

When two worlds meet: An inter-paradigmatic mixed method approach to convergent audiovisual media consumption

Cédric Courtois,
iMinds-MICT-Ghent University, Belgium.

Abstract:

This article addresses the issue of audience fragmentation in cross-medial audiovisual content consumption, due to the consequences of convergence. It draws on an inter-paradigmatic theoretical framework to compile a double-strand mixed method approach that addresses this issue. More specifically, I combine the socio-cognitive interpretation of uses-and-gratifications and reception studies, i.e. domestication theory. While doing so, I decompose the phenomenon of audiovisual media consumption in terms of technology, audiovisual texts and socio-spatial context, hereby tapping onto this threefold distinction on two empirical levels. First, by quantitatively identifying patterns of all three components and explain them in terms of motivation and habit. And second, by means of qualitative domestic case studies, further inquiring these patterns from within, enabling a socially situated understanding. The results indicate that although traditional consumption patterns persist, differentiation is gaining ground, especially in the younger generations.

Keywords: uses and gratifications, reception studies, mixed method, audiovisual media, convergence.

Note to readers:

This article is derived from a larger PhD-project (2008-2012) entitled 'The Triple Articulation of Audiovisual Media Technologies in the Age of Convergence', funded by iMinds, the former Flemish Interdisciplinary Institute for Broadband Technology (IBBT). This dissertation, containing a thorough discussion of the employed theoretical and methodological framework in this article, as well as the detailed discussion of empirical results, is freely available upon request.

Convergence and media landscapes

Throughout history, the emergence of new media, affording new practices, has been a constant evolution. This has rendered our daily lives drenched in media, and turned media consumption into a ubiquitous activity. Nevertheless, in recent years, matters have become even more complicated by the persistent trend of technological convergence. Rather than the silo structures that were previously common, digital media texts are available on numerous platforms, accessible by a large variety of devices, scattered everywhere (Dwyer, 2010; Jenkins, 2006). Moreover, the trend of corporate concentration has transformed the supply side, as it embraces the myriad possibilities of alternative distribution (Chon, Choi, Barnett, Danowski, & Joo, 2003). Hence, consumers are confronted with a unified technological space that brings about an abundance of choices. But how do audiences deal with these changes: what do they accept and appropriate, and why is that so?

In this article, I address the topic of audiovisual media consumption. In contrast to several decades ago, the rigid scheme of the family watching the television set in the living room has been under pressure. Nowadays, much more configurations are possible: technologies are becoming mobile, and are appropriated in multiple spaces. Likewise, families disperse throughout various environments, while various delivery channels afford time-shifted on-demand consumption (Doyle, 2010). This leads to the overarching research agenda, on which this article draws: *how and why is audiovisual media consumption changing in the context of convergence?* However, the presumable changes bring about a problematic vagueness, troubling researchers to grasp how audiences approach audiovisual media nowadays. By drawing upon multiple traditional paradigms (i.e. uses-and-gratifications and reception studies), I propose a mixed-method framework to approach this complexity, detect shifting patterns brought about by convergence, and try to make sense of them. Throughout this paper, audiences are approached *as agents*, concentrating on how they appropriate audiovisual media, and what they get from it (Webster, 1998). First, I briefly sketch the genesis of both paradigms, and discuss their similarities and dissimilarities. Second, I reflect upon methodological challenges, and discuss a practical demonstration of the proposed framework.

Uses-and-gratifications: a brief overview

Origins and historical development

In the 1940s, media scholars got increasingly interested in knowing why different media were used, which led to the development of the uses-and-gratifications paradigm. Perhaps for one of the first times, audience members were given a voice by allowing them to express why they were attracted to media. After a period of relative slumber, the perspective re-emerged in the 1960's, going through a phase of operationalization in which social and psychological origins of media use became central foci: *"They [U-and-G researchers] are concerned with (1) the social and psychological origins or (2) needs, which generate (3)*

expectations of (4) the mass media or other sources, which lead to (5) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities), resulting in (6) need gratifications and (7) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones." (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974, p. 20). More specifically, this was manifested in contrasting needs of social roles, psychological characteristics, patterns of media consumption and the process of media effects themselves in the context of the individual, the immediate circle and society (Blumler, 1979; Rubin, 1986, 2002). At the same time, there was an increase in the attention to devise typologies of media use. In fact, Rayburn (1996) appointed this as a central point in the U-and-G tradition. These typologies were then used to describe and explain the relation between goals and personal consequences of media use (Rubin, 2002). Due to the increased computational power in the 1970's, researchers increasingly relied on data reduction techniques such as factor analysis, cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling (Rayburn, 1996). This made it possible to translate findings of qualitative studies into Likert statements suitable for quantitative research. In the field of television studies, the typology devised by Rubin (1983) is most noteworthy: (a) pass time and habit, (b) information, (c) entertainment, (d) companionship and (e) escapism. The overall increased procedural convergence in U-and-G cleared the path for the explanatory phase discussed in the following section (Blumler & Katz, 1974; Palmgreen, Wenner, & Rosengren, 1985).

The third phase in the development of U-and-G is characterized by a rationalization of the basic assumptions, guiding the route to a theoretical unification (Katz, et al., 1974). Within U-and-G, there are five classical basic assumptions (Katz, et al., 1974): (1) The audience is considered active. This means that media behavior is intentional and purposeful, (2) the coupling of gratification need and the selection of a medium is done by the audience, (3) media constantly compete with other sources of need satisfaction, only accounting for a limited and variable part of human needs, (4) it is assumed that the user is sufficiently aware of the goals of his or her media use, wherein the individual is sufficiently competent to at least recognize interests and motives, and finally, (5) researchers should refrain from value judgments on the cultural significance of mass communication. Typically, three gratifications are discerned: (1) the content of media messages itself, (2) the mere exposure to a medium, and (3) the social environment in which one is exposed to media. Each medium is believed to provide a unique combination of distinctive content, typical media attributes in physical and technological terms, while nested in a surrounding physical and social context (Katz, et al., 1974). Such a set of basic rules aspired a centripetal effect, transforming U-and-G from a pragmatic, empirical approach to a body of research that aims to focus on the sociological environment of the audience and the human perception as an organizing and structuring process (Carey & Kreiling, 1974).

Towards theories of Uses-and-Gratifications

Uses-and-gratifications have been extensively criticized for conceptual vagueness, mentalistic nature and tendency to individualistic over-rationalization, rendering it unfit as a sound theory. However, in response to these criticisms Blumler (1979, pp. 11-12) argued:

There is no such thing as a or the uses and gratifications theory, although there are plenty of theories about the uses and gratifications phenomenon, which may well differ with each other over many issues.”

In the 1980s, after streamlining research methodologies and a relative crystallization of gratification typologies, a new period of formal, albeit scattered theory formation took off (Palmgreen, et al., 1985). Although Palmgreen (1984) compiled an indicative overview of U-and-G studies, in this article, I tend to focus on process theories. These theories are oriented to offering insight in why certain needs are gratified and others are not, and why this may differ for individuals. Despite early accounts by Van Leuven (1981), and Galloway and Meek (1981), most notable in this respect is the work by Palmgreen and Rayburn (1982; 1984). Like the other authors, they adopted an expectancy-value approach, yet they first discussed the process that lies at the basis of media consumption in the light of gratifications sought and gratifications obtained. They defend expectancy-value as a solid framework in which existing concepts can be logically integrated:

It is difficult to find a publication within the framework of uses and gratifications that does not employ the term “expectation” or some synonym. It is a key element in Katz et al.’s (1974) now classic seven-part précis of the uses and gratifications approach. (Palmgreen & Rayburn, 1985, p. 61).

The integration is a valid response to the main criticism of the conceptual vagueness of U-and-G. However, expectancy-value is a hyper-rational approach, which is not consistent with the observation that people are often not that rational in their behaviors.

State-of-the-art: a socio-cognitive reinterpretation

After the 1980s, theoretical developments in U-and-G became scarce again. Nevertheless, the approach managed to maintain its ground, especially because of the rapid increase in new media. New typologies keep on emerging, inquiring the relation between gratifications and media consumption. Still, Ruggiero (2000, p. 12) considers this kind of research as especially relevant: ‘a typology of uses, although not providing what some scholars would consider a refined theoretical perspective, furnishes a benchmark base of data for other studies to further examine media use.’ Although he has a point, it does not acquit U-and-G from dealing with several issues that continue to be problematic. Abandoning the functionalist frame has fended of a lot of the earlier criticisms. By turning the approach into an action/motivation perspective, it developed as a theory that fits nicely with social psychology. However, multiple problems persist. A fundamental one has to do with the idea of the ultimately rational individual, who is always aware of what he or she wants and is able to get. This does not comply with the observation that most of our day-to-day behaviors, including media consumption are habitual (LaRose, 2010). A perspective that

explicitly incorporates both intentional and non-intentional factors is found in a recent theoretical innovation that merges Bandura's (1986, 1994) Social Cognitive Theory with the traditional Uses-and-Gratifications approach. Although it is a social-psychological theory, SCT and its predecessor SLT have been applied in the field of media studies. One of the earliest historical accounts is the use of the theory to study the effects of television on violent behavior in children by modeling aggressive behavior on plastic dolls. This line of research has been firmly criticized because of its questionable validity. However, it should be seen within its time frame, in which behaviorism and the strong media effects paradigm were still in place. In this article, however, let us focus on a different application of SCT, namely to explain the selection of what media people consume, or as LaRose (2009, p. 12) argues: "... the tradition of social learning in media research is stood on its head: Media consumption behavior becomes the effect, or dependent variable, of interest rather than the cause of downstream behavioral effects."

This closely links with the U-and-G approach. However first, let us look into the role of motivation in SCT, in which three different regulatory incentive systems are based on external, vicarious and self-produced outcomes. Two classes of motivators are discerned: on the one hand, there are biologically based motivators, based on primary incentives that draw upon physiological deficits (e.g. hunger) and external aversive stimuli (e.g. fear for pain). On the other hand, cognitively based motivators are distinguished, which are internalized through enactive experience or vicarious learning. *Novel (sensory) incentives* entail the motivation to seek and learn about new things. *Social incentives* refer to the need to get accepted and approved by peers, while avoiding disapproval. *Monetary incentives* are of the most powerful incentives because, by means of tokens, they allow to acquire other kinds of incentives (e.g. commodities, social influence, health care). *Activity incentives* concern getting to do the activity that is liked the most. Hence, the ability to engage in certain behavior has a motivating character. *Status incentives* entail the ability to exercise control over the behavior of others, which allows acquiring social and material benefits. Finally, *self-reactive incentives* refer to the independent, motivating character of activities, originating from the natural feedback it delivers. The interpretation of this feedback is however an arbitrary and personal matter.

LaRose, Mastro and Eastin (2001) were the first to notice the parallels of these incentive categories with the commonly, empirically derived gratification typologies in U-and-G. A brief literature review led them to conclude that there are remarkable parallels between (a) *activity incentives* and components like fun and entertainment, (b) *social incentives* and social interaction and communication, (c) *novel (sensory) incentives* and information seeking, and (d) *self-reactive incentives* and relaxation or escapism. These incentives were identified as major components in existing gratification typologies, whereas the *monetary* and *status incentives* were only seldom incorporated. The authors made a case to frame gratifications as theoretically and empirically valid incentive motivators, albeit conceptualized as *expected outcomes* (i.e. one's current beliefs about outcomes of prospective behavior). This is a very important distinction. Expected outcomes function as

the motivating source to perform behavior. They are neither gratifications sought or obtained, nor the difference between those two. What a media consumer actually seeks might be more than what is expected, and the disappointment of not obtaining what is sought does not necessarily affect future expectations (LaRose, 2009). Hence, expected outcomes are argued to be more accurate indices of motivation, which would explain why they perform much better in accounting for variance in measures of consumption frequency (LaRose, et al., 2001).

Towards a merger of SCT and U-and-G

In essence, SCT is an expectancy theory which fits well with the gratifications approach. In their further work, LaRose and Eastin (2004) continued to explore the feasibility of using SCT as a gratifications theory. In practice, they retained the concepts of self-efficacy and expected outcomes, as well as deficient self-regulation and habit strength. The latter two need some further explanation. As mentioned, self-regulation is a key-moderating concept in SCT, as it entails the ability to self-monitor; hence to think about one's actions, rather than simply following stimulus-response contingencies. In practical applications of SCT, deficient self-regulation is operationalized as the inability to control behavior. Further, the concept of habit strength is conceptualized as "a form of automaticity, a pattern of behavior ... that follows a fixed cognitive schema, triggered by an environmental stimulus or ... by recalling a goal ... and performed without further self-instruction" (LaRose & Eastin, 2004, pp. 362-363). This is an extremely important contribution to U-and-G in the sense that it allows us to model the substantial unconscious factors that lie at the core of various instances of media consumption, whereas other theories of U-and-G would draw upon the assumption of an active *homo economicus*, who is perfectly aware and capable of his or her reasons for using media. Habit as a psychological construct, referring to cognitive parsimony, a diminished control and lack of awareness, has been ignored for too long in media studies, whereas in fact, it is a very strong explanatory factor (LaRose, 2010). In terms of gratifications, it should be seen as crystallization of once very well thought-through motivations. Still, due to repetition, and the confirmation of the cognitive schemes they were a part of, explicit motivation (partly) decreases in salience. This is not only the case for media habits. Previous research within the framework of Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) has indicated that in some cases, the statistical effect of intentions on behavior disappears when habit strength is entered into the equation (Verplanken, Aarts, van Knippenberg, & Moonen, 1998). As such, the study of media habits, in relation to motivations, seems even more productive in explaining media consumption.

Three phases of reception studies

So far, I have discussed the evolution and tenets of U-and-G, pointing to several critical voices on the limitations of the framework. These criticisms did bring about what could be seen as a counter movement, a rivaling, yet related paradigm stemming from cultural

studies and literary criticism that puts the central focus on how audiences receive media texts, and how they make sense of them, referred to as reception studies. In his canonical paper *'Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse'*, Stuart Hall (1974) raised awareness of the content of media messages, and the imperative role of receivers in making sense of them, as they draw upon a mixture of in-built genre guidelines in the text, as well as their own ideas and experiences. Rather than focusing on the process of transmission, as earlier models did, Hall locates attributions and the construction of meaning (decoding) on the side of the receiver, underlining that these diverse meanings do not necessarily correspond with the encoded meanings. In fact, they could be decoded in opposition to the initially encoded message. Hence, a notion of audience agency is installed, which diverts from the behaviorist stimulus-response model of media effects.

Following the previously outlined work, Alasuutari (2002) identifies a second generation in reception studies, in which the focus evolved from the qualitative analyses of viewer interpretations of a specific program into attention for the material and social surroundings of the reception. By extending the focus beyond media texts, the broader context of reception comes into play. This evolution is referred to as the *ethnographic turn* in audience studies, and is framed as a response to the doubts about the media-centric nature of audience research that seeks to move 'further away from the medium itself in search of the local sites of cultural meaning-making which shape people's orientation to the media' (Livingstone, 2003, p. 344). Several authors have been influential in this respect. For one, David Morley (1986) corroborated Hall's work on reading positions in the study on the BBC popular current affairs program *Nationwide*, which reflects first generation reception work. However, in a subsequent (pilot) study, he made an exemplary case for establishing an ethnographic tradition in audience research. By broadening the focus from what is on the screen to what is surrounding it, he raised attention to the meaning of television in mundane family leisure activities and its social (power) relations. The unit of analysis was much more directed to the family in its domestic context, rather than the individual. In practice, this leads to a family-based analysis of the encapsulation of television viewing. Morley provides a meticulous analysis of each family, literally drawing upon the guided family conversation, focusing on issues such as identity and gender. In a similar vein, American researcher James Lull has proven influential. In the introduction to his book *Inside Family Viewing* (1990), he partially distances himself from narrow, purely quantitative research, and makes a strong case for ethnographic methods to gain a substantial understanding of the social phenomenon of television viewing, by addressing both immediate and the broader, referential context. In his empirical work, he focused on the social uses of television, which at first glance seemed a reprise of U-and-G thinking, albeit quite different.

Finally, Alasuutari (2002) points to a third generation of reception research, denoting a constructionist view on the topic. It starts with the notion that there is no such thing as 'the audience', as it is the product of a specific analytic perspective. In this third wave, the everyday life gains even more ground as the center of analysis, dealing with the

ubiquity of media, and ad hoc audience membership (cf. diffused audiences, as proposed by Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). The difference however, is that this third wave is oriented much more broadly, towards the study of media culture in an everyday context, rather than singling out a specific program.

The domestication perspective

In line with the objectives of this article, aligning audience research with the convergent evolution of audiovisual media consumption, I especially wish to focus on domestication theory (as a perspective within the reception paradigm) by drawing upon the conceptual work of Silverstone on television and everyday life (Silverstone, 1994). The perspective draws upon everyday contexts as guiding factors in interpreting media texts (in line with the second and third wave of reception studies), and the increasingly diverse role of technology in experiencing media consumption (Haddon, 2007; Silverstone & Haddon, 1996). The latter was especially linked with emerging theoretical development in the field of consumption, questioning consumers' associations with technological objects as commodities.

Domestication is a metaphorical description of how media technologies pervade the domestic space, where they are tamed and fit into the ecology of people's daily lives.

The domestication processes consists of three overlapping steps (Silverstone & Haddon, 1996; Silverstone, Hirsch, & Morley, 1992). First, a media technology is put into the market by its producers, accompanied by prefabricated meanings in the form of marketing communications. In this phase of *commodification*, technologies are presented to consumers as objects of desire. Still, consumers are not inclined to accept these meanings, as they are actively negotiated or perhaps even rejected. When a technology is accepted into the private space of the home, these negotiated meanings are interwoven with the fabric of everyday family life dynamics. This process is identified as a continuous state of *appropriation*. On the one hand, technological objects are given an appropriate and comfortable physical space (*objectification*), while it is given a place within family members' everyday routines (*incorporation*). Finally, the outward display of media consumption might entice others to do the same. This process of *conversion* involves a re-entrance of private consumption meanings in the public sphere. A crucial notion in the domestication process is the recognition of the moral economy of the household, which is conceived as a 'transactional system of economic and social relations within the formal or more objective economy and society of the public sphere.' (Silverstone, et al., 1992, p. 16). When technologies are brought into the home and used, their meanings need to be aligned and negotiated with the household's specific cognitions, evaluations, and aesthetics (Silverstone, 1994; Silverstone, et al., 1992).

The triple articulation concept

The domestication perspective offers a theoretical framework for a strand of audience research that not only incorporates media texts, but also the technological space in which

these texts are consumed, cast in its contextual surroundings. This idea is formalized in the concept of a double articulation of media technologies. This refers to media technologies being meaningful as physical objects, as well as conveyers of meaningful media texts. The notion of a double articulation is borrowed from functional linguistics (Silverstone & Haddon, 1996). In order for natural language to be meaningful, sound needs to be produced (phonemes), so morphemes can be expressed. In a similar vein, media texts can only be articulated when the affording technology is articulated first. Unfortunately however, this conceptual refinement has not been consistently translated into empirical work. Drawing upon Radway's idea of 'Radical Contextualism' (1988), Livingstone (2003) applauds the ethnographic turn in audience research, however expressing her concern with the tendency to address too much weight to the contextual surroundings of screens, while neglecting what is on that screen:

Frustratingly, researching audiences simultaneously in terms of reception and contexts of use seems hard to sustain [...] the further one stands back from the television set to focus on the context of the living room, the smaller the screen appears and the harder it is to see what's showing. And vice versa' (Livingstone, 2003, p. 346).

This implies that in practice, it has proven rather difficult to maintain a proper balance between the consumption technology in its context, and the media texts that are viewed.

Still, as mentioned in the introduction, current media landscapes are even more complex. It is not about a single technology anymore. Multiple devices, basically affording similar things, allow the playback of the same digital media texts. And to make matters even more complex, these technologies are scattered throughout various spaces, and perhaps even used across spaces. The detachment of technologies and spaces further complicates the balance issue between text and context. Hartmann (2006) goes one step further and re-proposes a triple articulation concept, distinguishing between (a) media as an object, (b) media as a text, and (c) media as a context. In other words, this concerns what is on the screen, what kind of screen it is, and where the screen is located in terms of spatial and social environment. Although its conceptual validity is not substantially questioned, questions concerning its practical relevance persist (Livingstone, 2007). This issue was empirically addressed by my colleagues and me (Courtois, Mechant, Paulussen, & De Marez, 2012). Inquiring into the media consumption of teenagers, we found that the meanings of technological objects and socio-spatial contexts of consumption interact independently with the meaning of texts. For example, we noticed how teenagers would rather play shooter games in the private bedroom on their game console, while in the shared living room, they would resort to more socially accepted games. Other instances concern the meaning of using multiple devices to consume music in the private bedroom: music television to get acquainted with new songs, a computer to search and download them, and a mobile phone to listen to that downloaded content. These findings aptly illustrate the changing roles of

technology, and their socio-spatial encapsulation in everyday life, bringing about myriad variations in how media texts are now consumed. However, in later research (Courtois, Verdegem, & De Marez, In press), we narrowed our focus by concentrating on audiovisual media consumption. We devised and tested a generic qualitative card-sorting methodology to empirically test the triple articulation concept. In essence, this method forces participants to reflect on what variations within a specific articulation (object, text, social/spatial context) means when all other articulations are held constant. For instance, we would inquire whether (and if so, why) there is a difference between using a computer or a television set to watch the news on your own in the living room. This example probes the independent contribution of technology to the meaning of media consumption. Likewise, variations in text and socio-spatial context were tested. We were inclined to conclude that all variations at least have the potential to make a difference in audiovisual media consumption, especially for diffused audiences in media-drenched environments. This causes us to question openly the meaning of 'television' and encourage further research to adopt an agnostic stance towards audiovisual consumption, because television has become an ambiguous concept that could refer to various constellations of technology, specific content, or a socio-spatial environments.

Aligning the two paradigms

So far I have discussed the histories and developments of two distinct paradigms. On the one hand we notice how the prominent U-and-G tradition has led to a wide body of quantitative empirical research, although various flaws have been identified. These have been partly addressed by theories of U-and-G, especially the socio-cognitive interpretation, which relaxes the assumption of a constantly deliberative media consumer by incorporating the notion of media habits. Still, the meanings of texts, and their relations with the social and cultural environment have been left out, which leads to an audience model without a notion of the construction of text or context (Livingstone, 1998). What U-and-G does, is provide a general, albeit informative overview of the psychological motives to consume media, while holding an agnostic view on whether the gratification is derived from media texts, the exposure to media as such and/or the environment in which consumption takes place. As a matter of fact, these three aspects of media were historically explicitly mentioned as sources of gratification (Katz, et al., 1974; notice the link with the triple articulation concept). Basically, what a proper U-and-G study does, is sketch a *broad map* of media consumption based on larger samples, statistically probing reliable contingencies and patterns. Although it serves as an interesting starting point in discovering audience structures, it lacks depth in terms of making sense of the meaning-making process of media consumers.

This problem has been addressed by the reception tradition that evolved from a rather narrow stance on how individuals make sense of media texts towards richer frameworks of contextualized interpretations of media. In our view, the domestication perspective is especially valuable because it explicitly acknowledges the role of technology,

contextual encapsulations and negotiated meanings of texts. By drawing upon in-depth qualitative, and in some cases ethnographic accounts, domestication scholars (although they not always presented them as such) have been able to accomplish, at least to a considerable extent, a *detailed understanding* of the meanings of media consumption on the micro-scale of the domestic.

What we basically have here, are two perspectives within the two discussed paradigms (i.e. a socio-cognitive view on uses-and-gratifications and domestication), each with a social-constructivist ontology that deal with the question how and why media are consumed. In essence, both perspectives treat media consumption as a social learning process. People are gradually exposed to models of media consumption, through their very own experience, the people they live with and mass-mediated experiences. Furthermore, both address the issue of building habits or routines, and how they are installed. However, the differences are apparent, especially in terms of epistemology. Whereas the socio-cognitive approach adopts an objective stance, reception and domestication specifically holds a subjective position. In the former case, researchers maintain a separation between their objects of study, aiming to explain social phenomena based on causal relationships. The ultimate goal is to accumulate knowledge, so others could further build upon it. The latter position however, entails an inquiry *from the inside* through in-depth (ethnographic) accounts and reports of social actors. The idea is to understand social phenomena based on situated knowledge, and develop emergent and local understandings of social life.

Then the question remains why it would be productive to combine - not mix - both paradigms and their research methods. As argued, the socio-cognitive approach to U-and-G allows us to sketch a broad picture of the interface of psychological motives and the weight of habit in media consumption. It supports the statistical analysis of large samples and allows us to identify and investigate dimensions of audiovisual audiences. In other words, it points to interesting patterns and hence cases, however not transcending the relatively superficial, explanatory level. That is where it makes sense to engage in more focused, deeper-digging forms of research oriented at understanding, i.e. the domestication framework and its methods. Still, there is an unaddressed complexity concerning the unit of analysis. In the U-and-G perspective, it is ultimately the individual, whereas in the domestication perspective it should ideally be the household, transcending the mere sum of its members. Although I feel inclined to agree with the idea of going beyond the individual entity, it is necessary to point out that such an endeavor has proven hard to practically accomplish (Morley, 1992). A reasonable partial solution would be to stick to the individuals, but gather as much information as possible on household dynamics through these informants. In essence, what I aim to accomplish links in with Schrøder's (1999) idea of drawing maps on different scales (see **Figure 1**). Statistical data analysis affords a broad, yet fuzzy map that indicates where interesting regions are found. These regions are then covered by in-depth qualitative accounts that provide with detailed information on specific areas of interest. In epistemological terms, researchers keep a distance when identifying top-level patterns, i.e. social phenomena (objectivist stance). Subsequently, they select a

limited set of relevant patterns, and get emerged in these social phenomena by inquiring them from within (subjectivist stance).

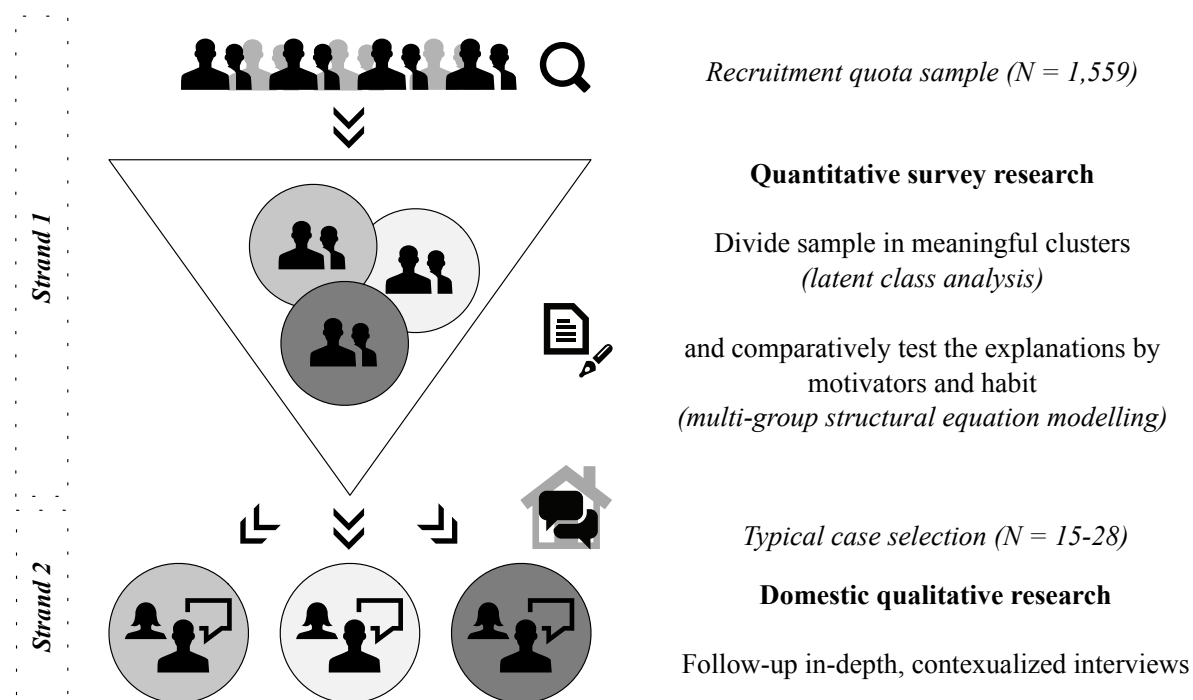


Figure 1: Schema of the applied two-strand mixed method framework

A mixed method framework

Until now I addressed the conceptual similarities and dissimilarities of two distinct paradigms, arguing that they are potentially complimentary. Yet, this needs to be translated into a meticulous research design. In that sense, let us reprise the original research question, that confines to research how and why audiovisual media consumption is changing in the context of convergence.

The large, fuzzy map

Following the maps metaphor, my first aim was to generate a general overview of the problematic by administering a paper-and-pencil quantitative survey, based on a quota sample ($N = 1,559$), targeting three age cohorts: young adulthood (18-30yrs), middle adulthood (31-50yrs) and late adulthood (50yrs+), equally dispersed over gender. First, the respondents are introduced to the phenomenon of convergence by means of examples of how the environment has changed (e.g. emergence of Video on Demand platforms on the Web, consumption of audiovisual content on multiple devices other than the television). Next, they are invited to indicate how often they use a range of devices to view audiovisual materials (e.g. television, laptop, desktop, mobile phone), what kind of content they view (e.g. news casts, current affairs, films, sports, shows), in what spaces they view (e.g. living room, bedroom, while commuting, at work), and with whom they view (e.g. alone, with

partner, with children, with friends). Furthermore, the survey contains measures of the motives (expected outcomes) and habits of audiovisual media consumption (cf. habit-goal interface). I need to stress that following my earlier experience (Courtois, et al., In press), I felt the need to adopt an agnostic view towards audiovisual consumption. That is not probing a specific device, type of content or socio-spatial environment that is considered as specifically tied with the concept of 'television'. Because the purpose is to get a general overview, the respondents were requested to make a relative abstraction of what they viewed within the fixed reference frame of one and two days before the survey administration.

However, I distinguish between lean back and lean forward viewing styles, which could be roughly framed as distinct communication modes, reflecting what users actually do with a communication service (Hasebrink & Hölig, 2011). This heuristic distinction is borrowed from literature on human-computer interaction, and research on interactive digital television in particular (Ruy & Wong, 2007; Tseklevs, Whitham, Kondo, & Hill, 2011). The problem with technological convergence, not experienced by more classic accounts, is that devices can be used in both ways, pointing to different behaviors and experiences. Lean back viewing refers to a comfortable, dedicated and physically passive viewing position, as is the case when people make time to sit down for a longer period, and get immersed in what they are viewing. It closely links with how the television set has been dominantly used for a long time. On the other hand, lean forward viewing concerns a physically active, haphazard viewing style, e.g. just watching a snippet and then move on to a next, or some other activity. For example, a laptop could be set up in a comfortable environment to watch a film of about two hours in a lean back fashion (e.g. a sofa), whereas a movie trailer could be quickly accessed on that same device from a desk chair, while surfing the Web. In the survey, the distinction was aptly introduced and familiarized, both in text and graphical format at the beginning and in the middle of the questionnaire.

The procedure to analyze these data starts with testing three latent class models, one for each gratification source - or articulation. The idea is to grasp patterns in technology use, content consumption and the socio-spatial environment in which that consumption takes place. Latent class analysis is a probability-based technique of clustering, used to grasp latent structures in multivariate categorical data (Vermunt & Magidson, 2004). Similar to other clustering techniques, it generates internally homogeneous subsamples, while these are externally heterogeneous. A standard procedure is to iterate the analysis with an increasing number of clusters and retain the most parsimonious fitting model. In all three cases, a non-significant L^2 -value - a badness-of-fit measure - indicates a well-fitting model. For each gratification source or articulation, a three-class model proved most suited. These three models and their contents are described in Table 1. Nonetheless, there is a need to briefly summarize the major findings.

In terms of media objects, we notice three trends in the quota sample: (a) a conservative *status quo* where television is very prominent, (b) an *extension* of objects, in which high probabilities of watching television are combined with high chances of using

other devices as well, and (c) a pattern of *substitution* where lap-top computers dethrone the television set.

Next, when it comes to categories of media texts, we notice (a) a large class of *omnivorous* content consumers, who have high chances of watching various types of content, although news, human interest and soaps and series are most favored, (b) a set of viewers who single out *informative* content, such as news casts, current affairs and human interest, and (c) viewers who go for what usually makes up *prime time* programming: news casts and soaps and series. Still, at this point I wish to stress that this does not imply that they watch during what is considered prime time.

Finally, three socio-spatial context patterns emerge: (a) a rather conservative class of *unispaces, social* viewers who stick to the living room and tend to watch in company, (b) the *multispaces, solo and social* viewers, who combine watching alone with watching in company in various spaces, and (c) the *multispaces, solo* viewers, who are people that share high chances of watching alone in a bedroom.

In sum, the analyses show that a diversity of consumption modes has emerged. Yet, to draw the large-scale map, we want to know how these patterns relate to each other. For that purpose, a multi-dimensional scaling model was computed on the membership probabilities for each respondent in the survey concerning technology, content and socio-spatial context. These probabilities were treated as ratio-level data and a χ^2 -distance was used. The obtained model demonstrated a good fit with a very high Dispersion Accounted For (.95) and a low Normalized Raw Stress (.05). The model's graphical representation in Figure 2 offers an interesting overview of the data. Although there is a relatively large dispersion of classes in the common space, there are some remarkable consistencies to be noticed. In the right part of the plot, we notice a more traditional pattern of people using the television set, in an environment mainly dominated by familial living room viewing. Moreover, these respondents are most inclined to consume informative content, although the omnivorous pattern is not that far away. Further, the younger respondents, who seem to substitute the television with a lap-top are most closely associated with a solitary viewing in a room other than the living room; they tend to favor prime time content above the other consumption patterns. Finally, the respondents characterized by expanded technological repertoires also consume in the largest diversity of socio-spatial contexts, while being equally drawn to the omnivorous and informative texts consumption patterns. We learn two things from this analysis. First of all, relatively strong contingencies between object and socio-spatial classes exist: the conservative patterns combine (reflecting the constellation literature in the 1980-90's describes), next to solitary substitution and scattered extensions. Especially the latter finding is significant: it shows that in the field of audiovisual consumption, traces of ubiquitous use are present. The apparent opposition is prominent on the x-axis, which I label *progressive* versus *traditional*. A second finding is that this does not seem to stringently affect what people watch, as the content classes float around the object-text pairs. Finally, the y-axis seems to reflect the level of intensity: in the lower part, classes with high overall response probabilities are noticed (e.g. omnivorous text

consumption, extended technological repertoires and multiplex socio-spatial contexts), whereas in the upper part of the plot, less engaged patterns are found.

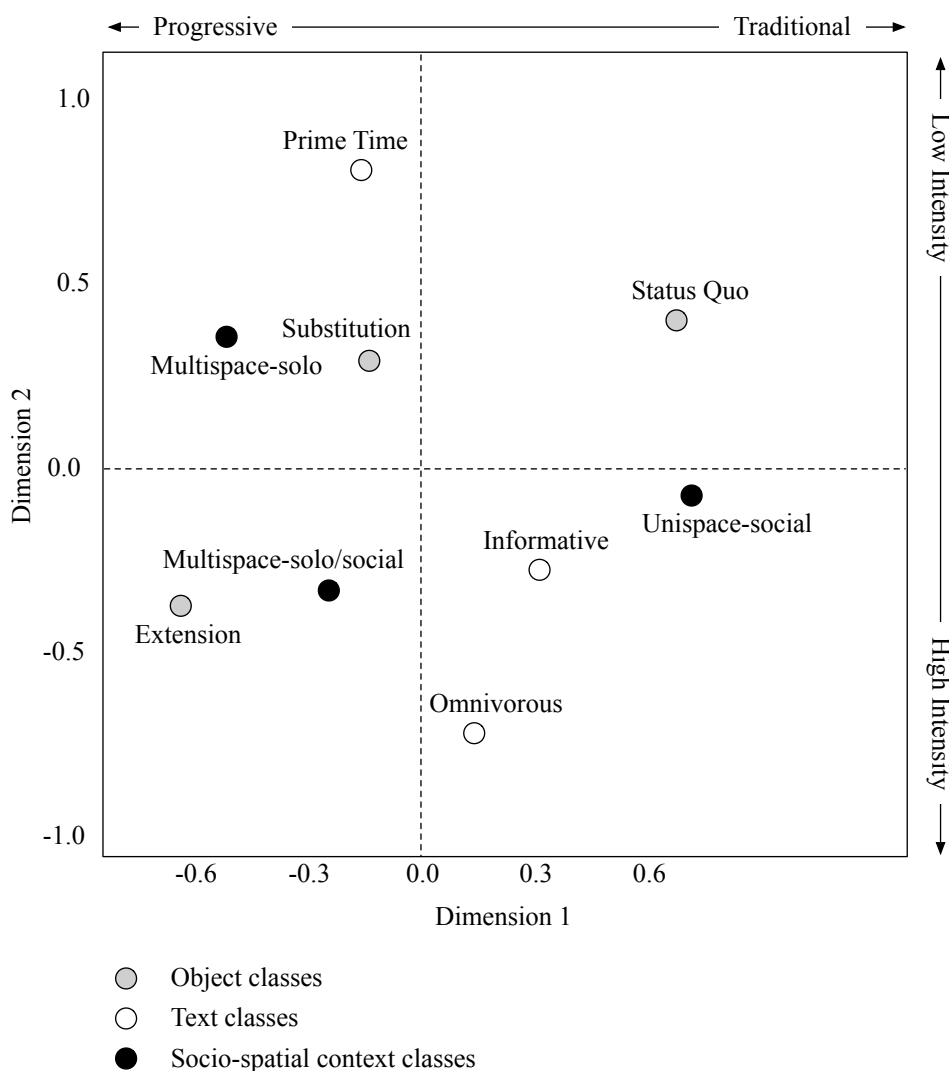


Figure 2: Multidimensional scaling plot of objects-, text and socio-spatial context patterns

Adding the first landmarks

As put forward in the research questions, the aim is to compare the extent to which explicit motivation and habit explain consumption frequency within all three types of distinguished patterns. To do so, two parallel structural equation models are specified: one per viewing type. In each, expected outcomes and habit strength are modeled as independent variables, and consumption frequency as a dependent variable (Figure 3). This model is tested for all three subsamples per gratification source or articulation. The idea is to compare for each type, e.g. technology, whether the different consumption patterns are differently explained by motivation or habit. This is accomplished by (a) constraining the measurement model per type, and then (b) computing an additional in which the paths from expected outcomes and habit to audiovisual consumption are constrained to equality. If the latter model would fit

significantly worse than the former (by means of a $\Delta\chi^2$ -test), we can conclude that the path estimates differ significantly. Hence, in such a case, one could conclude that either habit or expected outcomes is a stronger explanatory variables.

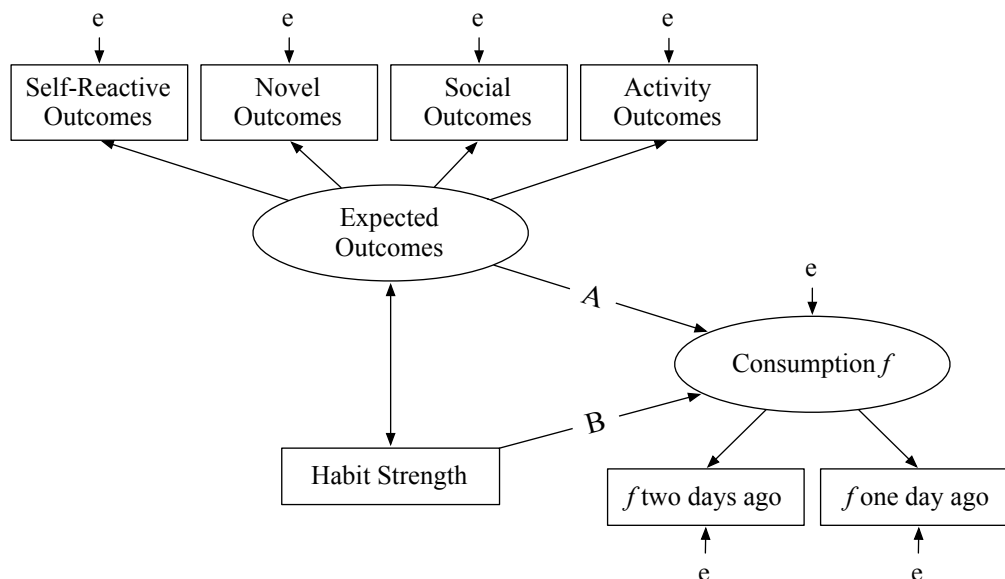


Figure 3: Specified structural equation model with the frequency of consumption (one and two days before survey administration) as a dependent variable, and expected outcomes and habit strength as independent variables (For operational measures, please consult Courtois, 2012; Courtois & Van Lier, 2012)

Each computed model demonstrated a satisfactory model fit. That is CFI and TLI values above .90 and usually even above .95, and RMSEA values below .08 (in some cases even below .06). This indicates that the proposed model fits the data well (Kenny, 2011), so we can proceed with interpreting the results. **Table 1** (below) sketches the results of the analysis. Per viewing type, it summarizes which independent variable significantly explains consumption, and mentions what factor is the strongest explanatory variable (if both are significant, and do not equal each other). What these analyses produce, are the first landmarks in making sense of the previously found patterns. Following the socio-cognitive perspective on U-and-G, a dominant explanation of expected outcomes would indicate conscious awareness, perhaps a period of transition, in which audience members deliberate their audiovisual consumption. A strong habit on the other hand points to ‘settled dust’, a state in which behavior is performed without much specific forethought. Of course, this is not a rigid dichotomy, so hybrid patterns, in which both factors equal each other, are plausible.

Class	Description	Factors for lean back viewing	Factors for lean forward viewing
<i>Status quo:</i>	- Very strong <i>p</i> of watching on a television set - Modest <i>p</i> of watching on a computer	Expected outcomes = Habit strength	Habit strength only
<i>Extension:</i>	- Very strong <i>p</i> of watching on a television set - Strong <i>p</i> of watching on a computer - Strong <i>p</i> of watching on a mobile phone	Habit strength only	Habit strength only
<i>Substitution:</i>	- Moderate <i>p</i> of watching on a television set - Strong <i>p</i> of watching on a laptop computer	Expected outcomes = Habit strength	Expected outcomes = Habit strength
<i>Omnivorous consumers:</i>	- Very high <i>p</i> of watching news casts, human interest and soaps/series - High to moderate <i>p</i> of watching films, sports, reality, (game) shows	Habit strength only	Expected outcomes < Habit strength
<i>Informative content consumers:</i>	- Very high <i>p</i> of watching news casts - High <i>p</i> of watching current affairs shows and human interest	Expected outcomes = Habit strength	Expected outcomes < Habit strength
<i>Prime time content consumers:</i>	- Relatively high <i>p</i> of watching news casts and soaps/series	Expected outcomes < Habit strength	Expected outcomes < Habit strength
<i>Unispace, social viewers:</i>	- Moderate <i>p</i> of watching alone and family of other generation - High <i>p</i> of watching together with their partner - Very high <i>p</i> of watching in the living room	Expected outcomes < Habit strength	Habit strength only
<i>Multispace, solo and social viewers:</i>	- Very high <i>p</i> of watching alone - Moderate to high <i>p</i> of watching with family members - Very high <i>p</i> of watching in the living room - Moderate <i>p</i> of watching in the bedroom, leisure room and at work	Expected outcomes < Habit strength	Habit strength only
<i>Multispace, solo viewers:</i>	- Relatively high <i>p</i> of watching alone - Small <i>p</i> of watching with other family members - Relatively high <i>p</i> of watching in the bedroom	Expected outcomes = Habit strength	Expected outcomes < Habit strength

Table 1: Latent class descriptions and audiovisual consumption explanations by expected outcomes (explicit motivation) and habit. The gray shadings in the table indicate similar expected outcomes - habit strength relations.

Dive into more detail

The prior findings derived from statistical analysis are the landmarks on the large map, broadly tapping into the psychological substrate of audiovisual media consumption. It unveils whether certain means of consumption are firmly rooted in routines, or are still (or again, due to re-negotiation) subjected to more specific consideration. However, keeping in mind the criticism on U-and-G, we must acknowledge that this kind of explanatory models does not inform us about the everyday practices that shape these patterns and their substrates: how can we understand routines, and the conditions that embed motivated media consumption? That is where an in depth analysis, guided by thick descriptions comes in to play. It is the point at which we as researchers need to immerse ourselves in the social

phenomena indicated by the quantitative results, in an attempt to make proper sense of them. This is where I draw upon the concepts and methods of domestication. Although various scholars have argued in favor of ‘true ethnography’, consisting of multiple contacts with a family, and participating in their viewing routines, I believe this was unfeasible in this particular case. Considering Lull’s work as exemplary in this matter, we are facing considerable challenges. First of all, as demonstrated, the audiovisual has become ubiquitous for a considerable amount of people, and has dispersed in terms of spatial and social environments. Joining a family during a very limited time span (a couple of hours), in a shared environment like the living room would hardly provide any valuable insights on the width of audiovisual consumption. We would likely miss out on individualized accounts of consumption at that moment, or at other times during the day. Also, such an endeavor would be extremely costly and time consuming. I think it is relatively more efficient to conduct a considerable number of domestic face-to-face interviews, rather than focusing on a handful of ethnographical cases. It provides the research with a sense of the environment, to get acquainted with family members and allows the interviewee to describe and demonstrate practices. I however acknowledge that this does not conform how Morley approached families, making less rich and more susceptible to self-reporting biases, although Morley himself agreed that it is very difficult to transcend the individual level, even in family discussions (Morley, 1992).

Following the earlier findings that each articulation, either the object, text or socio-spatial context has the ability to independently contribute to the meaning attributed to media consumption, and having encountered patterns that divert from the traditional television viewing setting, it appeared most productive to engage in three specific qualitative case studies, each focusing on a particular articulation type. In the following sections, I briefly discuss these studies’ methodologies and their results, in conjunction with the earlier statistical findings. However first, I need to elaborate on the sampling strategy used to pair the large-scale quantitative and small-scale qualitative research. One of the problems with pairing both strands of research, as mentioned by Schrøder (1999), is identifying corroborating results as triangulation, while neglecting contradictive results. This, I believe, is most likely due to a mismatch of the participants in the in-depth study. If the smaller pool of participants consists of outliers in the quantitative study, then they are more prone to offer a contradictive account. Therefore researchers should be meticulous in including interviewees, and always check their relation with the sample as a whole. In this particular case, one of the conditions was to have a substantial or even absolute probability to reflect a pattern class. Within the participants who fit this picture, I held on to the class’ initial demographic spread in terms of gender and age. Still, concerning socio-economic background (occupation, family situation), I strove for maximal variation.

Fitting in converging technologies

The first case study dealt with how people compile technological repertoires, building on the finding of three patterns: people who stick to what they know for a long time (*status*

quo), broaden their repertoires (*extension*), or displace the dominant technology (*substitution*). To inquire into the foundations of these patterns, I further investigated the quantitative results with domestic interviews, in which known adoption determinants (De Marez, Vyncke, Berte, Schuurman, & De Moor, 2007) were used as part of an attempt to inquire what aspects are most prominent in people's constructions of audiovisual technologies (Courtois, 2012).

For lean back viewing, I found that the extended pattern is only explained by a strong habit, whereas the other two patterns' consumption variance is accounted for by both habit and motivations. This makes sense because they are able to consume content at any place, at any time, without notable constraints. This is not the case for those tied to a television set. In talking to participants, it turned out that they have very strong pre-convergent schemata of media technologies. They consider a television for viewing, a mobile phone for text messages or calling, and a computer for e-mailing, consulting information and using office applications. For them, the television offers a pronounced superior viewing quality, is very easy to use so it does not require additional technological skills, and it allows for social consumption (although due to their social status in the family, they keep in charge). For example, Philip expresses the following:

Philip (48, M): I can't image a situation in which I would not use the television. I know that my daughter, and my son too, that they watch DVDs on their laptop. That's just not for me. I mean, you have a television, with a hard drive, a DVD player, a Playstation, a Blue Ray player. Why would you want to watch a film or series on your laptop? Except for when you're in a space without a television. My wife does that, when she's working out in her room, there's no TV there. There she has an old laptop to watch a DVD, but in my case, such situations don't occur.

The television is heavily rooted within their daily routines, they even have quite negative conceptions towards other technologies: they are considered gadgets without much added value for themselves. Hence, the perceived affordance (Norman, 2002) of relaxed viewing is limited to the larger screen.

Lean forward viewing is dominantly explained by habits. Further investigation led to the conclusion that this behavior is mostly nested within broader routine activities. Especially during Web browsing, participants report searching short video clips, or viewing embedded video snippets (e.g. in a news article or nested in a blog post). Still, this was much more emphasized by those who tend to substitute television with a laptop. As both viewing styles are prominent within this very same technological space, it is interesting to notice how both are intertwined. On the one hand, lean forward Web browsing, previewing content, would lead to a more engaged viewing. Later on, in a subsequent case study on socio-spatial context, I noticed how this switch is also accompanied by a rearrangement of the viewing environment.

Participants from both the extension and substitution patterns have convergent schemata on audiovisual technologies. That is the acknowledgement of media technologies as affording multiple activities, valuing them as elements in a larger constellation of linked or networked devices and actually using them in diverse patterns. This is most common for the extensions patterns: they have embedded various technologies in their lives: they have been accustomed to it, have quite some money to spend and have busy lives in which flexibility, also in consumption, is key. Otherwise, the substitution participants talk about their limited budgets, and willingness to get various contents for free (mostly through illegal downloads). Besides intensively using them for all kinds of educational or professional purposes, they see their laptops as media consumption hubs (including video), and are sufficiently satisfied with the quality it delivers, so they do not feel inclined to spend extra on a 'proper' television set:

Caroline (24, F): I think compatibility is very important. I can connect my laptop to every device: I connect it to my television; I can connect my iPod, my mobile phone... So these three devices that I use quite often, I can connect them all to my laptop, making it my most important device. I transfer photos from my mobile, and, something I do quite often, is connecting my laptop to the television, using a HDMI cable to watch a film in the living room...

Habit and audience activity

Having encountered three distinct content patterns, I further investigated how people compile those, and how they make sense of them through their daily experiences. In this case study, the much-debated notion of audience activity made up the core. By definition, a habit entails a decreased awareness and control. However, I found that viewing patterns strongly explained by habit do not imply an uninterested viewer. On the contrary, one could rather say that the opposite is true. When looking into the factors explaining lean back viewing, we noticed a strong explanation of habit, whereas the more a repertoire consists of news and current affairs programs, the more explicit motivation comes into play. In terms of lean forward viewing, we notice no differences between the distinguished patterns: all of them are strongly habitual, despite mild predictions of motivation.

During the interviews, participants were asked to indicate what content genres make up their day-to-day audiovisual consumption. Next, concrete examples were requested per category, and pasted on to the cue cards with post-its (Courtois, In preparation). The purpose was to be able to probe individual audiovisual texts that are relevant for the participants. Next, twenty cue card statements were presented on how these texts are constructed and how that is related to their everyday lives (i.e. selection, experience, meaning-making, consequences).

The findings were surprising in the sense that the omnivores, who were characterized by a strong habitual viewing, were engaged with what they see on the screen, despite the large diversity in what they see. This is exemplified by using topics in daily

conversation during and after watching, framing it in their everyday experiences, requiring full attention and evoking emotional reactions. For example, Annelies (25, F) has a broad pattern of interests; she explains how she gets sucked into various genres of audiovisual texts:

Annelies: I have that with films, and even sports. Yes, it's like I'm there, in the stadium, not so much the athlete him or herself, but I imagine myself as a supporter. Like I'm physically there. It also happens with news or current affairs, If they discuss an event, I often reflect on how I would react if I'd be there, If I would experience it. And, with documentaries. Well, not so much nature documentaries, but those that deal with societal issues, like Louis Theroux. That's about things that are really happening. Do you remember the one about the extremist Christians? [The Westboro Baptist Church] They're an extremist religious group that see disaster as God's punishment, like, they were celebrating the Tsunami, fulminating against gay people, or whoever said something positive about gay people. I then ask myself how I would react when I would meet these people, or what it would be like to be someone like them.

The omnivores reported quite rigid schemes of what they would view and when (e.g. right after dinner, until the end of the night). However, during viewing, they claim to remain attentive and even critical. For instance, during the interviews, they would discuss the dynamics and make-believe nature of the reality genre, disclose their ideas of what makes a good fiction series, and talk about discussions about specific news topics, etc.

These findings also held up for the other patterns, albeit much more focused due to the lesser diversity. In these interviews, the values of news content, or preferred fictional series were much more prominent. These texts were mentioned as a window on the surrounding world, but also as input for social interaction. In a similar vein, fiction was deconstructed in terms of identity: identification with characters, immersion in and reflection about story lines. Besides the scope, I noticed differences in how the audiovisual is rooted in everyday life, and how it is selected. In comparison with the omnivorous pattern, both others claimed that due to their busy lives, professionally and socially, they have to resort to more deliberate choices, and make use of technological means for time-shifted viewing. That is, their consumption is not allocated to fixed time slots, but is more ad hoc and draws upon more explicit consideration. They would talk about using electronic program guides to plan their viewing, having hard drives with series on them to watch whenever they had the time, or using personal video recorders to carefully plan their viewing experiences.

The role of context on the habit-goal interface

The final case study focused on the role of socio-spatial context in what is called the habit-goal interface (Courtois & Van Lier, 2012). Developing and maintaining habits requires a stable context. That is, an environment with consistent social, spatial and temporal cues (Neal, Wood, & Quinn, 2006). As mentioned, there are quite strong differences in the consumption spaces. For lean back viewing, younger respondents, regularly watching in solitude seem to be quite aware of their motivations. The others are much more driven by habits, although they differ in terms of spaces: whereas one pattern sticks to living room family viewing, the other is characterized by a diversity of social and spatial contexts. For lean forward viewing, again habit is a dominant explanatory variable, although motivations do play a role for younger solitary viewers.

The main question in this respect is how the environment affects building and exercising routines in everyday audiovisual consumption. The participants in this follow-up study were invited to draw a ground map of their homes, and mention any other place in which they would regularly view audiovisual content. Moreover, they were asked to sketch and describe their everyday life at the beginning of the interview, explicitly indicating where and with whom they would perform what activity. Finally, audiovisual consumption routines were mapped onto these accounts, while these spaces were further probed for their meanings.

The results show that the more conservative living room family viewers strongly adhere to family values, and consider the living room as the one and only logical place for this much-appreciated joint activity, a routine that furnishes familial sociability. The parents who fit this profile, especially those with younger children, explicitly told how they try to discourage scattered viewing, both by implicit and explicit rule making. On the contrary, the younger solitary viewers appeared more deliberative. During the interviews, it showed how they experience mixed feelings: on the one hand they like family viewing, and sharing the activity in a comfortable setting, while on the other hand they also want to choose what they watch and guard their privacy. Valerie aptly summarizes:

Valerie (20, F): The living room's major attractor is that it's homely; my parents watch here [the living room]. It is also something that is printed into us; it's a family value. Watching together with my [younger] brother, in his room is something recent, but then I'm in his personal space. I don't feel like an intruder, but it is a different feeling. I would never watch there without him. Here that's different because it's a shared space. Then again, with him it is different, a brother-sister thing, without the parents. Just the two of us, which gives me the feeling to be closer to him, to do the things he likes. Here, it's more general, depending on what everyone likes. In my own room, it's very personal, the things I want to see, the series I want to watch and of course also other stuff like my e-mail, Facebook ... things the other family members have no business with.

In practice, these youngsters actively try to reconfigure their bedrooms so it would contain typical living room cues: they would rearrange their beds or get a couch, place their laptops on a coffee table, etc. The latter also helps to understand why motivation plays a role in lean forward viewing. The interviewees claim they would first browse for appropriate content, and then shift to a more comfortable position for extended viewing. People from other patterns would only report coincidental lean forward viewing, as part of a larger routine. Finally, the mid-position: those who combine watching alone with shared viewing, and appropriate multiple spaces explained how they would consider multiple spaces as suitable. They have generalized living room cues to other contexts, and do not mind watching alone sometimes, as they claim it is something they need (*'me-time'*), and that was learned before even in their teenage years, when they would have a private television set in their bedrooms.

Discussion

In this article, I have sketched two opposite traditions in audience research, one rooted in a response to the other. Rather than being forced to choose sides, I aimed to seek a means to meaningfully combine the strengths of both perspectives. This was supported by earlier expressions of seeming compatibility, and regret at not accomplishing a *modus vivendi*. After sketching the genesis and evolution of both paradigms, I decided to draw upon the map metaphor to propose and test a double strand mixed method design. In a first phase, patterns of technology use, content consumption and environmental context were identified.

In a second phase, these patterns were studied in depth, in order to understand their nature. I found that the traditional configuration of the family gathered around the television set, as studied by Lull (1990) and Morley (1986) still holds up, especially for the relatively older generation. Moreover, their classic findings concerning sociability and jointly negotiated experiences were confirmed. What is more interesting, are the other two encountered patterns. On the one hand, youngsters demonstrate how they individualize their viewing, not necessarily depending on the television set any longer. This corroborates accounts of declining viewer rates, and the difficulty of enticing younger people to consume linear broadcast content. However, before announcing the death of broadcast television, one must acknowledge the third distinguished pattern, which holds the middle between both described structures. I found that younger adults do employ the largest diversity in technologies, and that they combine both family viewing and solitary viewing. They learned this when they were younger, and were in the life stage of our solitary-viewing, substituting respondents.

Finally, the existence of media-rich bedrooms - especially in terms of multiple screens - is not a novel phenomenon (Livingstone, 2002). Nevertheless, it is interesting to encounter participants who used to be in this situation, but renegotiated their positions as they entered new life stages in which the moral economy of their homes radically changed:

they were no longer subjected to parental rules, nor did they experience the complete autonomy of the private bedroom. As they engaged in long-term romantic relations, and perhaps even got children, they revalued familial experience from another perspective. Nevertheless, the stage of autonomous viewing left traces, which led them to be more receptive of alternative means of consumption in terms of technologies and socio-spatial environment.

I also encountered interesting results on content consumption. There seems to be a considerable variety in choices, and apart from prime time content, this variety is hard to pin down on a specific technology-context pair. These patterns engage all in active constructions of audiovisual media texts, informed by their identity and day-to-day (social) experiences. However, those who demonstrate the most variation in content consumption, are also most habit prone. In other words: people who show the least deliberation, are the most engaged in a diverse, everyday viewing. This is a violation of U-and-G's core assumption of active deliberation, as criticized by numerous scholars. Hence, this emphasizes the merit of the socio-cognitive perspective, and stresses the need of relaxing U-and-G's basic assumptions.

These insights could not be obtained by choosing one or the other paradigm and its methods. In this case: one plus one equals more than two. It allowed us to elaborate on the superficial, though informative gratification findings, by digging deeper in the three distinguished gratification sources, or articulations in domestication terms. It allowed us to grasp and frame constructions of technology, the sense making of texts and the role of rapidly changing everyday environments. I believe this paper aptly demonstrates the merit of the proposed inter-paradigmatic approach, coupled with a mixed method research design. It does not merely combine quantitative and qualitative, but actively sought synergies and explored how these can reinforce each other. In future research, the quantitative modeling could however be further extended, while informed by previous qualitative findings. Furthermore, there is a need to explore the means to model household dynamics in order to overcome the problematic individual nature of the applied methods. One feasible option might be to include family variables on a higher level in the statistical modeling.

In conclusion, this article has sought to address the current cross-media question in audience research, with respect to audiovisual media consumption. Not only does it inform practitioners about current changes in audience practices, it also has relevance at theoretical and methodological levels. My aim was to explore how we might encompass two strong traditional paradigms, to show how to productively merge these compatible methodologies in an integrated framework, and to demonstrate how this leads to a novel and rich account of a traditionally focal topic in audience research, at the same time intending to contribute to a better mutual understanding and appreciation within the field of audience research, and perhaps bringing two seemingly different worlds closer together.

Biographical Note:

Cédric Courtois is a researcher at the iMinds research group for Media and ICT (www.mict.be), at Ghent University, Belgium. His research interests include digital media consumption, online prosuming, and youth and new media. Moreover, he has a special interest in methodological innovation, especially in the field of mixed-method media research. Contact: cedric.courtois@ugent.be.

References:

- Abercrombie, N., & Longhurst, B. (1998). *Audiences*. London: Sage.
- Alasuutari, P. (2002). Three phases of reception studies. In D. McQuail (Ed.), *McQuail's Reader in Mass Communication Theory*. London: Sage.
- Bandura, A. (1986). *Social Foundations of Thought and Action*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Bandura, A. (1994). *Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of Control*. New York: Freeman.
- Blumler, J. G. (1979). The Role of Theory in Uses and Gratifications Studies. *Communication Research*, 6(1), 9-36.
- Blumler, J. G., & Katz, E. (1974). Foreword. In J. G. Blumler & E. Katz (Eds.), *The Uses of Mass Communications*. London: Sage Publications.
- Carey, J. W., & Kreiling, A. L. (1974). Popular Culture and Uses and Gratifications: Notes Toward an Accommodation. In J. G. Blumler & E. Katz (Eds.), *The Uses of Mass Communications*. London: Sage Publications.
- Chon, B. S., Choi, J. H., Barnett, G. A., Danowski, J. A., & Joo, S. H. (2003). A Structural Analysis of Media Convergence: Cross-Industry Mergers and Acquisitions in the Information Industries. *Journal of Media Economics*, 16(3), 141-157.
- Courtois, C. (2012). *The Composition and Role of Convergent Technology Repertoires in Audiovisual Media Consumption*. Paper presented at the EuroITV 2012.
- Courtois, C. (In preparation). Audience activity and habit in audiovisual media consumption. (*Manuscript available upon request*).
- Courtois, C., Mechant, P., Paulussen, S., & De Marez, L. (2012). The Triple Articulation of Media Technologies in Teenagers' Media Consumption. *New Media & Society*, 14(3), 401-420.
- Courtois, C., & Van Lier, J. (2012). *Socio-spatial Context and the Habit-Goal Interface in Audiovisual Media Consumption: An inter-paradigmatic Approach* Paper presented at the EuroITV 2012.
- Courtois, C., Verdegem, P., & De Marez, L. (In press). The Triple Articulation of Media Technologies in Audiovisual Consumption. *Television & New Media*.
- De Marez, L., Vyncke, P., Berte, K., Schuurman, D., & De Moor, K. (2007). Adopter segments, adoption determinants and mobile marketing. *Journal of Targeting, Measurement & Analysis for Marketing*, 16(1), 78-95.
- Doyle, G. (2010). From Television to Multi-Platform : Less from More or More for Less? *Convergence*, 16(4), 431-449.
- Dwyer, T. (2010). *Media Convergence*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Galloway, J. J., & Meek, F. L. (1981). Audience Uses and Gratifications: An Expectancy Model. *Communication Research*, 8(4), 435-449.
- Haddon, L. (2007). Roger Silverstone's legacies: domestication. *New Media & Society*, 9(1), 25-32.

- Hall, S. (1973). *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.
- Hartmann, M. (2006). The triple articulation of ICTs. Media as technological objects, symbolic environments and individual texts *Domestication of Media and Technology* (pp. 80-102). Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Hasebrink, U., & Hölig, S. (2011). *What is the TV audience? The audience's perspective*. Paper presented at the Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies COST Meeting.
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence Culture: Where old an new media collide*. New York University Press: New York.
- Katz, E., Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1974). Utilization of Mass Communication by the Individual. In J. G. Blumler & E. Katz (Eds.), *The Uses of Mass Communication*. London: Sage Publications.
- Kenny, D. (2011). SEM: Fit. from <http://davidakenny.net/cm/fit.htm>
- LaRose, R. (2009). Social Cognitive Theories of Media Selection. In T. Hartmann (Ed.), *Media Choice: a theoretical and empirical overview* (pp. 10-31). New York: Routledge.
- LaRose, R. (2010). The Problem of Media Habits. *Communication Theory*, 20(2), 194-222.
- LaRose, R., & Eastin, M. (2004). A Social Cognitive Theory of Internet Uses and Gratifications: Toward a New Model of Media Attendance. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 48(3), 358-377.
- LaRose, R., Mastro, D., & Eastin, M. (2001). Understanding Internet Usage: A Social-Cognitive Approach to Uses and Gratifications. *Social Science Computer Review*, 19(4), 395-413.
- Livingstone, S. (1998). *Making Sense of Television*. London: Routledge.
- Livingstone, S. (2002). *Young people and new media : childhood and the changing media environment*. London: Sage.
- Livingstone, S. (2003). The changing nature of audiences: From the mass audience to the interactive media user. In A. Valdivia (Ed.), (pp. 337-359). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Livingstone, S. (2007). On the material and the symbolic: Silverstone's double articulation of research traditions in new media studies. *New Media & Society*, 9(1), 16-24.
- Lull, J. (1990). *Inside Family Viewing: Ethnographic Research on Television's Audiences*. New York: Routledge.
- Morley, D. (1980). *The 'Nationwide' Audience*. London: British Film Institute.
- Morley, D. (1986). *Family Television: Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure*. London: Routledge.
- Morley, D. (1992). *Television, audiences and cultural studies*. London: Routledge.
- Neal, D., Wood, W., & Quinn, J. (2006). Habits - A Repeat Performance. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 15(4), 198-202.
- Norman, D. A. (2002). *The design of everyday things*. New York: Basic Books.
- Palmgreen, P. (1984). Uses and gratifications: A theoretical perspective. In R. N. Bostrom (Ed.), *Communication yearbook 8*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Palmgreen, P., & Rayburn, J. D. (1982). Gratifications Sought and Media Exposure: An Expectancy Value Model. *Communication Research*, 9(4), 561-580.
- Palmgreen, P., Wenner, L. A., & Rosengren, K. E. (1985). Uses and Gratifications Research: The past then years. In K. E. Rosengren, L. A. Wenner & P. Palmgreen (Eds.), *Media Gratifications Research: Current perspectives*. London: Sage Publications.
- Radway, J. (1988). The changing nature of audiences: From the mass audience to the interactive media user. *Cultural Studies*, 2(3), 359-376.

- Rayburn, J. D. (1996). Uses and Gratifications. In M. B. Salwen & D. W. Stacks (Eds.), *An integrated approach to communication theory and research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Rayburn, J. D., & Palmgreen, P. (1984). Merging Uses and Gratifications and Expectancy-Value Theory. *Communication Research*, 11(4), 537-562.
- Rubin, A. M. (1983). Television uses and gratifications: The interactions of viewing patterns and motivations. *Journal of Broadcasting*, 27(1), 37-51.
- Rubin, A. M. (1986). Uses, Gratifications, and Media Effects Research. In J. Bryant & D. Zillman (Eds.), *Perspectives on Media Effects*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Rubin, A. M. (2002). The Uses-and-Gratifications Perspective of Media Effect. In J. Bryant & D. Zillman (Eds.), *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Ruggiero, T. (2000). Uses and Gratifications Theory in the 21st Century. *Mass Communication & Society*, 3(1), 3-37.
- Ruy, H., & Wong, A. (2007). Perceived usefulness and performance of human-to-human communications on television. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 24(4), 1364-1384.
- Schrøder, K. C. (1999). The best of both worlds? Media audiences research between rival paradigms. In P. Alasuutari (Ed.), *Rethinking the media audience: the new agenda* (pp. 38-67). London: Sage.
- Silverstone, R. (1994). *Television and Everyday Life*. London: Routledge.
- Silverstone, R., & Haddon, L. (1996). Design and the domestication of information and communication technologies: technical change and everyday life. In R. Mansell & R. Silverstone (Eds.), *Communication by Design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Silverstone, R., Hirsch, E., & Morley, D. (1992). Information and Communication Technologies and the Moral Economy of the Household. In R. Silverstone & E. Hirsch (Eds.), *Consuming Technologies* (pp. 15-31). New York: Routledge.
- Tsekles, E., Whitham, R., Kondo, K., & Hill, A. (2011). *Entertainment Computing*, 2(3), 151-161.
- Van Leuven, J. (1981). Expectancy Theory in Media and Message Selection. *Communication Research*, 8(4), 425-434.
- Vermunt, J. K., & Magidson, J. (2004). Latent class analysis. In M. S. Lewis-Beck, A. Bryman & T. F. Liao (Eds.), *The Sage Encyclopedia of Social Sciences Research Methods* (pp. 549-553). London: Sage.
- Verplanken, B., Aarts, H., van Knippenberg, A., & Moonen, A. (1998). Habit versus planned behaviour: A field experiment. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 37(1), 111-138.
- Webster, J. G. (1998). The Audience. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 42(2), 190-207.