

Why Do We Watch?
A Mixed-Method Study on Live-Stream Consumption

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Abstract

Little is known about why live-stream consumers consume live-streams. Existing academic research suggests that live-stream consumption is based on a set of socio-motivators hailing from the Uses and Gratifications Theory. The present study combines a mixed-method model to first measure an adapted six-factor socio-motivational framework against four indicators of live-stream consumption through an online survey ($N = 319$). The results showed significant effects on what motivated live-stream consumption on multiple factors, namely the motivation to interact within a community, as well as seek new information and experiences, be entertained, experience external support and engage meet new people. The results of this statistical analysis were funneled into a topic list, which served as a guide for semi-structured interviews ($N = 20$). The combined results helped to explain concepts like consumers' emotional connectedness to live-streams, community interactions and spending patterns within a live-stream environment. Compared to existing theories on media engagement and consumption, live-stream consumers appear to value the enriched interactions, like chat pop-ups, alerts and live-stream agency, available on live-stream platforms as opposed to more traditional platforms. Additionally, live-stream consumers are drawn to the nuanced social structure of live-stream communities, and make a conscious effort to find communities that satisfy their needs, which range from social interaction, to gathering and learning new information and skills, to experiencing a sense of belonging. Compared to the current research on live-stream consumption, these findings offer deepened insights in the "social" aspect of live-stream consumption, define "agency" within the scope of live-stream consumption, argue that entertainment as a factor does not fit very well into the scope of this research, and helps to build a theoretical foundation for future research through results and suggestions.

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1. Introduction

Live-streaming, the process of transmitting an event over the internet to an audience, has gained popularity as a form of digital media in recent years. Hundreds of thousands of people “tune” in everyday to watch live-streams across a variety of platforms on the Internet. The content of these live-streams varies greatly, and is usually aligned with the platform or website the live-stream is broadcasted on. Live-streams, and the content creators behind them, vary in what they want to achieve. From exploring Ashmore Reef Marine Park at 50 meters depth through a submarine hooked up to the internet (SchmidOcean, 2021), to walking the streets of Tokyo through a handheld camera (Dexerto, 2020), to experiencing the speed of a Formula 1 car through the eyes of a driver (RacingNews, 2021), live-streaming offers opportunities to share forms of content to a live audience. Additionally, live-streaming offers a possibility for interaction between source and audience on a new level (Thorburn, (2014); Woodcock & Johnson (2019), compared to similar media technologies like video on demand¹ and regular streaming platforms². A live-stream can have a single, interactive “live-streamer” as a host, but can also focus on an on-going event, project or collaboration as its main form of content, wherein levels of interactivity might differ based on the content being live-streamed. Although this interactivity might differ based on a live-stream per live-stream basis (a Formula 1 driver live-streaming a test run, for example, is most likely not concerned with their audiences’ opinion or dialogue), this interactivity does add a unique trait to the media consumption process.

While recognizing that the term “live-stream” encapsulates a very broad range of media content, this research focusses specifically on the interactive branch of live-streams, on

¹ A system in which viewers choose their own filmed entertainment, by means of PC or interactive TV system, from a wide available selection such as YouTube and Vimeo.

² A system or platform, such as Netflix and Spotify, in which any media content – live or recorded – is delivered to computers and mobile devices via the internet and played back in real time.

three different platforms: Twitch, YouTube Gaming and Facebook Live. These three platforms are viewed as the largest online hubs of interactive live-streaming on the internet (Hamilton, Garretson, & Kerne, 2014; Haimson & Tang, 2017, Li & Kang, 2020), and are all advocates of creating unique and interactive content. Creators on these websites are motivated to engage and interact with their audience, but are required to do so within the limits of the platforms' rules and regulations. Consequentially, this research leaves out many different platforms and target groups by selecting these three as its research scope. Adult content live-streaming (Lykousas, Gómez, & Patsikas, 2018) and live-stream shopping (Wang, Lee, & Lee, 2018; Ren, 2021) are two examples of live-stream consumption that are beyond the scope of this research, due to their inherently different nature (BE.Live, 2021). By selecting Twitch, YouTube Gaming and Facebook Live as the target platforms for this research, I aim to capture the ideas, motivations and opinions of the core audience of interactive live-streams. With specific trends, memes and a whole vocabulary (DotEsports, 2021), these platforms, the creators on them and their audience consuming their content are quickly growing into an entire subculture on the internet (Sjöblom, Törhönen, Hamari & Macey, 2017).

Like mentioned, the interactivity taking place within the live-streams on these platforms is what differentiates them from both other live-streams as well as other forms of media content. So far however, research on what motivates an audience of live-stream consumers to consume live-stream content is sparse (Hilvert-Bruce, Neill, Sjöblom & Hamari, 2018). The role, potential benefits and utilitarian motivations of live-streaming from the live-streamers point of view have been researched quite thoroughly (Wendt, 2017; Payne, Keith, Schuetzler, Giboney; 2017; Chen, Lin, 2018; Uszkoreit, 2018; Cai, Wohn, Mittal, & Sureshbabu, 2018; Golan, Martini, 2019), and its role in marketing communications and corporate branding specifically is being fleshed out at a rapid rate (Keinänen, 2017; Fietkiewicz, Dorsch, Scheibe, Zimmer, & Stock, 2018; Svart, 2018; Zimmer & Scheibe,

2019). From the live-stream consumers perspective however, academic knowledge about *why* viewers consume live-streams has been gained through a small body of research over the past five years, and is built on theories of uses and gratifications (Sjöblom & Hamari, 2017; Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018). While this research has established live-stream consumption motivations, deeper questions about the consumer experience remain unanswered. Topics like the implications of the live aspect of live-streams, and their effects on the consumer experience, as well as the entire social hierarchy and community behind live-streams remain largely untouched. In this study, I want to better understand *why* people consume live-streams. Why do thousands and thousands of viewers from all over the world watch specific creators engage in everything that is possible in a live-stream setting? Why do viewers keep coming back and spend parts of their own money on these live-streamers? From a communications field perspective, knowledge about viewer motivations to consume live-streams helps creators, be it companies, organizations or individuals, to better understand their “customer”. The value of live-streaming in marketing communications and corporate branding has been researched and proven. Better understanding the viewers’ motivations to consume these live-streams allows creators to tailor their content even more specifically to their customers’ likes and needs, and thus increasing that value. In light of the above, the following research- and sub are introduced:

What motivates viewers’ live-stream consumption on Twitch, YouTube Gaming and Facebook Live?

Additionally, several sub questions are formulated.

- (1). How does the “live” aspect of live-streams contribute to the consumer experience?

- (2). How does the social aspect of live-stream consumption impact and affect the live-stream consumer experience?
- (3). To what extent do connections formed through these live-stream platforms, both with the live-streamer as well as other consumers, carry over into the “real” world?

The term “consumption” is closely embedded in this research. In traditional media research, content consumption is seen as a user watching a video, reading comments and performing platform specific actions like liking or disliking material (Shao, 2009). Due to the interactive nature of the live-streams within the scope of this research, I propose that just “viewing” a live-stream, without responding to it, does not classify as “consuming” a live-stream in the traditional sense. While a vast majority of people that watch live-streams do just that; “viewing”, for the sake of this research I would like to argue for a clear difference between “viewing” and “consuming”. While viewing or watching a live-stream is a form of consuming a live-stream, it does not encapsulate the full span of the “consuming” term, which includes various activities that live-stream platforms offer as tools to engage and immerse their audience. Examples of additional forms of live-stream consumption, apart from watching a live-stream, include participating in the ongoing conversation between the host and the rest of the audience, voting in polls, engaging in live-stream wide events, redeeming tokens to trigger sound and video alerts, and many more. In this research a distinction is made between *watching* a live-stream like one would watch a TV show or a YouTube video, and *consuming* a live-stream and the wide variety of activities that it has to offer.

In the next chapter, I explore and review academic literature and findings on live-streaming and, more specifically, viewer consumption motivations. Fifteen hypotheses will be presented, as well as a conceptual model that serves as the academic backbone of the first of two studies that make up this research: the online self-report survey. Next, I make a case for a

mixed-method approach, which consists of the mentioned online self-report survey, followed by a series of semi-structured interviews. In order to clearly explain how both studies are structured within this thesis, the methodology and results of the online self-report survey will be included into the same chapter as well. This will be followed by a chapter which contains the methodology and results for the semi-structured interviews. Consequentially, both forms of methodology and their results will be combined in the discussion, after which the conclusion will finalize the study.

2. Theoretical Framework

Live-streaming consists of a rapidly growing internet-based multi-media entertainment source combined with an interactive element (Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018). Unlike other Video on Demand services such as YouTube and Vimeo, it offers the viewer a direct and live broadcast. Thus, as it takes place in the moment, it allows for instant communication between the live-streamer, and their consumers. Live-streams create a space wherein thousands of people can watch content, created by the live-streamer, alongside each other simultaneously while being able to communicate with each other and the live-streamer (Taylor, 2018). The practice as a form of media content is relatively new and is gaining an increasing amount of attention academically (Woodcock & Johnson (2019; Deng, Benckendorff, & Wang, 2021). The popularity of the frontrunner amongst live-streaming platforms, Twitch, has grown tremendously since its launch in 2011 (Woodcock & Johnson (2019). Twitch is a platform on which 3.8 million live-streamers broadcasted their content in February 2020 (TwitchTracker, 2020), while 2.2 million live-streamers were reported by Twitch itself two years prior, in 2018 (Business of Apps, 2020). In terms of total time viewed on Twitch versus rival platforms YouTube Gaming and Facebook Live, Twitch remained in the lead as of two years ago, logging 2.3 billion hours in the fourth quarter of 2019 to YouTube's 0.9 billion hours. While Facebook does not publicly share its viewing time, it is estimated to be close to 0.1 billion, with statistics websites reporting massive increases in consumer engagement (99firms, 2020; Saasscout, 2020). All in all, live-stream platforms report numbers that could compete with even the most successful traditional television channels (Woodcock & Johnson (2019). Live-streaming platforms have created a near-global market for particular new forms of media industry work. This represents what Cunningham and Craig (2016) have called "social media entertainment", a convergent media form which carries with it our expectations of how social media works, while also producing broadcast entertainment forms that are easily recognizable

as distinct, bounded, and sometimes even scripted and professionally-produced, video broadcasts.

At its core, a live-stream is built on a live feed between two parties. One party, the one broadcasting a form of content, is the source, while the other party, the recipient of the broadcasted content, is the audience. This audience receives the content through a live-streaming platform. These platforms allow the audience to interact with the source as well as each other, usually through a built-in chat-box. Apart from interaction through a chat-box, all live-stream platforms have built-in systems that allow the audience to subscribe to the live-stream channel. Subscribing to a live-stream channel involves a monthly financial investment. Live-stream consumers that subscribe to a live-streamer are part of every major live-stream platform, and are integral to their business model. Subscribing is constructed around a monthly fee of anywhere between \$4,99 to \$19,00 on Twitch and \$4,99 on YouTube and Facebook. Subscribing offers consumers extra perks, that live-streamers themselves can define. These perks are usually socially driven, and add to the integration level of a viewer in a live-stream. Recent research (Mäntymäki, Islam, & Benbasat, 2020) has been conducted on *what drives paid viewer subscriptions* on free content, resulting in findings that showcase that enjoyment and price value drive the intention to subscribe. Interestingly, based on this research, social connectivity seems to have no effect on the intention to subscribe. This is contradicting with the main take-aways in current live-stream consumption research (Hilvert-Bruce, Neill, Sjöblom & Hamari, 2018), which state that live-stream consumers are mainly motivated by social connectivity, and are keen on spending real world money as a result.

Consequentially, the audience is often, through the use of third-party websites, able to directly donate to a live-stream channel. Donations are comparable to subscriptions in that they allow live-stream consumers to financially support a live-streamer, and are usually rewarded with an increase in their social status within a live-stream community. As opposed

to subscriptions however, these rewards almost always come without any form of content or perks as a form of repayment. Instead, live-streamers usually thank those that donate by name, use social systems to create a form of hierarchy (like donation leaderboards) and read out donation messages aloud, allowing consumers to direct the narrative of a live-stream for a short time. Research on donating in live-streams is non-existent. Some parallels can be drawn with literature on donating in other fields, such as startups (Bretschneider, Knaub, & Wieck, 2014), political funding (Aggarwal, Meschke, & Wang, 2012) and donating to educational institutions (Stephenson & Bell, 2014). However, time that live-stream consumers spend watching a live-stream is perceived as one of the most important metrics, and is often tracked through websites like TwitchTracker and BusinessOfApps. These websites report regularly on the amount of time people watch live-streams on websites like Twitch, Facebook Live and YouTube Gaming, and are used to measure how well a specific live-stream channel is doing in terms of viewer metrics.

The time spent watching a live-stream, the amount of money one donates to a live-stream, and the amount of time one is subscribed to a live-stream are all indicators of consumers' motivation to consume live-streams (Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018). Alongside these three indicators, emotional connectedness was used as a fourth indicator of live-stream consumption motivation in previous live-stream consumption literature. This emotional connectedness refers to the psychological attachment of a viewer to a live-stream. This encapsulates the live-stream as a whole, and includes the specific live-streamer(s), their brand and the community that surrounds that brand. Emotional connectedness has been researched thoroughly in relation to more traditional forms of social media, like Facebook (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Wood, Bukowski, & Lis, 2016) and Instagram (Trifiro, 2018), often in relation to (a lack of) self-esteem, but only sparsely in a live-stream environment (Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018). Time spent watching, time spent subscribed, amount of money

donated and emotional connectedness will be used in this research as indicators of live-stream consumption. The first three indicators are relatively straightforward, and easily measured through statistical data. Emotional connectedness as an indicator is quite a bit more abstract, and therefore more complicated to measure cleanly. Hilvert-Bruce et al., (2018) did so in their research by tackling it just like any of the other indicators and subjecting it to statistical measurement. Although it yielded relatively substantial data and was therefore deemed a successful measurement scale, I am of the opinion that emotional connectedness as a measure calls for a more elaborate, qualitative measurement approach. I will elaborate more on how I implemented that approach in the form of a mixed-methods research in the methodology chapter, and for now would simply like to recognize that although 4 different indicators of live-stream consumption motivations are used in this research, the way they are measured calls for a more nuanced approach. Based on these indicators, the following hypotheses is proposed:

H1: (a) Emotional connectedness, (b) time spent watching, (c) time spent subscribed and (d) amount of money donated predict live-stream consumption of consumers on Twitch, YouTube and Facebook.

2.1. Live-stream consumer motivations

Reasoning for consuming specific forms of social media content based on word-of-mouth motivation, attention span research and new generation learning are well-researched topics (Subramanian, 2018; Kies, 2018; Rothman, 2016), and have aided live-stream consumption motivations research by providing reference- and starting points. Some past research has explored live-streaming consumption motivations including tension release, escapism, and acquiring knowledge (e.g., Sjöblom & Hamari, 2017; Sjöblom, Törhönen,

Hamari & Macey, 2017). The most significant results stemming from these studies highlighted that social factors are an immensely important aspect of the consumer experience of live-streaming (Sjöblom & Hamari, 2017), and might play a large role in the consumers' motivation to not only consume live-streams, but also strongly determine the consumers' motivation to follow, subscribe and to donate money to a live-stream. The way in which social factors, such as experiencing a sense of community and needs for interaction and connection, play a role in live-stream consumers' motivations to consume live-streams has since been studied by Hilvert-Bruce et al (2018), who researched the effect of socio-motivators as predictors for live-stream consumption.

These socio-motivators are based on the Uses and Gratification Theory (UGT). It is based on theories about why consumers consume different types of media (Rubin, 2009), and has been used to analyze consumer engagement in social networking sites (Ku, Chen & Zang, 2013; West & Turner, 2010; Whiting & Williams, 2013), video sharing (Chiang & Hsiao, 2015), live-streaming (Sjöblom & Hamari, 2017), and eSports (Hamari & Sjöblom, 2017). According to UGT, consumers actively seek out, participate in and consume media that fulfill their individual needs better than other media options (Ruggiero, 2000; Shao, 2009). UGT research has focused on audience motivation and consumption (Rubin, 2002). Originally starting out as a functional approach to media impact research, the theory has been guided by research questions that have shifted the focus to what people do with media, instead of what the media do to people (Klapper, 1963). Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitch (1974) outlined the main objectives of UGT: (a) to explain how people use media to gratify their needs, (b) to understand motivates for media behavior, and (c) to identify functions or consequences that follow from needs, motives and behavior.

2.2. Motivations for live-stream consumption

Theory and research about social media consumption based on UGT suggest multiple motivations for social media engagement: entertainment, information seeking, meeting new people, social interactions, social support, sense of community, social anxiety, external support, fear of missing out and self-expression are commonly used factors when researched consumer motivations. For live-streaming in particular, scholars have used these motivations to examine consumers motivations for live-stream consumption from multiple perspectives, such as a personal perspective (Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018), a brand perspective (Woodcock & Johnson, 2019) and a commerce perspective (Cai & Wohn, 2019). Like stated in the introduction of this thesis, this research focuses on the live-streams wherein interactivity is the key defining factor. This factor overlaps with the personal perspective of live-streams, which are suggested to correspondent with motivations such as being entertained, learning or gaining new information, meeting new people, participating in social interaction, experiencing a sense of community and receiving support. In the following paragraphs, I discuss those motivators individually, and operationalize them for the purpose of this research.

2.2.1. Entertainment

Entertainment has been identified as an important motivator for consuming social media, video and streaming content (Cheung & Huang, 2011; Froget, Baghestan, & Asfaranjan, 2013; Hamilton, Garretson, & Kerne, 2014; Sjöblom & Hamari, 2017). Within the scope of this research however, it is important to recognize that entertainment is introduced as a consumer motivation, instead of a consumer reaction. Although entertainment is often described as having a reactive element to it, in this research it is used in a pro-active sense. A live-stream consumer driven by entertainment as a motivator actively seeks out live-

streams that they find entertaining. Consequentially, an important goal of live-streaming is to provide an entertaining viewing experience (Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018). The broad spectrum of live-streaming content includes an immensely varied supply of different forms of entertainment, ranging from competitive gamers (Cheung & Huang, 2011), to travelers that share their adventures (Deng, Benckendorff, & Wang, 2021) to “toxic” and “comical” live-streamers (Karhulahti, 2016), who entertain by stirring drama and over exaggerating situations. Entertainment therefore, in this sense, is described as what the consumer perceives as entertaining, and thus can vary based on perspective. Nevertheless, entertainment is reported as a primary motivation for live-stream consumers to watch and engage not just with live-streams, but with social- and many forms of internet media as well (Zittrain, 2014; Cunningham & Craigh, 2019). The premise that a source of media that provides entertainment to a consumer leads more time spent interacting or engaging with or consuming that source of media is unsurprising (Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2010; Chen & Lin, 2018). Entertainment however, like I mentioned previously, is based on perspective. What might be deemed entertaining for one viewer, might completely oppose another. In this research, no distinction is made between different forms of entertainment when asking consumers about their needs for entertainment motivating their live-stream consumption. Instead, I propose the following hypotheses to capture entertainment ‘as a whole’:

H2: (a) Entertainment positively predicts emotional connectedness to a live-stream and (b) will have a positive effect on the time spent consuming a live-stream.

2.2.2. Information Seeking

Information seeking has been identified as an important motivator for consuming live-stream content and streaming services (Sjöblom & Hamari, 2017; Deng., et al 2021). Live-

stream content commonly includes conversations and personal anecdotes, as well as a broad sharing of experiences. Some live-streamers fill a specific niche with the content they stream. Deng et al., (2021), who researched how Travel Live Streaming (TLS) is shaping the travel experiences of consumers during the Covid-19 pandemic and lock-down, exemplify a new and emerging trend of live-streamers being employed to provide live-stream consumers with information. Apart from traveling and showcasing the world through a live-stream, plenty of creators provide their audience with information on virtually any topic, ranging from video-game knowledge to musical skills to general life advice. More often than not, this exchange of information happens organically, leading to live-stream consumers gaining new information, knowledge about experiences and skills, or general insights through live-streams. Within the scope of this research therefore, information seeking is placed as something that a consumer does while watching a live-stream. They are motivated by finding new information, which leads to them consuming specific live-streams over others. I propose the following hypotheses:

H3: (a) Information seeking positively predicts the time spent watching a live-stream and (b) will have a positive effect on the amount of money donated to a live-stream.

2.2.3. Meeting New people

Hamilton, Garretson, & Kerne (2014) found that live-streams serve as virtual “third places” where communities form and grow. The audience uses chat rooms to laugh and comment on the content they are watching, and converse with the live-streamer and other live-stream consumers. Live-streamers, almost always, put much effort towards welcoming new people into their streams. Shouting out their name when new people “follow” a stream, welcoming new people when they send a message, or motivating new people to introduce

themselves all lead to an environment wherein meeting new, like-minded people is both easy and non-compulsory. Although academic research about meeting new people online suggests the need for feelings of affiliation and belonging (Ridings & Gefen, 2004) and an increase in cyber bullying (Gámez-Guadix, Borrajo, & Almendros, 2016), in this research, meeting new people is placed as a motivation for consumers to watch a live-stream based on the fact that they want to meet new people with like-minded ideas and interests. This ranges from finding people to play video-games with, to meet with in real life, to date or to casually hang out with, and acts as a motivation to watch specific live-streams. Therefore, I propose the following hypotheses:

H4: (a) Meeting new people positively predicts emotional connectedness to a live-stream and **(b)** will have a positive effect on the time spent being subscribed to a live-stream.

2.2.4. Social Interactions

I have previously discussed research conducted by Sjöblom & Hamari (2017) and Sjöblom et al., (2017) on the fact that social factors are an immensely important aspect of the consumer experience when consuming live-streaming content. More recent research (Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018; Deng et al., 2021) suggest that social interactions at least as important as important for live-stream consumers as the entertainment value consumers get out of watching a live-stream. Social interactions are described as the willingness and motivation to interact with other people. It differs from the motivation to meet new people in that the focus is not on meeting new people and forming a connection, but simply to interact with other humans. Although the two go together more often than not, a viewer watching a live-stream because they are motivated to have social interactions are more specific in that they want to

spend time with other, real people, as opposed to forming an actual connection with them. This can be either the live-streamer, or people from the audience. When combining live-streaming with social interactions, one of the most important actions for consumers, is engagement (Deng et al., 2021). Consumers can simultaneously watch, comment and make requests. Live-streamers can then act on all of these actions, which range from reading texts out loud to performing specific actions. Consumers are thus “empowered” to become, in some sense, the directors of the live-stream. An example from the *Melbourne Remote Control Tourist* (Deng et al., 2021) showcases this: consumers were able to engage by directing a travel live-streamer’s decisions and motions by asking them to take a specific path, visit a specific building or location, and try different foods. This empowerment leads to a feeling of social engagement, which in turn leads to consumers coming back for more. Although this case is quite the extreme example of direct control, smaller form of audience members having a sort of agency within live-streams happens often, and are common way for live-streamers to keep their audience engaged. I propose the following hypotheses:

H5: (a) Social interactions positively predict emotional connectedness to a live-stream and (b) will have a positive effect on the amount of money donated to a live-stream.

2.2.5. Sense of Community

A sense of community is also very important in a live-streaming environment (Hamilton et al., 2014). I would argue that *meeting new people* and *social interactions* are offspring of a broader socio-motivator, which encapsulates the feeling of being part of a social group. That sense of belonging is encapsulated within this research in the motivation to watch a specific live-stream based on the social community built around it. Different than wanting to meet new people or interacting socially within a live-stream, a person consuming a

live-stream to experience a sense of community is keener on the social hierarchy within the community behind the live-stream, and searches for a sense of belonging in there. Watching a live-stream and communicating with the live-streamer and fellow audience all fall under the traditional sense of what a community is. In the particular case of a live-stream community, it includes being a member of a group of people exclusive to that live-stream, having a level of influence or status in that specific community, having influence, and a sense of belonging to the channel, streamer and the other live-stream consumers (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Hamilton et al., 2014). Many live-streams are considered *participatory communities*, characterized by their openness as well as the means for and encouragement of members to engage in shared activities. The primary activity, based on research (Hamilton et al., 2014; Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018), live-stream consumers engage in is sociability, which is defined as a playful experience of social association characterized by the sheer pleasure of being together (Simmel & Hughes, 1949). All of this combined suggests that live-stream consumers are attracted to live-stream channels where they feel noticed and influential. Therefore, in this research, experiencing a sense of community is proposed as a reason for live-stream consumers to engage in a live-stream. I propose the following hypotheses to measure this statement:

H6: Sense of community positively predicts emotional connectedness to a live-stream.

2.2.6. External Support

People may participate in online communities to compensate for a lack of community in real life (Miller, 2011). The environments in which live-stream consumers interact are built on a sense of anonymity. Audience members are not required to disclose any personal information, apart from an email account, in order to participate. Therefore, online

communities can be particularly beneficial for the psychological well-being of participants who lack social interactions and a sense of community with their “real life” peers (Bargh & McKenna, 2004). Based on that information, external support is introduced in this research as a motivation for consumers to seek out live-streams to experience external support. Online social interactions have been reported to reduce loneliness by providing people with opportunities to disclose their personalities, interests and opinions in a risk-free environment (Valkenburg & Peter, 2009). Live-stream environments can provide low-key alternatives to real life social interaction, which makes it easier for like-minded people to bond over mutual interests, due to the relative risk-free environment wherein one can speak their mind, without any repercussions other than the live-streaming platform enforces. In this research, I propose that experiencing and gaining support from a live-stream community motivates live-stream consumers to watch live-streams. The following hypotheses are proposed:

H7: (a) External support positively predicts emotional connectedness to a live-stream and **(b)** will have a positive effect on the time spent watching a live-stream.

2.3. Present Study

By answering the research- and sub questions of this study, this research is directed at filling a gap within the live-stream consumption motivations body of knowledge. The gap does not revolve around a lack of possible motivations, as previous work has introduced several (Sjöblom & Hamari, 2017; Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018). However, now that the motivations have been uncovered, understanding the nuanced ways in which they manifest in live-stream consumers feels like the next step. Are some motivations more important than others, are there more possible motivations for live-stream consumption, and do motivations change over time? This study aims to provide knowledge on these kind of questions by expanding upon

the previous research on live-stream consumption literature through the completion of two steps. The first step is to conduct an online, self-reported survey, which is designed based on the six socio-motivators and four indicators of live-stream consumption discussed in this literature review. This design is summarized in the conceptual model below:

What motivates viewers' live-stream consumption on Twitch, Youtube Gaming and Facebook Live?

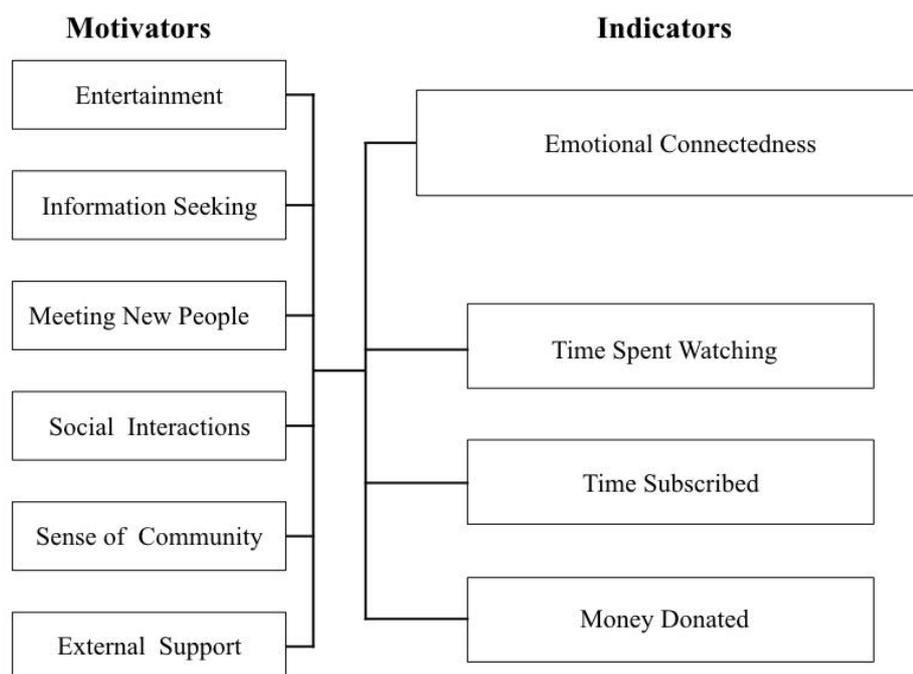


Fig. 1. Conceptual framework of proposed motivators and indicators of live-stream consumption.

The goal of this survey is to first test the correlation between the proposed socio-motivators and the live-stream consumption indicators and, by doing so, support/reject the hypothesis and answer the research question. Additionally, it aims to provide adequate data and knowledge to serve as input for a semi-structured interview topic list. This data must showcase trends and patterns that show within the statistical dynamics and relations between the various motivations and indicators, on which quantitative research can shed a brighter light. This topic list will then be used to interview a set of participants. These interviews will allow for a deeper understanding of the statistical data gained from the survey, and potentially

shed light on correlations and statistical findings that quantitative data is unfit to explain, as well as help to answer the sub questions introduced earlier in this research.

3. Methodology

This study used an explanatory sequential design that involved both qualitative and quantitative research methods in order to answer the research question, making this research a mixed-method research. The quantitative aspect of this research was based on an online self-report study. The qualitative aspect of this research was based on semi-structured interviews. The introduction of this chapter contains a brief overview of mixed-method research, and explains why it was applied in this paper specifically. After that, the methodology for the quantitative part of this study, the online self-report survey, is described. After that, the results section for the online self-report survey is represented. Finally, the methodology for the qualitative part of this study, the semi-structured interviews, is described, followed up by its corresponding results section.

3.1. Mixed Methods

Mixed method research involves combining both quantitative and qualitative methodologies (Hanson et al. 2005; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Quantitative method includes numerical values and measurement, which help researches to describe and determine some patterns, such as humans' social patterns, using deductive logic (Salehi & Golafshani, 2010). Qualitative method deals with interpretation and exploration, which guides researchers to understand and explain events and occurrences (Salehi & Golafshani, 2010). Various forms of combined research methods have been used over the past two decades (Morgan, 2007), and depending on the language, these studies combine, integrate or mix qualitative and quantitative methods. Combining both methods offers distinct advantages and in general

provides a more rich and comprehensive understanding of a research area (Kelle, 2006). It has, however, proven to be difficult to integrate qualitative and quantitative findings in a coherent way, resulting in somewhat loose results that are difficult to generalize (Bryman, 2005). Researchers frequently combine quantitative and qualitative methods without providing a clear rationale for their choices of methods (Kelle, 2006). Additionally, whereas undertaking research using mixed methodology can be time consuming, it can help address broader questions adding insight that could have otherwise been missed (Creswell, Klassen, Plano Clark, & Smith, 2011).

For the study at hand, the rationale to conduct mixed-method research was based on two factors. Firstly, the small amount of research conducted prior on this studies' topic, live-stream consumption motivations, had a quantitative nature. Recommendations for future research suggested different research methods to either improve statistical validity or deepen existing knowledge. Second, combining research methods would allow for an explanatory-sequential approach, in which the researcher is interested in following up quantitative results with qualitative data (Ivankova, Creswell, & Stick, 2006). Explanatory-sequential methodology is regarded as a popular approach to undertaking research, but not easy to implement (Ivankova, Creswell, & Stick, 2006; Bowen, Rose, & Pilkington, 2017), mainly due to the priority or weight given to the quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis in the study. In this study, adopting an explanatory-sequential design meant that the data and results retrieved from the online self-report survey could be used as a foundation for the narrative during the semi-structured interviews. This meant that, apart from providing a set of statistical results of its own, the data gained from the surveys could be further examined in a qualitative setting by having it feed the topic list of the interviews. Ethical approval for this research design was requested and granted from the BMS ethics committee of the University of Twente.

4. Online Self-Report Survey

4.1 Quantitative Methodology

In this chapter, the research methodology for the quantitative part of this study, the online self-report survey, will be introduced. First, the participants and the sample pool will be introduced, after which the measures will be discussed. Next, the research procedure will be explained, after which the data cleaning procedure will be described. To finalize, the factor analysis and reliability of this study will be discussed. This will conclude the quantitative methodology chapter, and lead to the results section.

4.1.1 Participants

In the introduction, I discussed the variety of live-stream platforms, and which ones would be included in the scope of this study: Twitch, YouTube Gaming and Facebook live. Therefore, naturally, the participants of this study had to be acquainted with at least one of the three platforms. Convenience sampling was conducted to find the participants for the sample pool. These participants were recruited on the internet, through the distribution of the survey on various platforms. An initial sampling approach consisted of distributing the survey on Twitter and Instagram, through personal social media accounts, which proved to be relatively unfruitful. A post on Reddit was created with a similar goal, and although the post garnered some attention, the amount of total survey initiations was close to 30 entries. A more direct approach was deemed necessary, and over 200 messages were sent out directly through Discord to various European creators that are active in the live-streaming environment on Twitch, YouTube and Facebook. These creators were found in large Discord servers and selected based on their audience sizes. The messages sent out (an example of which can be found in Appendix A) did not initially lead to an increase in participants, but did create a small snowball of attention for the survey, which resulted in various live-stream creators and

communities spreading the survey across various Discord servers and networks, resulting in a large spike in survey participants, increasing the total entries to around 300. Finally, various student esports organizations were contacted through direct messages on Discord and Instagram, and were asked to distribute the survey through their respective communication channels. This sampling procedure amounted to 357 total survey entries. Post data cleaning, 319 entries were taken into the analysis phase as the definitive final sample. The tables below show descriptive statistics for participants' gender as well as home continent. Interesting to note is that 83.4% of the sample is composed by males and 97.8% of the total participant pool hails from Europe.

Table 1
Amount of survey participants, gender and home locations.

Gender	n	(%)	Home	n	%
Male	266	83.4	South America	1	0.3
Female	47	14.7	Europe	312	97.8
Non-binary/third gender	4	1.3	Asia	5	1.6
Prefer not to say	2	0.6	Other	1	0.3
Total	319	100	Total	319	100

Table is split into two sections: Gender & Home

The main reference by which participants found the survey was Discord, as can be seen in table 1. Discord was responsible for 69.6% of the participants in this survey, while Direct Referral was the second highest noted reference source, at 18.8%.

Table 2
Participant reference

Reference	n	(%)
Discord	222	69.6
Reddit	6	1.9

Twitter	1	0.3
Instagram	20	6.3
Direct referral	60	18.8
Other	10	3.1
Total	319	100

The average age of the sample was 20.3 years of age (table 8), with a standard deviation of 4.8 years of age. Additionally, the average hours spent watching by all participants was 9.5 hours, with a standard deviation of 9.038. The complete set of participants had an average of 2.8 different subscriptions at the time of filling in this survey.

Table 3

Average participants' age, average amount of time watched and average subscriptions

Variable	n	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
Age	319	20.32	4.789	2.074	12.720
Hours Watched	319	9.46	9.038	2.255	7.618
Subscriptions	319	2.83	4.573	3.806	19.488

Additionally, 6.9% of the total participants' pool has a current subscription running for more than 24 months, which translates to 22 people. Additionally, 104 participants mention not to have any subscription active at the time of filling in the survey, which translates to almost a third of the complete sample pool.

Table 4

Amount of time subscribed

Longest Subscription	n	(%)
None	104	32.6
1 Month	23	7.2
2 Months	14	4.4

3 Months	27	8.5
4 Months	21	6.6
5 Months	10	3.1
6 Months	23	7.2
7-to-12 Months	36	11.3
13-to-24 Months	39	12.2
24+ Months	22	6.9
Total	319	100

4.1.2 Measurement Instruments

The online survey was based on the research conducted by Hilvert-Bruce et al. (2018), but adjusted in two ways. First, I took the recommendations and advice for future research (Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018) and implemented it in this research, which resulted in the adjustment of the research methods, leaving out various factors and negatively wording some items. Second, new items were constructed to explore live-stream consumption in ways that went beyond the existent literature. Various items were constructed and added to existing scales, in order to create a research instrument well suited for live-stream consumption research. The complete scales, along with the added items, are displayed in a table in Appendix B. This survey consisted of 51 items. Demographic questions were added to inquire about participants gender, age, home and reference, in the form of one open ended question (age), and three categorized questions (gender, home and reference).

Time Spent Watching, Time Spent Interacting, Time Subscribed, and Donation: The extent of live-stream behavioral engagement was assessed by adding 4 single-item open ended questions. These open-ended questions were drafted in order to get a general idea about participants live-stream consumption behavior and tendencies. Information about weekly

watch-time, subscription tendencies and total donation sums not only provided information about these factors individually, but were later used to connect consumption motivations to live-stream consumption indicators.

Emotional Connectedness: A 5-item Emotional Connected-ness scale was adapted from the Facebook Intensity Scale, by replacing “Facebook” with “live-streams”. The Facebook Intensity Scale was designed to measure emotional connectedness to Facebook and daily integration of Facebook use (Ellison et al., 2007) and was scored on a five-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Additionally, two items were added based on literature and the goals of this research, creating an adapted scale, aimed at measuring emotional connectedness to live-streams in particular.

Entertainment: Motivations based on entertainment were measured by adapting 2 items for Chang and Zhu (2011). These items were scored on a five-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). To adapt each of these Chang and Zhu (2011) items for both this construct as well as the following ones for the current study, “social networking sites” was replaced by “live-streaming platforms”. Additionally, 3 items were added based on literature and the goals of this research, both to negatively word an item, and to widen the data this scale could provide. The goal of this scale in this study was to measure the strength of entertainment as a motivator for live-stream consumption.

Information Seeking: Information seeking and learning motivations for participating in live-streaming was measured using 3 items adapted from Chang and Zhu (2011). Additionally, 3 items were added based on literature and the goals of this research. These items aimed to capture not just “information” in the general sense, but the motivation of consumers to watch live-streams to improve themselves at specific skills. The goal of this scale, and the added items, in this study was to measure if live-stream consumers feel like receiving information or knowledge about something drives them to consume a live-stream.

Meeting New People: Friend seeking and relationship building motivation for participating in live-streams was measured using 3 items adapted from Chang and Zhu (2011). Additionally, 2 items were added in order to measure live-stream consumers' motivations to find people to play video-games and hang out with, something that, like mentioned in the literature review, is a common tendency on live-stream platforms. The goal of this scale in this study was to measure the strength of meeting new people, to either talk, hang out or play games with, as a motivator for live-stream consumption.

Social Interactions: This measure was based on 4 items about social interaction motivations to participate in virtual communities (Chiu, Hsu, & Wang, 2006). The items were adapted by replacing "virtual community" with "live-stream". The scale was scored on a five-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Additionally, 3 items were added to measure the strength of the social connections formed through these social interactions, and to see if it extends beyond the scope of a live-stream. Participants were asked to answer the questions with their the live-stream they had the closest connection to in mind. The goal of this scale in this study was to measure the perceived strength of social relationships of live-stream consumers, and to measure if those relationships extend beyond the live-stream.

Sense of Community: This measure was based on 5 items from the Brief Sense of Community Scale (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Peterson, Speer, & McMillan, 2008). The items were adapted by replacing "community" with "live-stream". 4 items were worded positively, 1 item was worded negatively. The scale was scored on a five-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Additionally, 2 items were added measure the strength of the community when the live-stream is absent. Participants were asked to answer the questions with the live-stream they had the closest connection to in mind.

The goal of this scale in this study was to measure the importance of a community feeling for live-stream consumers, and if and how that feeling motivates live-stream consumption.

External Support: This measure consisted of 4 items from the Belonging subscale of the Interpersonal support Evaluation List (Cohen & Hoberman, 1983). This subscale measures participants' perceived availability of friends or social networks that they can spend time with in real life. Additionally, 2 items were added to improve the scale. Respondents are asked to rate their agreement with each item (0= Mostly false or 1 = Mostly true). After reverse scoring 1 negatively worded item, responses were summed, with higher scores reflecting higher perceived belongingness to a social network in real life. The goal of this scale in this study was to measure the way in which live-stream consumers perceive their peers as actual people that they can rely on for support and company.

4.1.3. Procedure

The complete set of survey items was imported and created in "Qualtrics", an online survey software and tool provided by the University of Twente. Afterwards, a pilot version of the survey was distributed to 5 participants through direct messages. These 5 participants were asked to complete the survey while sharing their screen and voicing their experience. Based on the results from these pre-tests, various adjustments to the survey were made, mainly revolving around clarity and wording, in order to smooth out the participant experience.

Afterwards, the survey was distributed following the structure described in the participants' acquisition chapter, sticking to a convenience sampling pool. The survey was accessible through a custom link, which remained valid for two weeks after the first round of distribution. After accessing the survey, participants were met with a paragraph of information, detailing information about the research. At the bottom of this paragraph,

participants were asked for their informed consent before starting with the survey (see Appendix C for informed consent). Participants were then instructed to answer the survey questions based on their own experiences. The research was conducted anonymously. In order to incentivize participants to complete the survey, participants were given the option to opt-in for a \$50 Steam Gift-Card, after completing the survey, by providing an email address. Additionally, participants could opt-in for voluntary participation in study 2 by providing their email address. Participants generally completed the questionnaire within 10 minutes. Participants were provided with a written “thank you” upon completion of the survey, and were dismissed. A complete overview of the survey, including the scale order, can be found in Appendix B. The survey data was analyzed using SPSS.

4.1.4. Validity and Reliability

First off, all items, except for the demographic questions as well as the live-stream indicator items, were analyzed through exploratory factor analysis. 43 items were explored. Negatively worded items were reverse-coded, in order for the scales to be consistently scored in a positive direction. Two item was reverse-coded: SoC4 and ES3. Both items were relabeled for clarification purposes. The analysis was executed by using a Varimax rotation. The Kaiser (Kaiser, 1960) criterion as well as factors that are greater than 1 were examined. A total of 68.13% of the variance was explained by nine factors with eigenvalues that were greater than one. In order to further identify meaningful factors, a scree plot (see Figure 2) was examined and parallel analysis (see Figure 3) was conducted.

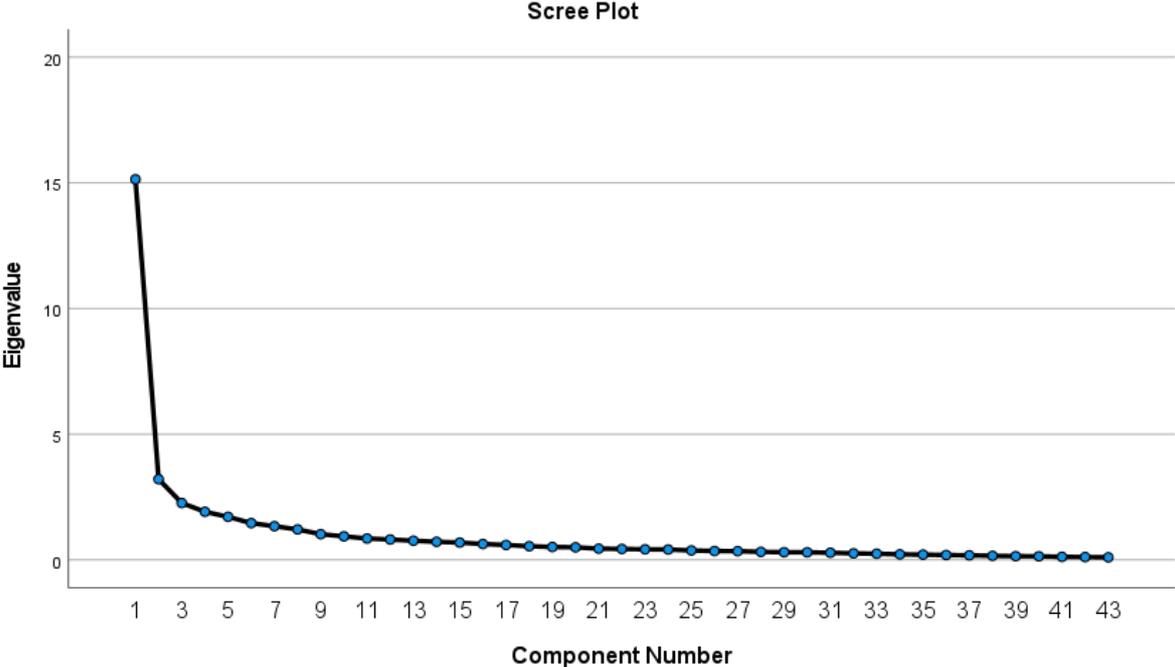


Figure 2. Scree Plot based on Principal Component Analysis (PCA) with 43 items

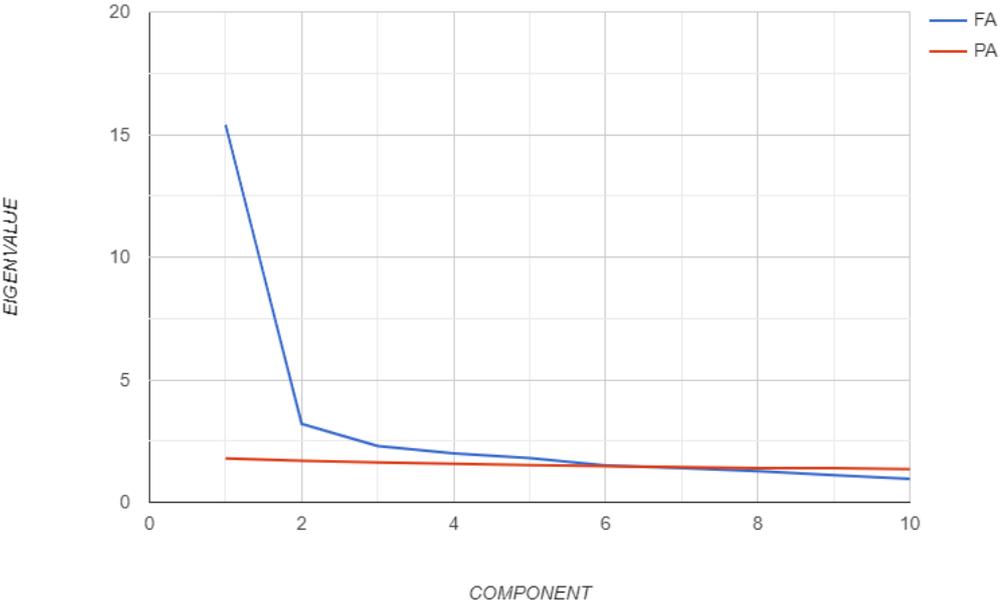


Figure 3. Eigenvalue Comparison between Factor Analysis (FA) and Parallel Analysis (PA)

Even though Kaiser’s criterion would have retained nine factors, I decided based on a visual inspection of Cattell’s scree test (i.e. the bend in the elbow), the results derived from the parallel analysis and the percentage of explained variance to extract seven factors in the

following analysis. An additional factor analysis was conducted, using a Varimax rotation with seven forced factors and .4 as the minimum acceptable factor loading (Mvududu & Sink, 2013). This analysis showcased reasonably strong factor loadings, ranging from 0.4 to 0.8, except for three items: Item EC2 (I am proud to tell people that I watch live-streams), Item ET5 (I watch live-streams to have something playing in the background) and Item ES3 (People in this live-stream do not enjoy the same things I do). In order to construct a reasonably clear factor pattern and interpret the factor loadings in a meaningful way, I had to differ from the scales originally proposed and outlined in the theoretical framework, and construct new ones based on the actual data. Table 5 showcases this new factor solution, with the renamed scales and their respective items as well as the respective Cronbach's Alpha for the various scales.

Table 5
Renamed scales and corresponding items

Item	Factor						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Habit (3 items; $\alpha = .80$)							
EC1				.82			
EC3				.85			
EC4				.59			
Streamer Familiarity (2 items; $\alpha = 0.82$)							
EC6					.80		
EC7					.81		
Passing the Time (2 items; $\alpha = 0.54$)							
ET1							.68
ET3							.70
Entertainment (2 items; $\alpha = 0.66$)							
ET2						.68	
ET4						.61	
Information Seeking (5 items; $\alpha = 0.83$)							
IS1			.76				
IS2			.56				
IS3			.79				
IS4			.81				
IS5			.82				
Meeting New People (5 items; $\alpha = 0.93$)							
MNP1	.52	.72					
MNP2	.46	.71					
MNP3	.41	.74					
MNP4	.44	.68					

MNP5	.76
Community Interactions (19 items; $\alpha = 0.96$)	
SI1	.77
SI2	.80
SI3	.81
SI4	.87
SI5	.72
SI6	.74
SI7	.85
SoC1	.68
SoC2	.81
SoC3	.63
SoC4R	.47
SoC5	.66
SoC6	.59
SoC7	.62
ES1	.74
ES2	.78
ES4	.76
ES5	.70
ES6	.55

Factor 7 (Passing the Time) proved to be inadequate in reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.54. However, due to the constructs' relevancy for the study, it was retained for the analysis. The lack of sufficient reliability was taken into account during the discussion of the results. Across each factor, removing specific items would not yield an improvement in a factors' reliability. The internal consistency of each factor, excluding factor 7, was adequate, ranging from 0.66 to 0.96. Therefore, in summary, the resulting factor structure demonstrated both acceptable internal consistency and factorial reliability. Additionally, tests to see if the data met the assumption of collinearity were conducted over the various scales, resulting in an indication that multicollinearity was not a concern.

4.2. Results

4.2.1. Emotional Connectedness

In the methods section it was explained that, based on the factor and reliability analysis, the original emotional connectedness scale was divided into two new scales: streamer familiarity and habit. A Multiple Linear Regression model (MLR) was used to test both new scales. For the streamer familiarity scale, it explained 15% of the variance of the emotional connectedness ($F(5, 296) = 9.49, p < .001$).

The model coefficients are shown in table 6. Meeting New People was a significant predictor of streamer familiarity. In essence, this means that the familiarity a live-stream consumer experiences with a live-streamer is positively influenced by their motivation to meet new people while watching that specific live-stream. .

Table 6
Predictors of streamer familiarity

Variable	B (95% CI)	β	p
Community Interactions	0.01 [-0.002, 0.03]	.13	.098
Meeting New People	0.06 [0.01, 0.11]	.20	.012*
Information Seeking	0.02 [-0.02, 0.07]	.05	.357
Entertainment	0.16 [-0.03, 0.34]	.10	.100
Passing the Time	-0.09 [-0.20, 0.03]	-.09	.130

For the habit scale, the MLR explained 28.2% of the variance of emotional connectedness ($F(5, 296) = 22.89, p < .001$). The model coefficients are shown in table 7. Community Interactions, Information Seeking and Entertainment were significant predictors of habit. This means that the extent to which a live-stream consumer consumes a specific live-stream out of habit is positively influenced by their motivations to interact within a community, seek information and be entertained.

Table 7
Predictors of habit

Variable	B (95% CI)	β	p
Community Interactions	0.04 [0.02, 0.07]	.26	.001*
Meeting New People	0.06 [-0.02, 0.14]	.11	.113
Information Seeking	0.09 [0.02, 0.16]	.13	.016*
Entertainment	0.75 [0.45, 1.05]	.26	.000*
Passing the Time	0.05 [-0.19, 0.23]	.03	.631

The combined results for both streamer familiarity and habit represent the original emotional connectedness scale on which the original study hypothesis were based. I therefore argue that, based on the various significant results reported in the tables above, H1a is supported. Based on the significant results in the habit scale shown for entertainment, H2a is also supported. Consequentially, the significant positive effect of meeting new people and community interactions on both streamer familiarity as well as habit results in support for H4a, H5a, H6 and H7a.

4.2.2. Time Spent Watching

A Multiple Linear Regression model (MLR) was used to test the influence of the adapted socio-motivators on the amount of time live-stream consumers spent watching on a weekly basis. For this scale, the model explained 6.6% of the variance of the time spent watching ($F(5, 295) = 4.09, p = .001$). The model coefficients are shown in table 8. Of all the adapted socio-motivators, only Community Interactions proved to be a significant predictor of the time spent watching. This means that the more a live-stream consumer watches a live-stream because he or she wants to interact within a community, the longer he or she will

watch live-streams compared to consumers watching for other reasons. With this knowledge, hypotheses H1b and H7b are supported, while H2b and H3a are rejected.

Table 8
Predictors of time spent watching

Variable	B (95% CI)	β	p
Community Interactions	0.18 [0.05, 0.32]	.23	.008*
Meeting New People	-0.001 [-0.43, 0.43]	.00	.997
Information Seeking	-0.22 [-0.62, 0.17]	-.07	.269
Entertainment	1.08 [-0.55, 2.71]	.08	.193
Passing the Time	0.56 [-0.43, 1.56]	-.07	.266

Note.

4.2.3. Time Subscribed

An Ordinal Linear Regression (OLR) was used to examine the effect of the adapted socio-motivators on the amount of time participants subscribed to live-streams. The OLR model demonstrated an acceptable fit (Pearson Goodness-of-Fit test, $\chi^2 = 3098.61$, $df = 2659$, $p < .000$), and explained the amount of time participants subscribed to live-streams above the alternate intercept model ($\chi^2 = 43.36$, $df = 5$, $p < .001$), accounting for 13.6% (Cox and Snell Pseudo R^2) of the variance in the time subscribed. Community Interactions was a significant predictor of the amount of time participants subscribed to live-streams ($p < .002$), along with Meeting New People ($p < .033$). The results of these tests are shown in table 9.

In essence, these results mean that the amount of time live-stream consumers spend being subscribed is positively influenced by their motivation to interact within a community as well as meet new people. The more participants watched a live-stream because of their motivation to either meet new people or interact within a community, the longer they ended up being subscribed. Based on the significant effects of community interactions and meeting

new people, H1c is supported. Additionally, based on the positive significant effect of meeting new people on the time spent being subscribed to a live-stream, H4b is also supported.

Table 9
Predictors of the total time subscribed to live-streams by live-stream consumers

Variable	B (95% CI)	SE
Community Interactions	0.03* [0.01, 0.04]	0.01
Meeting New People	0.06* [0.01, 0.11]	0.03
Information Seeking	-0.04 [-0.09, 0.06]	0.03
Entertainment	-0.01 [-0.22, 0.20]	0.11
Passing the Time	-0.05 [-0.17, 0.08]	0.06

4.2.4. Money Donated

Finally, an Ordinal Linear Regression (OLR) was used to examine the effect of the adapted socio-motivators on the amount of money donated by live-stream consumers. The OLR model showed good fit to the data (Pearson Goodness-of-Fit test, $\chi^2 = 1417.08$, $df = 1544$, $p = .857$) and explained the amount of money donated above the alternate intercept model ($\chi^2 = 71.46$, $df = 5$, $p < .001$), accounting for 21.4% (Cox and Snell Pseudo R^2) of the variance in the amount of money donated. Community Interactions was a significant predictor of the amount of money donated ($p < .000$), along with Meeting New People ($p < .021$). The result of this analysis is shown in table 10.

In a practical sense, this means that the amount of money live-stream consumers donated to a live-stream was significantly impact by their when their motivations for watching a live-stream were related to their desire to meet new people, as well as interacting and/or being part of a community. The amount of money people donated depended on

whether or not people wanted to meet new people and were willing to engage in community interactions.

Table 10
Predictors of the amount of money donated by live-stream consumers

Variable	B (95% CI)	SE
Community Interactions	0.04* [0.02, 0.06]	0.01
Meeting New People	0.07* [0.01, 0.12]	0.03
Information Seeking	-0.01 [-0.08, 0.02]	0.03
Entertainment	-0.04 [-0.25, 0.17]	0.12
Passing the Time	-0.03 [-0.12, 0.10]	0.07

This means that the amount of money live-stream consumers donate to a live-stream is positively influenced by their motivation to interact within a community as well as meet new people. The more participants watched a live-stream because of their motivation to either meet new people or interact within a community, the more money they ended up donating. Based on the significant effects of community interactions and meeting new people, H1d is supported. Additionally, based on the lack of a significant effect found for information seeking, H3b is rejected. Finally, based on the positive significant effect of community interactions on the amount of money donated, H5b is supported.

4.2.5. Hypotheses Overview

Table 8 displays the results of this study's hypotheses based on the statistical analysis.

Table 8
Results of the tested hypotheses

Hypotheses	Results
H1a: Emotional connectedness predicts live-stream consumption of consumers on Twitch, YouTube and Facebook.	Supported
H1b: Time spent watching predicts live-stream consumption of consumers on Twitch, YouTube and Facebook.	Supported

H1c: Time spent subscribed predicts live-stream consumption of consumers on Twitch, YouTube and Facebook.	Supported
H1d: Amount of money donated predicts live-stream consumption of consumers on Twitch, YouTube and Facebook.	Supported
H2a: Entertainment positively predicts emotional connectedness to a live-stream.	Supported
H2b: Entertainment will have a positive effect on the time spent watching a live-stream.	Rejected
H3a: Information seeking positively predicts the time spent watching a live-stream.	Rejected
H3b: Information seeking will have a positive effect on the amount of money donated to a live-stream.	Rejected
H4a: Meeting new people positively predicts emotional connectedness to a live-stream.	Supported
H4b: Meeting new people will have a positive effect on the time spent being subscribed to a live-stream.	Supported
H5a: Social interactions positively predict emotional connectedness to a live-stream.	Supported
H5b: Social interactions will have a positive effect on the amount of money donated to a live-stream.	Supported
H6: Sense of community positively predicts emotional connectedness to a live-stream.	Supported
H7a: External support positively predicts emotional connectedness to a live-stream.	Supported
H7b: External support will have a positive effect on the time spent watching a live-stream.	Supported

5. Semi-structured Interviews

5.1. Qualitative Methodology

In this chapter, the research methodology for the qualitative part of this research, the semi-structured interviews, will be introduced. First, the research design and the topic list will be discussed. In this part, the link between both studies, and specifically how the survey data leads into the topic list, will also be discussed. Then, the participants and the sampling pool will be introduced, after which the procedure will be described. To finalize, the analysis process will be described. This will conclude the qualitative methodology chapter, and lead to the results section of the qualitative study.

5.1.1. Research Design & Topic List

The adapted socio-motivators, derived from the results of the online self-report survey, formed the foundation for this study. Based on these motivators, a topic list was constructed. This topic list was constructed in various stages (Kallio, Pietilä, Johnson, & Kangasniemi, 2016). These phases included evaluating the semi-structured interview as an appropriate data collection method for this research (Turner, 2010; Kallio et al., 2016), retrieving and using previous knowledge on the topic, formulating and testing a preliminary topic list (after analyzing the results of the self-report survey), and conducting the semi-structured interviews using the tested and finished topic list. The topic list contained a set of questions that were meant to either deepen, broaden or nuance the information gained from the statistical analysis, in order to be able to answer the sub questions related to the qualitative analysis of this research. Examples of specific trends that were derived from the statistical data and included in the topic lists' questions were community interactions having a significant effect on the time spent watching by live-stream consumers, as well as their reoccurring habit patterns based on entertainment and information seeking motivations. This was implemented in the

topic list through questions like “Do you think live-stream platforms are good places to learn something”. It also included a set of introductory questions that were asked at the beginning of every interview, after which the narrative of the conversation was decided by the answers provided by the participant. The topic list served as a way to make sure that the most relevant subjects were touched on in the interviews, but did not serve as a narrative or chronological guideline. A few samples from the topic list include questions like: “Do you feel like what you experience as “entertaining” has changed over the months and years of you watching live-streams?” and “What do you think is more important to you, the person you are watching or what it is they are doing?” For the complete topic list, please see Appendix D.

5.1.2. Participants

20 participants participated in this study. The sample of this study is based on a selection of the participants of the online self-report survey. While concluding the survey, participants were given the option to opt-in for a future interview. After analyzing the results of the survey and applying that analysis to the hypothesis, participants for the interviews were chosen based on their given permission to be contacted for an interview, their specific survey answers matching a trend uncovered during the survey analysis, and them being logistically able to carry out an interview within 10 days, online, in either English, Dutch or Hungarian, based on their language of preference. This led to a purposive sampling pool being used in this study. During this study, it appeared that data saturation (Fush & Ness, 2015) was reached after 15 interviews. Data saturation usually occurs when no new information is derived from an interview, although it differs per study. During the interviews, participants were encouraged to speak freely and openly, and were encouraged to answer the questions based on their own narrative. Additionally, participants were encouraged to provide real examples of experiences they mentioned, as well as relate back to real events, people and

trends whenever they could. During the final 5 interviews, participants were asked more explicit questions about their opinions on live-stream consumption, and were urged to provide examples based on their own experience more often.

5.1.3. Procedure

All interviews were conducted over the internet, through voice-call software “Discord”. Only audio was recorded, and consent was established at the beginning of every interview orally. Since the interview took place online, and no visual cues were present in order to retain anonymity, communicational cues like gestures and facial expressions could not be taken into consideration. Dutch was spoken during 2 interviews, while English was spoken in 18 interviews. Consequentially, the participants were told that all the collected data and information would be processed anonymously, in order to uphold and protect the privacy of the participants. The interviews resembled a natural conversation in which various topics were discussed based on what the participants answered during the introductory questions. All interviews were completely transcribed. Additionally, two interviews were transcribed and translated from Dutch to English. All interviews were transcribed by the researcher. On average, the interviews lasted 24.5 minutes, of which the longest interview lasted 32 minutes, and the shortest 18.5 minutes. The interviews were then analyzed by using a codebook, in ATLAS.TI.

5.1.4. Analysis

A preliminary codebook was constructed based on a mix of the original socio-motivators, hailing from the literature review, and the adapted socio-motivators, constructed after carrying out factor analysis. This deductive codebook was used to analyze the first three interviews, after which missing codes were added to better cover the contents participants’

answers. This process was applied to the entirety of the coding process, resulting in a combined deductive and inductive coding approach. After the coding process was completed, the reliability of the codebook was assessed by determining the intercoder reliability between the main researcher and a second researcher. The second researcher was assigned three randomly segmented transcript parts, in order to prevent bias, to code using the codebook, after which the intercoder reliability was calculated using SPSS. This resulted in a Cohen's kappa value of 0.59 (Appendix E), which is deemed as a moderate reliability value.

Consequently, improvements to the codebook were made, which mainly revolved around a clearer description of the various codes, as well as some changes in wording to better allow for an objective assignment. Then, both the main researcher and the second researcher coded three more, randomly chosen segmented transcript parts, in order to be consistent with the first round of coding. The Cohen's kappa value of this coding session resulted in a value of 0.76 (Appendix E), which is deemed as substantial, and was decided to be adequate for this study. A sample of the codebook is displayed in table 9, which includes the code names as well as the categories. The entire codebook, including examples, descriptions, codes and categories can be found in Appendix E.

Table 9
Code categories and code names

Code Categories	Code names
Emotional Connectedness	Personal
	Community
	Content
	Support
	Effort
Time Spent Watching	Lower End
	Higher end
	Location
Time Subscribed	Active Subscription
Money Donated	Social Status
	Appreciation

	Impact
Entertainment	Joy
	Interested
Passing the Time	Killing Time
	Lurking
	Focus
Information Seeking	Learning
	Discovering
Meeting New People	Friends
	Playmates
	Comparison
Community Interactions	Audience
	Agency
	Chatter
	Sharing
	Distraction
Sense of Community	Comparison
	Experience
	Live-stream
Habit	Daily
	Routine

5.2. Results

The following sections contain a discussion on the analysis of the qualitative data gained from the semi-structured interviews.

5.2.1. Information Seeking

The first category to be discussed was the topic of information seeking; the motivation to watch a live-stream in order to either learn something new, or get better at something. Interesting to note is that of all the categories used to code the data, information seeking was, by far, used the least. Only 50% of the participants mentioned or talked about information seeking, in any sense, during their interviews. The various contexts in which the motivation was brought up however, are interesting and worth mentioning. The first and most notable

reason to mention information seeking is through its relation to improving at specific things, particularly video games, as participant 11 points out:

“I just started watching streams to get better at the game initially, because I played the game for a year and I wasn't very good at it. In fact, I wasn't good at all, and I still am not, so that didn't work. But so, I was mainly looking for people with specific higher rankings than me, who would then give tips & tricks during their live-stream.”

This quote is but an example of the main gist of information seeking quotes, that for a large extent revolved around either improving specific skills in video games, or learning about new games all together. I found it interesting to note that, when prompted with a follow-up question about the effectiveness of live-streams as learning tools, nearly every participant advocated that effectiveness in a positive sense. It does not strike me as odd, especially when one considers that these interactive live-stream platforms originally started out as strictly gaming platforms, that current video-game content creators have learned how to cater to an audience that looks to improve themselves. What did strike me as surprising however, was how effective participants claimed to be when asked how they found live-streamers that they wanted to learn from, and how specifically they could mention what they liked and disliked in a teacher. I presume that in a world so rich with media content to consume, not only participants in these interviews, but basically anyone with access to (social) media quickly learns what they like and dislike within a creator, and act accordingly. Apart from video-games, some participants spoke about deriving new experiences from watching live-streams, in a social sense, participant 3:

“If you see how people interact with each other, you can learn from that. Additionally, when you watch streams from different people from all over the world, you learn different things about other cultures. That is what I am interested in, to learn more about people, and not so much the game they are playing.”

Based on a holistic overview of the interviews however, I strongly believe that even the participants that spoke about watch specific live-streams in order to gain specific information, they did so in a very leisured point of view. Not a single participant spoke about watching live-streams from a work-like point of view, and although I have had conversations with participants about their friends who are looking to become the best at what they do, and use live-streams as a source of material to get there, the amount of people watching live-streams to learn something is more akin to the amount of people watching something they are interested in, while being entertained and learning something on the side. Participant 15 describes this in his own words:

In the beginning I watched live-streams to get better. But at some point, I found out that there aren't very many streams that are really focused on getting better from the level where I am. And then I switched very quickly to a more relaxed viewing style. So it started out to get better, but eventually I just watched purely for entertainment.

5.2.2. Entertainment

Entertainment was a widely discussed topic during the interviews. Nearly every participant mentioned getting some form of entertainment from watching live-streams. The keyword here, however, is “form”, because it quickly became clear that entertainment, and the experience of it, is vastly different for many live-stream consumers. What really stood out to me was the clear difference participants made in how they experienced entertainment. When asked a direct question: “What do you find entertaining in a live-stream”, participants would answer in different ways. For example, participant 15 mentioned:

“I mainly just like random streamers, those little ones, just to chill a little bit. Have a little chat with them. And recently I got into the casino world of Twitch.”

Little ones refer to smaller live-stream channels, wherein live-stream consumers mentioned that the level of interactivity was much higher. Interesting to me however, was the fact that many participants exclaimed not always caring so much for that interactivity. A clear pattern emerged amongst participants, from which I understood that although being part of the live-stream certainly adds to the entertainment value for a consumer, it is not always necessary. Many participants mentioned that most of the time, they were more than fine with just watching something they enjoyed, without being part of the show, as long as the live-streamer was clearly speaking to a live audience. Watching live-streamers gamble away hundreds of dollars in an online casino, or simply doing things participants would never do themselves was mentioned often, like participant 20 did:

“That super weird “in public” stuff. Yes, that is the kind of content that is super funny to watch, but mainly because I have a feeling that I would never be in a situation like that myself. But that is why it is very funny to see it happen to someone else. And everyone knew that it wasn't quite right for him, and that he had problems of his own. And that's kind of funny, somehow.”

However, the general consensus about what a live-stream needs to be entertaining was quite clear. Humour is very important, as well as the option to engage as a viewer. Nobody liked to watch live-streamers “being-live” without talking and engaging with their audience. “Doing their own thing” was completely fine, as long as the live-streamer was either talking about what they were doing, or making it engaging in another way. Interestingly enough, this thought was shared by both active as well as passive participants of live-streams. Both the very active participant, that is constantly chatting either with the live-streamer or other audience members, engages in live-stream activities and watches with full focus directed at the live-stream and the “lurker”, who has the live-stream playing in the background while being focussed on other things, preferred an engaged live-streamer. It is also important to note

that being a passive or active viewer is a fluid state, which changes based on circumstances.

Participant 20 worded this well when asked about it:

“Yes, it varies, because sometimes when I am gaming, and I have a live stream up next to it, then I am watching less. I am more focused on the game and then I watch the live-stream now and then. But there have also been a lot of times when I just really have a stream on and that is all that I am doing, because the content is very interactive.”

When participants mentioned the interactive aspects of a live-stream, a conversation about what that interactivity actually means often followed. For many participants, this interactivity is what sets live-streams apart from other forms of content, and is the main pull to watch. Participant 4 put this shared sentiment into a well worded passage:

“The second thing that is important, next to entertainment, is interaction. Because it is a live- stream. It is not a video. And what makes a live-stream, in my opinion, really unique compared to a video, is that at that moment, live, there is also someone behind the camera. And you just have the tools to reach out to that person as well. So, then it really becomes an extra level of involvement, when you can actually just have contact with that person. When you can ask questions, when you can just say things. Yes, that gives it a little more level of interaction, which you just do not get anywhere else.”

This ability to interact and have a sense of agency over what happens during the live-stream is what was most often mentioned as the most important factor for active live-stream consumers when asked why they watched live-streams. In fact, for many participants, this sense of consumer agency was the sole reason for watching a live-stream, as opposed to watching a YouTube video. Experiencing the feeling of being able to make an impact on the content, be it by chatting, interacting or one of the many ways in which live-streams offer their audience options to engage, turned out to be a very larger motivator. This makes sense to me, although what I find interesting is that some participants mentioned putting large value in

this feeling of agency, while they simultaneously mentioned not always being in the mood for a very active role. It appears to me that the way in which live-stream consumers approach live-streams varies a lot, and a concise answer to a question like “what do you want out of a live-stream” does not exist. One day, a viewer might want to be on the forefront, shouting directions and being a loud voice in the chat. The other day, that same viewer might come home from a long day of work, and would just want to slouch back and enjoy the show from a bit more distance.

5.2.3. Meeting New People

Conversation about participants’ motivation to watch live-streams to meet new people generally happened in two ways. The topic was either brought up after participants talked about what they found entertaining in a live-stream, or it came up as a result of talking about live-stream channels as social platforms, and how they support meeting new people and interacting within communities. Regardless, nearly every participant spoke of the social aspect of live-streams, and how interacting with both the live-streamer as well as the other audience members impacted their live-stream consumption experience. Participant 7 clearly mentioned this:

“At some point my friends started gaming a little less, then I thought, I want to have some people again, where I can share my hobbies with. So, I thought, I’ll look for it on Twitch” [...]

“To be perfectly honest, I never really watch the live-stream 100%. 9 out of 10 times I’m just chatting, talking to people. And really the stream itself, whether the live-streamer is playing a game, or just sitting in front of the camera talking about this and that, it doesn’t matter to me. As long as I have a nice environment, where I can express myself and just talk to people about the same hobbies, I’m good.”

In the conversations about meeting new people through live-streams, the topic of live-streams being good or suitable platforms to meet new people on nearly always came up. Nearly every participant confirmed that live-stream platforms were in fact good platforms to meet new people on, mainly because live-streams have an inherent segmentation process going on, all the time. What stood out to me here, is the stark differences participants spoke of when comparing the meeting of people in live-streams compared to the real world. Participants, especially the ones claiming to be introvert and shy, spoke of live-streams like outlets that made it possible for them to be themselves, and meeting new people accordingly. It does not surprise me, especially given the fact that live-streams can be very anonymous places. What does surprise me however, is how sophisticated these participants seemed to be when speaking of meeting people with the same interests. They openly exclaimed to be shy and inward in a real-world setting, but consequently made remarks about not being afraid to mingle, join voice calls and speak up to new people while being online. Some participants were clear about the fact that shared interests, as well as a lack of social judgement (in most live-streams) gave them social possibilities they would never have experienced in real life, and that it changed them for the better.

5.2.4. Community Interactions

Live-stream communities were a highly debated topic during the interviews. The topic appeared in nearly every conversation, either in relation to meeting new people, or by stating that interacting with individuals within communities, or engaging with communities as a whole were the main reasons for consuming live-streams. Participant 7:

“Usually, the first thing I do after the first few minutes or hours of joining a live-stream is join the Discord, or other media they have, I join it right away. And then I just check the vibe, and see how welcoming everyone is.”

I feel like at this point, it neither could not nor should not come as a shock how big of a role social and community interactions play when talking about live-stream consumption.

Previous research indeed stated that social reasons motivated many live-streamers. I find it fascinating however how clearly participants were able to articulate this, simply by reflecting on their regular, live-stream consuming behaviour. When prompted with questions like “How do you first get in touch with a community behind a live-stream”, or “do you actively seek out a community?”, participants spoke about the social aspects of these communities. One participant told me how he, very deliberately, set out one evening to find company, and found himself within a group call of over 10 people not more than fifteen minutes later, talking about a topic he never even heard of before. In light of these kind of findings, I find that stating that live-stream consumption is driven by social factors could very well be an understatement. Like I mentioned earlier, every participant spoke in some way or form about how they experienced the community aspect of a live-stream, ranging from simply relaxing and laughing at a live-streamer behind a computer screen and feeling a sense of belonging, to meeting up with people they originally met online to go to an event. Participant 12:

“I’m really very active in a few communities as well. For example, in one am the second place in rank in a Discord server, as a mod, administrator and so on. So instead of continuing in just watching the stream and just watching the skills of that streamer, I have moved on to contacting the people in the community behind it. It did take on more meaning for me in the last year, also because of Covid I could not go out very much. All I could do was really just work and occasionally exercise. So, then I started focusing a lot on the servers, on the community.”

Participants speaking about their communities happened often. What stood out to me was how specific participants were about their various communities. It appears to me that, because there quite frankly are not boundaries online, people flock together over basically any

shared interest. This in itself is of course nothing new, but I have never heard so many stories about laser focussed communities serving specific purposes before. Ranging from fully immersive tabletop game communities, to a social hub for singing and vocal exercises, it appeared to me that when the presumed boundaries of physical social meetings fall away, these participants were not afraid to be judged for what they liked and enjoyed in life.

5.2.5. Spending Money

The topic of spending money was, with a single exception, introduced by asking the same question in every interview wherein the topic was discussed: “why do you think people spend real money on live-stream channels?”. The answer came down to two reoccurring reasons: social status and appreciation. Social status was often connected to the community experience points, usually made earlier in the conversation, like participant 20 described fairly strongly when he was asked about his opinion on if social status plays is a reason for spending real money:

“I think a lot of it is fuelled by a bit of ego, as in: “See me, watch me and respond to me”, you know, in some of these channels, you might as well wait forever if you want your message read, because it is just that crowded. But if you donate one time, 10 or 15 euros, he will read that. And then you have e had your say again anyway and you have been in the spot light a lot. I think that plays a big part in the whole donating thing, recognition – a sort of “see me” idea.”

This thought of social status being a reason to spend money was echoed by multiple participants. To me, it struck out as an extension of the community aspect of live-streams. Participants spoke of social hierarchy often, talking about moderators or administrators, people with more power or perks. From my conversations about spending money on live-streams, participants exclaimed that it was done for two reasons: achieving a certain social

status, and showing appreciation. Participants spoke about their own motivations to donate or subscribe, ranging from everything between wanting to support a live-stream channel, show a form of appreciation of simply pay for a free service. Motivations were different, but the underlying thoughts always came down to the two previously mentioned reasons, like participant 15 described:

“I think it varies a lot from person to person. I think people who really need it to be high socially, to prove themselves or something, it can be a lot of things. I think those people want it more for that icon, then it would look pretty cool. But I think the vast majority just do it purely to show appreciation and support the streamer.”

A number of times, the conversation turned towards the difference between paid subscribing and directly donating. Although not set in stone, directly donating was more often associated with boosting social status, while subscribing was usually viewed as a long form of commitment and appreciation. A pattern clearly emerged here, and while I found it mildly amazing that some participants were clearly experiencing a duality in their own behaviour when confronted with the fact that they too, spent real-world currency to achieve a certain amount of status, the fact that it happens does not surprise me. When something matters to a person, they want to show the world that it does. By being able to consequentially directly support the source, often being the live-streamer, in doing what they love, spending real-world cash in order to not only show appreciation, but also highlight how much something matters to you can be quite satisfactory. What stood out to me however, was the fact that nearly every participant looked down on people spending money in return for social recognition. Even when confronted with the fact that they too, might fall into that category, participants showed a strong “in-and-out group” type of behaviour, and justified their own reasons with various arguments.

5.2.6. Emotional Connectedness

In nearly every interview, the last couple of minutes were spent talking about the “connection” a participant experienced with either a live-stream channel, a live-streamer, the community of a live-stream channel, or a mishmash of all of the above. Talks about this topic varied wildly, and often lead to interesting pieces of information that contextualized how participants viewed their favourite live-streamer, or thought about a community relative to their lives. Participants were quick to differentiate between why they watched the specific things they enjoyed watching, usually mentioning types of content, personality traits or fellow live-stream consumers as reasons for choosing specific live-stream channels over others. Participant 3 provided a short but convincing passage about this:

“It is actually more about the person I'm watching, instead of what the person actually does. Usually, when I open YouTube, I click on one of the streamers I follow with the most viewers at that time. Then I take a look and go like yeah, this suits me for now.”

This sentiment was echoed by multiple participants. However, the opposite was voiced as well, essentially dividing the participants into two groups: The group that watched a live-stream for the live-streamer, regardless of what he or she was doing, versus the group that watches for specific content, and does not really care about who is providing it. Participant 7 gave a solid example of the former:

“Yes, I do attach myself to the character of that person. Look, if I know a live-streamer is a good person and really sincere in the way he or she streams and what they do, I much rather have that than someone who only streams for the money, for example, or only for the fame. Look, if I notice that you are a streamer and you really stream because you like to share your opinion and your hobbies with people, just like why I join a stream, then I prefer to watch that stream over another.”

After conducting the semi-structured interviews, I am of the opinion that emotional connectedness as an indicator of live-stream consumption motivations does not entirely hit the mark. The ways in which participants exclaimed experiencing a sense of emotional connectedness to a live-stream, a live-streamer or a community were so different, that they nearly circled back to the other motivators. Some people spoke about liking specific people they watched, but this eventually always circled back to what they were doing while live-streaming, or a participants' own sense of belonging based on how they felt. Others spoke about feeling connected to someone when they found them entertaining, which in essence is nothing different from being motivated to watch a live-stream because you are seeking to be entertained. Nevertheless, some participants clearly stated how, after spending time with specific live-streamers in their live-streams, they experienced a clear emotional connection with that person, which lead them to care, interact and be engaged in ways not entirely explainable. When asked to speak about the emotional relationship participants experienced with, most participants exclaimed that although some sort of connection existed with a live-streamer, that same connection encapsulated the community and live-stream channel behind that person.

5.2.7. Sub Questions

In the introduction of this research, three sub questions were introduced, to be answered by qualitative research. Now that the results section of the qualitative research is complete, an attempt at answering these questions can be made.

First off, how does the “live” aspect of live-streams contribute to the consumer experience? Based on the previous section, it can be stated that the live-stream consumer experience is enriched by not only the interactive element that live-streams offer, but also by the various levels of engagement possible within a live-stream. Participants have

mentioned how a live-stream is fundamentally different from other forms of media content, and how that difference allows for a unique experience in terms of content and viewer engagement, social interaction and community building. The live aspect of live-streams is interwoven with all of these different terms and based on the interviews with live-stream consumers, clearly contributes to the consumer experience.

Second, how does the social aspect of live-stream consumption impact and affect the live-stream consumer experience? The effects of the social aspect have been brought up numerous times during the interviews, and thus have had a large part of the results section dedicated to them. Live-streaming, based on the results from the interviews, appears to be an inherently social phenomenon for the participants of this research. Of course, this comes as no surprise after stating that the biggest differentiator compared to other forms of media is the interactive element, but based on the results section of this study, various more thought-out conclusions can be drawn on this interactive element. Interactivity in live-streams does not *only* play a role between the audience and the live-streamer, but is also a fundamental pillar on which the social interaction between live-stream consumers takes place. By realizing that this interaction can range from being part of a small conversation with a peer in a live-stream channel to finding people that end up as real-life friends showcases that the social aspect of live-stream consumption reaches much further than simply being an “interactive” form of media.

Finally, to what extent do connections formed through these live-stream platforms carry over into the “real” world? Based on the results section and the various passages from participants talking about their social interactions as part of their live-stream consumption growing into something larger, this question seems like a simple one. However, it has to be stated that the definition of “real world” varies from person to person, and thus can provide different results based on one’s viewpoint. For some, a real-world connection manifests in

daily face-to-face time, while for others, their entire world unfolds online, which changes the nature of a real-world connection. In the scope of this study, I would argue that, based on the results section, clear examples and cases have been made for the fact that connections made through live-stream consumption very much carry over into the real-world of these participants, and have a strong foothold in their daily lives.

6. Discussion

The aim of this research was to answer the main research question: “What motivates viewers’ live-stream consumption on Twitch, YouTube Gaming and Facebook Live?”, as well as a set of sub questions. In this chapter, the main findings of the combined statistical and qualitative data are discussed in order to provide adequate and clear-cut information to answer the research question. Specifically, I will be talking about this studies’ interpretation of “Community Interaction”, detailing the unique social interactions within live-streams. I will also be talking about the term “agency”, which has been mentioned multiple times in this thesis, and adds a new dimension to the level of interaction live-stream consumers engage in. Then, I will talk about the meaning of entertainment, and I will discuss how this study finds that “entertainment” needs to be treated as a very subjective term when discussing it in light of live-stream consumption, and how I feel that the term does not fit the scope of this research. Finally, I will briefly reflect on the theoretical framework of this research. Then, a critical reflection on the limitations of this research is conducted, and remarks and recommendations for future research are provided.

6.1. Research Findings

Community Interactions encapsulate all the social interactions within a live-stream. The factor was named as such after all “social” items showed a strong factor loading on the same category. The factor had a significant effect on the emotional connectedness participants experienced with live-streamers and communities, the time participants spent watching live-streams, the amount of time they spent subscribing to live-streams, and the money they donated to live-streams. Having a positive significant effect on all four indicators is quite the result in and of itself, but the qualitative data highlighted even stronger connections between community interactions and an increase in motivation to watch live-streams. Live-stream

consumption literature (Hamilton, Garretson, & Kerne, 2014; Sjöblom & Hamari, 2017; Deng, Benckendorff, & Wang, 2021) mentioned this emphasis on social interactions and communities, and highlighted how these factors play a large part in the consumer experience (Gros et al., 2017). What this existing literature did not touch on however, is the specific structure within a live-stream community, and how nuanced that structure can be. When examining the data of this research, the qualitative part in particular, information about how consumers feel when watching live-streams becomes known. Many participants spoke about their reasoning to watch specific live-streams and mingle in specific communities, and when prompted, answered questions about how those live-stream communities differed from “traditional” communities. Live-streams are inherently social platforms, and this is a specific reason for participants to seek out live-streams, as opposed to consuming some other form of media content. Participants felt engaged and connected to live-stream channels that fostered community interactions. Be it a simple interaction with the chat, a form of interaction which many live-stream consumption researchers tout as the “umbrella” for all live-stream interaction (Hamilton, Garretson, & Kerne, 2014; Gros et al., 2017), to a more modern look at live-stream interactions and its possibilities (Deng, Benckendorff, & Wang, 2021), participants exclaimed that the biggest reason for watching live-streams was because of not only the community interaction the medium allowed for, but also what those forms of interaction meant to them. In the qualitative results section, I mentioned multiple times how openly the participants of this research spoke about their ability to be themselves in a live-stream environment. To me, while first coming as a surprise, it slowly starts to make sense how being part of these online communities, that differ so much from community to community, allows for an experience of freedom that is simply not possible in the real world. Judgement is everywhere, and I truly believe, based on what participants have spoken about, that being free of judgement and finding oneself amongst like-minded peers in an

environment that is supportive of whatever interest one has can be a large motivator for wanting to come back and engage in such a community.

Apart from community interactions having a large impact on the motivations of participants to watch live-streams and become part of their communities, live-stream consumers are motivated by something best described as “agency” within a live-stream. Often triggered by or related to spending currency (either real money or a platform specific form of currency), agency refers to the power or influence a consumer has over a live-stream. Participants, during the interviews, spoke at length about how having an impact within a live-stream, through examples like triggering alerts and media bits, or simply asking questions or participating in events, offers a unique experience specific to live-streams, and motivates them to come back. This also ties into the discussion on viewers versus consumers. In the introduction, I stated that for the sake of this research, I would talk about live-stream consumers as opposed to viewers, because in my opinion, viewing does not encapsulate the whole live-stream consumption experience. Talking about agency, and the different aspects it adds to the live-stream consumption experience, I feel like my original arguments for making the distinction hold up. Part of the live-stream consumption process can be viewing or watching a live-stream. But to then classify those people as *just* viewers, while at any given time they can take action or participate in a number of live-stream related events which can no longer be classified as viewing would be, in my opinion, wrong. Additionally, while it was mentioned in the literature review that research on spending habits in relation to live-stream consumption is scarce (Sjöblom & Hamari, 2017; Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018), parallels can be drawn with other branches of research like paid subscriptions on free content (Mäntymäki, Islam, & Benbasat, 2020) and donation motivations in other fields (Aggarwal, Meschke, & Wang, 2012; Bretschneider, Knaub, & Wieck, 2014; Stephenson & Bell, 2014). These parallels are mainly based on a sense of goodwill spanning from a recipient, the live-stream

consumer, to the source, in this case the live-streamer, as a motivation to spend money. This goodwill closely resembles what was earlier described as appreciation in this research, which ranges from wanting to give something back as a form of reciprocity to showing support for a cause one believes in. Regardless, the results from both studies showed that live-stream consumers spend money, be it on subscriptions or direct donations, largely based on social factors. This is consistent with previous findings (Sjöblom & Hamari, 2017; Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018) in the sense that participants are motivated to spend money to develop deeper connections with other individuals as well as feel part of a community. What neither of these articles mention however, is a clear distinction within these social factors. In my research, participants spoke openly about their motivations to spend money on live-streams, and mentioned that while social factors played a significant role, deeper social reasons like showing appreciation and support, or manifesting a strong social status within a live-stream community are the real reasons viewers or consumers spend money. Having spoken about the deeper intricacies of the community interactions within a live-stream, it should not come as a surprise that consumers' spending patterns are more nuanced as well. Previous articles attributing them to "social factors" is technically true, but this research shows that there is more depth underlying these factors. Terms like "social interaction" and "social factors" have often been used in the literature that this study was built on. In the previous paragraphs, I have showcased how, although these relatively general terms work when discussing live-stream consumption in a general setting, uncovering the nuanced social structure of live-streams requires a more micro approach. Dissecting "social interaction" into the various ways in which live-stream communities interact, and cutting up "social factors" into terms like appreciation and social status is a good start.

The same can be done for the topic of entertainment. However, while factors like community interactions and agency were found to be motivators for live-stream consumption,

and were very much usable within the scope of this research, I argue that entertainment does not fit the scope of this research. Entertainment was first introduced in this research as something live-stream consumers sought after while deciding on which live-stream to watch. While the items in the entertainment scale, meant to measure the above, proved troublesome initially, some form of statistical analysis was possible. During the interpretation of the qualitative analysis however, I realized that while entertainment works from a statistical point of view in this research, it struggles when tackled quantitatively. For example, when including items like “I find live-streams fun”, and “I watch live-streams to entertain myself”, participants will have no trouble to give their opinions. But when asked upfront what participants find entertaining in a live-stream, a wide array of answers arise, which can no longer be purely classified under the umbrella of entertainment. Naturally, participants want to have a good time when watching a live-stream. But when a good time can be achieved by spending time with and talking to friends while all watching the same live-stream, as well as pranking a live-streamer by spending a little cash to trigger a sound alert, or just sitting back and digesting a bunch of useful information about a game that is being played, it becomes hard to, from a research point of view, measure entertainment. I touched on this briefly in the results section of the interviews, wherein I mentioned that I was surprised by how different the idea of entertainment can be for different live-stream consumers, and that even the same consumers sometimes fluctuate between what they experience as entertaining. This fact has led me to believe that entertainment, when approached as a motivation to consume live-streams, is much too broad to be included in research on live-stream consumption motivations. Entertainment represents basically everything that one wants to get out of consuming a live-stream, and therefore falters when being handled like a single factor, exemplified in this research. In a sense, the same applies to the topic of emotional connectedness. Emotional connectedness was originally introduced as a sort of umbrella

indicator amongst the other three indicators, but was quickly reverted back to just “one-of-the-four” indicators, after proving to be difficult to measure in any notable sense during the statistical analysis. During the quantitative analysis, an effort was made to tie emotional connectedness back into the research in an overarching sense. The results quickly matched those of the entertainment scale however, as it turned out that just like entertainment as a term, emotional connectedness appeared to be too vague to pin down. Participants spoke about experiencing an emotional connection, but could not really pinpoint how or when that connection manifested, without bringing other motivators or indicators to the table. This resulted in answers never getting further than the likes of “I like him for the way he acts”, or “he just has a cool vibe”, which in essence, don’t really add anything to build upon from an academic point of view. Together with entertainment, I believe these factors should be avoided in future research, at least until a more straight forward or structured way of measuring them in a live-stream consumption setting is created.

Finally, a word on the utility of the adapted socio-motivators. The use of these motivators was largely supported. Entertainment as a scale of items, following up on the previous section, proved to be difficult to fit into the original statistical framework, and was therefore dissected into more specific factors. This led to a better item distribution, and caused no problems during the statistical analysis. Community interactions, information seeking, entertainment, and meeting new people all provided significant effects related to the various live-stream consumption indicators. The only motivation to not show any significant results was ‘passing the time’. This can be attributed to the nature of the scale, which consisted of two items from the original entertainment scale. Nevertheless, all of the topics were discussed during the interviews, providing a deeper understanding of the various significant effects and how they relate to actual motivations and behavior.

6.2. Limitations and Future Research

This study has multiple limitations. The first, and in my opinion foremost one, is the limitation that revolves around the heavily skewed sample of participants. The participants that participated in this study nearly all hailed from Europe: post data cleaning procedures lead to a participant pool of which less than 3% lived outside Europe. Additionally, after conducting the semi-structured interviews, a large portion of the interviewed participants referenced video-game based live-streams as their main consumption material, indicating that although this research was aimed at targeting all interactive live-stream content in its scope, video-games were largely overrepresented. This leads to a sample that does not allow for generalizations, mainly due to the fact that the sample pool of participants does not represent the general live-streaming audience.

A second limitation is based on the lack of sufficient reliability in one of the scales used during analysis: Passing the Time. This scale was constructed after factor analysis suggested a different scale set-up, and consisted of two of the original five items from the entertainment scale that revolved around watching live-streams to pass the time and watching live-streams while being bored. The entire scale in itself proved rather unfruitful during analysis, both during the quantitative as well as the qualitative part, but its insufficient reliability should nevertheless be noted. Additionally, the validity of some scales, like Streamer Familiarity, Habit and Entertainment should be questioned during interpretation, mainly because them consisting of a small number of items.

In the light of future research, I would like to offer two recommendations. First, I would suggest to scratch entertainment as a motivation for live-stream consumption, and instead do a deep-dive with the remaining motivators on a quantitative basis. Instead of carving out items from used scales designated for other research, develop new scales specifically for interactive live-stream consumption motivations, based on the emerging

academic knowledge on interactive live-streams as well as the platforms on which they are being broadcast. Conduct a survey amongst a participants pool that is representative for the interactive live-stream consumer base, which includes multiple genre of live-streams, and provide statistical analysis. Secondly, I strongly believe that qualitative research that focusses entirely on the community aspects and social hierarchy of live-stream communities would allow for a better understanding of why live-stream consumers consume live-streams, especially when taking into account the remarks on entertainment and community interactions stemming from this research.

7. Conclusion

This research answered the question: “What motivates viewers’ live-stream consumption on Twitch, YouTube Gaming and Facebook Live?” It did so by conducting a mixed-method design to combine the results of an online self-report survey with that of a set of semi-structured interviews. The results showcased that live-stream consumers are motivated by a large number of social factors, and provided insights in what those social factors are: experiencing a sense of belonging, finding like-minded people, interacting and being part of a community and generally being entertained. Additionally, the term “agency” was introduced within the scope of live-streaming, which highlighted the power or influence a live-stream consumer has within a live-stream or live-stream community. The results also highlighted how “entertainment” is a very fluid term within the scope of live-stream consumption, and is not entirely suitable within the scope of this research. Live-stream consumers are motivated by a great variety of factors, not all of which are supported by traditional literature. This study helped to gain insight in what those factors are, and how future research can deepen that body of knowledge to better understand live-stream consumption.

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Appendices

Appendix A - Creator Contact Message

Hey there. My name is Daniël.

I've gained permission from the owner/administrator of this Discord server to send this approach a few individuals for the following: I'm currently conducting my Master Thesis, at the University of Twente in the Netherlands. My Thesis is about live-stream viewers' motivations. Basically, why do people watch and consume live-streams. I'm currently in the data gathering phase, which involves reaching out to live-stream viewers, and measuring their live-streaming viewing motivations. I was wondering if you'd like to (1). participate, and (2). share this message within your own community.

There is no hassle or anything. Participating in the survey basically comes down to you sharing, through an English, 5 minute survey, your live-stream viewing and consuming motivations to the best of your ability. All online, and all quite quick. Apart from an interesting set of questions, you can opt-in for a 50 dollar steam card give-away.

If you are interested and would like to participate, please DM me back, and I'll shoot you the survey link.

Thanks in advance!

Appendix B – Online self-report survey items

Variable	Variable name	Item	References
Demographic Questions	DQ1	What gender do you identify as? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male • Female • None of the above • Prefer not to answer 	
	DQ2	What is your age in number of years?	
	DQ3	Where is your home located? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • North/Central America • South America • Europe • Africa • Asia • Australia • Other 	
	DQ4	How did you find this survey? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discord • Reddit • Facebook • Twitter • Instagram • Direct Referral • Other 	
Live-stream Indicators	LI1	On average, how many hours do you spend watching live-streams per week?	
	LI2	How long is the longest subscription that you currently have running? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None • 1 Month • 2 Months • 3 Months • 4 Months • 5 Months • 6 Months • 7-to-12 Months • 13-to-24 Months • 24+ Months 	
	LI3	To how many live-stream channels are you subscribed (paid)?	
	LI4	How much money (estimate, in US dollars) have you donated to live-stream broadcasters in total during the course of your lifetime? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None • 0-20 • 20-50 	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 50-100 • 100-250 • 250+ 		
Emotional Connectedness	EC1	Live-streams are part of my everyday activity.		
	EC2	I am proud to tell people that I watch live-streams.		
	EC3	Watching live-streams has become part of my daily routine.		
	EC4	I feel out of touch when I haven't watched live-streams in a while.	Adapted from Ellison et al. (2007).	
	EC5	I feel like I am part of the live-stream community.		
	EC6	By watching live-streams, I feel like I get to know the live-streamer on a personal level. *		
	EC7	By watching live-streams, I can relate to the live-streamer on a personal level. *		
ET1	I watch live-streams to pass the time.	Adapted from Chang and Zhu (2011).		
ET2	I watch live-streams to entertain myself.			
ET3	I watch live-streams because I'm bored. *			
ET4	I watch live-streams because I find them fun. *			
ET5	I watch live-streams to have something playing in the background. *			
Information Seeking	IS1	I watch live-streams to learn about unknown things.		
	IS2	I watch live-streams to keep up on current trends.	Adapted from Chang and Zhu (2011).	
	IS3	I watch live-streams to get useful information.		
	IS4	I watch live-streams to get better at something. *		
	IS5	I watch live-streams to improve myself in a specific area. *		
	IS6	I watch live-streams because I'm afraid of missing out on new things. *		
Meeting New People	MNP1	I watch live-streams to meet new friends.		
	MNP2	I watch live-streams to find new people with the same interests.		
	MNP3	I watch live-streams to increase my social networks.	Adapted from Chang and Zhu (2011).	
	MNP4	I watch live-streams to find people to play video-games with. *		
	MNP5	I watch live-streams to find people to hang out with. *		
Social Interactions	SI1	I maintain close social relationships with members in this live-stream community.		Adapted from Chiu, Hsu, & Wang (2006).
	SI2	I spend a lot of time interacting with some members in this live-stream community.		
	SI3			

		I know some members in this live-stream community on a personal level.		
	SI4	I have frequent communication with some members in this live-stream community.		
	SI5	I feel like this live-stream community is part of my daily life. *		
	SI6	I feel like this community extends beyond the live-stream. *		
	SI7	I have friends in this live-stream community. *		
Sense of Community	SoC1	I can recognize most members of this live-stream community.		
	SoC2	Most live-stream community members know me.		
	SoC3	Being a part of this live-stream community is a part of my identity.	Adapted from McMillan & Chavis (1986) & Peterson, Speer, & McMillan (2008).	
	SoC4	It is not important for me to be part of this community.		
	SoC5	I expect to be a part of this live-stream community for a long time.		
	SoC6	I miss this live-stream community when I'm not around. *		
	SoC7	If the live-stream would ever stop, I feel like this community would still exist. *		
External Support	ES1	When I'm lonely, there are several people I can talk to within this live-stream.		
	ES2	I often talk with people within this live-stream.		
	ES3	People in this live-stream do not enjoy the same things I do.	Adapted from Cohen & Hoberman (1983).	
	ES4	I get invited to do things with others in this live-stream.		
	ES5	I feel like I can share personal stories with people in this live-stream. *		
	ES6	I feel like people in this live-stream know me in ways that my other friends don't. *		

Note. * Indicate an added item to an existing scale

Appendix C – Informed Consent

TITLE OF STUDY

Why do we watch? A mixed-method study on live-stream viewers' motivations.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Daan Sluman

University of Twente

Faculty of Behavioural, Management and Social Sciences (BMS)

d.r.sluman@student.utwente.nl

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

You are being asked to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information.

The purpose of this study is to better understand *why* live-stream viewers watch live-streams. By understanding what motivates viewers to watch and engage with live-streams, live-streamers and live-stream communities, we want to add to the body of knowledge about live-stream consumption literature.

STUDY PROCEDURES

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are asked to participate in an online self-report survey. Participating in this study may not benefit you directly, but it will help us to gain valuable knowledge about the described research topic. You may end the survey at any time.

Upon completion of this survey, you are able to opt-in for a \$50 Steam Gift-Card.

Furthermore, you are able to opt-in for a follow-up interview, based on your survey results.

Both opt-ins require your email address to be shared.

The information you will share with us if you participate in this study will be kept completely confidential to the full extent of the law.

While the investigator will keep your information confidential, there are some risks of data breaches when sending information over the Internet that are beyond the control of the investigator.

By completing this survey, you are consenting to participate in this study.

Appendix D – Topic List*Semi-structured interview questions, non-chronological***Introduction**

- Could you give me a little introduction about you in the context of watching live-streams?
- When did you start watching live-streams?
- What did you watch when you started?
- What or who got you into watching live-streams?
- For how long have you been watching?
- Have you noticed any changes in what, who and why you watch live-streams over the years?
- How do you decide on what to watch at any given time? Do you make a conscious decision as to who or what to watch?

Longest Subscription

- Why do you subscribe to a live-streamer?
- Do you consciously keep your subscription running, or is it an automated thing for you?
- Do you care about how long you are subscribed to a live-stream channel?
- Is it important for you that other people know how long you have been subscribed to a live-stream channel?

Time Spent Watching

- Do you watch live-streams in a specific place? Does it differ?
- What makes you fire up a live-stream as opposed to, for example, watching a movie or a video, or doing something else to entertain yourself?

Money Donated

- Why do you think people spend their money on a live-stream entity?
- Do you think there is a difference in spending money on a live-streamer (as a person), a company, a tournament, an organization, etc.?
- Do you think there is a difference in motivation between spending money on donations and spending money on subscriptions?
- Do you care about what happens with the money that you spend on a live-stream channel? Does your willingness to spend money differ based on if its used for charity, technology upgrades.

Emotional Connectedness

- How do you decide on who or what you want to watch on any given day?
- Do you care about what the person that you are watching is doing? Or do you watch them regardless?
- What do you think is more important to you, the person you watch, or what they are doing? Would you watch your favorite Minecraft live-streamer if he suddenly is out and about?
- Does the live-stream's nature, be it a person, a charity, an organization etc. have an effect on your willingness to connect with the live-stream?

Entertainment

- Do you feel like what you experience as “entertaining” has changed over the months and years of you watching live-streams?
- When you enter a live-stream for the first time, what are the factors that for you decide if something or someone is entertaining or not?

Passing the Time

- Are you always focused on the live-stream while you are watching it? Are you constantly invested?
- Do you decide to watch a live-stream based on the “free” time you have available to spend? Or do you not care about how much time you have, when you fire up a live-stream?

Community Interactions

- What does the “live” addition of live-streams add to the consumer experience? Does it matter if you are watching something live, or rewatching it later?
- Does the size of a live-stream channel (average amount of viewers, amount of people that engage in the chat) influences the “community vibe”, so to say?
- Do you feel like you, as a viewer, can make an impact or influence a live-stream?
- Do you care about a live-streamer being chatty, or do you rather have them focus on the actual thing they are doing (gameplay, talking about subjects, competing)?

Sense of Community

- Do you feel like a live-stream community differs from a real-life community? How so?
- When you first enter a live-stream, do you care about the community at all?
- Do you feel like people that know you through a live-stream community know you in ways that other people don't?

Habit

- Would your day look any different without watching a live-stream? How so?
- Do you miss watching live-streams after you have not done so for a while?

Information Seeking

- Do you think that live-streams are a good place to get better at something?

- Have you ever experienced a moment wherein you felt that the information you were receiving through a live-stream was impossible to receive anywhere else?

Meeting New People

- Do you feel like live-streams are a good setting to meet people?
- How do you think meeting people through live-streams is different?

External Support

- In what ways help live-streams to distract you when you want to be distracted from things happening in your life?
- Do you feel like people you met through live-stream communities can grow into actual friends? Are you able to form deep connections through these platforms?

Appendix E – Cohen’s Kappa

Cohen’s Kappa after the first round of coding

		Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Asymptotic Standard Error ^a	Approximate T ^b	Approximate Significance
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	,585	,056	22,650	,000
N of Valid Cases		84			

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Cohen’s Kappa after the second round of coding

		Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Asymptotic Standard Error ^a	Approximate T ^b	Approximate Significance
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	,763	,058	24,793	,000
N of Valid Cases		58			

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Appendix F – Codebook*Codebook, including categories, code's, code names, descriptions and examples*

Category	Code	Code Name	Description	Example
Emotional Connectedness	01.1	Personal	The participant talks about watching a live-stream based on the connection he has with the person broadcasting on that live-stream channel.	
	01.2	Community	The participant talks about watching a live-stream based on the emotional connection he has with the community of that live-stream.	
	01.3	Content	The participant talks about watching a live-stream based on the emotional connection he or she has with the content that is being broadcasted on the live-stream.	
	01.4	Support	The participant talks about watching a live-stream to support friends or small streams.	
	01.5	Effort	The participant talks about live-streamers putting in effort in a special way to draw people to their live-streams.	
Time Spent Watching	02.1	Lower End	The participant mentions watching live-streams for a relatively low amount of time on a weekly basis.	
	02.2	Higher End	The participant mentions watching live-streams for a relatively high amount of time on a weekly basis.	
	02.3	Location	The participant talks about the location in which he watches live-streams.	

Time Subscribed	03.1	Active Subscription	The participant talks about being subscribed to a live-stream channel.
Money Donated	04.1	Social Status	The participant talks about spending money in a live-stream to achieve a higher social status.
	04.2	Appreciation	The participant talks about spending money in a live-stream to show appreciation.
	04.3	Impact	The participant talks about what the donated or paid money is being used for.
Entertainment	05.1	Joy	The participant talks about gaining joy or fun from watching a live-stream.
	05.20	Interested	The participant talks about watching a live-stream because it peaks or satisfies his interests.
Passing the Time	06.1	Killing Time	The participant talks about watching a live-stream in order to kill time.
	06.2	Lurking	The participant talks about watching a live-stream to have something playing in the background, while he or she is doing other things at the same time.
	06.3	Focus	The participant talks about watching a live-stream intently and in a focused state, and is clear on not doing anything else at the same time.

Information Seeking	07.1	Learning	The participant talks about watching a live-stream in order to gain a better understanding of a certain topic.
	07.2	Discovering	The participant talks about watching a live-stream in order to discover or learn about a new trend, topic or game.
Meeting New People	08.1	Friends	The participant talks about watching live-streams to make new, like-minded friends.
	08.2	Playmates	The participant talks about watching live-streams to find people to play games with.
	08.3	Comparison	The participant talks about how meeting people through live-stream platforms differs from meeting people in real life.
Community Interactions	09.1	Audience	The participant talks about the interaction between the live-stream broadcaster and the audience/chat of the live-stream.
	09.2	Agency	The participant talks about the live-stream audience/chat having control/agency over what happens in the live-stream broadcast content.
	09.3	Chatter	The participant talks about a live-stream audience discussing things amongst themselves, without the input of a live-streamer.
	09.4	Sharing	The participant talks about sharing personal stories with

	09.5	Distraction	peers in a live-stream community/environment. The participant talks about watching live-streams as a means to distract himself or herself from the real world.
Sense of Community	10.1	Comparison	The participant talks about a comparison between real world communities and live-stream communities.
	10.2	Experience	The participant talks about valuing the "I was there" moment, which comes down to experiencing a big moment on a broadcast alongside other community members.
	10.3	Live-stream	The participant talks about being part of a live-stream community.
Habit	11.1	Daily	The participant talks about watching live-streams on a daily basis.
	11.2	Routine	The participant talks about live-streams being a part of his daily routine.
