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## Convergence in Domestic Media Use? The Interplay of Old and New Media at Home

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### INTRODUCTION: CHALLENGES OF CONVERGENCE IN AUDIENCE AND RECEPTION STUDIES

Even though it has been more than twenty years since Silverstone labeled “convergence” as a “dangerous word” (Silverstone, 1995, p. 11), the term is still problematic. It is not only too broad to describe the multiple meanings that make up the phenomenon (Fagerjord & Storsul, 2007; Liestøl, 2007),<sup>1</sup> but it often refers to the idea that technical change leads to social change as well. In our current mediatized<sup>2</sup> societies with online-capable media everywhere, this monocausal concept suggests that the use of television (TV), radio or newspapers via the internet—along with content that is not produced by mass media—is regularly practiced. However, does this assumption apply to social life? We argue that media use is far more complex. In this chapter we discuss how the implementation of convergent media use has taken place in the domestic sphere and how it interrelates with the reception of classic media.<sup>3</sup> For this purpose,

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we will illustrate how online and classic media were used in average German households in 2013. Contrary to public and academic discourse (Kleinsteuber, 2009), we do not consider the implementation of convergent media use as an automatism or a radical process. We assume that the transformation of using online media instead of classic media is proceeding slowly but steadily. Our aim is to scrutinize and illustrate the interplay of technological change and media use in order to grasp the meaning of convergent media use in everyday life.

The findings on convergent media use which we present in this chapter are part of ethnographically oriented household studies of 25 couples. Referring to this qualitative panel study on the usage of old and new media, we show to what extent radio or TV programs and newspaper articles are used online via the internet in German households. Thus, we analyze convergence from a user-oriented perspective. We are interested in the question whether domestic media use is transforming from an activity that is not conducted online to a predominantly online-based practice. In this contribution, we discuss under which circumstances such processes are initiated and established. Based on these considerations, we define “domestic convergence” as the online reception of content that originates from linear TV, radio or newspapers—those media that were formerly used via standalone analog devices—with the help of digital devices which are able to transmit audiovisual and written content.<sup>4</sup> We reconstruct under which circumstances classic media technologies are replaced and followed by online-capable devices and how online media have become an integral part of everyday media use. We share with Hasebrink & Domeyer (2012) the idea of analyzing media repertoires to understand the interplay of different old and new media in the household and their unique meaning.<sup>5</sup> It is not altogether easy to identify indicators for convergence as an empirical phenomenon in the domestic sphere. This field of technological development is changing rapidly: In 2011 and 2013, when we conducted the empirical research this chapter is based on, we decided to use the definition of convergence as described. Meanwhile, technologies and content are more diverse and the definition of domestic convergence is, therefore, far more complicated.<sup>6</sup>

In this text, we demonstrate that, so far, we have not observed an extreme shift in average German households to using TV, radio or

newspapers via the internet instead of via stand-alone analog devices. Convergent media use is still not common, but is developing.

### THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: GRASPING CONVERGENCE AS A USER-DRIVEN PROCESS

Audience research on convergent media use has been a desideratum for a long time, even though Silverstone (1995) argued for an integration of the recipients’ perspective quite early, stating that “consumers and producers” both shape convergence: “the futures of technologies are uncertain because the status of technology as culture is uncertain” (Silverstone, 1995, p. 13). As convergence was a new concept, the phenomenon did not gain much attention in academia until the late 1990s. Furthermore, the discussion about the implementation of online-capable media was often limited as it was dominated by “technological determinism” (Morley, 2006, p. 21). Media users were regarded as passively reacting to technological change and adopting new technologies without any of their own will (Wagner, 2011, p. 72). Therefore, research consisted primarily of quantitative studies on changes in media consumption, as this is one of the important research fields investigated by the “industry of audience measurement” (Hasebrink & Hölig, 2013, p. 191), in order to prove that digitization has an impact on media use. At that time, the idea that convergence might also be a user-driven phenomenon was simply not considered.

#### *Two concepts of convergent media use: Cultural convergence and consumption convergence*

Meanwhile, research on convergence has become more user-oriented as the qualitative field of audience and reception studies has also started to work on this topic (Hasebrink & Hölig, 2013; Hölig & Hasebrink, 2013; Wagner, 2011). We argue that concerning the current state of research, one can distinguish between two concepts to conceptualize convergent media use: cultural convergence and consumption convergence. Neither focuses on technology, but on changes that are initiated by the users. Nevertheless, they are aimed at different aspects of the phenomenon. The concept of “cultural convergence” (Jenkins, 2008,

p. 323) “means a shift in the logic by which culture operates, emphasizing the flow of content across media channels” (Jenkins, 2008, p. 323). Jenkins understands the appropriation of convergent content as an important aspect of convergence, as he is interested in “the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost everywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experience they want” (Jenkins, 2008, p. 2). He analyzes how people use online media to network, to participate and to collaborate (Jenkins, 2008, pp. 251–270). Jenkins (2004) defines three different modes of convergent media use: (1) using corresponding content via diverse media (Jenkins, 2004, p. 37; Bolin, 2007, p. 244); (2) participating in interactive media such as weblogs (Jenkins, 2004, p. 36); and (3) connecting with others as collective intelligence in order to solve problems or to demand something (Jenkins, 2004, p. 35). All those aspects might add to the usage of online-capable instead of analog devices, as they offer more possibilities to switch between different kinds of content and to produce content on one’s own. However, they do not explain completely why people decide to use online media instead of classic media, especially in the case where people do not use them as interactive, as described in Jenkins’s texts, but more in the way they used classic media previously. Furthermore, recipients are not necessarily solitary media users who simply follow their own interests, but social beings who use media accompanied by others at home. The second term, “consumption convergence” (Hynes, 2003, p. 1) is closer to our research interest as it concentrates on the question of how the domestic media equipment is used against the background of technical convergence. It describes “the simultaneous use and consumption of media technologies” (Hynes, 2003, p. 3) and, therefore, is more oriented towards examining under which conditions people use new technological opportunities to appropriate two media via the same device at the same time<sup>7</sup> and, thus, develop media practices that are different from media use that is practiced with analogue media.<sup>8</sup> The concept of consumption convergence refers to the idea that the home is a hub for new modes and situations of media use. That also makes media use a spatial phenomenon, as the usage of different media texts “occurs in the same location” (Hynes, 2003, p. 4). Thus, “one location in the home has become a type of hub for competing and converging media” (Hynes, 2003, p. 4). Therefore, the concept stresses the idea that domestic consumption convergence implies negotiating how classic and online media are placed in relation to each other.

*Analyzing convergence: From technological determinism  
to a user-centered perspective*

We share with Hynes (2003) the intent to analyze how changes in reception patterns are linked to everyday life. In order to grasp media convergence—understood as the interconnection of different texts over several media or the merging of technologies—we need to examine the conditions that lead to changes or persistence in media use. As “online-media are more than technical artefacts” (Kolo, 2010, p. 288), we agree they are “constituted during social interaction by their usage” (Kolo, 2010, p. 288). We imply that media users would not use different media via the same device if that does not fit into their everyday routines, media habits or interests. Thus, we assume that the meaning of technology is constituted by the coming together of technological potential and the users during appropriation (Peil & Röser, 2012).

Therefore, the key question is how the media users act in converging media environments and how they handle technical change and new technical opportunities as well as new possibilities of media reception (Hasebrink, 2004; Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012; Wagner, 2011, p. 70). Convergence might change media use and the domestic media repertoire fundamentally, but it might also have hardly any impact, as media users are “fractious” (Winter, 2001, p. 16). We consider the contexts in which online media are used in order to understand for which reasons media really converge in everyday life and why they are hindered.

*Analyzing convergent media use against the background  
of the domestication approach*

We refer to the domestication approach, as we are interested in the media users’ role in establishing the routine of using media content online that was formerly distributed by classic media. We regard the home as a meaning-giving sphere, which forms the background for media use (Livingstone, 1992; Silverstone, Hirsch, & Morley, 1992). Everyday domestic life represents an important context of media appropriation.<sup>9</sup> It is about allocating technologies a physical and symbolic place within the domestic sphere (Peil & Röser, 2014, p. 331). We are interested in the (partial) replacement of classic media by online media. Given this research interest, we concentrate on the use of media at home, such as the TV set, the radio or newspapers (and also the internet)

which are used predominantly alongside each other in the domestic sphere, where users create their specific media repertoires (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012, p. 758). The choice of one medium which is then used at a given moment is often made at home, where the whole range of media are available and used in relation to each other (Morley, 2003, p. 445). Thus, it makes sense to analyze the relatedness of watching TV, listening to the radio or reading the newspaper against the background of the home. Concerning the question of convergent media use, the home is assumed to be the place where people eventually decide to replace classic media by online-capable technologies, as most of the classic media devices like non-portable TV and radio sets are situated and have been used routinely for many years there. That does not mean that the home is the only place where convergent media use is performed, but it is the place where it is negotiated.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the home is an instructive environment for analyzing the circumstances under which people switch from classic media to a device that is connected to the internet in order to establish a media repertoire that perfectly meets their needs and purposes. The (potential) disappearance of classic media would become particularly visible in this sphere.

### METHODOLOGY

All findings originate from a qualitative panel study on “The Mediatized Home,” which analyzes how digitization changes the media repertoire which is in use in the common household (Peil & Röser, 2014; Röser & Peil, 2012). It refers to three stages of data collection in 2008, 2011 and 2013. The analysis is designed as an ethnographically oriented household study.<sup>11</sup> In this chapter, we concentrate on findings from 2011 and 2013.

We have interviewed 25 heterosexual couples in Germany who were living together in the same household. The sample is allocated by quota according to age and educational background. It includes three different age groups (the participants were between 25 and 63 years old in 2008, and therefore between 30 and 68 years in 2013) and two different educational groups (general/intermediate secondary school, high school graduation or vocational diploma). Therefore, the age span and educational levels of the participants are broad,<sup>12</sup> including a variety of different professions. On these grounds, the sample allows for an analysis of

domestic media practices of the broad German middle class. In order to get to know more about domestic media use, we conducted qualitative interviews, each with both man and woman together as a couple, as we wanted to get an insight into the relationship and interactions concerning questions of media use.

The study reconstructs how media—online and classic—are used in the domestic sphere. Convergent media use is part of potential changes in domestic media use, but was not one of the main research interests. It was, however, included in two major research questions of the project:

1. How have media repertoires changed after the integration of the internet into the domestic sphere?
2. What meaning is ascribed to classic and online media in terms of a general mediatization process (Krotz, 2009)?

We asked the couple in each interview to describe how they use classic and online media at home. If it was relevant to them, the issue was also broached regarding convergent media use and the reception of multimedia content. The couples explained why they used certain media online or why they continued using the classic version. Additionally, home site inspections revealed where classic media had already been replaced in the household. We implemented home site inspections in all stages of data collection, which included taking pictures of the media devices mentioned for documentation purposes.

The evaluation is based on “ethnographic household portraits” (Röser et al. 2017, forthcoming). These portraits present a written text which comprises a structured analysis of interview transcripts based on guiding research questions. Those questions, for example, aimed at convergent media use. Portraits also include insights from memos and other empirical material, such as questionnaires and photographs. The households were grouped and typified in a second part of the analysis in order to name generalizable patterns of media use.

### ANALYZING MEDIA REPERTOIRES: COEXISTENCE OF OLD AND NEW MEDIA

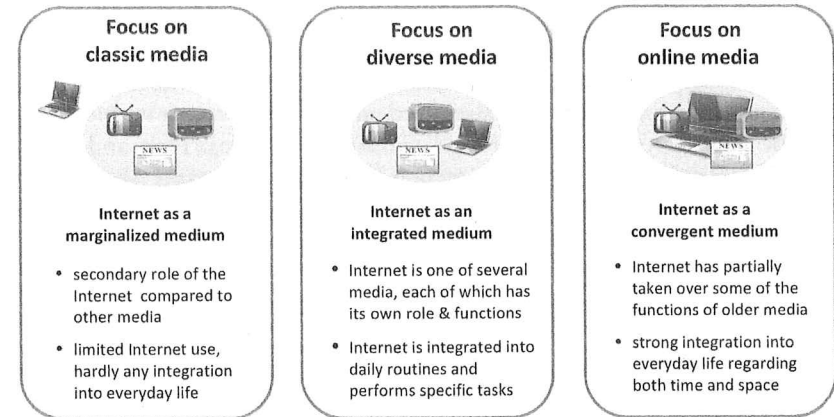
The empirical findings show that the media repertoires of the couples interviewed had not been transformed radically between 2011 and 2013. Even though plenty of new technologies and possibilities, such as tablets,

online radios and smart TVs, which enable people to implement convergent media use in their homes, were on the market in 2013, we did not see a dynamic change concerning the media repertoires at that time compared with our findings in 2011. Classic media had not been removed from the domestic media repertoire by then; instead, old and new media were coexisting in the common household—a development that has been observed in other contexts in history before (Balbi, 2015, p. 242). Both classic and online media had specific meanings for the users and were used for defined benefits. No predominance of online media was found (Peil & Röser, 2014). Convergence—in the sense of replacing a classic by an online medium—was not a common phenomenon. It was only observed in a small group of 6 households in 2011 and 7 in 2013,<sup>13</sup> who had already started to use TV, radio or newspapers primarily on the internet, and its extent had remained stable between 2011 and 2013. We conclude that convergent media use in the domestic sphere is not established in a linear process at an enormous speed. Obviously, it is proceeding slowly and there are always phases of stagnation in which media convergence stays at the same level.

### *Three patterns of domestic media use*

Nevertheless, the media repertoires in the households differed from each other, partly in a remarkable way. It was especially the status of the internet and, consequently, the combination of online-capable and classic media which led to the formation of different media repertoires in the homes. We identified three patterns of domestic media use altogether that allowed us to distinguish three types of households with regard to the internet's role within the media repertoire. Those groups varied according to the intensity of internet use and the spectrum of online activities (see Fig. 3.1).

Overall, we found out that the three types of households were not distributed equally. The group that had a focus on classic media was the smallest one. The largest group consisted of households that focused on classic media and on the internet. A third and rather small group had replaced classic media by online-capable devices and had stopped using some of the classic media they had accessed previously.



**Fig. 3.1** Typology of households according to the status of the internet in domestic media use. *Source* The authors & Corinna Peil

#### *Type 1: Focus on classic media*

The first type is described as having a “focus on classic media.” These households rarely used online media and concentrated on traditional media, such as newspapers, TV sets and radios. The usage of classic media had not been changed notably by the internet and the convergent use of media online did not play any role in these households. The internet had a minor significance in the media repertoire and its use was temporally limited. The integration of the internet into everyday life operates on only a low level. Those households used a stationary computer to go online which they set up in a workroom (Röser & Peil, 2014). Thus, the internet use was separated from everyday life inside the home and had only a minor significance compared with classic media. In these households, the internet was used for specific purposes and can be considered more like a kind of accessory than a necessary tool for managing domestic life. This type had become less prevalent since 2008.<sup>14</sup> In 2011, three elderly couples used media this way; in 2013, only two couples still belonged to this type.

#### *Type 2: Focus on diverse media*

The largest group consisted of 18 households in 2011 and the same number in 2013. These households formed the second type, which we



assume mirrored the average media use in German households. This type was characterized by the coexistence of classic media and the internet, which was integrated into the domestic sphere spatially and temporally. For example, the internet was also used in the living room and, whenever the couples needed it, accessed via mobile devices. First and foremost, these couples used the internet frequently for tasks that arose from everyday life, such as buying tickets for the cinema, concerts and public transport, and online banking, shopping or organizing vacations, to name but a few examples. In these households, going online had become a stable part of the domestic media practice. Nevertheless, convergent media use was practiced only sporadically. The couples had not replaced classic media in favor of their online-capable correspondents. Analog radio devices, TV sets or the printed newspaper page still formed the largest part of their media repertoire. However, some of the couples additionally used digital newspapers, online radios or multimedia resource centers from time to time if they wanted to deepen specific interests. The couples used the internet as one of many types of media while the “old” media had not lost their original role. Convergent media use was, therefore, an add-on to the reception of media content via classic media.

Altogether, both old and new media are of the same relevance in domestic media use for households of this type. All media have discrete meanings and are linked to specific requests and gratifications. The internet is as important as the classic media, but no more than them. It is used for defined tasks and functions that cannot be carried out via other media, such as the management of needs and desires that emerge in the context of everyday life. Hence, instead of substituting the purpose of classic media, such as radio, TV and newspapers, the internet has occupied a cultural sphere of organizing everyday life that has been managed previously without the help of media (Peil & Röser, 2014, p. 332).<sup>15</sup>

#### *Type 3: Focus on online media*

Seven of the households had replaced classic media and used online media instead in 2013. They formed type 3, “focus on online media.” Those couples had transferred the functions and scopes of at least one of the classic media to the internet. Consequently, they had replaced older analog technologies and restructured their media repertoire in one or several of the following ways: instead of classic radio, they listened to audio streams, newspapers were read online, and any TV program was

appropriated via multimedia resource centers on the fixed personal computer or on network-compatible TV sets. The internet was integrated as a multifunctional and multimedia tool spatially and temporally in these households. It was used in almost every room of the household and at any time of the day. However, watching TV or listening to the radio via online media had not lost its former social meaning. It was still labeled as “watching TV” or “listening to the radio” and not regarded as an alternative kind of media use (Hasebrink, 2004, p. 70; Hölig & Hasebrink, 2013).

Interestingly, most of the households belonging to type 3 still possessed and used classic media, especially linear TV programs, and had not yet established a media repertoire which consisted fully of digital devices. Thus, again, convergent media use was combined with the reception of classic media and had not totally replaced it.

#### *Reasons for the persistence of classic media*

The descriptive overview of the three types underlines that the “focus on diverse media” (type 2) is the predominant variation of domestic media use. However, what is the reason for most of the households keeping classic media (in their media repertoire) and using the internet for specific, mostly organizational tasks? To understand this phenomenon, one has to take a closer look at the content and the symbolic meaning of TV, radio and newspaper.

Overall, we found out that each medium has specific functions in the common household which are linked to fields of everyday life and especially to living together as a couple. The households that regularly read a newspaper, for example, have subscribed to a local one to get information about their hometown. Newspapers are mostly read while having breakfast and reading is described as a sensory experience. For some of the couples, reading the newspaper together in the morning is a ritual between partners during which they share parts of the newspaper and show articles of interest to each other. The radio is used additionally while carrying out domestic work or other activities. The couples use it mostly by themselves during the day. The relevance of watching linear TV programs via a TV set becomes obvious in the evening: The TV reception is an activity that is used to spend time at home together and to feel community regardless of the television program. Couples “meet” at the TV set. Thus, the screen has a spatial function as it defines the

place where to meet and sit together. Furthermore, couples prefer large TV sets to smaller online-capable devices because they are more comfortable to use together. Furthermore, watching linear TV programs has social functions. The practice of watching TV synchronizes different activities in the evening: “To us, it is just time we spent together frequently during the week” (Mr. Brinkmann, 55 years old, teacher). Communication is also a reason that people meet in front of the TV set. Couples talk about personal and organizational questions. For these purposes, the linear TV program remains important as it offers recreation and simplifies the decision about what is going to be watched.<sup>16</sup> Watching linear TV programs on a large screen is highly relevant to couples because they sense togetherness—on which their life is grounded—in front of it.

The findings show that the reception of these three classic media is strongly linked to rhythms of everyday life and to the constellation as a couple. Hence, TV, radio, newspapers and the internet coexist inside the homes. The specific character of the home promotes stability in media use. As everyday life contexts persist within the home and are not easily overturned, they shape how media are used and how new technologies are appropriated (Peil & Röser, 2014, p. 333). Couples repeat established practices of media use because they make sense in everyday life.

#### *Factors promoting terminal convergence*

Based on the insights into domestic media use of type 3 “focus on online media,” we can name some factors which promote terminal convergence. Even though this group is not homogeneous at all, they share certain attributes. Firstly, convergent media use is practiced in households that have deeply integrated the internet into everyday life and are familiar with online media. But which socio-demographical or biographical characteristics form the background for such an appropriation? These couples are characterized by a high level of education. More than half of the households have a similar background: The interviewees were all students in the late 1990s and appropriated the internet at university during this period. Thus, most of them have been using online media for a long time. They are familiar with the internet and they have got used to online-capable technologies gradually. This is the reason that they adopt new online-capable technologies more easily and are more open to innovations<sup>17</sup> and convergent media use than other households.

All of these couples, aged between 30 and 40 years in 2013, share the same generational positioning regarding the domestication of the internet in Germany. However, referring to the whole group of households belonging to type 3, age is not a distinct factor for predicting terminal convergence.<sup>18</sup>

A second hint for convergent media use is the degree to which mobile devices are integrated into the households. All convergent households own such media. These mobile technologies promote convergent media use because their portability offers the possibility of using digital content comfortably anywhere in the home.

Thirdly, convergent media use is also linked to living alone. Three of the couples we interviewed separated between 2008 and 2013.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, the male partners in particular changed many of their media habits. They left their shared TV sets and radios at their former homes, where the female partners remained in each of our cases analyzed. Subsequently, they had to decide which media they wanted to purchase for their new home. Two of our respondents decided to use their laptops to watch TV and to listen to the radio, as they found it more convenient and due to financial reasons. These insights indicate that convergent media use is more suitable for people who live alone because it can be practiced more easily on one’s own than in a couple constellation. As shown above, couples create community via media use during their leisure time. By contrast, people living alone do not have to create such a situational community. Therefore, they can use different media at the same time and do not mind having a small screen. The changes of media use caused by separation show that contextual necessities could change the sense that is ascribed to media in everyday life. This might lead to the initiation of new practices of media use and, therefore, to a more dynamic media convergence.

#### *Convergence as an “add-on”: Convergent media practices beyond the merging of devices*

In addition to the findings concerning the replacement of classic in favor of online media, we came across three further examples of convergent media use regarding the entirety of our households. First, we observed that content, which was used formerly solely via classic media, is now used additionally via online media. The couples intensify the reception of their preferred media by using digital in addition to non-digital

content. Households that generally like to watch TV add the reception of audiovisual content online to their media repertoire; the same happens to households that are keen on using the radio or reading newspapers. Thus, “fandom” for specific media is a motor for convergent media use. Secondly, the integration of mobile media, such as tablets, into the household leads to the use of second screens while watching TV, as the respondents are combining individual media interests, such as reading online (about their hobby) or communicating via social media, while experiencing community with their partners. It is also a strategy to use leisure time for the fulfillment of duties: mothers in particular use second screens (while watching TV) to purchase goods for themselves and their family, to search for holiday accommodation or to organize everyday life. That is how they balance the double burden which results from being a working mother. Thirdly, some couples use second screens to look up topics they came across while watching TV. As the internet and TV are used simultaneously, the reception of both media is also converging. Nevertheless, all these convergent media practices are foremost an addition to the use of classic media and have not yet caused a rearrangement of the media repertoires.

### CONCLUSION

“Convergence is a dangerous word” (Silverstone, 1995, p. 11)—not just because of its complexity, but also because it suggests more dynamic media use than what can be observed in social reality. Our findings show that convergence from the side of the users proceeds slowly and not in a radical way. Online media have not replaced classic media in most of the households analyzed. The replacement of classic media is not common, but, from time to time, online-capable devices are used as an alternative to classical domestic media in average German middle-class households. We noticed an interplay of old and new media combined with convergent media practices in the majority of the households. Consequently, we observed an enormous differentiation of media practices. In other words, the domestic media repertoire did not converge to using a few media only, but became more diverse between 2011 and 2013, as more and more devices, like online media and/or mobile technologies, were integrated into the homes. Furthermore, as convergent media use is practiced additionally, rather than instead of classic media use, the established technologies also contributed to the diverse and manifold

media repertoire that was used in the homes. Thus, in this context, we observed a form of divergence which became visible in a plurality of devices. We regard this development as an expression of deconvergence (see Peil & Spaviero, Chap. 1 in this volume). The various media technologies were used because they were all suited to special needs and tasks. At the time the study was conducted, old and new media continued to coexist and no predominance of online media or replacement of older media was found.

However, we came across variations of cultural convergence, such as the production and distribution of digital content and the practice of communicating with other users about it (Fagerjord & Storsul, 2007; Hölig & Hasebrink, 2013; Jenkins, 2008). Hence, we noticed changes and dynamics, but they proceed gradually and not abruptly.

Altogether, the findings underline that approved media practices make sense as long as the demands and practices of everyday life do not change. That is the reason why traditional mass media remain important and are not replaced by digital online media. The domestication theory underlines this insight by emphasizing the fact that new media are only integrated if their use fits into the routines of the common household. Convergence proceeds just as fast as the surrounding conditions in the common household and everyday life allow it to. If convergence makes sense in everyday life or in communicating with others, people develop practices of convergent media use. If not, the domestic media repertoires remain the same. Thus, convergence is a process driven by the media users.

### NOTES

1. Convergence describes the merging of networks as well as of programs, devices, markets, rhetoric and regulatory regimes (Fagerjord & Storsul, 2007, pp. 20–26).
2. We follow Friedrich Krotz in defining mediatization as “a meta-process that is grounded in the modification of communication as the basis practice of how people construct the social and cultural world. They do so by changing communication practices that use media and refer to media. Hence, mediatization is not a technological driven concept, since it is not the media as a technology that are causal, but the changes in how people communicate when constructing their inner and exterior realities by referring to media” (Krotz, 2009, p. 25).



3. We define classic media as analog as well as digital media which distribute “conventional” content from mass media without using the internet for distribution. Such content is radio and TV programs that are broadcast by public or private companies or newspapers articles. By contrast, online media are understood as media which distribute audiovisual content or texts via the internet. This content may originate not only from broadcasting companies or publishing houses, but also from other sources, such as blogs, social media or streaming services.
4. This definition aims at describing convergence as a change in the distribution of media content via new channels and devices in the domestic sphere. Therefore, this process is similar to the merging of different media into one device, which is defined as “terminal convergence” (Fagerjord & Storsul, 2007, p. 21) as well as “service convergence”, which enables the “transmission of all digital media services over the same network, and the use of different kinds of services on the same terminals” (Fagerjord & Storsul, 2007, p. 23).
5. A media repertoire is “the entirety of media” the person uses regularly (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012, p. 758). The authors distinguish “if they [the recipients] select media types, or genres, or topics or concrete brands, or if they rather select social contexts instead of certain media” (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012, p. 760).
6. There are devices such as digital radios and smart TVs that provide linear programs as well as other digital content. Thus, these devices are different from classic media and from laptops or tablets, which are not exclusively made for the distribution of media.
7. To illustrate simultaneous media use, Hynes (2003) gives the example of using the screen of a TV set to browse the internet while watching TV.
8. Consumption convergence is meant to be a concept of understanding technological change that differs from technological determinism. The perspective assumes “that consumers reject, shape, resist, reshape technologies according to the exigencies of their daily domestic life” (Hynes, 2003, p. 3). It “alludes to the notion that media networks are ‘coming together’, or becoming hybridised in the domestic sphere which has bought about a convergence in the consumption of media content” (Hynes, 2003, p. 3).
9. As the domestic context is understood as a meaning-giving sphere of media use, one has to take into account the surrounding situations, places, time, constellations and the integration of media use into different domestic practices when analyzing media reception (Morley, 2006; Röser & Peil, 2012).
10. Because of the ongoing saturation of everyday life with online media, convergent media use is also established in other spheres as a common practice of reception, for example in trains.
11. The long-term study “The Mediatized Home” has been part of the DFG-funded German Priority Program “Mediatized Worlds.”
12. As the sample has aged since 2008, none of the respondents were younger than 30 years in 2013.
13. Six households belonged to this type in 2011. In 2013, seven household belonged to this type because one of the couples had split up in the meantime and husband and wife ever since were living in two different households. Both partners now use convergent media in separate households.
14. In 2006, the so-called “additionalists”, who regard the internet as an accessory matter, have been dominant in Germany (Ahrens, 2009, p. 251). For further insights concerning this development, see Röser & Peil (2014).
15. With the exception of telephone books or catalogues, those organizational tasks have been done without media before.
16. Even though linear TV programs offer many options from which viewers can choose, its possibilities are limited, as only what is distributed at a given time can be watched.
17. This process of internet-adoption can be regarded as typical for internet users who were students in the late 1990s (Röser & Roth, 2015).
18. Two middle-aged men and an older couple belong to this group as well, whereas others of the younger and well educated couples do not belong to type 3.
19. After separation, we interviewed the partners individually at their households, where some of them had just moved.

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