their overall level of media usage and apply self-reactive incentives to adjust the amount to appropriate levels, as defined by personal or social norms. SCT provides a framework for integrating U&G mechanisms with these competing influences on individual media attendance.

To empirically examine whether the use of prospective measures from a SCT perspective would have a larger explanatory power of variance in media use than the retrospective self-report measures often used in U&G studies, we adapt the instrument used in the study by LaRose and Eastin (2004) to explain Internet usage to the context of mobile communication technology, i.e. the usage of General Packet Radio Services (GPRS). With the use of GPRS all kinds of extra mobile services become available on a mobile telephone, such as sending and receiving full-colour pictures, e-mail, or even Internet facilities. Subscribers to a closed-user group of a Dutch telecommunications company (n = 2563) were invited via e-mail to voluntary participate in the online survey. A total of 474 participants completed the online survey. The results of this study showed that only 24 percent of the respondents used GPRS, even though the use of 1 MB is free of charge. The explained variance, 69 percent (Nagelkerke *R*<sup>2</sup>, binary logistic regression) in GPRS usage is remarkably high compared to the explained variances found in previous U&G studies on mobile communication technology use. None of the SCT incentive categories were significant contributors. Self-efficacy, prior experience and ownership of other information and communication technology were significant contributors. Our findings do not fully support the assumption of SCT that expected positive outcomes of media use should encourage further use of media, still the instrument of LaRose and Eastin (2004) grounded in both U&G and SCT offer some promising steps forward in measuring media selectivity and usage.

The need for alternative measurement and analysis is needed to better understand peoples' need and desires, which is vital to be able to offer them products and services that they will actually use.

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#### Matthias Rickes/ Christian von Criegern/ Sven Jöckel

# Social Cognitive Perspective on Uses and Gratifications – Comparative Analysis of Different Websites

#### Introduction:

The Uses and Gratifications Approach (U&G) has enjoyed a renaissance with the spread of the WWW as mass medium. This is a matter of cause, that the user consciously decides his actions when using the internet. The conference article is designed to present the results of two empirial studies, where a suggested structural equation model from *LaRose/Eastin* (2004) on internet usage has been reviewed. This model integrates the

main assumptions made so far, by the U&G and Social Cognitive Theory (SCT). Since *LaRose/Eastin's* suggestion, in comparison to the so far Gratifications Research, new variables, such as self-efficacy, deficient self-regulation and self-reactive outcomes<sup>2</sup>, have now been integrated.

# Some problems of the past and current Uses and Gratifications Research

Within gratifications research on internet usage, there is a whole new row of studies<sup>3</sup>, with very heterogeneous results. These results especially pertain to the discussed motive structures. While examining motive structures, most analyses are conducted inductively, or – in the case of confirmatory analyses – are done with a relative arbitrary reference for present test results (referring to the motives, as well as to the different measurement items) or use ad hoc hypotheses on the basis of scientists individual thoughts<sup>4</sup>. Because of this, it is not possible to compare models based on different motive structures. According to Rosengren's (1974) model, motives are a result of interaction from needs and situational variables<sup>5</sup>. Because of the enormous amount of possible situations, the number of motives is also immense. This means that all possibly relevant motive structures pertaining to the use of media, cannot build a universal model<sup>6</sup>. Futhermore, new motive structures are continously discovered<sup>7</sup>. Even though the discovery of new motives is important, particularly for the new media, former suggested models should not be neglected. These models should be tested empirically on various fields of application<sup>8</sup>. Models that have been tested once only cannot be judged on their degree of corroboration. Testing of the same models in different fields is as essential as direct comparative tests of once corroborated models in the same fields. Furthermore, motive structures should be derived theoretically. Ad hoc hypotheses about the present motive structures automatically exclude high degrees of corroboration because of their closeness to the empirical basis<sup>9</sup>.

Uses and Gratifications research and Social Cognitive Theory

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  A study with a special focus on these variables has been conducted by LaRose/Lin/Eastin (2003, pp. 225).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> First analyses amongst others are from Eighmey/McCord (1998, pp. 187), Kaye (1998, pp. 21), and Korgaonkar/Wolin (1999, pp. 53).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bantz (1982, p. 353) already delivered a similar appraisement of research situation in the field of television usage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Rosengren (1974, p. 276).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> McGuire (1974, p. 171).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Research practice is best described as Sisyphos-strategy. This practice delivers a huge amount of hard connectable conclusions, without a real theoretical advancement. So the need for modification of certain conclusions cannot be identified. Opp (2002, pp. 206).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Popper (1989, p. 215).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid. (pp. 85).
A first empirical test indicates that the integration of *Bandura's* SCT with U&G, as advocated by *LaRose/Eastin* (2004), may provide a good starting point for further research. Instead of motives or needs, internet usage would then be based on expected behavioural outcomes<sup>10</sup>. These expected outcomes are theoretically derived from SCT. According to *Bandura* (1986) human behaviour is mainly determined by expected outcomes. These develop after personal experiences and the observation of the behaviour of other people<sup>11</sup>. *LaRose/Eastin* have adapted this relationship and also some others for their model of internet usage.

Even though expected outcomes relate to gratifications sought (GS) and gratifications obtained (GO), they can also be contrasted. Gratifications sought embody desirable behavioural outcomes, but without including whether or not an individual expects the use of a medium to provide this in the future. Gratifications obtained, or to be precise the difference between gratifications sought and those obtained, relate to past judgements of media use. However, these judgements do not necessarily relate to the present hopes refering to the future prospects of the use of media. That is why actual expected outcomes present better indicators of behaviour, reflecting the future use, than the gratifications sought or the difference between GS and GO.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, *Lometti/Reeves/Bybee (1977)* suggest, that it is not possible to isolate GS and GO on an empirical level<sup>13</sup>. A greater, empirically validated differentiation can only be reached when GS and GO are studied at different levels of abstraction; i.e. GS in relation to a certain category of websites and GO in relation to a specific website within this category<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Bandura (1986, pp. 235).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ibid. (1986, p. 230).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> LaRose/Eastin (2004, p. 361).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Lometti/Reeves/Bybee (1977).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Palmgreen/Rayburn (1979, pp. 159). McLeod/Bybee/Durall (1982) suggest an alternative solution for the differentiation between GS and GO. However, this solution is just suited for new media offers.



Figure 1: Model of internet usage by LaRose/Eastin (2004, p. 366)

## Empirical studies on different websites

*LaRose/Eastin's* (2004) complete model was tested on the websites of two leading German private television-channels ( $n_1$ =341;  $n_2$ =320). The model was tested by using structural equation modelling based on ULS-estimation. In both cases, the model can be seen as confirmed, on the basis of global fit-indices. The results of both independent samples are very much alike. Both tests show very little influences of expected outcomes on the frequency of internet usage. According to *LaRose/Eastin* a strong familiarisation to the internet has been seen and confirmed empirically as predicator for the encompassing use. For a direct comparison with *LaRose/Eastin's* study, their model is being examined once more, in relation to internet usage (not the usage of a single homepage). Additionally the structure of expected outcomes has been tested on three different consumer websites<sup>15</sup>. Confirmatory factor analyses used for the test are based on ULS-estimation. Due to the feedback-mechanism, which is implied in the concept of expected outcomes and SCT, the outcome structures from the five websites also show enormous differences.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> branches: food industry, technical products, and entertainment software

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# **Explaining exposure to narratives**

# Jella Hoffmann

# "Play it again, Sam" – A differentiating view on repeated exposure to narrative media

Though the media industry sells millions of new books, movies etc. a remarkable share of overall media offerings are reprints, reruns or recorded versions of already existing content. Apparently, audiences seem to like reruns and intentionally use the same content again and again. Repeated exposure to communication has been payed rather little attention to in communication research and rarely seen as different from first exposure. But the few existing studies suggest that repeated exposure is not only highly enjoyable but also caused by different motivations than first exposure (Tannenbaum 1985; Furno-Lamude & Anderson 1992). Accordingly, this presentation takes a step towards differentiating and explaining repeated exposure to communication.

# 1. Differentiating repeated exposure

Though being a universal phenomenon repeated exposure may vary depending on: (a) *medium*: repeated exposure can occur with every medium. However, it will be more probable with media that are permanent (books, CDs, DVDs), easily recordable (TV) or in themselves repetitive<sup>16</sup> (TV) than with relatively transient media (e.g. internet). (b) *content*: some contents seem to be more suitable for repeated exposures than others. Informational content may be reused to refresh knowledge but especially news will rarely be used more than once. In contrast, timeless content like stories or music seem to be predestined to multiple use.<sup>17</sup> As DVD-sales or TV ratings indicate fictional narratives account for the bulk of repeated exposures (besides music) (BVV 2005). This may be because of repeated exposure being primarily aimed at entertainment which is often reached by watching narrative fiction.

(c) *mode of selection*: repeated exposure can be passive, without recognizing it as repeated exposure, or active, with full knowledge and conscious choice of the familiar content.

As the different forms of repeated exposure cannot be discussed comprehensively we will now focus on active repeated exposure to narrative media.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> In contrast to "repeat-viewing" (Barwise, Ehrenberg & Godhart 1982) repeated exposure means the multiple

use of the *same* film or episode, not the exposure to following episodes of a series or serial.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Music being a content almost exclusively used repeatedly, often even gaining attraction for the listener.

## 2. Motives for repeated exposure

In general, repeated exposure can be caused by any motivation known from classical uses and gratifications research like relaxation, entertainment, social interaction etc. (see e.g. Rubin 2002). But unlike first exposure it enables users to almost perfectly predict the resulting gratification and thus permits choices that optimally match actual needs. Repeated exposure therefore facilitates selection and offers a reliable form of entertainment (Tannenbaum 1980: 128). Through its familiarity, repeated exposure additionally allows for feelings of control which are said to be an important prerequisite for experiencing entertainment (Früh 2002). In addition, redundancy requires less cognitive effort than the processing of new information and thus recipients might experience repeated exposure as more relaxing (Barwise, Ehrenberg & Godhart 1982: 28; Tannenbaum 1985: 236). In their study, Furno-Lamude and Anderson (1992) found two motives particulary evident in repeated exposure: nostalgia and recall. Nostalgia means that repeated exposure can satisfy the desire to remember the past (ibid.: 370; Weispfennig 2003). Under the label "recall" they summon aspects like remembering forgotten parts and one statement that refers to the process of reexposure itself (looking for different things during reuse). This touches an idea that deserves more theoretical and empirical work: reception processes as motivating factors for repeated exposure.

## 3. Processes of repeated exposure

In agreement with Tannenbaum (1985: 225) we support the notion of repeated exposure as an in large part intrinsically motivated activity (*autotelic*) (see Cupchik & Kemp 2000). Thus recipients reuse narrative media not only as a reliable means of e.g. relaxation, but because they enjoy and therefore seek the reexperiencing in itself. As far as *affective* experiences are concerned virtually any first exposure emotion can be reexperienced during repeated exposures (Tannenbaum 1985: 239; Früh 2005). Repeaters even seem to feel suspense although they already know the outcome of the action (see Brewer 1996; Carroll 1996). In addition, repeated exposure allows for *cognitive experiences* different from first exposure. Already knowing the plot enables the user to attent to aspects other than the course of events. Repeaters can thus notice hidden jokes, look for early clues of the plot development, search for mistakes or mishaps, concentrate on certain characters, analyze dialogs or focus on stylistic elements like music, color, editing etc. During repeated exposure recipients are more free to choose their perspective or to try several "reception modalities" (Suckfüll 2004). Accordingly, modalities expressing a cognitively playful strategy of reception like "play" (e.g. making up ones own development of the plot), "narration" (engagement with narrative structures) or "production" (e.g. imagining oneself as the director) (ibid.: 138) should be more frequent with repeated exposure than with first exposure. Affective and especially cognitive experiences are thus one of the central objects of our empirical analyses (see 5.)

#### 4. Situational and personal variables

Several other variables can influence repeated exposures:

(a) *situational variables*: as mentioned above, it can be accidentally or planned; it can vary with locations; it may also depend heavily on the social situation. In that case the social experience alone can be a strong motivating factor.

(b) *personal variables*: repeated exposure may vary with age, sex, education etc. (e.g. Litman & Kohl 1992). In addition, there could be relations to traits like need for control, sensation seeking, need for cognition etc. or to one's preferred reception modalities.

#### 5. Empirical results and research program

As empirical evidence in view of repeated exposure is very scarce we will present empirical findings of four focus groups. The results mainly support the aforementioned distinctions and allow for more specified assumptions and hypotheses being tested in a soon starting quantitative survey with a representative sample of 200 subjects.

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## Sven Jöckel

# What film do you want to see this time? Combining different approaches to explain selectivity in cinema going

#### Audience activity in the cinema

Compared to television, going to the movies is a costly leisure activity. The process of going to see a film is often initiated days before one goes to see the film. It is not too far off to assume that cinema audiences carefully select which film to see. Audience activity and selectivity comprises of different elements before, during and after the viewer is exposed to a film (Levy/Windahl 1985, Biocca 1988).

Comparable to internet usage or playing video games cinema going is a much more personally involving activity than other forms of traditional media use (McQuail 2000, Ruggiero 2000, Rubin 1994). However, while internet usage and videogame playing are activities considered to be interactive by definition, the reception situation in the cinema is rather passive. Cognitive film theory on the other hand illustrates that film viewing itself is a very selective process. Cinema viewers do not enter the cinema as empty minds. The way they see a film is shaped by their own experiences in real life. Formal devices that were established during the history of film activate certain scripts within the viewers that allow them to generate meaning. Generic conventions and experiences from other media provide the viewer with knowledge to actively and individually construct each film (Bordwell/Caroll 1996, Bordwell 1985).

As viewers construct films in their minds, different films are remembered and re-told to friends and family. Adopting a cultural studies perspective (Hall 1980), films can be seen as textual resources that are actively interpreted and adopted into the wider range

of social activities (Winter 1993). Despite the methodological conflicts between cultural studies and positivistic research (Ang 1991, Lewis 1997, Morley 1999) an integrative approach such as provide by Cohen (2002) combining aspects of both sides seems to be an appropriate way to understand the process of selectivity of cinema audiences.

## An integrative model

While classical U&G approaches may explain aspects of selectivity before being confronted with a film the integration of audience interpretations may help to explain the evaluation of films. Seeing the film not as a fixed media content but as a textual resource for the audiences to construct meanings according to their own social experiences can explain further aspects of selectivity.



Media gratifications have a direct influence on the decision to see a film, but their influence on the evaluation of a film is much weaker. Here, the way audiences interpret a film is assumed to be a stronger indicator. Thus, different theoretical approaches ranging from cultural studies (interpretations, film as textual resource) to cognitive film theory (script and schemes) and U&G research (media gratifications) can be used to develop an integrative model to explain audience selectivity. The focus of the presentation will be on empirical findings that illustrate some of the interdependencies illustrated in the above model.

# Methodology

Two standardized surveys (n = 237; n = 2.134) were carried out to test the interdependencies between different forms of selectivity. Both surveys were based on popular movie series (*Lord of the Rings* and *Star Wars*) but used different methods (paper-pencil vs. online) and

sampling techniques (quota vs. self-selective). However, the general outline of the two surveys was similar. Based on current research in U&G and cinema going (Rössler 1997, Baum 2003) the same list of 18 items was tested in both surveys to deduce gratification

factors for cinema going. Factors of gratification are thus no longer based on one survey but are compared and re-evaluated using two independent samples. Furthermore, identical or at least similar scales were used to measure variables that influence different aspects of selectivity such as engagement (fandom), word-of-mouth, evaluation or genre preferences. Possible audience interpretations based on a content analysis of the *Lord of the Rings* movies were integrated into the questionnaire of the first survey. This allowed to answer the question in how far audiences are selective after they have seen a film.

## Results

First results indicated that audience interpretations help to explain selectivity in the phase of post media exposure. How people evaluate a film, what aspect they appreciate and how they talk about it, is closely linked to the way people interpret a film. The connection between audience interpretations and gratifications is much weaker. The *Lord of the Ring* sample shows that gratifications sought in the cinema do not explain how people interpret a film. More important, in both surveys it could be demonstrated that for example an intellectual motivation can predict the usage of art films but the evaluation of films such as *Lord of the Rings* and *Star Wars* cannot be explained by media gratifications sought. Thus, the influence of media gratifications on possible word-of-mouth is rather limited. Audience engagement (fandom) and different interpretations of a film are better indicators for the evaluation of a film. Furthermore, both surveys provide (gratification) factor structures that can be seen as similar but not identical. The differences and similarities within these factor structures will be thoroughly analyzed to see in how far generalized aspects for gratifications in cinema going can be deduced from the two samples.

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