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Traditional and Convergent Domestic Audiences

Towards a Typology of the Transforming Czech Viewership of Films and TV Series¹⁾

Introduction

For decades now, domestic viewership of popular audio-visual content²⁾ — and namely of film and TV series — is one of the prominent media-related activities firmly inscribed in our homes, in our family and individual everyday routines and rituals, as well as in our broader symbolic habits constituting our cultural capital and identities. In the Czech Republic, film and TV series reception is among the most widespread domestic content-related activities, with more than 95% of Czechs watching film and more than 76% of them watching TV series.³⁾ Recently, the role of television in domestic viewership of film and TV series has started to change along with domestication of digital and networked technologies. Dematerialized, digitized content — not tied to any specific material media object or distribution mean — and digital network infrastructures enable an existence of convergent media environments characterized by multiplication of distribution channels, reception interfaces as well as of particular reception practices. Moreover, part of domestic film and TV series viewers have extended or substituted television sets with other screens as well as television broadcasting and DVDs with online sources of content.⁴⁾

1) The research was supported by a project entitled “New and old media in everyday life: media audiences at the time of transforming media uses” (Czech Science Foundation, GP13-15684P).

2) Especially with the arrival of mobile media the notion of “domestic viewership” became slightly complicated as consumption of content partly lost its firm connection to the private place of home. However, I keep the term here in order to distinguish the viewership addressed by this study — the individual or family viewership practiced in private contexts — from the viewership linked with visiting movie theatres as institutionalized public spaces. The latter one is not in focus of this study.

3) Jakub Macek, Alena Macková, Kateřina Škařupová and Lenka Waschková Cisařová, *Old and new media in everyday life of Czech audiences: Research report* (Brno: Masaryk University, 2015).

4) Amanda Lotz, *The television will be revolutionized* (New York: NYU Press, 2007).
Jakub Macek, Pavel Zahrádka, “Online Piracy and the Transformation of the Audiences’ Practices: The Case of the Czech Republic”, in Darren Hudson Hick – Reinold Schmücker (eds.), *The Aesthetics and Ethics of Copying*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing 2016, pp. 335–358.

This transformation, which continues to take place, has been both empirically and theoretically addressed from several standpoints with particular emphasis on addressing, for example socio-spatial and temporal organization of content consumption,⁵⁾ trends in adoption of digital means of viewership,⁶⁾ or other more particular phenomena linked with convergent viewership.⁷⁾ However, the debate inevitably put into the focal point the viewers' convergent practices as one of the most striking markers of the new situation: the convergent audiences use content across multiple objects and obtain and re-circulate it through a wide range of distribution channels.⁸⁾ At the same time, the transformation partly revived the complicated and incomplete debate about the active or engaged character of audiences:⁹⁾ the convergent audiences are, on the one hand, described as empowered in relation to content and content producers both in terms of control over temporal and technological aspects of their consumption and in terms of control over their selection of the content they consume.¹⁰⁾

Nevertheless, the existing studies of the transforming Czech television viewership as well as other national audiences suggest that the actual picture of the new convergent and fragmented viewership is obviously not simple and shall not be treated as such.¹¹⁾ Firstly,

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- 5) Cf. Fien Adriaens, Elke Van Damme and Cédric Courtois, "The spatial and social contexts of television-viewing adolescents", *Poetics*, vol. 39, no. 3 (2011), pp. 205–227. Cédric Courtois, Frederik De Grove and Lieven De Marez, "The role of socio-spatial context in the habit-goal interface of audiovisual media consumption", *Poetics* vol. 45 (2014), pp. 1–18. Pires de Sá, Antoni Roig, "Challenging prime time television: Co-viewing practices in the Brazilian telenovela", *Convergence*, vol. 22, no. 4 (2016), pp. 392–407.
 - 6) Cf. Esteve Sanz and Thomas Crosbie, "The meaning of digital platforms: Open and closed television infrastructure", *Poetics*, vol. 55 (2016), pp. 75–89.
 - 7) Cf. Vilde Schanke Sundet, "Still 'Desperately seeking the audience'? Audience making in the age of media convergence (the Lilyhammer experience)", *Northern Lights: Film & Media Studies Yearbook*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2016), pp. 174–191. Jhih-Syuan Lin, Yongjun Sung and Kuan-Ju Chen, "Social television: Examining the antecedents and consequences of connected TV viewing", *Computers in Human Behavior*, vol. 58 (2016), pp. 171–178. Yu-Kei Tse, "Television's changing role in social togetherness in the personalized online consumption of foreign TV", *New Media & Society*, vol. 18, no. 8. (2016), pp. 1547–1562. Sherryl Wilson, "In the living room: Second screens and TV audiences", *Television & New Media*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2016), pp. 174–191.
 - 8) Nico Carpentier, Kim Christian Schröder and Lawrie Hallet, *Audience Transformations: Shifting Audience Positions in Late Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2014). Alexander Dhoest and Nele Simons, "Still 'Watching' TV? The Consumption of TV Fiction by Engaged Audiences", *Media & Communication*, vol. 4, no. 3 (2016), pp. 176–184. Karol Jakubowicz, *Nová ekologie médií: Konvergence a mediamorfóza* (Zlín: Radim Bačuvčík – VeRBuM, 2013). Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: NYU Press, 2006).
 - 9) Sonia Livinstone, "Active audiences? The debate progresses but is far from resolved", *Communication Theory*, vol. 25, no. 4 (2015), pp. 439–446. Vilde Schanke Sundet and Espen Ytreberg, "Working notions of active audiences: Further research on the active participant in convergent media industries", *Convergence*, vol. 15, no. 4 (2009), pp. 383–390.
 - 10) Carpentier et al., *Audience Transformations: Shifting Audience Positions in Late Modernity*.
 - 11) Dhoest and Simons, "Still 'Watching' TV? The Consumption of TV Fiction by Engaged Audiences"; Macek and Zahrádka, "Online Piracy and the Transformation of the Audiences' Practices: The Case of the Czech Republic". Jakub Macek, *Média v pohybu: K proměně současných mediálních public* (Brno: MUNI Press, 2015); Irena Reifová, "Ontological Security in the Digital Age: The Case of Elderly People Using New Media", Leif Kram, Nico Carpentier et al. (eds.), *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe* (Bremen: edition lumière, 2014), pp. 153–161; Irena Reifová, "Not as we know it: televizní diváctví ve věku netrpělivosti", in Tomáš Dvořák (eds.), *Temporalita (nových) médií* (Praha: NAMU, 2016), pp. 103–136; Jaromír Volek, "Televizní publika ve věku digitální fragmentace" in Petr Kaňka, Václava Kofránková, Ingrid Mayerová and

not all current film and TV series audiences can be described as convergent and the traditional forms of domestic consumption of film and TV — historically dominated by reception through television broadcasting and by material copies of content — have not disappeared. On the contrary, television broadcasting keeps its position of the prevailing source of content.¹²⁾

Secondly, it can be argued that convergent practices cannot be simply and exclusively linked with new digital technologies as some domestic viewers have always been to some degree convergent, combining television broadcasting with other sources of content, from 16mm copies through VHS to optical discs.

Thirdly and similarly, part of audiences is prone to be active, socially engaged in their relationship to the content, which is explained by their cultural preferences and lack of having someone to share the experience of text with. At the same time, part of the audience is “socially passive,” both in terms of curation practices they apply and the gratifications they gain from watching film and TV series.¹³⁾

And, last but not least, the more engaged attitude to the audio-visual content has always been typical for socially and culturally privileged segments of the audience and it might be expected that, despite the optimistic expectations regarding the empowering potential of new media, this applies even to the new convergent environment.¹⁴⁾

This exploratory study of domestic consumption and curation practices by Czech film and TV series viewers intends to provide empirical evidence to reconsider the above formulated assumptions. For this purpose, the study draws on a survey of the Czech adult population through methods of cluster analysis and multinomial regression to formulate a typology of the contemporary Czech audiences as well as examine the distinct and constitutive characteristics of the identified audience types.

Theory

The term of media convergence, originally coined by Ithiel de Sola Pool in the early 1980s, describes the technological merge of media distribution channels,¹⁵⁾ and has gained a prominent position in the academic debate on the ongoing transformation of both media and their audiences. As the digitization of content and distribution channels reach to more or less all dimensions of media reception including production and distribution, the existing literature offers a wide range of various definitions and typologies of convergence usually acknowledging the fact that convergence processes affect not only technological

Martin Štoll (eds.), *Autor–Vize–Meze–Televize* (Praha, Bratislava: USTR – Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, Česká televize & VŠMU – Bratislava, 2015), pp. 31–50; Pavel Zahrádka, “Etika kopírování kulturních obsahů: Kvalitativní studie internetového pirátství v České republice”. *Iluminace*, vol. 28, no. 3 (2016), pp. 5–27.

12) Macek et al., *Old and new media in everyday life of Czech audiences: Research report*.

13) Macek and Zahrádka, “Online Piracy and the Transformation of the Audiences’ Practices: The Case of the Czech Republic”.

14) Jenkins, *Convergence Culture*.

15) Ithiel de Sola Pool, *Technologies of Freedom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

layer of current media environments, but even formal and textual affordances of media, the audience members' textual and broader cultural practices as well as organizational, market and regulation aspects of media production.¹⁶⁾ This study focuses on two particular dimensions of convergence referring to the audiences' content-related practices: on *convergent modes of content consumption* as opposed to the *traditional modes of content consumption*, and to types of *curation of content* (i.e. on selection of particular film and TV series) employed by convergent and traditional audiences.

For the purpose of this study and in line with Henry Jenkins' notion of cultural convergence,¹⁷⁾ I conceive the *convergent modes of consumption* as content reception based on the use of multiple sources of content and on multiple reception interfaces, for example, screens. While the *traditional modes of consumption* are typical for preference of one particular object and for relatively stable practices (employing usually television broadcasting), the practices of current convergent viewers are more fragmented regarding the set of involved objects and more changeable in time, and often they involve online sources of content and personal computers, laptops or tablets as alternative screens.

Regarding the styles of curation of content, I build upon Jiří Fiala's ethnographic study of online audiences¹⁸⁾ and on a more recent study of online piracy employing the same data set as this paper.¹⁹⁾ Curation of content, in this paper is conceived as a process of selection of particular content practiced by audience members, which cannot be reduced to employment of aesthetical competences. In the recent study drawing on audience ethnography, we have concluded "that choices of particular media content made by audiences are informed by what might be called textual motivations (related to 'purely textual' preferences of particular genres, narrative structures, etc.) as well as by contextual motivations external to such pure textuality, such as those related to respondents' everyday lives (available time, need for activities shared within couples, cultural capital forming the recipient's identity and taste)."²⁰⁾ Of relevance to this study, particular styles of content curation differ, among others, in whether and how and to what degree they involve a "social" or technological dimension.

Jiří Fiala focused on the way respondents select the films and TV series they watched — originally suggesting a distinction between *expert curation* and *social curation of content*. After a more thorough inquiry, a third distinct type of curation was identified — *data-consultation curation*. While *expert curation* draws on information provided by broadcasters and content producers (and received through television, magazines and other media channels), *social curation* includes "curation tactics based primarily on trust in recommendations from their social peers (from friends and relatives, from contacts on Face-

16) Jakubowicz, *Nová ekologie médií*; Jenkins, *Convergence Culture*; Karl Bruhn Jensen, *Media convergence: The three degrees of network, mass and interpersonal communication* (London: Routledge, 2010).

17) Jenkins, *Convergence Culture*.

18) Jiří Fiala, "Nelegálně distribuované video z hlediska mediální etnografie", *Mediální studia*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2012), pp. 60–75.

19) Macek and Zahrádka, "Online Piracy and the Transformation of the Audiences' Practices: The Case of the Czech Republic".

20) Macek and Zahrádka, "Online Piracy and the Transformation of the Audiences' Practices: The Case of the Czech Republic", pp. 341–342.

book and so on).²¹⁾ *Data-consultation curation* then “centrally involves the use of online databases such as IMDb, or its regional equivalents — Czech audience members mostly used the domestic databases ČSFD and FDB.”²²⁾ In other words, while all three styles of curation of content inherently refer to aesthetical competences, each of them emphasizes specific technological dimensions (information provided by mass media in case of expert curation and online technologies in case of data-consultation curation) or social dimension (interactions with one’s peers in case of social curation) and draws on distinct practices. Obviously, expert curation of content is expected to be more typical for traditional reception of broadcasting media whereas social curation and data-consultation curation are expected to be linked with convergent modes of consumption.

Besides that, type and intensity of preferred curation mode might be seen as an indicator of engagement with content. In contrast to expert curation based on mass-communited flow of information pre-structured by strategic actors, social curation and data-consultation curation represent a more active engagement with content based on tactical agency bypassing or avoiding the strategic actors. Social curation draws on existence of social interactions surrounding film and TV series reception and, therefore, on social forms of engagement stemming from socially shared and negotiated taste; data-consultation curation combining searches in databases and, eventually, participation in folksonomies and as such it also can be seen as more active, tactical form of content selection when compared to expert curation.

Employing the distinction between traditional and convergent modes of consumption on the one hand and the conceptual triplet of expert, social, and data-consultation curation implicating difference between passive and engaged audiences, the first research question is:

- RQ1: What types of media audiences comprising the traditional/convergent and passive/engaged dichotomies can be identified?

The choices connected with the convergent style of consumption and with selection of particular types of content (cf. of film and TV series) are linked not only with technological and textual affordances of selected techno-textual objects (usually digital online media). As noted in the study focused on online piracy and post-TV practices, these choices are inevitably structured even by textual and extra-textual needs referring to socially conditioned cultural taste and preference.²³⁾

At the same time, media technologies taking part in convergent practices are currently in a position of technological innovation adopted unevenly across Czech society, and so it might be expected that social and demographic variables affect the diffusion of innovation process (variables such as age, social status or gender)²⁴⁾ play their role in distribution of the audiences’ traditional/convergent and passive/engaged characteristic. As the authors linked, for example, with domestication research notably and repeatedly demon-

21) Ibid, p. 349.

22) Ibid.

23) Ibid.

24) Everett Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 4th edition (New York: Free Press, 2010).

strated since the late 1980s, the processes of adoption of new media and related practices are complex and deeply immersed in many layers of everyday life.²⁵⁾ As such, these processes can hardly be satisfyingly assessed and explained with mere statistical description of presence or absence of certain innovation in certain segments of the population. However, as this quantitative study does not focus on the adoption or domestication processes primarily and as it examines a plausible indication that these processes are present in the field of film and TV series consumption, the choice of the simple notion of diffusion of innovation seem to be legitimate.

The second and third research question ask:

- RQ2: To what degree can be the distribution of the identified types of audiences interpreted as result of the ongoing diffusion of new media technologies?
- RQ3: To what degree can be the distribution of the identified types of audiences interpreted consequent to the participants' attitudes to films, TV series and culture in general?

Methods: Participants, measures and analysis

This study employs data from a quantitative survey of 1,998 participants representing the adult (18+) Czech population. Using computer-assisted personal interviewing, the data was collected between October 18th and November 30th, 2014. The survey sample was built on a quota model of the Czech population considering age, education, sex, and the size and region of residence. The survey conducted as part of a project entitled "New and old media in everyday life: media audiences at the time of transforming media uses" (Czech Science Foundation, GP13-15684P), aimed for a complex exploration of the media-related practices of the Czech audience with multiple items focusing specifically on domestic consumption of popular content, including film and TV series. As this study explores film and TV series audiences and not the general Czech population, non-viewers were filtered out so the final sample includes viewers only (N = 1,900).²⁶⁾

The analysis has a two-step design. The first step employs a hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward's criterion (Ketchen & Shook, 1996). In the second step, the cluster analysis was followed by multinomial logistic regression.

The cluster analysis is intended to provide a set of clusters, typology to consider the core differences between traditional/convergent and passive/engaged domestic consum-

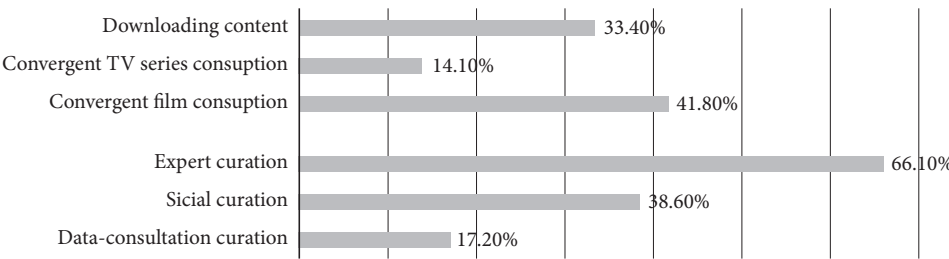
25) Maria Bakardjieva, *Internet Society: The Internet in Everyday Life* (London: Sage, 2005); Tomas Barker, Maren Hartmann, Yves Punie and Katie J. Ward, (eds.), *Domestication of media and technology* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2006); Roger Silverstone and Eric Hirsch (eds.), *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic Spaces* (London: Routledge, 1992).

26) Viewership of films was assessed by question "When we put aside visiting film theatres, how often do you usually watch films? No matter whether you watch them on TV, online or, for example, from DVD"; TV series viewership was assessed by question "How often do you usually watch TV series? No matter whether you watch them on TV, online or, for example, from DVD." Participants answering "never" were considered as non-viewers while the remaining participants are considered as members of film and/or TV series audiences in this study. Therefore, the study does not address any more nuanced typology of films or TV series consumed by the participants.

ers of film and TV series. Two types of variables enter the analysis: dichotomous variables indicating traditional/convergent styles of content consumption (*convergent film consumption*, *convergent TV series consumption*, and *online sources of content*) and dichotomous variables assessing the above defined styles of content curation as practiced by audience members (*expert curation*, *social curation*, *data-consultation curation*).

- The dichotomous (yes/no) variables of *convergent film consumption* and *convergent TV series consumption* were recoded from multiple-choice items asking participants about the objects used for film and TV series reception. The variables are considered as indicating presence of convergent practices even when at least one object other than a TV set receiving television broadcasting was selected by a participant.
- The dichotomous (yes/no) variable *online sources of content* indicates obtaining film and/or TV series from online sources. The variable was recoded from two multiple-choice items exploring the sources of content by participants. If a participant selected one or more of the statements referring to uses of online sources of content as true,²⁷⁾ the variable is coded as positive (yes).
- The dichotomous (yes/no) variables of *expert curation*, *social curation*, and *data-consultation curation* indicating practices of curation styles were assessed through a multiple-choice item “About TV series and films I watched within the last year, I usually learned...”. *Expert curation* is indicated as positive when the option “from newspapers, magazines or TV” was selected”; *social curation* merges answers “from friends or acquaintances” and “from social networking sites (such as Facebook, Twitter, etc.);” and *data-consultation curation* was indicated by an answer “on the internet from websites dedicated specifically to TV series and films.”

Figure 1: The variables entering the cluster analysis — distribution within the sample (N = 1,900)



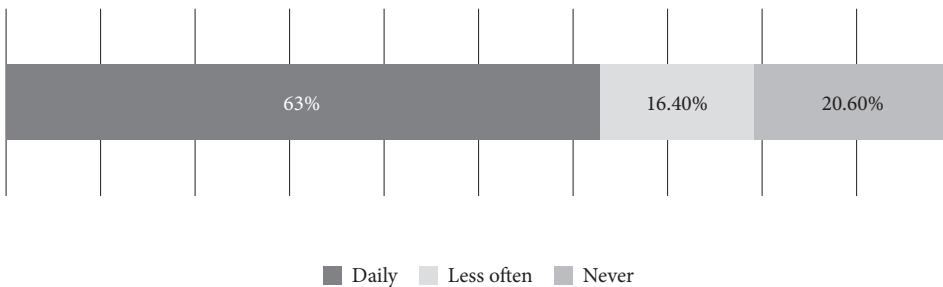
The clusters provided by the cluster analysis were, in the second analytical step, used as dependent variables in multinomial logistic regression. To explore the clusters more thoroughly, the analysis was entered by three blocks of variables considered for the purpose of

27) The statements were: “I download films / TV series from the internet,” “My partner downloads films / TV series for me,” “My friends download films / TV series for me,” “I watch films / TV series online for free (from YouTube or other pages offering the content online),” “I watch films / TV series online for a fee.”

the study as independent.²⁸⁾ the first block includes three basic socio-demographic variables (*age, sex, education*), in the second step two variables referring to the participants' uses of online technologies (*frequency of the internet use, use of social media*) were added, followed in the third step by three variables indicating the participants' attitudes to films, TV series and cultural issues in general (*importance of TV series, importance of films, interest in cultural news*).

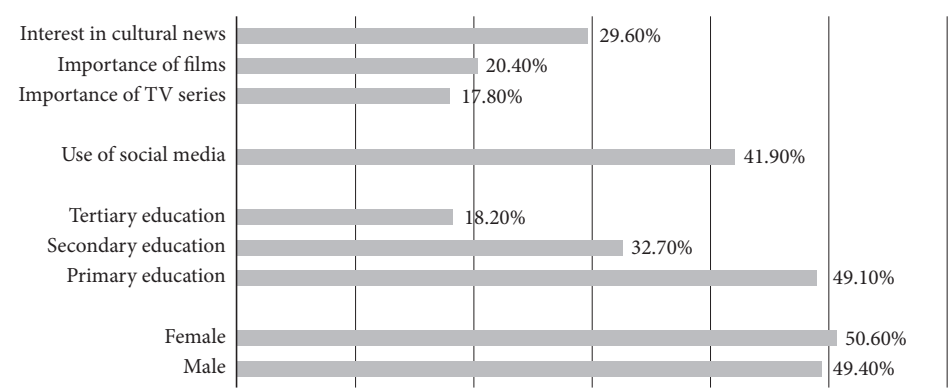
- *Education* was recoded into three categories: *primary education, secondary education* and *tertiary education*.
- Frequency of internet use (originally measured by a 6-point scale was also recoded into three categories): *daily, less often* and *never*.
- The dichotomous variable *use of social media* indicates active use of Facebook, Twitter or other social networking sites.
- The dichotomous variables *importance of TV series* and *importance of films* were assessed by a question "Which activities from the list you would personally miss the most? (It is not important how often you practice them.) Please select a maximum of two." Among other media-related practices (e.g. reading books, receiving news, playing videogames, etc.), the list included films and TV series. Both variables, recoded from the list, indicate participants consider films or TV series as important in contrast to other media-related practices.
- The dichotomous variable interest in cultural news was recorded through the following question: "You have said that you receive news. What types of news information are you interested in?" Participants would respond by selecting a particular type of news on a list.

Figure 2: Distribution of the "frequency of the internet use" within the sample (N = 1,990)



28) From one point of view, usage of new media and attitudes towards culture can be conceived as integral and inevitable part of viewership practices and, therefore, as not really independent variables. In contrast to this understanding, this study approaches both access and usage of technologies and cultural attitudes as analytically distinct from the participants' agency (and as potentially but not necessarily conditioning and structuring only some of the studied practices).

Figure 3: Distribution of the dichotomous independent variables within the sample (N = 1,990)



Limitations

Several limitations of the study should be taken into account as they affect conclusiveness of the findings. Firstly, the data set used in the analysis was collected in 2014, where data was obtained before the arrival of Video on Demand (VoD) services to the Czech Republic. Secondly, the single survey is unable to capture trends and, therefore, for more thorough understanding of the studied phenomena it needs to be followed by another collection based on identical measures and sampling procedures. Thirdly, the survey is limited to the Czech population, which restrains ambitions for broader, cross-cultural generalizations. Fourthly, the size of the sample does not enable detailed clustering that would be helpful in potential and more sensitive identification of subtypes of convergent as well as traditional audiences. Fifthly, the survey includes the adult population only and avoids adolescents; the resulting picture of the Czech audiences thus might be considered as incomplete. And lastly, indication of passive/engaged relation to film and TV series only through the styles of curation of content is inevitably limiting as well as it does not take into an account other practices such as active re-circulation and production of content or participation in knowledge or interpretation communities (e.g. in media fandom, in communities providing user-generated content or subtitles etc.). However, indication of these practices, presumably limited only to a narrow portion of the most active Czech audiences, was not included in the questionnaire.

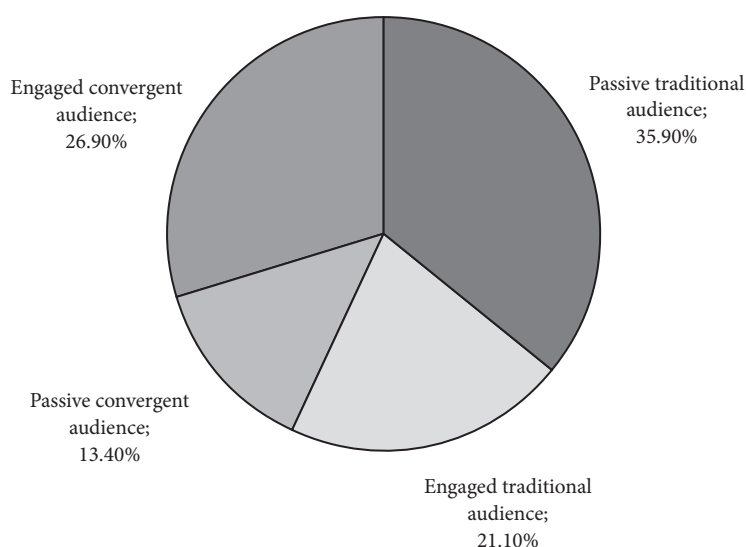
Findings of the cluster analysis

The first research question (RQ1) finds its answer in results brought by the cluster analysis. The analysis drew solutions consisting of 2–7 clusters out of which the four-clusters solution was selected as best fitting for interpretation (with resulting clusters distinctly differing both in consumption practices and content curation styles) and, at the same time,

with clusters still remaining large enough for further statistical examination.²⁹⁾ The four clusters are entitled *passive traditional audience*, *engaged traditional audience*, *passive convergent audience* and *engaged convergent audience* — and their distribution within the sample shows that in 2014 the traditional types of audiences still prevailed in the Czech population (see Figure 4).

The clusters obviously follow the two axes of analysis represented by the pair of groups of variables entering the cluster analysis, i.e. the variables indicating convergent character of the audiences' practices and the curation styles applied by the audience members. Firstly, in contrast to the convergent clusters, the clusters of traditional audiences remain by large intact to convergent practices (see Figure 5). Secondly, both the traditional and convergent audiences can be divided into socially passive segments relying on their selection of content to the traditional expert curators, and into socially engaged segments of interaction with their peers or with the online sources of data-based knowledge (see Figure 6).

Figure 4: Distribution of the clusters within the sample (N = 1,900)



29) For selection of the best-fitting cluster solution, clusters outlined by each solution were thoroughly examined regarding differences in distribution of the entering variables. The two- and three-clusters solutions were rejected as too rough for further analysis. In five- and six-clusters solutions, the cluster of *engaged convergent audience* split further into two and three clusters respectively. These new clusters differed mainly in distribution of types of content curation but only marginally in content consumption. Therefore, they were evaluated as insufficiently distinct and were considered rather as subtypes of the engaged convergent audience. Additionally, in the seven-clusters solution, the cluster of *engaged traditional audience* split in two with even lower variance between the resulting new clusters.

Figure 5: Distribution of the reception styles within the clusters (N = 1,990)

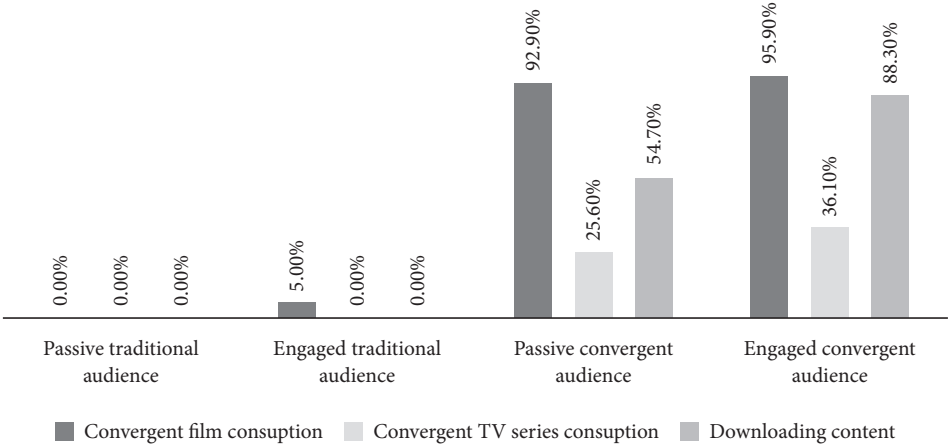
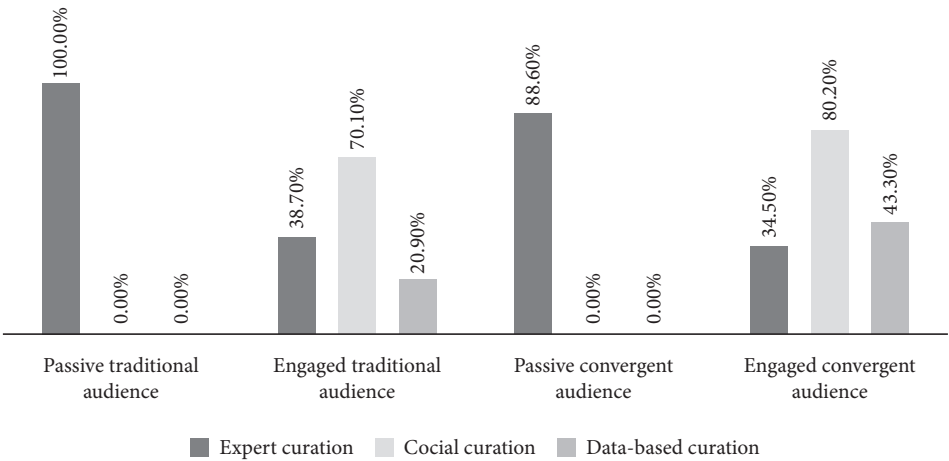


Figure 6: Distribution of the curation types within the clusters (N = 1,990)



Furthermore, it is useful to demonstrate other descriptive characteristics that were not directly included in the cluster analysis, as these descriptives reveal important differences between the clusters. These differences partly answer the second research question (RQ2) as they illustrate uneven distribution of mean age and use of particular media devices across the sample and suggest the presence of patterns typical for diffusion of innovation.

Firstly, when considering the mean age of each cluster, the two convergent clusters are made up of participants significantly younger than the clusters of traditional audiences, and the socially engaged clusters are significantly younger than the socially passive clusters (see Table 1). Secondly, a more detailed look at particular devices used for accessing and reception of film and TV series suggests that while television broadcasting is by far prevalent in the clusters of traditional audiences, it keeps a strong position even in the convergent clusters. Moreover, in the convergent clusters characterized in this regard by

use of more than one mean of consumption, we see major differences between consumption of film and TV series. Unlike TV series reception, film consumption is, along with television broadcasting, dominated by use of television screens combined with content bearers such as DVD, storage on USB or external hard drives.³⁰⁾

Table 1: Mean age

Cluster	Mean age	Std. Deviation
<i>Passive traditional audience</i>	55.34	15.628
<i>Engaged traditional audience</i>	48.24	15.921
<i>Passive convergent audience</i>	45.59	15.656
<i>Engaged convergent audience</i>	35.40	13.236

Note: The difference between Engaged traditional audience and Passive convergent audience is significant on level $p < .05$. The differences between the other clusters are significant at the level $p < 0.001$.

Table 2: Devices used for consumption of films

Proportion of participants in each cluster using particular mean	Passive traditional audience	Engaged traditional audience	Passive convergent audience	Engaged convergent audience
<i>TV broadcasting</i>	100% (a)	98.3% (a)	86.2% (b)	74.7% (b)
<i>TV via DVD player, USB etc.</i>	0% (a)	3.7% (b)	72.0% (c)	61.0% (d)
<i>Monitor connected to PC</i>	0% (a)	0.3% (a)	10.2% (b)	21.0% (c)
<i>Laptop or tablet</i>	0% (a)	1.2% (b)	20.5% (c)	35.5% (d)

Note: Each letter in brackets denote clusters whose proportions of use of particular mean do not differ significantly from each other at the level $p < .05$ level.

Table 3: Devices used for consumption of TV series

Proportion of participants in each cluster using particular mean	Passive traditional audience	Engaged traditional audience	Passive convergent audience	Engaged convergent audience
<i>TV broadcasting</i>	99.6% (a)	99.7% (a)	87.2% (b)	78.4% (b)
<i>TV via DVD player, USB etc.</i>	0% (a)	0% (a)	18.7% (b)	17.1% (b)
<i>Monitor connected to PC</i>	0% (a)	0% (a)	4.4% (b)	12.2% (c)
<i>Laptop or tablet</i>	0% (a)	0% (a)	7.9% (b)	26.0% (c)

Note: Each letter in brackets denote clusters whose proportions of use of particular mean do not differ significantly from each other at the level $p < .05$ level.

30) It is worth repeating here that at the time of the survey, in 2014, there actually did not exist legal VoD services enabling viewers to watch online content via smart TVs or similar devices.

Findings of the multinomial regression

The multinomial logistic regression delivers a statistical model reported here in three steps to identify which variables entering the analysis predict the participants as members of a certain type of audience member and how strong their effect is (see Table 2). The cluster of *passive traditional audience* plays a role of the reference category — i.e. of the initial category to which other clusters are related in the analysis. Therefore, the model delivers answers to the second and third research questions (RQ2, RQ3), as it helps to identify characteristics of the viewers increasing or decreasing the odds to move from the largest cluster of *passive traditional audience* to the other clusters. The following interpretation refers to outcomes from the final, third step of the analysis.

In general, the model clearly confirms the role of the age difference suggested above. In relation to the *passive traditional audience*, age decreases the odds for the remaining three clusters: 0.835 times for every ten years of age in case of the *engaged traditional audience* (OR = 0.835), 0.830 times for every ten years of age for the *passive convergent audience* (OR = .830), and 0.549 for every year of age for the *active convergent audience* (OR = 0.549). The older the audience members are, the more likely they will be part of the cluster of *passive traditional audience*, preferring to watch their films and TV series via television broadcasting and gaining their knowledge about the consumed content from the expert curation.

More importantly, the model illustrates the differences between the clusters and explains the variables indicating the audience members' online practices and their attitudes to content and culture in general. In this regard, the youngest cluster of the *engaged convergent audience* significantly differs from the *passive traditional audience* with almost every variable: the odds for the engaged convergent audience decrease with *primary education* (OR = .627) and with perceived *importance of TV series* (OR = .642),³¹⁾ and they increase with *frequency of the internet use* (OR = 2.174), *use of social media* (OR = 2.207), perceived *importance of films* (OR = 1.492), interest in cultural news (OR = 1.806) and, interestingly, with being a male (OR = 1.833).

In case of the *passive convergent audience*, the similar pattern is present though the observed effects are weaker and limited to a lesser number of variables: the odds decrease with *primary education* (OR = .583) and increase with *frequency of the internet use* (OR = 1.503), *use of social media* (OR = 1.700) and perceived *importance of films* (OR = 1.611). In contrast, for the *engaged traditional audience*, only *frequency of the internet use* (OR = 1.359) increases the odds.

Along with the aforementioned differences in mean age and in used media across the clusters, the answer to the second and third research question (RQ2, RQ3) is: The distribution of the identified types of audience is influenced both by variables indicating presence of patterns typical for diffusion of innovation (age, sex, adoption of online practices) as

31) In an alternative regression model, the variables indicating perceived importance of films and TV were replaced by variables assessing frequency of consumption of films and TV series. The alternative model and the actually used model were — due to close association of these measures — almost identical while the observed effects of frequency of consumption were weaker. Therefore, the decision was to use the variables on importance only.

Table 2: Multinomial regression — parameter estimates (N = 1,990)

Ref. category: Passive traditional audience		Step 1		Step 2		Step 3	
		B (S.E.)	OR	B (S.E.)	OR	B (S.E.)	OR
Engaged traditional audience	Intercept	.705(.255)**		-.646(.429)		-.710(.452)	
	Age	-.274(.041)***	.761	-.200(.048)***	.819	-.180(.050)***	.835
	Sex (Male)	.154(.129)	1.166	.117(.130)	1.124	.105(.143)	1.111
	Primary ed. (ref. cat.: Tertiary ed.)	-.086(.189)	.918	.087(.197)	1.091	-.047(.205)	.954
	Secondary ed. (ref. cat.: Tertiary ed.)	.131(.204)	1.140	.1169(.205)	1.184	.091(.210)	1.096
	Frequency of the internet use			.277(.093)**	1.320	.307(.097)**	1.359
	Use of social media			.075(.169)	1.078	.052(.175)	1.054
	Importance of TV series					.024(.175)	1.025
	Importance of films					.071(.177)	1.074
	Interest in cultural news					-.026(.152)	.975
Passive convergent audience	Intercept	1.220(.273)***		-1.513(.507)**		-1.733(.535)***	
	Age	-.366(.048)***	.693	-.200(.057)***	.818	-.186(.060)**	.830
	Sex (Male)	.053(.152)	1.055	.040(.155)	1.041	-.016(.169)	.984
	Primary ed. (ref. cat.: Tertiary ed.)	-.821(.199)***	.440	-.569(.209)**	.566	-.539(.222)*	.583
	Secondary ed. (ref. cat.: Tertiary ed.)	-.420(.213)*	.657	-.381(.215)	.683	-.367(.225)	.686
	Frequency of the internet use			.366(.121)**	1.442	.407(.124)***	1.503
	Use of social media			.583(.190)**	1.792	.531(.196)**	1.700
	Importance of TV series					-.227(.218)	.797
	Importance of films					.477(.196)*	1.611
	Interest in cultural news					.244(.173)	1.276
Engaged convergent audience	Intercept	3.448(.244)***		-1.455(.478)**		-1.791(.506)***	
	Age	-.861(.047)***	.423	-.615(.054)***	.541	-.600(.056)***	.549
	Sex (Male)	.612(.133)***	1.844	.598(.137)***	1.818	.606(.152)***	1.833
	Primary ed. (ref. cat.: Tertiary ed.)	-.832(.180)***	.435	-.468(.189)*	.626	-.466(.201)*	.627
	Secondary ed. (ref. cat.: Tertiary ed.)	-.187(.189)	.829	-.131(.192)	.878	-.163(.201)	.849
	Frequency of the internet use			.787(.127)***	2.196	.777(.132)***	2.174
	Use of social media			.746(.162)***	2.109	.792(.169)***	2.207
	Importance of TV series					-.443(.204)*	.642
	Importance of films					.400(.177)*	1.492
	Interest in cultural news					.591(.155)***	1.806
Model c2 (df)		457.040(12)***		1196.200(18)***		2306.921(27)***	
R2 (Nagelkerke)		.240		.303		.315	
R2 (Cox & Snell)		.104		.282		.292	

Note. B = Unstandardized regression coefficient. SE = Standard error. OR = Odds ratio. ***
 $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

well as by variables indicating cultural status of the participants (importance of films and TV series, interest in cultural news).

Discussion and conclusions

The typology of Czech audiences considering traditional and convergent consumption practices along with forms of content curation referring passive (expert curation) and engaged (social and data-consultation curation) attitudes to film and TV series implies several important factors.

Partly in contrast to Henry Jenkins' optimistic notion of convergence culture as inherently participatory³²⁾ and in line with Rob Cover's depiction of participation on text as culturally conditioned and preceding new media,³³⁾ the typology observed in this study complicates the clear connection between convergent consumption of content and audiences' engagement. The typology demonstrates that the engaged segments audiences are not necessarily convergent and vice versa. Though in case of the engaged convergent audience members a higher portion of viewers prefers the engaged forms of curation, it is clear that convergent practices cannot be easily mistaken with active approach to content consumption.

Similarly, the data illustrate that the aforementioned transformation of film and TV series viewership in the Czech Republic is taking part in contexts formed by and filled with practices drawing on television broadcasting. In this context, the convergent and traditional forms of consumption coexist, each being practiced by viewers with different characteristics and with different attitudes to consume content.³⁴⁾ At the same time, watching television obviously does not disappear from convergent practices, in fact, for the convergent segments of audiences, television becomes part of their convergent media ensembles. In other words, watching television broadcasting³⁵⁾ is not erased by the shiny new online technologies, but it is intertwined with uses of new media. Therefore, the new forms of viewership have to be assessed not as principal disruption of older viewership, but rather as its continuation by new means.

The multinomial regression further reveals other important aspects forming the current distinction between traditional and convergent audiences. The overall effect of age, level of education, and cultural variables on differences between the two pairs of traditional and convergent types of audiences suggest that for the Czech audiences, the transformation is not over yet. On the contrary, audiences continue to experience the ongoing process of diffusion of innovation and since the distribution of the traditional and convergent

32) Jenkins, *Convergence Culture*.

33) Rob Cover, "Audience inter/active: Interactive media, narrative control and reconceiving audience history", *New media & society*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2006), pp. 139–158.

34) Dhoest and Simons, "Still 'Watching' TV? The Consumption of TV Fiction by Engaged Audiences".

35) I certainly do not suggest here that watching television itself remains intact or unchanged. Even watching television is obviously and continually transformed — with smart TVs and HD image, broader scope of broadcasting channels, new recording devices etc. However, these particular changes were not assessed by this study.

cluster was more or less equal in 2014, we may say with some that the diffusion process reached recently the top of the innovation curve.

Moreover, the two convergent clusters — the passive convergent audience and the engaged convergent audience — differ from the two clusters of traditional audiences in their attitudes to film and to culture in general. Convergent viewers express higher interest in culture and they consider more often film reception as important to them. Indeed, this might be interpreted as an integral part of the diffusion of innovation interpretation. Concurrently, however, it is relevant to see it as indication of more universal cultural inequalities manifested through distinct cultural tastes and preferences: higher portion of secondary and tertiary education in the convergent audiences and the higher interest in cultural topics expressed by members of the engaged convergent audiences can be interpreted as an indicator of higher cultural capital of the convergent audiences in general.³⁶⁾

This interpretation could be supported by the interesting notion that in comparison to passive traditional audiences, engaged convergent audience members are typical for perceiving TV series as less important. This negative effect of perceived importance of TV series is potentially explained by the different cultural status of film and TV series, that is, the notion that TV series are perceived as low-brow content in comparison to film.

What does it say about the convergent audiences in general? In the mid 2000s, Henry Jenkins insightfully described the practitioners of the convergence culture as socially and culturally elite “early adopters,” as

disproportionately white, male, middle class, and college educated. These are people who have the greatest access to new media technologies and have mastered the skills needed to fully participate in these new knowledge cultures.³⁷⁾

To some degree, this still applies a decade later. This article shows that the convergent audiences in the Czech Republic remain constituted by rather privileged viewers, though the early adopters are already accompanied by the early majority.³⁸⁾ Obviously, if we discuss the culturally empowering potential of convergent viewership (and the moderate prevalence of the engaged forms of curation in the engaged convergent audience gives some hope in this regard), such potential is still in favour of those already empowered. But then again, as Henry Jenkins brightly noted in his seminal monograph which provided the term of convergence with a rich academic as well as popular life: “Don’t expect the uncertainties surrounding convergence to be resolved anytime soon. We are entering an era of prolonged transition and transformation in the way media operates.”³⁹⁾ The data suggests that he was absolutely correct.

36) Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 2006).

37) Jenkins, *Convergence Culture*, p. 23.

38) Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*.

39) Jenkins, *Convergence Culture*, p. 24.

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SUMMARY

Traditional and Convergent Domestic Audiences.*Towards a Typology of the Transforming Czech Viewership of Films and TV Series***Jakub Macek**

This exploratory study draws upon data from a 2014 survey of the Czech adult population, focusing on differences between traditional and convergent domestic audiences of film and TV. Employing statistical methods of hierarchical cluster analysis and multinomial logistic regression, this empirical paper considers traditional and convergent modes of content consumption, various forms of the curation of content, the viewers' attitudes to content, socio-demographic variables, and culture in general. On this basis, an evidence-based typology of Czech domestic audiences is formulated, suggesting four types of film and TV viewers: traditional passive audiences, traditional engaged audiences, convergent passive audiences and convergent engaged audiences. Consequently, the study looks for cultural and socio-demographic predictors of the resulting types of audiences.