At Home With Entertainment

Changing uses, places and meanings of digital entertainment in family leisure

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

This study describes how the families studied use and domesticate digital entertainment technologies and services at home as a part of their practices.

Data were collected using fieldwork and analyzed using grounded theory. A total of eight families with children were visited, for one weekday afternoon each. During the visits, each family member was interviewed and their use of entertainment was observed and photographed. Family members also completed some assignments. Motivations for use and relevant technological development factors found were classified into key categories, and relationships between these were recognized to form theory on family digital entertainment use at home. The theory is presented as a flowchart and a narrative. The results are integrated with sociological theories and research on domestication and practices. The results of this theoretical integration are presented as a second flowchart model and a narrative. The findings are also compared with user acceptance models from other disciplines.

The research question of this study is: "How do families with children use digital entertainment at home?" The main results are that families with children use digital entertainment at home in a socially conditioned way and as a part of their everyday practices. Family members have to take others living in the same household into account when making choices. Recent developmental advances in entertainment technology (ease of use and personalization) enable new ways of using entertainment at home, encouraging the social and practical aspects of digital entertainment.

Uses, places and meanings of entertainment at home are evolving. Digital entertainment technologies are becoming a part of a technology mediated lifestyle. New and traditional forms of entertainment are used side by side at home and in many creative ways. The studied families are spending quality time together in two ways: in "Traditional quality time" everybody focuses on the same entertainment and in "Personalized quality time" everybody is using their entertainment device of choice in a shared space while commenting on the content. Entertainment that fits into the practices of a family is called "part of our life" and its use is actively encouraged. Forms of entertainment that do not fit the practices of a family are rejected.

Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Tutkimuksen aiheena on lapsiperheiden digitaalisten viihdelaitteiden ja -palvelujen käyttö kotona osana arjen käytäntöjä. Tutkimuksessa kuvataan kuinka viihdelaitteet ja -palvelut löytävät paikkansa tutkittujen perheiden arjessa ja vaikuttavat yhdessäolon tapoihin ja odotuksiin. Työssä kerrotaan myös, millaiset laitteet ja palvelut pääsevät osaksi perheen arkea ja millaiset hylätään, sekä millaisia odotuksia ja käyttötarpeita perheillä on viihteen osalta juuri nyt.

Työn empiirinen aineisto koostuu 8 lapsiperheen tarkkailusta ja haastattelusta heidän kotonaan (muistiinpanoja, valokuvia, videoita, pohjapiirroksia) sekä perheenjäsenten piirtämistä Lifeline-käyristä. Aineiston analyysi pohjautuu sovelletusti grounded theorylle, jonka avulla aineistosta on muodostettu teoria lapsiperheiden digitaalisen viihteen käytöstä kotona. Muodostettu teoria on integroitu valittuihin domestikaatio- ja käytäntöteorioihin.

Työn tutkimuskysymys on: "Kuinka lapsiperheet käyttävät digitaalista viihdettä kotona?" Keskeinen tulos on, että lapsiperheen arjen kiireet ja tarve ottaa muut samassa taloudessa asuvat huomioon vaikuttavat viihdevalintoihin niin vanhemmilla kuin lapsillakin: perheenjäsenet voivat vain harvoin käyttää viihdettä täysin omien toiveidensa mukaisesti. Digitaalisen viihdeteknologian kehitys (erityisesti laitteiden helppokäyttöisyys ja personoitavuus) vaikuttaa sekä sen käyttöön että käyttäjien arkeen kotona. Tutkitut käyttävät digitaalista viihdeteknologiaa monilla luovilla tavoilla kiireisen arkensa helpottamiseen. Tämän seurauksena perheiden tavat olla yhdessä muuttuvat, viihdelaitteet ja -palvelut saavat uusia merkityksiä, ja kodin esineet ja tilat järjestyvät uudelleen. Digitaalinen viihde on sulautumassa arjen osaksi. Sen sisältöjä yhdistetään arjen rutiineihin ja sosiaalisiin kohtaamisiin. Tämän seurauksena mm. kotityöt ovat tutkituilla viihteellistymässä, ja niiden merkitys puheessa muuttumassa velvollisuudesta elämäntapavalinnoiksi. Vanhat ja uudet viihteen muodot elävät perheissä joko rinnakkain tai korvaavat toisiaan. Virtuaaliset viihteen muodot mielletään usein tasa-arvoisiksi perinteisten vapaa-ajan viettoon liittyvien esineiden kanssa.

Digitaaliset viihdeteknologiat ovat löytämässä tiensä hyväksytyksi osaksi perheen yhteistä laatuaikaa. Uusien laitteiden käyttöönottoon tyypillisesti kuuluvat rajoitukset käyttöaikojen, -paikkojen ja -tilanteiden suhteen ovat katomassa tiettyjen viihdelaitteiden osalta. Perheet kertovat viettävänsä laatuaikaa yhdessä kahdella tavalla: "perinteinen laatuaika" tarkoittaa perheiden mukaan sitä, että kaikki keskittyvät samaan viihdesisältöön, kun taas "personoidussa laatuajassa" jokainen käyttää omaa viihdelaitettaan yhteisessä tilassa ja jakaa sisältöjä muiden kanssa. Mikäli teknologia sopii perheen rutiineihin, sen käyttö koetaan osaksi "meidän elämää", eli elämän laatua lisääväksi itsensä toteuttamiseksi. Rutiineihin sopimattomat teknologiat hylätään parin kokeilun jälkeen, eikä niiden käytön opettelua koeta mielekkääksi

Contents

1 Introduction

"I sometimes play video games with my children just to be together with them. It works even with my teenager and we can share hugs and talk." (Kaija, 42y)

"When using the iPad in the living room, I can simultaneously engage in something personally meaningful and find good stories to share with the others. It is the best of both worlds." (Kalle, 41y)

"Thank God our youngest child is already old enough to be interested in TV. Otherwise I would never get anything done." (Liisa, 37y)

"My wife uses her iPad when we watch TV together and the children follow suit. I don't like it, but it seems that there is nothing I can do. The devices just keep sneaking back." (Jukka, 42y)

"Sometimes I have to watch TV in my own room, because Dad has taken over the living room TV. I don't like it, because everybody else is downstairs." (Niilo, 9y)

At the moment we are living in a middle of a phase in technological evolution where entertainment technology and its uses are being transformed. Entertainment in digital form can now be found almost anywhere: it may be integrated into various ICT (information and communication technology) devices, for example computers, smartphones, tablet computers (from now on referred to as tablets), set-top boxes, etc. These devices connect via different distribution channels (such as the Internet or IPTV) to form technological ecosystems. Ecosystems can be used to consume and distribute entertainment content with unparalleled possibilities. This content can be shared using services that might also propose and recommend content based on previous choices, popularity, or the choices of friends. At the same time, the increasing mobility of entertainment allows the newest tech-in-your-pocket devices like smartphones to be used seemingly anywhere and anytime, creating new kinds of use locations and situations. As a result of these developments, entertainment use is changing in many ways: it is becoming more social and mobile, for example. These changes have already been noted in quantitative research studies (see, for example, Viestintävirasto 2011 and 2012).

Technological development may have more profound effects than first meet the eye, however. Advances in technology may also alter the practices of users and their relationships with their peers, opening up new possibilities and making others seem redundant (see Ilmonen 2004). These changes cannot be understood using quantitative methods.

In the qualitative research tradition, ICT use has been studied extensively in various disciplines from individual's point of view, but no man, woman or child can exist in isolation, and the latest advancements of technology are allowing users to be increasingly social. On the other hand, social relationships and interaction also influence individual decision making. Sociological research on entertainment use has often focused on one aspect of use, like watching TV, using the Internet or playing video games. Studies on entertainment devices have been mostly dedicated to one kind of use, with the devices themselves being non-mobile: their use has been limited to a location dictated by power and aerial cables. These kinds of entertainment devices and their uses are potentially different from the mobile and interconnected options that are available now, offering almost unlimited choice of content.

Because entertainment technology and ICT have taken giant leaps forward in a few years, the previous theory and research have limitations when trying to understand entertainment use today. This study aims to document, describe and understand current entertainment use in a family context at home.

To provide insight into entertainment use, the ICT use of 8 families with children was observed along with semi-structured interviews and assignments. The research question of this study is "How do families with children use digital entertainment at home?" The unit of this study is the family and the context is the family home, where social relationships have a track record proven by the sociological literature in influencing the life of the individuals living in it. In this study, the individual actors are approached through the lens of their social networks, responsibilities and roles (as a parent, spouse, child, etc.). The study also documents individual struggles to manage social demands while finding time and a place for their personal objectives. Compared with the individual approach that might ask what the user wants to choose or how does he or she want to use entertainment, the social approach also takes into account the choices emerging from interplay between individual and social driving

forces. The end results of these two approaches are parallel: a description of how users make choices and give reasons for them.

This interpretive study utilizes grounded theory, as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Glaser (1978). Grounded theory is a method of collecting and analyzing data that aims at creating new theory. According to the nature of grounded theory, data are collected and analyzed at the same time, and previous theoretical impact is kept as minimal as possible during data collection and analysis, apart from a non-committal literature review (see, for example, Hekkala and Urquhart 2013). A non-committal literature review is made before entering the field to ensure the novelty of the research interest and to promote theoretical sensitivity (see Glaser 1978). Theoretical sensitivity involves exposing oneself to a wide array of concepts of the field while taking care not to impose them on the data during analysis.

Adopting grounded theory governs not only the process of this research but the structure of reporting the findings as well. As is characteristic of grounded theory research, the relevance and use of the non-committal literature review and sensitizing concepts were evaluated quite late during the research process, after the generation of a grounded theory that had been formulated using concepts discovered from the data. For the convenience of the reader, however, the sensitizing concepts that have been found important for this study are introduced in the next chapter, along with the relevant streams of literature reviewed. The data collection procedure and empirical materials obtained, along with ethical considerations, are presented in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 explains the method and practice of grounded theory analysis used in this study in detail. In this chapter, the choices around applying the grounded theory method are explained and the processes of the coding data and writing the theory are opened up.

The results are presented, discussed and theoretically integrated side by side in Chapter 5. Theoretical integration of results gives the possibility of combining the results with the existing literature and reflecting on the importance of the findings (see Glaser 1978 and Urquhart et al 2010). This structure of reporting the results is dictated by the method of applying grounded theory chosen for this study (as explained in Chapter 4).

Chapter 5 opens with a narrative of a family afternoon at home with entertainment, where the reader is allowed to take a peek inside a family living room. After this, the results of the analysis are presented, first by classifying the components of digital entertainment use with reference to the literature and then by drawing them together to form two models of entertainment use at home, where components of use are linked. This section brings the results together with various pre-existing theories that are also used to reflect on the importance of the findings of this study, confirming and extending previous research and theory. The results chapter closes with another narrative of a family afternoon at home with entertainment where the results of this study are used to provide the reader with a different view, a glimpse into the "invisible living room".

In the Conclusion, the main findings and their implications are summarized. In the final chapter, the limitations and contributions of the findings are presented along with some suggestions for future research.

2 Literature review

This chapter gives an overview of how the literature is used in this grounded theory study. The chosen literature and the sensitizing concepts used are introduced and their importance for this study is reflected upon.

2.1 Using literature in a grounded theory study

As a method, grounded theory (GT) emphasizes a data driven approach and strives towards minimizing theoretical impact during data collection and analysis (see below and Chapters 3 and 4 for details). Previous literature is often used in two ways during a grounded theory study: as a literature review that is often undertaken in a non-committal form, and for the theoretical integration of results. Their application in this study is discussed below.

For this study, a non-committal literature review was made before entering the field. Doing a non-committal literature review is a standard procedure in a GT study (see, for example, Hekkala and Urquhart 2013, 2), because the idea of a GT study is to discover new theory, not to verify existing ones. Therefore, fully committing oneself to the concepts or principles of previous theory would restrain the researcher from discovering new theory from data and would force data into a pre-existing mold (see Glaser and Strauss 1967, 1-2). Doing a non-committal literature review allows the researcher to enter field with an "open mind, not an empty head" (Walsham 1995, 76-77). It also encourages theoretical sensitivity and gives the researcher a possibility to discover sensitizing concepts for the study (see Glaser 1978 and below).

It is important to be aware of the existing knowledge during research, at least to avoid "discovering" only facts that are already known. The importance of the literature reviewed can be evaluated only after discovery of the grounded theory, however, because this importance is dictated by the results of the analysis (see Hekkala and Urquhart 2013, 2.)

After generating theory, the results of this study are compared with the existing literature in a process called theoretical integration in the Results section to see if the findings can be used to expand, confirm or contradict previous theories. Theoretical integration is an important part of using the grounded theory method to give depth to and reflect on the importance of the findings, and for contributing to the literature in an integrative and recognitive way. For more discussion on theoretical integration, see Glaser 1978, 126-127; Strauss 1987, 282 and Urquhart et al 2010, 373.

The results of the non-committal literature review made for this study are presented in this chapter, but during the research they were used for theoretical sensitization. After analysis was complete, the literature review served as a tool for the theoretical integration of the results.

Of all the literature reviewed, three streams are relevant to the grounded theory generated in this study. These are related to studies on use of media (for example, Morley 1986; Luomanen 2010; Kennedy and Wellmann 2007), research and theory of domestication (for example Silverstone 1992; Lehtonen 2003) and practice theories (for example Shove and Pantzar 2012). Their findings and importance are discussed below. Some additional sensitizing concepts were found from the literature on family (see Jallinoja 2000) and home (see, for example, Saarikangas 2002). These are presented under Concepts, below.

2.2   Reflection on the literature reviewed

Reviewing the literature revealed some interesting concepts that could be used in theoretical sensitization during the research process. The literature review also confirmed that the latest advances in ICT had not yet been researched in the field of sociology.

According to the literature reviewed, use of entertainment has mostly been studied in sociology using individuals, not families, as a research unit, or the interest of the research has been different (Morley 1986; Kennedy and Wellmann 2007, Luomanen 2010). Use of technology and objects has been studied in sociology as networks of several actors that may consist of humans only or of human(s) and various non-

human counterparts, for example technologies, objects or spaces where action takes place (Latour 1996, 2000; Lehtonen 2008). Sociological research has also studied the use of objects in conjunction with the practices of their users and as a process of domestication (Kopytoff 1986; Silverstone 1992; Pantzar 1996; Lie and Sørensen 1996; Lehtonen 2003; Peteri 2006; Shove, Pantzar and Watson, 2012).

Literature on technology use, networks, practices and domestication (see Domestication, below) contained some references to the acceptance and adoption of objects or technologies studied, that could be used for theoretical sensitization, but these did not form any bigger picture or hierarchy of use or domestication of the objects being used. Quantitative studies on digital entertainment use concentrated on the devices and technologies users have at home and how often they were used, but not how and why they were used, or why some of the technologies at home were left unused (see Viestintävirasto 2011, 2012).

The sociological literature reviewed included some references to the changing meanings of technology at home. Peteri (2006) studied media domestication in Finland during 2004-2005. Her subjects regarded computers as devices related to work, needing a specific place for their storage and use. In her study, the subjects underlined, for example, that a computer must be kept in its own place so that it will not interfere with leisure (Peteri 2006, 66-67). She cites (2006, 69) Mary Douglas' (2000, 88) concept of anomaly, an object that does not fit into any category, and claims that a new technology is at first an anomaly without a place of its own. Because of this it is at first something to be suspected and a bit frightening. Gillis (1997, 97) notes that when newspapers, radio and TV entered homes, they were at first seen as suspicious objects and faced many regulations that tended to loosen within a generation of use. He cites some interviews where the subjects said that "newspapers were forbidden on Sundays, and generation later a central activity and TV brings family back home from cinemas". Or "a soap watched together is a perfect end to a family day". This has many similarities to the process of domestication of technologies that Peteri (2006) describes. Gillis (1997, 108) also notes that family time has built-in contradictions: needs for compromise, restricting roles for individuals and little room for negotiation. This can leave family time feeling more like a performance and less like real interaction between family members as

individual persons. This can lead to frustration and disappointment that family members try to avoid and solve in various ways.

David Morley (1986) interviewed families living in London about their use of TVs and video recorders for his classic study. He used the interviews to analyze gender-specific ways of watching TV, although his research questions are quite similar to those in this research. A number of the technologies this study is interested in (set-top boxes, smartphones, tablets, Internet as a mainstream phenomenon) did not exist at the time of the study, but it provides some relevant findings. He describes subjects talking about use of certain TV programs as "our thing", meaning that they are an integral way of living, the use of TV for relaxing after work, dynamics between children and TV, and things to do or not to do at the same time.

An article by Kennedy and Wellmann (2007) discusses a study of family use of ICT (at the time of the study, the Internet and mobile phones were the newest technologies) for organizing, communicating and coordinating their leisure and social behavior both inside and outside the home. The study was conducted in Canada using data from 2004-2005. This means that all the technologies that this study is interested in were not yet fully available. There were some very interesting results under the sub-question "How do adult household members use ICTs to share things with each other?". The results suggest that use of the Internet may promote togetherness, because users tend to show each other interesting things that they see while surfing the Internet. It also encourages staying in the same room with others (if the computer and TV are in the same room, for example) and prompts families to spend time online together (note: nowadays it is increasingly common to have many laptops with Internet access at home and laptops are more portable than computers were in 2004), etc. The researchers suggest that ICTs do not replace in-person contact but instead complement and encourage it (see Kennedy and Wellmann 2007, 9-14).

No study was found on digital entertainment use at home using the family as a research unit, which would have presented a broader view on what kind of entertainment is used at home and on what basis. The household, however, is a recurrent theme in the research (see, for example, Viestintävirasto 2011, 2012). These studies tend to focus on the household as a unit that leaves measurable

imprints of consumption in its wake, stating, for example that a household tends to use entertainment during certain times or to favor certain types of program. The term "household" seems to have approximately the same meaning as "family" in this study, but these quantitative studies give no visibility into the processes and negotiations of individuals living in a household, even though these lie behind the household's decisions to use entertainment in a certain way.

Using the previous literature for understanding current entertainment use had two restrictions. Firstly, previous research was conducted on different research units or under different technological developmental conditions. Secondly, even though the literature listed some possible frameworks, terms and conditions of use and included some cross-references they did not suggest any further relationships between them.

According to the literature review there was a motivation to research the latest manifestations of entertainment use, because technological development is advancing fast and as a result this topic contains questions unanswered in the field of sociology.

2.3   Sensitizing concepts

The sensitizing concepts used during this study are informed by various disciplines and traditions of sociological theory, for example, science and technology studies, practice theory, domestication, consumption, and family and home.

Many concepts that are used to describe and understand actions observed in this research are either yet to be defined in sociology at present or are a topic of lively discussion (for example, practice, sociality and culture). Because the object of this research was not to add to the theoretical discussion on these concepts but to document, describe and make sense of digital entertainment use at home, purely methodological definitions were often adopted to serve as tools for the research. Some orientation in the field was necessary in order to pay attention to relevant action in the field. Decisions had to be made about, for example, what kind of action to observe (random, mundane, special occasions, routines, practices, etc.), what to

include in the concept of entertainment (this meant reflecting on the term "objects", see below) and what is regarded as home and family.

2.3.1 Sociality and culture

This study is interested in current entertainment use at home within the family. The newest ICT based forms of entertainment are increasingly social, allowing more and more sharing and commenting on the content, and a family home is without question a social arena.

Sociality, a tendency to form relationships, is built into all human action, because humans are social by nature. This sociality affects the choices individuals make when using entertainment. Actors can never be totally cut off from their surroundings and peer groups and their written and tacit rules, plus the general culture of their immediate surroundings, national and global culture. (Ruckenstein, Suikkanen and Tamminen 2011, 19-20, 45, 134.) Culture, like sociality, is a great topic in sociology, but it is seen methodologically in this study as routine sociality that manifests itself in a tendency towards recurring ways of acting and thinking, repeating practices and using tools and objects. It is subject to change, albeit it tends to do so slowly. Action observed at a home is not to be seen to be completely random, but a visible sign of sociality and culture at the home, if the actors regard it as such. Actors' struggles towards individuality across various households tend to have astonishing similarities at a given time and this gives possibilities to make enlightened guesses of a general culture based on a study of its members (see, for example, Giddens 1984, 24). The results of this study also describe meaning of entertainment for families studied. In this study, "meaning" is also used in a methodological sense: the meaning of entertainment for families studied is simply what they have themselves stated as such, referring to the importance or significance of using entertainment in practice or in some cases to the idea of using it. This meaning of entertainment can be situative, related to one device or service or refer to the wider significance of entertainment in question.

2.3.2   Objects

This study explores use of digital entertainment. The term "entertainment" refers to all kinds of consumer objects and services that can be used for leisure purposes. These are for example terminals like TV, gaming consoles, laptops, tablets, smartphones, HD set-top-boxes and also their immaterial applications like content and services plus more traditional means like printed books, magazines, newspapers, board games and so on. To document the most current technologically mediated lifestyle at home, the results of this study focus on digital entertainment, but during the study use of all kinds of entertainment has been observed and analyzed.

The special aspect of digital ICTs at the time of this research is that they are no longer isolated objects of consumption as traditional means have been. The latest digital entertainment is increasingly interconnected and forms ecosystems, an ecosystem being an entity of terminals, services and distribution networks that are interconnected and interdependent. Digital entertainment is also personalizable in most cases, meaning that aspects of its use can be tampered with like for example time and place shifting, or choosing the content and appearance of a device.

When a designer designs an object, he or she has an idea of how this object will be used. The natural characteristics of an object may also affect its possible ways of use. These possible ways of using an object are called affordances (Norman 1999, 38-43) and often it is very challenging to use an object for something unless it has an affordance for it. A chair usually has an affordance for sitting, for instance, but it is most often very unsuitable for flossing one's teeth with. The question of affordances is relevant to the use of entertainment in this study, because an affordance is just a possibility, and the affordances of an object and its desired uses at home may differ. The users can try to stretch the limits of affordances by finding surprising, novel and creative ways of using an object. When entertainment devices evolve, their affordances evolve too, and this may bring about changes in their use, often with surprising results. Saarikangas (2002, 22) notes that spaces have affordances too (see Home, below). The interplay between affordances and users' attempts to make sense and stretch these affordances is a recurring theme in this research.

Kopytoff (1986) describes the life cycle of consumer objects at home, which start from the commodity status and end when an object is disposed of. This study will zoom into the processes of consumption that happen in the middle of the product life cycle as described by Kopytoff, after the purchase decision has been made, the product has entered the home and lost its status as a commodity, but before the product is replaced or disposed of.

2.3.3 Family

The unit of study in this research is the family. Individuals are seen as part of their families and their actions are evaluated in relation to the family dynamics. A family is a concrete group of people, but reporting the "opinions of a family" is a rather more complicated question and is discussed below.

Family is a fickle concept, starting from all the different combinations and possibilities of its constitution. As in Jallinoja (2000, 10), a family is defined in this study as an entity that has action going on both within it and with the outside world. In this study, a family is as much of an idea or emotional relationship as a concrete entity, and the ideas, emotional relationships and concrete constitution of a family are seen to have effects on each other. As in Gillis (1997, xv), the concrete lived-in everyday experience of the family that we live with is constituted of real human beings and real interactions, with all the imperfections that life has to offer. Families also tend to have an idea of a reliable and nurturing family that never lets us down. Families can go to great lengths to ensure the perfect image of this family, which Gillis calls "the family to live by."

Because in this study a family is seen as an idea, a relationship and a lived-in experience, the action and opinions of a family are reported accordingly: when it is said that "families spend time in a certain way" or "the families say that x is important," it is to be seen methodologically that the observations or oral accounts on the matter in question are congruent over various homes, and their meaning (see above) is stated by the subjects as such. The phrase "The families say" means that

during analysis the category in question has reached a theoretical saturation, with no differing opinions.

2.3.4 Home

The research site of the study is the family home. A home in this study means both the concrete space where a family lives and also the idea of home that the inhabitants have. As a result, a home is, as Saarikangas (2002, 17) notes, a fusion of architecture, inhabitants, culture, and everything that takes place inside, a kind of meeting place of inhabitants, ideologies, practices, atmosphere and social relations. A space becomes a home when it becomes loaded with use and the emotional aspects that accompany it.

This study is based on the preconception that although observation of technology use may be possible without paying attention to the surroundings, the meaning of action can be understood only in relation to the spatial and cultural dimensions of use.

Every home is unique and at the same time connected to the wider cultural understanding. Therefore a family at home is always connected to the outside world by ties of both the official and tacit rules of a society. As Lefebre (1991, 48-50) notes, a space is a social process, where an absolute space (a natural, historical space) is converted with construction first into an abstract space, like, for example, a house that is in turn converted into spatial space with everyday use. He states that space functions as if it is a subject that allows certain functions and social relations, therefore maintaining them, and makes others impossible, seemingly opposing and dissolving them, but notes that social relations also have their effect on space. In other words, the space where action takes place shapes the action via its affordances, but families may try to stretch and alter these affordances through creative use of space or, as in this study, taking advantage of new kinds of objects, arrangements and advancements of entertainment technology.

Families often have some preconceptions about how they would use the space at home. Reality may be in stark contrast to these preconceptions. De Certeau (1988, introduction, 51-52, 173) calls these the strategy and tactic of using a space and

declares that a home is a relationship between the space and its inhabitants: The use of space loads it with meanings and practices. The strategy of using a space is how its use is planned in advance; a tactic of using is how the space is really used. In this study, these strategies and tactics of using space are relevant to the use of entertainment, and vice versa: the use and development of entertainment has its effects on the strategies and tactics of using space.

2.3.5 Domestication

Domestication means basically the process of sharing a house with others. This study uses domestication in relation to technology adoption and use. Theory of domestication of technology is a relatively recent addition to the field of sociology. David Morley was a pre-domestication theorist when he described various aspects of TV (and other existing media) use and its social aspects in his 1986 study (see Peteri 2006, 56). Silverstone launched the concept of domestication in 1992 in his book, Consuming Technologies. The presumption of domestication theory in sociology is that users face technologies actively, by trying them and testing their suitability to their everyday life and its practices. The question of success and failure is resolved during these trials (Lehtonen, 2003). During domestication, users may invent novel and creative uses for technologies. It is possible that during domestication all participants (the users and their practices, the technologies and their intended uses) may change. A technology that has been used for a while may be later rejected. This marks domestication apart from the diffusion of innovation theory (see, for example, Rogers 2003, orig. 1962), where users adopt (or do not adopt) technologies as they are, and once an adoption has occurred it is irreversible. In contrast, by its very nature, domestication is a process that is never ready. As Ilmonen (2004, 42) suggests, the destiny of an object is related to its expected value as a source of enjoyment in the future. This means that an object can never be fully domesticated, but it has to prove its worth every day. In this study, the term "domestication" is used to describe and make sense of both the action seen inside homes and the oral accounts of the families studied.

During the process of domestication, it is possible for a technology to start to find its place at home, if it is continually used. This means that its users start to think and talk about it differently. For example, Strathern (1992, vii in Silverstone) notes that with time and use a technology may become mundane, or even an essential part of everyday life. According to him, this kind of technology is considered non-threatening and users feel no need to regulate its use for moral reasons or otherwise. He gives the example of a refrigerator that mostly goes unnoticed at home, unless it malfunctions and constitutes an emergency. As Ilmonen (2004, 42) notes, this does not mean that the technology in question is fully domesticated. Despite being integrated into the practices of its users, the technology has to justify its place at home and renew its promise of enjoyment every day, although integrated practices like these are often relatively resistant to change.

2.3.6   Practice

Like the term "domestication" above, "practice" is used in this study as a tool for action observed and the explanations that the subjects give to it. In this study, a practice means a routine continuum of action that aims at achieving something. A practice at its simplest form is a routine that requires material and mental aspects in order to be carried out successfully (see Reckwitch 2002, 249). Defining practices and their dimensions is a topic of lively scientific discussion and will not be considered further here. Insight into the latest additions to theoretical discussion on practices can be obtained from, for example, Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012). As a theoretical approach, so-called "practice theory" is diverse and does not, despite its name, form any coherent theoretical framework at present. According to Warde (2005), fragments of practice theory have emerged rather spontaneously in writings of, for example sociological practice theorists, Bourdieu, Giddens, SSK (sociology of scientific knowledge) and STS (science and technology studies), which include for example Schatzki, Reckwitch, Knorr-Cetina and Latour, and pragmatism (for example, Dewey, Mead, Joas, Whitford). Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012, 4) date the roots of theories of practice back to Wittgenstein and Heidegger.

In this study, practices are seen as flexible and subject to change. One feature of practices is that they give structure to and guide everyday action in a family, but may also be shared beyond the family. For example, Giddens (1984, 24) notes that "the day to day activity of social actors draws upon and reproduces structural features of wider social systems". An example of a practice with wide cultural recognition is so-called "quality time." Quality time is an informal term referring to special time spent with loved ones, like family and friends, but it can also mean time spent alone doing something meaningful. At the moment it conventionally means that undivided attention is paid to the person(s) or task(s) at hand. Like all practices in this research, quality time is seen as being subject to change.

2.3.7   Living with objects in practice

The selection of sociological theory discussed above suggests that all of the relevant concepts of this study are interconnected and may have more or less effect on each other. For example, Ilmonen (2004, 27, 29) discusses the possibility that goods could actively influence our lives more than is usually recognized and that they could also have an important role in our social networks. He notes (2004, 42) that we may even emotionally commit ourselves to taking care of our possessions rather like we do with domestic animals, on the condition that the goods also promise to provide satisfaction in the future. He also points out that once we have reached the point where consumption of an object becomes routine, we tend to no longer think about our action in terms of consumption, but instead in terms of practice, because the consumer objects included have been integrated into the practices. He gives an example of jogging: once we get used to our new jogging shoes, "jogging" becomes a way of keeping fit and not a way of consuming a pair of shoes.

Reckwitz (2002, 251-258) discusses co-dependencies of humans, objects and practices. He notes that sometimes the goods may mediate many of our activities so profoundly that certain activities are possible only with certain goods (cycling is possible only with a bicycle, for example). Sometimes humans train their bodies and minds to carry out certain practices in association with certain goods (like cycling) even though this requires effort and upkeep, as well as compromising our goals to the

certain quirks, condition and properties of the medium (like for example trying to cycle on a slippery road using a bicycle with old tires). Ilmonen (2004, 31) goes on to note, that in case of a strong co-dependency, it is difficult to say whether the human or the good is the one in charge when deciding the form of the action; cycling in its present form always requires the human to undertake a repetitive rotating movement with his or her feet to move forward, for example. Bruno Latour goes even further in giving inanimate objects an active role in our life. He argues (2006, 15, 113) that our world consists of hybrids that are impossible to define as actors of either human, natural or technological origin, and that "the social" could be defined by tying together and not opposing the natural, the technical and the like. Lehtonen (2008, 114) notes that Latour sees what we traditionally regard as a society as consisting of collectives that are networks of relations between all kind of participants, both human and non-human in origin. Lehtonen (2008, 132-142) describes Latour's work, 'invisible Paris' as describing a complex composition of details, big and small, worthy and seemingly worthless, that somehow function together to form what we think as the real living and breathing city of Paris. According to Latour (1996), the struggle towards a collective can also be doomed for social reasons, as in the misfortune of Aramis, a technology that failed to materialize, because it never achieved sufficient connections in the minds, practices and networks of the people responsible for it.

This study does not try to add to the discussion on the role of inanimate objects in sociality or collectives. The above-mentioned points are used as inspiration for the theoretical integration of the results and when discussing the meaning of digital entertainment to the families studied, their practices and the explanations that they give for their changing practices at home.

3 Data collection process and empirical material

This study uses a qualitative approach: data collected from the field are analyzed using grounded theory which also affects the data collection process. This chapter introduces the data collection method and procedure and the empirical materials obtained.

3.1 Fieldwork

Fieldwork is a method where the researcher goes to where the subjects are and spends time with them. Fieldwork was chosen for data collection for this study because it focuses on observation and action that can be observed and is concerned with so-called "foreshadowed problems", research interests about how and why people do certain things, which is in line with the research interest of this study.

The results of fieldwork provide suitable material for grounded theory analysis for this study, because the results of fieldwork are often descriptions and explanations of the research subject or new theories, rather than testing of hypotheses (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 3, 21).

Fieldwork combines well with the research interest of this study, because it supposes that reality is constituted in face-to-face behaviors and concrete mundane situations. In both fieldwork and this study, the motives, attitudes and mental schemes are secondary to the actions and conversations that can be seen and heard, but they can be considered if necessary and observable materials allow this. For reflection on fieldwork, see for example, Gobo (2008, 80-81).

To sum up, the greatest advantage of fieldwork for this study is that it advances understanding of the research topic compared, for example, to the quantitative method, which would simply verify how widespread certain uses of entertainment are. Ways of acting, meanings and tools are revealed by data collection in the field. This is important because people cannot necessarily describe their needs, desires and

intentions if asked to do so, but these are visible in their actions (see also Suikkanen, Ruckenstein and Tamminen 2011, 26, 36-37).

3.2 Procedure

Based on the limited existing knowledge on the area of interest, a qualitative field study was planned. Because the goal was to document, describe and understand current entertainment use at home, it was concluded that results could be summed up using grounded theory on the subject, and therefore the grounded theory method was chosen to complement fieldwork for this study. Applying grounded theory in this study is presented in Analysis and below.

According to the theoretical sampling of grounded theory, data were collected and analyzed at the same in this study, and the results were used to guide further data collection and observation during fieldwork. During and after data collection, the analysis and writing of the theory was carried out using the constant comparative method (see Analysis).

The "foreshadowed problem" of this research was to find out how families use digital entertainment at home, but this alone did not give enough information on what and how to observe in the field. Therefore ideas for efficient data collection were written down before entering the field. These included, for example, the idea that observing children would be beneficial, because they often reveal tacit knowledge of adults. Another idea was that social situations, especially when performed under pressure, could be informative: an example of this is the family returning home after work and school with homework duties waiting. To find out where technologies were really stored at home and if these differed from their intended storage and using places, the families were asked not to clean, tidy or remove any objects from the places that they normally occupy during the week: piles of magazines, games or books, remote controls and laptops were required to remain lying around as they normally do. In practice, this research setting turned out to be stressful for the adult subjects, who did not have any opportunity to prepare for the visit and had to put up with a stranger going through their home when it was in a

state of disorder. The ethical considerations of the research are discussed in Research Ethics, below. For more discussion on data collection, see for example Gobo (2008, 148, 156-157, 163-187).

A total of eight families were recruited for the study using theoretical sampling and snowballing. Data were collected in two stages: two family visits were undertaken in November 2011 and six more in February 2012. The first two family visits were used as a pilot study to test and fine-tune the method (as suggested by Turner 2010, 757). During fieldwork, the observations were at first quite general by nature, becoming more focused with each successive family visit. This is typical of grounded theory, as Glaser and Strauss (1967, 49, 71-72) note. The chosen subjects were families with children that had digital entertainment at home and used it actively. Families lived in cities within 250km of Helsinki. Each family was visited on one weekday afternoon for 3-5h. The time for the observation was a working weekday afternoon.

For observation in field, the initial research question was broken into a checklist of several sub-questions (see Appendix) to guide but not restrict attention in the field. This checklist was used to discover the dimensions of the research problem. At first it was general, but it became more detailed as data collection and analysis proceeded. Eventually the checklist included placing of technologies, ways of using them alone or with others, negotiating use and choices (including rejection), situations of use, frequency, attitudes, motivations and goals of use and significance of peer groups and recommendation. Observations were complemented by a semi-structured interview (for interview guide, see Appendix). Each family member was also asked what they usually do during an afternoon, what kind of duties they might have and the ways that these affected their entertainment use. Special attention was paid to the ways that the subjects talked about use, and the stories about technology that they told. Field visits also included asking questions prompted by action, taking photographs, drawing maps, making lists of technologies, their placements and uses, plus drawing lifeline curves about the subjects' relationship with TV. The lifeline curve method used was an application of the method developed by Kujala et al (2011). TV was chosen, because it was supposed that every family would have long-term experience with it.

Families were provided with some assignments (see Appendix) to be completed beforehand, but nobody did this, referring to their time pressures. This was taken as an encouraging sign that the subjects would provide time-constricted situations to observe, as desired (see above). In the end, all of the necessary information was obtained during the visit.

The field visit started when family members were returning from work and school. Usually this was between 16:00 and 17:30. The sequence of data collection was left open to ease initiation to the field. For example, in one family some participant shopping and homework were done with the mother before collecting the children from daycare. Small children often just wanted to show their favorite toys or TV programs before settling into their daily routines. Children that were a little older could be often found waiting behind the front door, eager to share some "secrets" about their friends, usually about off-label Facebook use or playing "too much" video games. Some families were already at home when the researcher arrived and could simply carry on what they were doing at the moment. Some families said that they felt a little "under investigation" when a stranger entered their home. This situation could be eased by pets, like the family dog that kept licking the researcher's face during any attempt to write field notes, or a cat that jumped up onto the researcher's lap and settled herself on the notebook time and time again. Many families found the affections of their pets so amusing that any tension evaporated on the spot. All of the families expressed some concern in relation to the cleanliness of the home and behavior of the children. This was overcome with some small talk about the dust, mess and misbehavior that was part of everyday life. In most families, there was a tour around the house to begin with, and maps of the rooms and lists of devices and their locations were made.

After the initiation, the family was asked to continue their afternoon "as if no researcher was present" and, in most cases, the observation and questioning about the action followed. If the situation was still tense, assignments were undertaken next, followed by interviews. In families where everybody went about their normal routines, observation was accomplished first and interviews last.

During the visit, the participants were asked to do things that they would normally do and use entertainment as they normally would. When the situation showed marks of

saturation, the visit continued with drawing lifeline curves and interviews. Most of the interviews were recorded. After the visit, a thank you note was sent to the participants.

Children were interviewed if they were old enough to answer the questions, otherwise the researcher used participant observation and questions prompted by the action, for example watching TV together with the child, asking about his/her favorite TV-shows and playing together. Some children wanted to be interviewed when their parents were present; some wanted to avoid this.

3.3   Reconsiderations

Data were collected in the field until saturation, but some issues turned out to be more difficult to observe and ask about than planned. These are discussed below.

The most problematic issue in the field was how to prompt subjects to tell stories on their long-term relationship with entertainment technologies. For this purpose, a modified lifeline assignment where the subjects were asked to draw a curve describing their use of TV was used. The method is an application of the UX curve that Kujala et al (2011) have been developing. The subjects liked drawing curves and describing their content, often creatively adding notes on new devices or life events that they saw as relevant to the changes in the curve. On reflection, devoting more time and attention to the lifeline curve and stories prompted by it could have been beneficial, because the method seemed to help the subjects to remember more detailed and relevant information. The lifeline curve could have been used as a basis for interviews in a more systematic manner. Drawing a curve describing one's relationship with TV was naturally too abstract a task for small children, but surprisingly, school-age children loved it and insisted on doing it; in particular some little boys were delighted to draw wild roller coasters on paper and spontaneously tell about their favorite devices and why some of them were better than the others. This kind of free drawing assignment could have been used systematically when interviewing children.

During the field visits, it was felt that all of the data could be collected using observation and questions prompted by the action, leaving the interviews feeling almost pointless. Some subjects also felt frustrated answering "the same questions again". Returning to the interviews in the analysis did provide some focus and new points of view, however. The interviews could have been done with reduced adherence to the pre-planned structure and more freedom to follow topics that arose.

Use of a video recorder during visits turned out to be problematic. The families graciously put up with a stranger photographing their home and making notes, but any attempts to "shoot" them with a video recorder resulted in immediate freezing of natural action, even with small children. Only one video was obtained, but the family asked for it not to be used. The video recorder disturbed family dynamics and introduced unnecessary tension to the setting, so after a couple of trials it was omitted altogether. This probably led to missing some data: Recordings of interviews revealed background noises indicating action related to entertainment use that it was not possible to observe (for example children negotiating entertainment use while their parents are interviewed). Video diaries made by the families themselves before the visit could have provided video footage, but this idea arose too late to be realized during this research project. On the other hand, allowing the families to use the video recorder themselves could have resulted in a framed picture of family life, with the "unsightly" bits left out. The research setting used may have provided a more uncensored view into family life, because the demands of children, pets and household chores could not be ignored during observation.

These difficulties and surprises encountered in the field were not a problem during analysis, however, because of the nature of the grounded theory method, which allows redirection of the attention during data collection in the name of theoretical sampling. All of the categories presented in the Results were theoretically saturated during analysis, and Field Visits 7 and 8 almost entirely involved verifying the saturation of categories, with no more new data coming up for the relevant categories. Using different methods for data collection would simply have led to the discovery of a different grounded theory.

3.4   Research ethics

The sites of research were private family homes including underage children. An ethical plan considering the special requirements of this field was made before entering the field to minimize stress caused during research and protect participants' privacy. All of the subjects or their guardians signed an informed consent form with details discussing their rights during the study and the forms of data recording, its storage and use in the final report. The Respect Code of Practice for Socio-Economic Research and Kuula (2006) were used as guidelines for research ethics during data collection and analysis.

The subjects studied were most concerned about the issues of anonymity and privacy before and during research. They said that they were afraid of making a "bad impression" of themselves and did not want any kind of publicity for their domestic life. Ethical consideration and discretion were needed in presenting the materials and results so that the subjects and their homes remained anonymous. After data collection, the materials from each family were stored in separate folders that were labeled using code numbers only. Data were analyzed and reported anonymously: any references to real names, places of residence or other identifiable details were removed from quotes included in the thesis to prevent identification of the interviewees. Photographs obtained during field visits contain lively scenes of family life, with children and adults using entertainment alone and together and piles of objects lying around. Presenting these pictures and lifeline curves in the final report would have made it much more illustrative and would also have made reporting easier, especially when describing various forms of spending quality time (see Results). The problem was that pictures would have made the subjects and their homes identifiable, especially in a small country like Finland. Attempts to blur the pictures using Photoshop turned out not solve this problem well enough. In the end it was decided that no photographs or lifeline curves would be included in the final report. The two modes of spending quality time are represented by illustrations drawn on the basis of photographs.

The children participated only after gaining the written consent of both their parents beforehand and themselves during the situation. The observation and interviews of

children were kept play like, and special care was taken to observe the children for signs of frustration or tiredness, because they may not always dare to speak their mind in the presence of a stranger. Some children had friends visiting during observation, and special care was taken not to include these friends in photographs and not to write down things that they were saying, because no research permission could be obtained from their parents.

The research setting did not pose any physical danger or harm to the subjects, but it did cause distress to the adults. The setting required the subjects to let a stranger enter their home, walk around the house, take photographs and make observations when everybody was tired and hungry from the day's work with a home that was not tidied up beforehand. The children found this rather amusing and rushed to show the piles of objects lying around, but adults were generally stressed at first.

As Goffman (1959) notes, people want to make a good impression of themselves and keep up appearances when interacting with others. Because of this, visits to a home are preferred as strictly staged and controlled situations, and any deviation from the perceived norms is a source of social stress to both parties, something which needs to be overcome using special forms of impression management. For this research, some email correspondence was entered into before the visit to clarify why the homes needed to be in a (normal) state of disorder during the visit, but after discussing the meaning of this setting, all of the families gave their consent. The situational distress of the adults was relieved by applying empathy, tactful inattention and other relevant social strategies for situations. For discussion on impression management, see Goffman (1959, 209-231). During data collection, the subjects were reminded of their right to withdraw from the research at any time and deny the use of data collected, but nobody did, except in the case of using the video recorder during the visit. If adults found photographing dusty piles of objects distressing, the researcher offered to avoid photographing these places. Photographing them was allowed, however, after promising the subjects that these pictures would not be included in the final report.

Undertaking research in a private setting is by its nature a sensitive ethical issue. Using the ethical guidelines above, stress and discomfort caused to the participants during observation could be lessened but not omitted altogether. The participants

gracefully put up with situational inconveniences during observation. Their only request, to remain anonymous in the final report, is the determinant for the methods of presenting the results in this thesis.

3.5 Empirical material

This section contains an overview of the empirical material collected in the field. Table 1 describes demographic details of the families studied. Table 2 gives an overview of data collected. Table 3 lists entertainment owned by families.

Table 1: Demographic Details

Gender:	
Male	22
Female	12
Age:	
Children	
0-10y	12
11-16y	6
Parents	
35-45y	14
46-55y	2
Education of parents:	
Comprehensive/upper secondary school	0
Vocational school	1
Intermediate education	4
University	11
Employment status of parents:	
Entrepreneur	2
Clerical staff	5
Office management	5
Middle management	4
Place of residence (all):	Southern Finland
Apartment/ Row house	3
House	5

Because the research interest was the use of digital entertainment technology, subjects had to have and use these technologies at home. At the time of this study, the connections and services needed to use digital entertainment at home were not available in the most remote parts of Finland. Because of this, all participants lived in cities where the necessary connections and services were available. The educational background of the subjects varied from vocational school to university education. All adults had regular jobs.

Table 2: Summary of the empirical material collected

Period of observation	11/11, 2/12
Duration of observation (per family)	3-5h
Number of fieldnotes	8
Number of interviews	24
Number of lifeline curves	19
Maps of technologies	33
Photographs	143
Video	1*

*= use of video was declined

Some children could not be interviewed, because they were too young. For the same reason, lifeline curves could not be obtained from all subjects. Small children were observed when they were using entertainment or playing and asked about their favorite pastimes, toys, etc. All families had various kinds of entertainment at their disposal. The main interest of this study was the use of digital entertainment, but all objects and services used for entertainment purposes were listed during the fieldwork to provide more perspective into use and the changes associated with it. Table 3 lists entertainment technologies and services found in most homes. Their disposition is described below.

Table 3: Summary of entertainment at home
_____

Devices:	TV, (HD)/Set-top box, DVD player, Gaming consoles: PS3, WII, Nintendo portable, Karaoke equipment, Video and PC games, Portable DVD player, DVDs and BluRays, Laptop, Tablet computer, Smartphone, MP3 player, CD player, CDs, Sonos sound system, Stereo system, Video, Video cassette tapes
Services:	Cable channel access, Internet access, Internet TV (Arena, Katsomo, Voddler, etc.), YouTube, Internet radio (Spotify), Online games, Audio books, Applications for devices with Internet access
Traditional entertainment:	Books, Newspapers, Magazines, Comics, Board games, Collectibles for children, Puzzles

Entertainment technologies were located around the house in all cases. Most families had one large TV situated in the living room and maybe several smaller ones in other rooms. Some families had one shared laptop that was most often stored and used in the kitchen. Others had several laptops around the house: children's personal laptops were stored in their rooms. Parents' laptops did not have any dedicated place, but could be stored anywhere from the kitchen to a briefcase near the front door. Most families had several smartphones located around the house, but only one place for gaming consoles (there could be several of them in this place, usually the living room) and tablets. Some teenagers had a gaming console in their room. The storage places of entertainment did not predict places of use, except for TVs and similar devices that were not portable. Uses of entertainment are discussed in Results and Conclusion.

Because the research interest was to document, describe and understand the use of new forms of entertainment, the subjects were chosen accordingly to provide relevant action. Because of these requirements, the subjects represent a special subgroup of households, a theoretically chosen sample of ways of living with technology that may not be generalizable to Finnish households in general. The limitations of this sample are discussed in Limitations and contributions.

4 Analysis

This chapter explains the method and practice of analysis of this study in detail. The next section contains an overview of grounded theory method. The process of analysis in practice, with examples of the coding process and writing theory is opened up afterwards.

4.1 Method of analysis

From the beginning of this research project, it was clear that a qualitative field study is well suited to exploring a topic of current entertainment use, because of the obvious gaps in the existing literature. When choosing methods of analysis, however, there were various options at first, such as conversation analysis and discourse analysis. After reflecting on the research interest, it was decided that these were not the first choice in this setting, because both conversation analysis and discourse analysis are generally interested in clearly defined patterns of interaction such as laughing in a certain situation or hegemonization of certain discourses (see Daymon and Holloway 2011, 109), whereas here the research interest was to provide a broader documentation, description and understanding of current entertainment use at home. Grounded theory, on the other hand, was recommended by several methodological sources (see for example Gobo 2008, 40-41) as the method for a research setting where no previous theory exists, and it was chosen as the method for analysis at the time of the first field visits. During the project, this turned out to be a beneficial decision, because grounded theory is a method of generating theory out of data both during and after their collection. Adopting the grounded theory method meant that the aim of this research project came to include the generation of theory on the topic.

Grounded theory was originally created by Glaser and Strauss in 1967. Their goal was to introduce a method for forming new theory to cover areas that were not yet covered by any "Grand" (meaning widely accepted) sociological theory by the "great men" of sociology like Weber and Simmel. The authors stressed that not all theory in

sociology needs to be "Grand" and all-inclusive: theory could, and even should, be seen as a tool for understanding phenomena in sociology. (see Glaser and Strauss 1967, 1-15, 32, 40.)

After the 1967 book, Glaser and Strauss went their separate ways and proceeded to advance the method with differing undertones. The split between them was caused by a book by Strauss and Corbin (1990) where the authors introduced 18 coding families. Glaser saw this as "forcing data into a mould," contrasting with the "original" principle of "letting data suggest categories" organically during coding. He published a rejoinder to this book in 1992, where he introduced his "corrections" to the book by Strauss and Corbin chapter by chapter. The resulting separate versions of the method and their applications have been a subject of academic discussion and dispute ever since. This study uses mostly the original work from 1967, with references to Glaser (1978) and the Glaserian version of coding data (open, selective and theoretical coding, see below) with occasional reference to the later additions without aiming to take part in the discussion on the "correct" application of the method. For more discussion on the two strands of grounded theory, see, for example, Urquhart et al (2010, 361-362).

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967, 61) adopting the grounded theory method affects the data collection process in research. Therefore it is relevant to consider the differences between undertaking basic as opposed to applied grounded theory fieldwork. The authors say that the difference between grounded theory and fieldwork is that an ethnographer will take in all information in the field without any preconceptions, whereas grounded theory uses theoretical sampling. As in Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, 158), this study disagrees with this claim: forms of fieldwork integrate making choices into every stage of research. Choices are present from the formulation of the foreshadowed problem, even if the researcher only feels them as a hunch, but in grounded theory this iterative nature is made explicit.

In fieldwork, data are collected first and analyzed only after leaving the field. In this study, characteristic of grounded theory, data were collected and analyzed at the same time. The results of each stage were used to guide further data collection and subject recruitment to ensure that data were increasingly relevant to the research question. The goal of data collection in qualitative research is to reach saturation,

meaning a situation where no more relevant information arises with further effort. The group differences were minimized in this study to allow as much depth of data as possible: The families selected were similar in some ways (all had children and used digital entertainment at home), yet diverse (age and number of children, education and employment of parents, etc.). The purpose of these choices is to at first to discover the basic terms and conditions for the phenomenon of interest and then to find the essential range of their variation (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 57-58).

 Adopting grounded theory as a method also requires the researcher to set aside pre-existing theoretical frameworks and conceptions in order to ensure organic theory creation. This has led some researchers to believe that a grounded theorist may not familiarize him- or herself with the literature and previous research on his or her topic, although Glaser and Strauss say in a footnote in the very beginning of their book that no researcher can ever be a "tabula rasa" and perspective is needed to see the relevant in the data. They suggest that before entering the field, a non-committal literature review may be conducted but after the grounded theory has been discovered from the data, it should be subjected to theoretical integration, where it will be compared to previous research and theory to see if the findings corroborate or contradict it (see Glaser and Strauss 1967, 3, 37, 57-58, 62, 74, 89-90). Gobo (2008, 148-150) notes that although an ethnographer should do everything possible to distance him or her from the situation to see it as it is, complete estrangement is impossible, because of all the prior studying and cultural knowledge that we have. In this study, the question of prior knowledge turned out to be worse in theory than in practice: the richness and abundance of data encountered in the field effectively zeroed and stumped any theoretical presumptions that might have been present beforehand.

The results of grounded theory can appear in various forms, from narratives or theoretical discussions to sets of propositions and the relationships between them, but the aim of using grounded theory always includes creating theory, as in case of this research. The theories created can be substantive or formal. Substantive theory covers a specific area, like, for example, digital entertainment use at home. Formal theory deals with conceptive areas like formal organization or reward systems. The theory generated in this thesis operates on the substantive level. For more discussion on levels of theory, see Glaser and Strauss (1967, 31-42, 45).

4.2 Analysis in practice

When using grounded theory, data are collected and analyzed at the same time, but for legibility the process of analysis is presented separately in this section.

The first step after leaving the field in this study was preparing the data for analysis. This meant transferring written data from each family (field notes with observation details, personal notations made in the field and transcribed interviews) to one Word document per family and transferring it to Atlas.ti. The Atlas.ti program was used for coding and also for forming a retrieval system for code searches and for writing memos (notes and ideas to explain the decisions made during coding and suggestions about relationships between them) during all stages of analysis. Memos include code notes to explain the meaning of the codes, theoretical notes to reflect on the deeper meanings of the codes, and operational notes to document the data collection and coding conditions (see Glaser 1978; Strauss and Corbin 1998, 217). For data archiving, a folder was created for each family (using a code number for each for privacy) and lifeline curves, photographs and maps drawn were converted into PDF format and saved, along with lists of technologies and their locations and uses in Excel.

The coding process for this study, as explained below, uses original work from Glaser and Strauss (1967) with Glaserian guidelines for open coding, selective coding and theoretical coding from Glaser (1978, 55-82). The difference between these is basically that Glaser (1978) suggests that coding (attaching conceptual labels to data, proceeding line by line either on a word or a sentence level) should be done in sequential order with increasing abstraction with each step, whereas Glaser and Strauss (1967) give more relaxed guidelines, where various levels of abstraction operate simultaneously. Some methodological sources (for example, Urquhart 2001, 104-113) suggest that the latter is often regarded as overwhelming because of the various levels of simultaneous abstraction required, and it is easier to proceed by doing one level of abstraction first before proceeding to the next one. This study uses an applied approach as described below, because it has proved the best fit for writing down and integrating various theoretical ideas.

The procedure of analysis is explained below according to the four stages of Glaser and Strauss (1967, 105-113) and Glaser (1978, 55-82), first as an applied process and then with examples from the data.

During the first stage of coding for this research, described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as "Comparing incidents applicable to each category," relationships and differences among data entries (for example observations, oral accounts) are recognized and coded under one or several categories as appropriate. At this stage, many categories are formed, not worrying about their later relevance to the emerging theory. This stage corresponds to "open coding," as suggested by Glaser (1978). For this research, all text material is open coded using codes liberally and not paying attention to possible relationships between codes. Coding is done line by line, mostly at sentence level, but individual words are also coded when a code could be used to describe them. This is done until all material is open coded and no more labels can be created. Other possibly relevant factors noted in the text are also coded into several categories as they come up, even though they may seem to have no relation to the research question at the time. Lifeline curves are coded into categories according to their local shapes (ascending, descending and constant), and any explanations that subjects had written beside these shapes are coded and integrated into the category in question. For further explanation of lifeline curve analysis, see Kujala et al (2011). Lists of devices and maps are coded into categories that describe situations, places and purposes of use. During this initial stage, the codes are merely descriptions that seem to bear no resemblance to each other, but with further effort some patterns may be noted with increasing frequency. These can be captured in the next stage, described below.

In the second stage, described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as "Integrating categories and their properties," similarities that link open codes to each other are noted and marked up with constant comparison: the codes are compared to see if they share any higher-level concepts. If there are connections, these higher-level concepts are used to form a category. For this study, this second phase of analysis corresponds mostly to Glaserian selective coding at the beginning, but very soon starts to have more in common with Glaser's theoretical coding, integrating several concepts under one category. According to Glaser (1978), selective coding means basically that open codes are grouped together according to a common factor, while

theoretical coding attempts to link substantive codes together under a shared concept. It is possible to move to Step 3 after all ideas at this level are used up.

The third step of coding, called by Glaser and Strauss (1967) "Delimiting the theory," means in this study reducing the number of concepts and categories by using a higher level concept to describe a set of lower level concepts. This stage is critical to the formation of theory, and at this stage an idea for the theory in this study starts to emerge. This stage also corresponds to Glaser's (1978) stages of "selective coding" and "theoretical coding," but with more abstraction than in Stage 2. In delimitation, the main goals for this research are decreasing the number of concepts and categories necessary to describe the phenomenon while further defining the relationships between these categories. The ultimate goal of the analysis is to come up with only one to two core categories into which all of the lower level categories can be reduced, but according to some methodological sources (for example, Urquhart et al 2010, 372) the number of core categories is often higher. In this study, three core categories are included in the theory (see Results).

Typical for grounded theory, analysis was carried out simultaneously with data collection in this study. This means that all of the stages of analysis were present from the very start until the very end. Even Stages 1 and 2 were added to with each adjoining field visit. Stages 2 and 3 were also repeated many times, forming fewer and higher-leveled categories out of a vast number of lower-leveled categories with every repetition. All stages of analysis operated until the very end, but in practice Stages 3 and 4 started to gain importance as the analysis progressed. For more discussion on the analysis process, see Glaser and Strauss (1967, 105, 113).

Because of this cyclical application of analysis method, the process cannot be described as purely Glaserian, except for open coding, which was more or less completed after each field visit before moving forward. Regarding the selective and theoretical coding, many dead-end attempts have been necessary before discovering the final structure and core categories.

The fourth step, called "Writing theory" by Glaser and Strauss (1967), is in this case carried out in several rounds: first by writing descriptions of various phenomena that were found to be relevant to the use of entertainment, then writing up relationships between them, and finally drawing up a concept map showing the core categories

and relationships between them. The theory is presented both as a narrative framework and a flowchart model that contains sets of propositions and relationships between them in Results. As a result of the analysis, the concepts presented and the relationships between them are grounded in the field data. The resulting theory operates on a substantive level (families with children using digital entertainment at home). For more discussion on writing theory, see, for example, Glaser and Strauss (1967, 32-35, 79-99, 111-113).

The theory discovered during the analysis is integrated with existing theoretical literature in Results to see if the results of this study corroborate or contrast with previous literature (for theoretical integration, see Glaser 1992). The results of this study are compared with sociological studies and theories of domestication and practices, and the results are used to confirm and expand the previous work by forming new relationships between concepts discovered in the research. These results are used as starting points for ideas for further research and are discussed in Results, Discussion and Conclusion.

An example of the coding process that has led to the discovery of the core category "Motivations of use" for the theory is presented below.

4.3 An example of the coding process

One of the principles for applying grounded theory in a credible manner is that the coding process must be explained explicitly (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, 102-103). This section gives an example of the coding process. The procedure that has led to the discovery of the core category "Motivation for use" is opened up in detail below. The theory's other two core categories were discovered from the data using a comparable coding process.

To begin with, data were coded with open codes to mark observed or described uses. This open code was called simply "Use". The observations coded under "Use" included, for example, a father watching TV alone, a mother using radio as a background noise, a mother putting TV on for children to watch while the parent makes dinner, the family sitting on the sofa watching the TV series Hercule Poirot

together, the family sitting on the sofa (or nearby) while everybody focuses on their own entertainment, parents putting TV on for the children to watch and then sitting on the sofa and watching the children watching TV. There was no idea during this stage that these codes would eventually be used for describing a core category. In practice, the uses as observed are in some form included in all of the core categories. Another open code, "Talk about use," was attached to oral accounts that accompanied these uses or were given as explanations for these (or other) uses and were picked up either in field notes or during the interview. These included, for example, a comment by Joonas (42y) on watching TV alone: "Sometimes dad just has to have his TV. It is for zeroing after work" or by Liisa (37y) when she put the TV on for her children while preparing dinner: "I need to get the kids quiet". Some situations included stories and special ways of talking about a specific use situation type: these were coded as "story" or "name of use". These open codes were immediately linked to each other, whenever possible. This linking of open codes already represented the beginning of the selective coding process. After all uses and talks about use were coded, the selective coding process continued by grouping the uses according to the mode of use, whether alone (code: [using] alone) or with others, according to the constitution of the group. For example, the category "using [entertainment] with others" was at first coded as several subcategories according to the groups of people observed: "children [use] together/adults together/ a child and a parent together: with a daughter and mother, son and father etc/all family together" that were then joined together as "using with others." Any accounts linked with these uses were also coded and linked to the use and the group/individual using entertainment.

The subcategories created in this way were also compared with all other categories, for example the open coded situational motivations for use that subjects named belonging to each use situation, such as "relaxing, just to be together, to have something to talk about, to feel connected as a family, fun for kids, getting the kids quiet while parents work, promoting togetherness and family traditions and promoting togetherness and personal objectives simultaneously" to see if and how they appeared together. During the selective coding it turned out that this open code "Situational motivation for use [as stated by subjects]" was actually a fitting name for a selective code and could be used to summarize many open codes.

The incidents within the selective code "Situational motivation for use" were then compared to see if a higher level concept could be used to describe them. With further selective coding, these situational motivations for use were grouped under two categories, "Individual" and "Mutual," according to the nature of the motivation behind them. In the end they were coded under the theoretical code "Motivations of use" which was then selected as a core category for the theory. The process of coding for the core category "Motivations of use" is summarized in Table 4 and its end result appears in Results chapter (see Table 5).

Table 4: Core category: Motivations of entertainment use

Category: Motivation for use	Selective code: Situational motivation for use	Open codes: "Use" etc
Individual:	Unwinding	Watching TV alone
	Company	Radio as background noise Chatting using social media about food while cooking Keeping in touch with friends using Facebook
Mutual:	Making life run smoothly	Getting the kids quiet with TV while parents work
	Promoting togetherness and family traditions	"Traditional quality time": Everybody focuses on the same content, for example TV
	Promoting togetherness and personal objectives	"Personalized quality time": Everybody focuses on personal entertainment in a shared space, and shares content based on interest
		Fun for kids: Parents watch children having fun

The final step, naming the theoretical code "Motivations of use" was problematic, because at first "motivation" was deemed a shallow term to describe the incidents within it. "Driving force" was considered in place of motivation, but it turned out

that this phrasing has other, well established, connotations and was therefore rejected as potentially confusing. The grouping of motivations for use under two categories "Individual" and "Mutual" was also contemplated: "Individual" in this case means that even though most motivations of use within a family are linked to keeping up or enforcing mutual dynamics, there are simultaneously some important motivations for entertainment use that are about individual fulfillment. These individual motivations come into play when a parent or child wants to withdraw from the circle of family (which forms the research unit of this study) and spend some time in isolation (but maybe seeking company outside the home, for example using social media). These motivations appear for brief periods of time in the families studied and their dynamics are discussed further in Results. To complicate matters, according to the analysis, there are some motivations for use that appear to be individually motivated on the surface, but with a closer look turn out to be more of a manifestation of mutual interests within the family, like "Getting the kids quiet while parents work" and "Personalized quality time." Therefore this category of motivations is called "Mutual," even though it includes some personal connotations. These merged uses and motivations turned out to be a significant feature of current entertainment use, and are discussed in detail in Results.

All of the above were compared with the shapes of the lifeline curves that were coded according to the local shape of the curve and the comments included beside the shape. The lifeline curve was designed to ask only about TV, but many subjects included other devices as explanations for the changing shapes of the curve.

The other two core categories, condition of families and technological development factors (see Results) were discovered from the data using a coding process comparable to that described above. The relationships between these three core categories were also discovered in a similar fashion: by coding around the categories and linking the reasons that the subjects gave to each category until the coding formed an interlinked web that included the placing of technology with situations, frequency and places of use, ways of use, ways of choosing and attitudes, motivations and goals of use. By this final stage, linking the core categories, the coding system was already quite complex. Discovering the relationships between core categories was made easier by using the Atlas.ti query tool, because the interlinked chains of codes could be searched to print out "stories" that mechanically

displayed all of the links established between codes during coding process. Some of these "stories" were random and nonsense, but others helped to discover patterns in the data.

One example of a plausible "story" is that of "Traditional quality time." It is presented below with a few examples from the data. In practice, the incidents printed out using the query tool often include lists that are many pages long and contain names and other personal details of the subjects. The "story" below is a sample, where personal details are removed, but it nevertheless demonstrates the idea of query tool use during analysis.

Story of Traditional quality time: Name of use: Traditional quality time-way of use: using together –constitution of group: all family together- use [as observed]: watch TV series Hercule Poirot/ Avara Luonto/ Miss. Marple, play board games-other action [observed]: none /eating candy/eating popcorn- what do users want to achieve: family bonds-traditions-conditioning children-be together-closeness -names: our things- other comments: this is important, we concentrate on this.

Discovering motivations for use or relationships between core categories was quite straightforward, if laborious, because in most cases the subjects explicitly stated them: Most subjects, adults and children, were talkative and verbal and gave many reasons and explanations for their actions even without asking. Some teenagers were more reserved, but could be encouraged to talk about their entertainment use by using humor. If there was more than one teenager in a house, a successful tactic to get rich oral accounts out of teenagers was to ask one sibling to talk about the entertainment use of the other while they were both present. This prompted detailed "confessions" that were either confirmed or denied by the other sibling on the spot.

When reporting the findings, the naming of the categories uses the terms the subjects themselves used to talk about each phenomenon, if there is one that is either very recurrent or particularly fitting. These include for example the phrases "our life," "traditional quality time," and "personalized quality time." The comments of the subjects are also used for justification in Results whenever possible. These appear within sentences placed in quotes without reference to a subject, like for example in 4.1, where "in their own devices" is a wording used by several subjects to describe similar kinds of behavior observed in all families studied. In the case of comments

provided by individual subjects, these include a reference to the subject, for example "sometimes dad just needs have his TV" (Joonas, 42y).

This is an interpretive study that started with an assumption that the reality of the subjects is what they state as such, and therefore the "rightness" of the coding system has not been an issue like it would have been in a positivist study. Still, several considerations have been included to ensure the relevance of the results. During data collection and coding, special care was taken to follow the protocol for a case study in data collection, database structure and analysis (Yin 2003). Data were collected in the field until saturation. A separate database was formed for each case. During analysis, the original purpose of the study was kept in mind in all phases. Contrasting evidence was analyzed and surprising chains of evidence followed. A case description was made. Theoretical sampling and the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967) were used throughout the study. During open coding, categories were formed liberally. In each phase, data were checked to find if more codes and categories could be formed. Delimitation was done only after theoretical saturation of categories. The coding and emerging theory were discussed with peers to discover more dimensions of the research problem and possible codes. Propositions for theoretical integration were acquired from the literature and case studies.

5 Results

The aim of this study is to document, describe and understand current entertainment use of families at home. The research question is "How do families with children use digital entertainment at home?" This chapter contributes to this aim, starting with a descriptive documentary of use followed by a presentation of the results that provides an answer to the research question and understanding on the area of research interest. At the end of this section, the research aim is summarized by another descriptive documentary of use written from the point of understanding enabled by the results.

The analysis resulted in a narrative of an afternoon at home with entertainment (see 5.1) and a theory which is presented in a narrative that is first explained in detail with some theoretical integration and then summed up as a flowchart model (Model 1) in 5.2. In 5.3, the results presented in the theory are further theoretically integrated with reference to domestication and practice theories. The results of this theoretical integration are first presented as a narrative and then summed up as a second flowchart model (Model 2). In 5.4, the theoretical integration is extended to some interdisciplinary comparisons in order to reflect on the importance of the theoretical integration undertaken in previous sections and its implications for sociological theories of domestication and practice.

This chapter closes with another narrative from inside a family living room in 5.5, condensing the findings and theoretical points used for this research. Its aim is to demonstrate the view of an afternoon at home with entertainment after completing the grounded theory analysis. This view reveals a reality quite different from the narrative in 5.1.

5.1 An afternoon at home with entertainment

All of the families studied have houses with an open layout: a living room and an adjoining space for dining. During observation, the parents are doing housework while the children entertain themselves with various devices. The parents are

sometimes working from home while spending time in the living room. Parents and children also do some things together. Children ask for help with technical problems they encounter. The actions seem comparable to the findings of Morley (1986, 15) describing the phenomenon of leisure time within a family and the politics of a living room, meaning what can and cannot be done during the evening, either together or individually.

The subjects lead a hectic life. All of the parents work, often overtime from home, they say, and everybody has hobbies outside the home. All say that most of their weekends are also tightly scheduled. All of the families are middle class and most of the parents have university degrees. Some attitudes recognized in comparable setting during previous research come up during observation: The subjects want, for example, to make their own choices (see Sulkunen 2009), are interested in many different types of entertainment (see Peterson and Kern 1996), and show distaste for mass fashions and certain types of entertainment like TV show, Big Brother. Those with less education tend to be more permissive (see Bourdieu 1984 and Kahma 2011).

The families studied only have a few hours to be together during a workweek afternoon after everybody has arrived from work and school until the youngest children go to bed. All expectations, needs and obligations of family life have to be met within this short time. The families have a lot to do during their leisure, and because of this they say that they have little time to dedicate to entertainment. Children have more free time than their parents, but they also report that they have to fit their leisure choices into their parents' schedules to find time to be together. The parents have a constant need to multitask to meet the demands of family relations, paid work and domestic work. The hedonistic entertainment use of parents is limited to brief periods of unwinding (often in front of a TV) after work. Children are generally given the first choice of entertainment use. The parents have their pick after the children have gone to bed and note that "our life using entertainment begins when the children are asleep". Because of tight schedules and cultural demands, most entertainment use at home is socially mediated and situative.

Given the time pressures and work demands it is surprising to find that the weeknight afternoon has an aura of calm. At first it seems that everybody is just enjoying

themselves and the company of others. Only by writing down all the actions carried out during the evening is the underlying buzz of activity revealed. With a closer look, a weekday afternoon at home seems to be a miniature of domestic life: The parents are taking care of children, doing housework, organizing hobbies and sometimes working, while the children are playing, doing their homework, keeping in touch with friends, etc. In addition the families are seeking both time and space for togetherness and socializing as well as just unwinding after all of their duties outside the home. It seems that the families have lived through a similar evening countless times before: The actors seem to respond to cues and actions with an ease and routine that brings to mind a well organized social dance. The rules of the house seem to be self-evident to all members and implemented mostly without negotiation, although some of the young children try protesting a couple of times.

During the observation, members of the families carry their personal entertainment equipment to the living room and mostly ignore the devices in other rooms. They say that they no longer have any dedicated places for devices and expect everything to be portable apart from the big TV screen and some of the gaming consoles. In the living room, they spend the evening more or less "in their own devices", with each family member using their personal (and often digital) entertainment. This is punctuated by commenting on what others are doing or telling others about findings that are personally meaningful (like news or funny video clips from the Internet). Families say that they also have special times dedicated to being together and concentrating on the same content.

The interviewees say they have little tolerance towards complicated devices and services. They expect entertainment to merge seamlessly into their practices and way of life, not the other way around. Subjects use entertainment to enhance their everyday routines and say that this makes domestic chores feel like lifestyle choices. Traditional and digital means of entertainment are used interchangeably on the basis of suitability to the situation, and are evaluated by the same rules: for example books and newspapers can be either printed versions, audio books or tablet formats and dolls can be physical objects or virtual online characters. Smartphones may be used for "anything under the sun". The important factors facilitating digital entertainment use over traditional are that the users perceive digital entertainment as having a winning social affordance (the users feel that it facilitates social contact) and an

improved affordance to carry out a practice of the users as desired (called practical affordance from now on) – that of playing with dolls or watching TV with the affordance to do it how, where and when they want. These affordances situationally outdo some others, like being able to cuddle a doll (as a physical object) or the affordance to enjoy TV using a big screen, but there may be situations where aspects were valued according to a different set of rules. The important factor is being able to choose how to carry out a practice in a given situation. The digital versions win if, and only if, they perform better in the use situation. Subjects state that their attitudes towards those devices and services that conform to their way of life has changed. These kinds of devices and services are considered to be more than entertainment: they are important enablers of preferred lifestyles.

5.2   Family use of digital entertainment at home

The following section presents an answer to the research question and the theory discovered from data as a narrative. This narrative is summed up as Model 1.

According to the analysis, the families studied use digital entertainment (as well as all other kinds of entertainment, more below) at home in a socially conditioned way as a part of their everyday practices. This situational and socially mediated way of using entertainment is an amalgam of the condition of families and the motivations of use that they have, and is enabled by two technology development factors of digital entertainment: ease of use and personalization (including portability, time shifting and choice over content) which the subjects feel improve the perceived social and practical affordances of digital entertainment. These three core categories (condition of families, motivations of use and technology development factors) of the theory presented below together make up the framework for digital entertainment use at home. This framework can either facilitate or restrict use (more below). Several tendencies of digital entertainment use were discovered during the analysis. These are brought about by the joint effect of the three core categories and they demonstrate the potential advantage of digital entertainment over traditional in some situations. This advantage may be related to carrying out either the practice of use, sociality of situation or both.

Condition of families and motivations of use are at first presented together below, followed by technological developmental factors and tendencies.

5.2.1   Condition of families and motivations of use

The condition of families and motivations of use are presented side by side in this section, because this is how they appear in the data: Condition of families and motivations of use form a tight amalgam that most often affects use as a unit, but consists of two interwoven components.

All of the families have a similar condition: Both parents work and there are either one or several children living at home. The condition of each family both facilitates entertainment use in some respects and on the other hand imposes limitations on it. Some of these limitations are due to vocational and social obligations while others are self-imposed through attitudes and ideals. Families lead an active lifestyle: all family members have hobbies outside home. Parents are pressed for time both during the week and on weekends. At home, the parents work from home, do housework and take care of the children. They also say that they want to spend quality time with other family members and find time for their personal interests. Parents tell that they are pressed to find ways to manage their condition while leading a satisfying life and keeping up their preferred lifestyle, with time for both togetherness and personal objectives. The struggle to manage the condition manifests itself in multitasking and creative use of entertainment.

All family members are skilled technology users, but do not want to spend time learning to use complicated ICT systems (although one subject said that exploring technology is his hobby). This contradiction between the skills and practices of the subjects is explored further in Model 2. Parents advised in interviews that they have a practical attitude towards technology: they want it to be a tool towards achieving their goals. Interviewees say, for example, that they want to spend their time doing useful things and achieving goals. They also want to feel that they are making their own choices. They tend to shun spending a lot of time "doing nothing". As Matti (50y) says, "I want to be in control [of my life], not a couch potato". All of the

families have a lot of entertainment at their disposal and use it actively. These two facts, that the interviewees say that they do not want to be couch potatoes or use too much entertainment, and the fact that they use actively, create a potential contradiction in the data. Analyzing this contradiction and the solutions the subjects have for it is one of the main findings of this research and is explained in detail in Model 2 below.

Families also have similar motivations (individual and mutual) for entertainment use, that are listed in Table 5 with examples of the components that make up each category.

Table 5: Motivations of entertainment use

Motivation for use:	Situational motivation for use:	Examples:
Individual	Unwinding	Watching TV alone
	Company (outside family)	Radio as background noise Chatting using social media about food while cooking Keeping in touch with friends using Facebook
Mutual	Making life run smoothly	Getting the kids quiet with TV while parents work
	Promoting togetherness and family traditions	"Traditional quality time": Everybody focuses on the same content, for example TV
	Promoting togetherness and personal objectives	"Personalized quality time": Everybody focuses on personal entertainment in a shared space, and shares content based on interest
		Fun for kids: Parents watch children having fun

The concepts "Traditional quality time" and "Personalized quality time" that appear in Table 5 are discussed in Tendencies below.

The individual motivation for use means that the person with this motivation wants (or in some cases has) to spend time alone without any contact with other members of the family during use. This individual motivation is most often related to unwinding after work or wanting to have social contact with somebody outside the household. The uses resulting from this motivation are often infrequent and short-lived because of the condition of families (see below). Mutual motivations for entertainment use are related to social driving forces within the family. These mutual motivations for use are in the majority during a family afternoon and they are also tightly interwoven with the condition of families as described below. Mutual motivations for entertainment use are a major theme in the leisure time of all families: they want to maintain and enforce family bonds, spend time together and share things. In this study, mutual motivations for entertainment use refer to the motivations within the family, because the family is the research unit. Individuals seeking company using social media are naturally also sharing their intentions with others, but this is regarded as individual motivation, because its aim is to promote time alone, while mutual motivations aim to either spend more time together with other family members or make this time more enjoyable.

The condition of families imposes restrictions on use by leaving adults (and older children, see below) with little time for hedonistic and focused individual entertainment use. This individually motivated use is restricted to small time slots of unwinding after work and school, often "vegging out" in front of a TV or using social media. Adults say that they want to keep this use as brief as possible, because otherwise they would feel guilty about "acting like a couch potato" when they have so much to do. To find more time for individually motivated entertainment use, adults have to incorporate it into their routines and obligations: they would, for example, fold laundry while watching TV. This is regarded either as a "better than nothing" use or a way of having company when nobody else was at home. The restrictions imposed by condition encourage entertainment use in this kind of forms that are often creative: An important individually motivated use where digital entertainment is often preferred is searching content related to the task at hand. This use includes, for example, social media and applications: the subjects may search the Internet for cooking ideas and then evaluate the recipes found by reading the comments. Adults say that this makes housework feel more like leisure spent with

friends. This is important for the adults, because they are often housebound, especially with small children. As Aulikki (39y) says, "Chatting about food while cooking is important, because it makes me feel like I am with friends, and have no need to go out because all I need is here [at home]." Subjects tell that they crave this interactive social dimension of digital entertainment use, which may not be achieved by print media. Jukka (42y) says: "I would like to have the experience that I could watch sport together with my relatives that live in [another town]." Children also use entertainment for unwinding after kindergarten or school, and older children sometimes for company. School age children also use the Internet while doing their homework, for example searching for information for solving problems. They regard this as a purely practical use and not as enhancing their obligations with entertainment, as adults do.

In families with small children (0 to 10 years) the parents have special organizational motivations for entertainment use that facilitate it: they need to "keep the kids quiet while parents are working". Controlled use of entertainment is compared to a grandmother that keeps children company and tells them educational and safe stories, or as a virtual courtyard that is a safe place for the children to play in without the dangers of "dark corners of the Internet or live TV programs." Some parents have a personalized compilation of bookmarks on their laptop, where safe gaming options, videos or exercise programs can be watched on-demand. Entertainment is consumed in small time slots dictated by duties. Children younger than 7 years most often watch almost entirely recorded content (an exception is the children's TV series Pikkukakkonen that is seen as safe), because parents want to stay in control of content, as Liisa (37y) says, "to avoid some nasty Mutant ninja turtle surprises." The parents use the remote control to pause action according to daily routines like dinner or greeting the father on his return from work. Parental control of entertainment use is implemented with the use of the set-top box and remote control. Matti (50y) jokes about the remote: "It's nice to have at least one thing at home that is obeyed by everyone." This parental organizational motive for entertainment use loses its importance when children become old enough to look after themselves. However, all family members use entertainment for organizational purposes if necessary: entertainment is used in a self-directed way when somebody has to fill in empty time slots, for example when waiting for the others. All of the families say that "a TV

channel without recording is useless," because "our life does not follow the TV timetables." Schoolchildren are given more freedom in relation to TV and Internet use than preschoolers, but within limits that are negotiated beforehand. Breaking these rules results in withdrawal of entertainment. Parents say that they could not rent content for children under 7 years, because, as Liisa (37y) says, "They just want to watch it 100 times, and it is not a reality when you rent," or even sometimes for themselves, because like Liisa (37y) continues, "Movies are too long, we just fall asleep. TV series are suitable for now." Parents start conditioning children to liking certain types of content that were referred to as "our things," suitable and desirable for family use. These motivations for use are discussed below.

In families with small children, the parents often read books to the children, watch children's favorite TV content together with them or play with them. Sometimes the parents themselves do not use any entertainment, but simply watch the children using entertainment and having fun. According to the interviews, this increases the parents' experience of quality of life. All of the parents do this, but they say that it is at its most important when the children are small. A significant rite of passage is when a child is old enough to participate in "our things" that parents have selected, like watching the TV show Hercule Poirot in some families, or playing certain board games. According to the interviews, these "our things" are used to establish and maintain the family culture. "Our things" are appreciated by both parents and children. The children look forward to them and report that participating in "our things" makes them feel special and grown up.

When children become teenagers, the family dynamics change. The parents say that instead of needing to keep the kids quiet, they need ways to keep them talking. Entertainment is used to make this easier: "our things" are still done together, and teenagers say that they appreciate them as part of a family tradition. Parents may play video games with teenagers, "just to be together." Parents of teenagers are often surprised to discover that they are using entertainment in the same way that they had grown accustomed to when the children were younger.

To sum up, ways and demands of spending time at home are different in families according to the age of the children. Everyday routines evolve when the children grow up, but an important rite of passage occurs when children become teenagers.

With young children, the parents have to worry about how to do everything while meeting the needs of the children. With teenagers, this is reversed: the parents worry about how to maintain the family relations and stay in touch with teenagers. Both of these questions are dealt with using entertainment as one mediator (explained below), but in different ways according to the children's age.

5.2.2   Technological developmental factors

According to the observation, interviews and lifeline curves, the perceived potential advantage of digital entertainment over traditional entertainment for the studied families is twofold: digital entertainment is seen as having potential for both an improved social affordance (facilitating social contact) and an improved affordance of carrying out the practice(s) of the user(s), called practical affordance. These potential advantages are mediated by two technological development factors, ease of use and personalization (meaning portability, time shifting and choice over content). The subjects say that these two developmental factors are very important for them, and they talk about the social affordance and practical affordance more in terms of a given facts that are improved by the advancements in ease of use and personalization. Therefore the social and practical affordances of digital entertainment are not considered technology developmental factors in this study, but are seen as facilitators of use that are backed up by ease of use and personalization.

It is important to notice that these two potential advantages (improved social and practical affordance) of digital entertainment are literally just that, a potential. The real test of digital entertainment is going through the trials of domestication at home (see 5.3), where it is evaluated according to the same criteria as any entertainment. This process is much more complicated than just choosing the latest and most advanced gadget available: the families say, for example, that traditional forms of entertainment like a printed book may perform very well in some respects (it is most often portable, allows time shifting and there is a lot of choice over content, if not on demand like in the case of digital entertainment), but its content is not as readily shareable as that of, for example, Internet news, and therefore it is not as readily used in the social setting of a family afternoon as digital entertainment.

The subjects say that developmental factors of ease of use and personalization have recently improved, and this has facilitated changes in their life and attitudes towards entertainment. They say that because of the easy-to-use entertainment that is available, they have little motivation to learn to use complicated things. The definitions in the data for "easy-to-use" are manifold, but most of these definitions relate to the immediacy and fitness of the results that the user expects. The subjects say, for example, that easy-to-use entertainment does not require learning, but can be navigated using intuition. It also does not have "a confusing mess of useless options in view," as Marko (42y) points out. It is significant to notice here, too, that "ease of use" is situational and does not always refer to the most technologically advanced entertainment: the printed book that appeared in previous example is often described as easy to use by a single user, but not in a social setting.

Regarding personalization, the subjects say that they expect most entertainment to be portable, except for the big TV screen and some of the gaming consoles. Even these have to be located in the "right places," meaning where the families want to spend time, or they are left unused and replaced with other means (see Tendencies below). Because the families want to choose content themselves and have options that allow this at their disposal, they consume little entertainment without a time shifting option, like live traditional TV channel programs, for example. An exception is the individual motivation for unwinding in front of a TV, when "any content would do as long as it is not too frightening for the children present" (Joonas, 42y). Another exception is highly timely content like news, in the case of a special event, or other current issues like a live hockey game. The subjects prefer watching their everyday news either recorded or on the Internet. Time shifting is essential for all families because of their condition, which manifests itself as hectic schedules.

5.2.3 Tendencies

According to analysis, there are several tendencies of entertainment use at home. These are presented below. These tendencies affect both digital and traditional forms of entertainment, but in many cases the digital forms have advantages that are brought about by both the social and practical affordances and technology

developmental factors. According to the analysis, the tendencies presented below are induced by the joint effect of condition of families, motivations of use and the technology development factors ease of use and personalization (portability, time shifting and choice over content).

The subjects say that these tendencies have entered their leisure recently, with the availability of portable and personalizable entertainment, but they are already an integral part of leisure and an enabler of their lifestyle. The subjects also report that portable and personalizable devices are "a godsend" in their particular condition, and this facilitates the adoption of these kinds of devices and services.

The data collected for this study give no possibilities for predicting whether these tendencies will gain further ground in the future, but some similar ways of use have already been reported in some quantitative studies, with the notion that some of these uses, like using mobile devices for consuming digital entertainment, seem to be spreading fast (see, for example, Viestintävirasto 2012).

New disposition of entertainment

A recurrent observation in the families is that everybody carries their entertainment equipment with them and uses it wherever they want to spend time. This can be somewhere in isolation, as observed in some rare cases, but most often the place to be is the living room couch. The families say that because of increasing portability of digital entertainment, they no longer have many dedicated places for entertainment use, or in many cases even for storage, but they use it on the spot, according to the situation. Only the heaviest devices like a big TV screen are not supposed to be portable. Some families have a non-portable desktop computer, but these are referred to as relics. The families say that desktop computers are not being used because of their awkward and isolated location, and they are planning to replace them with laptops, because these could be used anywhere around the house.

Substitution of means

Families use traditional and digital forms of entertainment interchangeably, based on the situation. They mix and match the equipment and technologies they have, using equivalent options of carrying out a practice (like reading) seemingly interchangeably. The newest and the most advanced technologies do not automatically win this game, but those that were most easy to use and personalizable: the winners are portable, give various choices over the content, and are easiest to use in a shared space. Subjects may, for example, choose a printed book or an audio book based on "whatever would be at hand and most fitting to the situation". Printed newspapers live in harmony with news read from a smartphone; video cassettes may be, as Matti (50y) says, "still most handy to pop in when a child comes to the master bedroom in the morning and we want to sleep," social media use may be substituted on the fly for a printed magazine when somebody else has a more pressing need to use a shared laptop, etc. The primacy of practices and use situations over a dedicated device is evident in the data: The families have, for example, a practice of spending time together in a shared space, and to make this possible they would rather use a smartphone to watch TV in a preferred location (where the others are) than watch a big screen TV in a separate room but alone (with the exception of an individual motivation to isolate oneself, but this is more rare). Both adults and children are equally skilled in mixing and matching traditional and digital entertainment. For example, Siiri (12y) used during observation a "real" dollhouse with "real" dolls, a Sims2 PC game (featuring a virtual house and its residents), a GoSupermodel online game (featuring a model figure that can be dressed, etc.) and Manga books, sharing them at first with a "live" friend that was visiting and later with "virtual" friends online, saying: "These are all ways of playing with dolls with friends. There is no difference between them, really."

An interesting feature in this substitution of means is that many of the families use the substitution to consume the same kind of content as before, but in more easy-to-use and convenient format. For example, Olli (41y) says that he had purchased the same music compilations and movies over and over again, starting from cassette and video tapes and graduating via CDs and DVDs to BluRays and MP3 formats and the

Spotify music service saying, "this is good, because [listening to music] is my favorite thing and Spotify makes it easier."

Board games have a special meaning in oral accounts about family leisure. Their use signals time dedicated for togetherness, and that is why most families agree that they are not readily replaceable by video games for the purpose. Some families have partially adopted video games for this purpose, however. Minna (39y) says, for example, "Board games are so important for togetherness. We just seem not to play them so much any more these days. We mostly play video games together and that is important, too."

Culture of rejection

The families say that the increasing ease of use and personalization of technology, together with the wide range of technologies available, had made them more demanding, saying for example, "I have better things to do than assembly" (Marko, 42y). Jukka (42y) describes this change of attitude: "We are so spoiled for choice. It is not an option to learn to use something complicated these days. This has resulted in a culture of rejection. If something does not work immediately, out it goes. Why waste your precious time? We humans have become such an impatient species."

The families may reject even recently bought expensive technologies that are deemed inconvenient, saying things like, "it [a gaming console] is too clumsy" (Kaija, 42y), or, a hockey [board] game is "too heavy to carry downstairs" (Niilo, 9y), and about TVs in their own rooms, "what is the point when everybody else is in the living room" (Niilo, 9y). The families choose options that allow them to spend time together in the living room: books, magazines, laptops, smartphones and small board games. As noted before, it bears repeating that the chosen options are not always the most technologically advanced ones, but those that best fit the practices and social endeavors of the family. A rejection (total or partial) of entertainment may occur anytime, even after the device or service had been used a great deal.

According to the analysis, rejection of entertainment may occur in the following situations:

1) Before purchase: entertainment will not be bought or even considered, as Liisa (37y) says, "I just don't get this whole video game thing."

2) A device or service is bought but not activated at home because it is regarded as too complicated: "That would be so tedious. I don't even know if we have the cables necessary [about reassembling the set-top-box after moving]". (Aulikki, 39y)

3) After a couple of trials: "I tried to use it, but it just increased my blood pressure. Not my idea of unwinding, really. I prefer to avoid [the technology in question]. I do not have any problems in my life, so I don't want to buy them, either." (Marko, 42y)

4) Partial rejection by limiting use, because a technology is considered complicated: "I think twice before starting to set up my work laptop at home. It takes too much time and the cables give me a headache." (Minna, 39y)

5) Getting bored after using something for a while, unless the device or service is personalizable: "At first we singed karaoke every evening. Then we got bored and bought mp3 players and used them every day. Then we got bored again, because it was always the same thing. I never get bored reading cooking blogs, however, because new content just pops up every day and I can search whatever on a whim." (Aulikki, 39y)

6) Partial rejection by limiting use due to moral issues: "I try not to watch too much TV, because I have better things to do. I am in control [of my time], not a couch potato." (Matti, 50y)

7) Replacing an existing favorite with a better device or service: "They just gave us these iPads to use during a holiday flight. I had not even considered an iPad before, but I was immediately hooked. Now my laptop feels so slow and cumbersome. I have to have an iPad, now." (Aulikki, 39y)

8) Family practices change for some reason unrelated to the form of entertainment: "In our previous apartment we used the headphones all the time, because the children slept in the same room. I joked that I used to take out garbage with my headphones on. Then we moved to our present house with a separate living room and bedrooms. The headphones became useless overnight. I don't miss them at all." (Maria, 36y)

Entertainment may gain partial protection against rejection by attachment to practices (meaning that the user has a pre-existing idea of what he or she would like do with the technology), ease of use and personalization (portability, time shifting and choice over content), but also to some extent by integration into practices, as in case of board games. In the families studied, however, nothing would protect an entertainment technology endlessly in the case of something better coming up or family practices changing for some other reason: an old favorite could be disposed of without further thought, or as in the case of board games being replaced by video games, as a series of trials and negotiations that reorganized the family idea of the practice that these technologies were used for. This finding is different in some respects from the results of previous research, where objects are described being rejected over a period of time (see, for example, Kopytoff, 1986). The families studied say that their attitude towards storing and rejecting technologies changed with the introduction of easy to use and personalizable devices and services and the wide choice of technologies available. They do store some rejected technologies while throwing some others away, but they say that they would not attempt to use the stored ones unless absolutely necessary. A change in family condition and practices could mean trouble for a technology, unless it is personalizable enough to find a use for itself as part of another practice.

These rejections, both partial and total, and the possibilities that a technology has to overcome them, are discussed in the further theoretical integration of the results and summed up as Model 2.

Domestic work as a lifestyle choice

The parents are busy with childcare when the children are small. Working from home and domestic work must be done as well. Domestic work duties are often referred to as chores or obligations that have to be done before "getting to the business of leading a life." The subjects say, for example, that they would like to be more outgoing and social, spend more time with their family and also find time for their personal objectives, but the demands of everyday life and work leave them housebound, especially with small children. The parents use entertainment in

creative ways to combine domestic work with their personal objectives. For example, they read cooking blogs and related chats while cooking and say: "I often don't know what to cook for dinner. Then I look at the fridge and Google the ingredients found inside for recipes. It is so much fun to read the comments included, because it makes me feel like I am somewhere talking to people. I do this more and more. I already have favorite blogs that feel like meeting places for friends. I have started to like cooking, something that is totally new for me. Cooking has become my hobby. With the Internet, cooking does not feel like a chore anymore, it has become a lifestyle choice." (Aulikki, 39y) These uses are manifold: each parent has their special ways of making domestic work feel like a lifestyle choice. The subjects say that the free choice over content together with portability was essential for this use: "What is the use of a TV if Jamie Oliver cooks pancakes there and all I have around is chicken and rice? I have no use for pancakes at the moment" (Aulikki, 39y), or, "I often search for inspiration on the Internet [for cooking], but it has to be the right kind, meaning something I know I will like. Not any inspiration will do, they have to get it right and guess what I like." (Soile, 42y)

In the studied families, the increasing mobility of digital entertainment enables the users to link entertainment to places that did not previously involve it, like the kitchen. A laptop with WLAN, Internet access and personalizable content that is convenient to use encourages the formation of new practices, according to the interviewees. One family had recently moved into a new house that included an extra TV screen embedded into the kitchen wall. The mother of the family said that she had planned to use it while cooking, but now finds setting up the system too cumbersome. She says that the laptop does the same thing with less trouble and is therefore practically living on the kitchen counter, being used every day. She says that her cooking has become a lifestyle choice not because of the embedded TV as planned, but because of the convenient and personalizable laptop. She does not think about the useless TV screen and has no intention of setting it up.

Personalized quality time

"Quality time" is an informal term referring to special time spent with loved ones, like family and friends, but it can also mean time spent alone doing something meaningful. At present, it conventionally means that undivided attention is paid to the person(s) or task(s) at hand. Quality time is an example of a practice, and like all practices in this research, it is seen as subject to change. Quality time is a relatively recent practice. Gillis (1997, 17) argues that premodern (he refers to the time before the Industrial revolution) families did not have or need special "quality time." They were together naturally, ruled by rhythms of work and leisure, not setting apart any strictly family times. "A home" was both a place to work and a place to live. He continues (1997, 87- 95) that with the Industrial revolution and regular school times, clocks started to pace family life and it had to conform to the needs of factory work and schooling (only for middle-class children at the time). Work and school now removed family members from the home for many hours every day. Members of the family had less time to be together, and thus the need for "quality time" was born.

In this study, the families observed have two ways of spending quality time at home: these are named "Traditional quality time" and "Personalized quality time" in this study. When all family members concentrate on the same thing, like watching TV, they refer to this as "traditional quality time." The expression "traditional quality time" is used with astonishing regularity across the data when the subjects talk about this kind of action. This traditional quality time is about using entertainment that is considered a tradition of the family. Families say that they tend to have dedicated times for traditional quality time, although they strive to make more room for it whenever possible. Traditional quality time is valued because it gives an intensive feeling of connectedness and togetherness as a family. It is also an important manifestation of family culture: the choices of what, when and how to spend it are regarded as expressions of the family spirit and ideals of a good life. Traditional quality time is in a minority when spending time together, however. During observation, each family member was most often found using their personal entertainment devices in the living room, commenting on each other's findings and sharing content. This way of spending quality time is named "Personalized quality time." The subjects say that this personalized quality time is a new practice to them,

but it is how they spend most of their quality time together at home nowadays. They appreciate both modes of quality time: the personalized for being individually rewarding and giving them something to talk about and the traditional for maintaining the family culture. In oral accounts, the interviewees talk about the togetherness that is achieved during personalized quality time by occupying a shared space, being interested in the media use of others and also sharing any personally interesting findings or content with others.

In data the subjects do not have one dominantly used shared name for this new phenomenon called "personalized quality time," however, even though they all did talk about this kind of quality time a great deal during the observation and interviews. In data the subjects use three kinds of phrase for this way of spending time together, but the common denominator is that the expression "quality time" is included in all of them. The phrasings that the subjects use are "customized quality time," "personal quality time" and "personalized quality time." The most frequently used phrase in the data is "customized quality time" and this was initially chosen to describe this category of action during the analysis. When discussing the exact meaning of the word "customize" with peers, however, it turned out to be unsuitable for describing a way of spending time where the subjects want to emphasize that they choose all aspects of the action themselves during the evening.

"Personal quality time," the phrase in second place in the frequency ranking, turned out not to be a comprehensive choice either, because the subjects use it in two different contexts in an inconsistent manner: "personal quality time" is used both for describing truly personal quality time, meaning time that is spent in an individually motivated way in isolation doing something personally satisfying and meaningful (while explaining that this is not family time), and also for describing the practice of spending time in a shared space using a personal entertainment device and content (and specifying this as a mutually motivated way of spending time that also has some individually rewarding undertones).

The third phrasing, "personalized quality time," arises least frequently in the data, but after careful consideration it was found to be the most accurate option for describing the action and was therefore chosen as the name of the category.

Personalized quality time is made possible by personalization of digital entertainment (portability of the devices, time shifting and choice over content), for example portable laptop computers and wireless Internet-technology (WLAN), but also more traditional portable entertainment, for example books, magazines and board games are sometimes used. In this context, it is worth repeating that, although personalized quality time requires personalization, the subjects emphasize that accompanying it "[ease of use] is necessary so that these things are worth using [reasoning what kind of entertainment is used]" (Soile, 42y). Parents say that working from home and doing housework in a shared space while there are others present also represents personalized quality time for all parties, because they can observe others and comment on what they are doing while getting things done. Parents report that children also appreciate it when their parents are present in a shared space. If a task at hand is especially demanding, however, the parent would do it undisturbed in a separate space.

According to Morley (1986), radio, TV and PCs have prompted family members to gather in the living room, but doing other things while spending quality time with others has generally been regarded as bad manners. However, if a new practice provides clear benefits, people can change their practices quickly (Ilmonen 2004). Adopting a practice of personalized quality time requires that families reformulate the concept of "quality time." The families studied seem to manage this by defining the two ways of spending quality time: "traditional" and "personalized."

Personalized quality time has not been found in scientific literature as a separate phenomenon, but some forms of spending time that bear resemblance to it are described briefly in, for example, Kennedy and Wellmann (2007, 9-14): different actors gather in the living room either to concentrate on the same thing (they use the early days of the radio as an example) or to do their own things, with simultaneous TV watching, book reading and homework. Kennedy and Wellmann (2007) note that a household has one PC that is used together by all the members of the family, and they have shared uses like watching TV, or then members of the family do activities of their own and comment on their interesting findings aloud.

The studied families generally agree that personalized quality time counts as "good life," because it gives the subjects "all we ever wanted in one package" (Kaija, 42y).

Jukka (42y) was the only subject to say that he would prefer to keep technology use and family time separate, however: "My wife uses her iPad on the couch and the children follow suit with their devices. I don't like it, but it seems there is nothing I can do. The devices just keep sneaking back and I am losing the battle." None of the other families compare the two options of quality time, but value both for their special benefits.

On many occasions practices tend to be mutually exclusive: time spent on one practice cannot be used for another. In the families studied, the interviewees talk about wanting to spend time doing something personally interesting and also spending time with the family. If they have to choose one, they say that they will abandon their personal needs for family time, but they nevertheless crave time for their personal objectives. The practice of personalized quality time is seen as offering a way to combine both the practice of "personal" time with family time, while simultaneously giving something to talk about, facilitating conversation and sharing.

During the theoretical integration of the results, the practice of personalized quality time was found to have points of resemblance with Gillis' (1997, 17) notions of premodern ways of spending time at home before the practice of "quality time" was born: for the studied families, a home is both a place to work and a place to live. Families are together (seemingly naturally), ruled by rhythms of work and leisure and not setting apart (in this situation) any strictly family times. In our families, the traditional quality time is referred to as a special occasion and personalized quality time as "life as it happens in practice" (Joonas 42y). This phenomenon of families having and needing special quality time at a time of working from home and personalizable (entertainment) devices would be interesting to study further.

The two modes of spending quality time are illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Two options of spending quality time at home, "Traditional" and "Personalized"
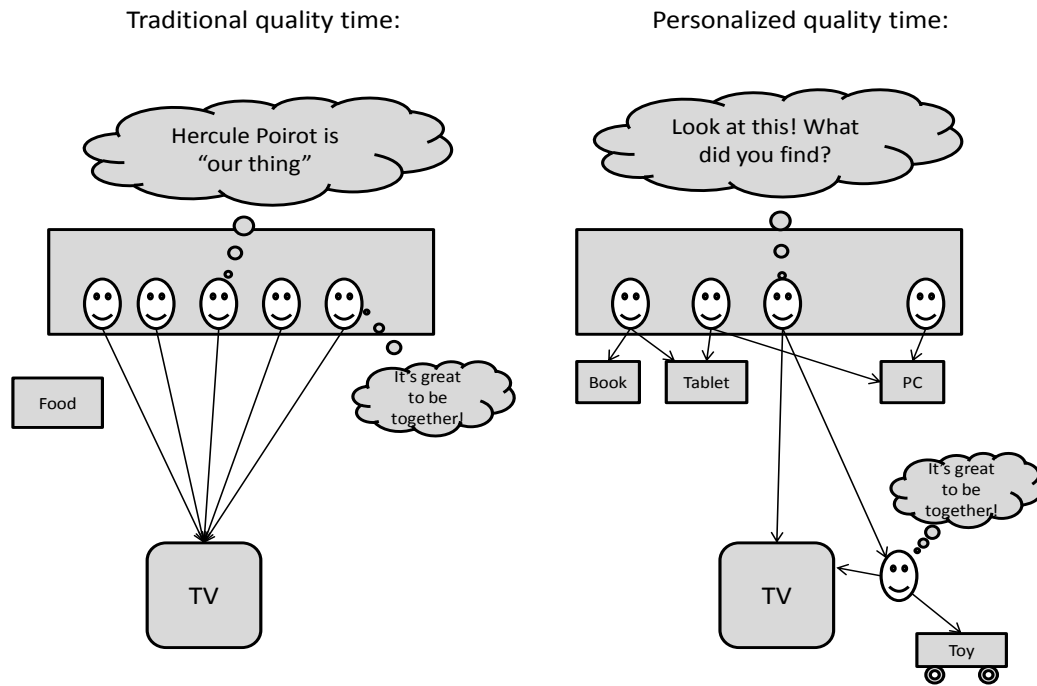
Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012, 76) note that replacing habits with new ones when new innovations come in is an everyday process. They refer to Internet studies, according to which the use of a computer is often linked with multiple practices that tend to include family and friends, and note that in this context, Internet use seems to be changing ways of being together instead of solely alienating its users from social relations. The results of the present study confirm these findings: the families studied use ICT to encourage social relations both within the home (by finding something to do together, sharing things and finding something to talk about) and outside the home (by achieving a feeling of connectedness by reading blogs and taking part in Internet discussion in a situation where going out was not possible).

It was interesting to notice during the analysis that the subjects do not have one shared phrase for personalized quality time, although they all manifested the practice during the observation and speak of it fondly, each using their phrase of choice. Families say that the practice of personalized quality time is relatively new to them,

and they adopted it only after the new and mobile digital entertainment technology entered their home.

A similar lack of a common phrase while clearly talking about the same subject is present when the subjects talk about their relationship with recommendation services: almost all subjects use them in practice but few are familiar with the phrase "recommendation service." The adult subjects generally deny using recommendation services, or do not seem to know that they are available. For example Aulikki (39y) said during the interview: "Recommendation services, what are they? Let me see [checks menu on TV]. There seem to be recommendations available. Who has any use for these? How can the TV service know what I want to watch? If I don't know what to watch or rent, then I can maybe look at the Top 10 for inspiration, but this is rare." Joonas (42y) said during the interview: "What use do we have for the knowledge that 10000 others are watching Big Brother tonight, when they are totally different from us?" After initial confusion it turned out during analysis that the subjects do not think of the recommendations that turn up on their TV screens or laptops as "recommendation services." They say that they mainly ignore those that are based on general popularity or editor's choice but are very fond of recommendations that are based on their previous choices, like YouTube's "More videos like this" and Spotify's "More music like this." The subjects do not have any shared name for these recommendations, although they use them (by clicking the suggested links when they seemed interesting to them) on a daily basis. When asked to name these recommendations they say things like: "Well, these are just better and better search results, options, possibilities, whatever. I don't know. Definitely not recommendation and not any kind service either. It sounds odd to put it that way. Maybe they are just my search results." (Soile, 42y) Some women say that the recommendations on some sites like Net-A-Porter or Amazon are so good that surfing them felt like reading a personalized fashion magazine: "Better and better stuff turns up with each click and I can skip the uninteresting and the plain ugly." (Soile, 42y)

Adults do not generally admit discussing the content of their entertainment use with their peers (with one exception), but they say that discussing content within the family is "very important, that it the whole point of watching, isn't it, to be able to comment and talk?" (Liisa, 37y). Some special programs like sports could be

discussed with peers. Some users say that discussing content in Internet groups is important: "I really don't have to time to visit the pub these days and merely finding a pub with like-minded company to discuss politics would be tedious." (Julius, 52y) Most adults say that discussing content was an integral part of their life before they got married and had children. They could have had special meetings with peers either to watch or discuss content together, and knowing what was happening in some favorite TV series had been "very important, but who has time for this now? I don't even have time to see my friends as often as I would like to" (Liisa, 37y). Children and teenagers are eager to admit that they are influenced by what their peers watch: "Of course it is important, because then we talk about that in school." (Siiri, 12y)

### *Entertainment as an enabler of a way of life*

The subjects say that, taken together, the motivations for use and technology development factors have resulted to a lifestyle that is inseparable from using entertainment technology. As (Maria 36y) notes, "Without these devices, life as we know it would not be possible." Kaija (42y) describes this: "Thank God for the laptop, so that I can at least live at home [despite working overtime]. I sit on the couch and watch kids playing video games while I work. We all like it as it is and I can use my laptop for personal objectives also." Adults say that before they had laptops they used to work in a separate room at home or in the office. They are very pleased that they are able to do the routine working from home tasks using laptop in a shared space at home. If the job at hand requires more concentration, they would still do it either in a separate space at home or in the office. Matti (50y) sums up the entertainment use of his family: "This is our life. Everything gets done simultaneously and life goes forward." The subjects would otherwise tend to limit their entertainment use for moral reasons, but say that there is no such a need if a technology is used within this so-called "our life"-category that appears across data. Quite the contrary: the subjects link increasing use of "our life"-technologies with improved quality of life. Therefore the use of entertainment within the "our life"-category is actively promoted, both individually and also for others. Entertainment that is a part of "our life" for the families is not regarded as entertainment, but an

essential enabler of a way of life. Technologies that are considered to be part of "our life" may be anything from work laptops to smartphones to gaming consoles, as long as they seamlessly merge into the practices of the family. This merging is discussed further under Domestication of entertainment below.

5.2.4   Model 1

To summarize this section, Model 1 (below) shows the discovered theory of digital entertainment use as a flowchart model. Based on the analysis, families with children use digital entertainment at home in a socially conditioned way as a part of their practices. The importance of the core categories (Condition, Motivations and Technology development) that set the framework for digital entertainment use arises from the demands of everyday life and ideas of a preferred lifestyle. They manifest themselves as Tendencies of use. Digital entertainment is treated at home according to the same criteria as any entertainment, but it may have advantages over more traditional entertainment if its technology development factors are considered beneficial for social and/or practical affordance.

Model 1: Family use of digital entertainment at home
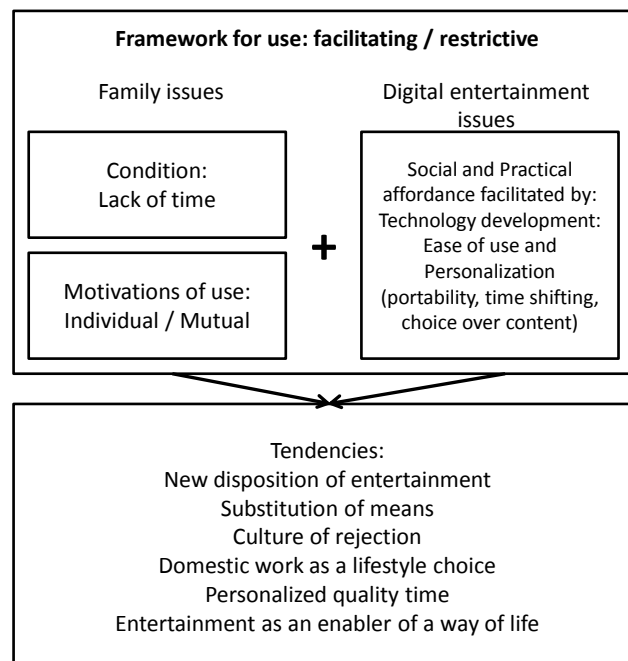
5.3   Entertainment use as domestication in relation to practices

During the theoretical integration the results of this study were first compared with a variety of sociological literature. The results showed potential for integration into many different streams of literature. Candidates included, for example, entertainment use as a gender issue and media use (as, for example, in Morley 1986), as a manifestation of family dynamics (Jallinoja 2000) or social class and distinction (Bourdieu 1984 and Kahma 2011). These sources are considered in previous chapters and discussion of sensitizing concepts, but the main literature used for the theoretical integration of results is that of domestication and practice, presented in this chapter.

The decision to use the literature of domestication and practice is, like the grounded theory presented in this study, discovered from the data. During analysis, statements about entertainment use were discovered to the have a recurrent hierarchical order where certain kinds of uses, or, to be more accurate, trials of use that could either lead to a success or a failure, tended to appear before others and result in consistent outcomes according to evaluations done by the subjects. In the data, these trials were uncovered mostly from talks of use and especially from stories of entertainment use that the families told during their interviews. Some trials were observed in the field. These observed trials, especially the failed ones, with their accompanying spontaneous and graphic oral accounts, provided data for analysis that was deepened with questions on the spot. Some lifeline curves contained additional data. When reviewing the literature, theories of domestication were discovered to have many attachments to these findings of chains and trials of entertainment use that could be used to deepen the understanding of the findings. Therefore, theories of domestication were chosen as a tool for the theoretical integration of the results along with theories of practice: theories of practice were discovered to be beneficial for understanding the finding that the studied families tend to use entertainment as a part of their everyday practices.

The theoretical integration of the results led to the development of Model 2: Entertainment use as domestication in relation to practices (see 5.3.5). This model does not introduce any new findings, but simply rearranges some of them into a hierarchical order, including some comments from the data to illustrate the main

points. Field visits for this study were undertaken only once per family and each visit lasted for 3-5 hours, so it has not been possible to undertake longitudinal research on the domestication process. Model 2 represents the ways that the subjects talked about entertainment use. It is grounded in the field data and it also confirms the findings of some previous theories and studies, expanding their results by forming new relationships between them. Its possibilities to provide material for further research are explored in the Conclusion.

Model 2 is entitled "Entertainment use as domestication in relation to practices", and not specified as referring to digital entertainment because the families studied say that they use similar criteria to judge and domesticate both digital and traditional means of entertainment. As noted above in 5.2, technological advancement alone does not necessarily guarantee success for entertainment at home: the studied families may choose a video cassette over a set-top box at times, for example. Digital entertainment does have some potential advantages over traditional forms, covered in 5.2. Model 2 brings some of the dynamics of these choices to light and helps to understand better why these potential advantages may or may not encourage use.

Based on the findings of this study and previous sociological research, domestication of digital entertainment at home, as with domestication of entertainment in general, is a process whereby the family as a whole and the individuals within it actively try a new technology to see if and how they can share a house with this newcomer. According to the results of this study, domestication appears to take the form of a series of trials, as previously noted by Lehtonen (2003).

The outline of this section follows the outline of Model 2, presenting the hierarchical order of trials of domestication and the importance of practices as they appear in the data: Attachments to practices are introduced first, followed by trials of ease of use and personalization. Following these, the possibility of integration of entertainment into the practices of users is presented. Because domestication is by its nature a never-ending process, the final words of this section are dedicated to the possible future paths of entertainment.

5.3.1 Attachments to practices

The attachments of an entertainment technology to a family's existing practices improves its chance of being seen as something necessary during trials of domestication (see also Lehtonen, 2003, 371), because the potential users in a family have a pre-existing idea as to how they would try to use the technology. Sometimes the domestication process ends up in a rejection before the technology has even has a chance to be tried or to enter the home. It is also possible that it gets tried and ends up having "no place in our life," because it has no attachment to the practices of the family. The primacy of practices when choosing entertainment is very prominent in the families studied. They say that this is because they are time pressed, with all the demands of work and family. Families note that in their present condition they rarely try out new activities, although they said that they would enjoy this during less busy times, or remember having done so before entering their current condition. At their present stage, they choose entertainment that fits into their practices, or, to be more accurate, practices that can be carried out within their condition. Several would-be practices came up during interviews that were either seen as belonging to the past or future or being just wishful thinking, not realizable in the current situation. These would-be practices tend to include diverse ways of using entertainment, but they remain either as memory or a fantasy in the current situation. On the other hand, parents of teenagers often say that they have grown so accustomed to their current practices of using entertainment (practices adopted when the children were small) that they carry on living in the same way, although their present situation would allow diverse and more hedonistic ways of using entertainment. Although some practice theorists such as Warde (2005) suggest that consumption always happens within practices, it would be interesting to study whether some other factors would prompt domestication in more leisurely condition. The setting of this study is voluntary entertainment use during leisure time, but this turned out to be not a truly voluntary setting for most of the users, because of their various obligations. As many workplaces include similar kinds of time pressured use situations, it would also be interesting to compare the results of this study with research on the use of technology systems for work.

5.3.2   Ease of use

If a technology is seen as something potentially necessary during the first trial, its next trial in the families studied is to find out if the entertainment technology would pass as easy to use, or be perceived by the families as such. This is also related to the condition of families that does not allow any time for "learning to use complicated things while having so much to do." (Marko, 42y) Qualities of personalization or the technology being essential for carrying out a practice do not help, if the technology is seen as too demanding: the subjects would rather reject the whole practice that included the problem technology. Alternatively, they might buy an easier replacement for it: Minna (39y) reports how she has stopped listening to music at home, once a favorite pastime, because the new digital cloud entertainment system built by her husband is "impenetrable." She says that she misses music, but not so much that she would bother to learn to navigate the system. She says that she has put her favorite CDs in the car and listens to them while driving. Marko (42y) says that he would rather do without TV than put up with a HD set-top box that "behaves like a toddler having a tantrum. I find myself using the Internet more and more instead." The subjects are skilled technology users and can fix a problem with ease if they are motivated to do so. They also have other hobbies and interests that demand practice, skill and patience, and they appreciate them precisely for these reasons. Still, they want their entertainment to be easy to use. There is one exception to this rule, however. Olli (41y), who declares himself to be a technology enthusiast, sees fixing complicated systems as "a favorite pastime."

In previous sociological research, wanting to learn complicated things and shunning the easy options has been found as typical of the middle class (see Bourdieu 1984), but a trend towards accepting also the easier options within certain limits has been noted (see Peterson and Kern 1996). If a technology is considered too complicated, the studied families reject it either totally or partially, with the latter meaning that it is used for "special occasions only or if we absolutely have nothing better to do, which is rare." (Aulikki 39y) The subjects say that they have changed their attitude towards technology recently with the introduction of the easy-to-use and personalizable technologies and also because they now have so many options available.

5.3.3   Personalization

An entertainment technology that has attachments to practices and is easy to use does have a good chance of being used in the families studied, at least for a while. For long term use of entertainment, the next trial is the test of personalization, meaning portability (or being located in a right place), time shifting and choice over content. The subjects say that all entertainment has to be either portable or situated in a space where the family wants to spend time in order to become used. One family has a brand new home theater located in a basement that is used for storing laundry, because the family prefers to spend time upstairs in the living room (which also has a TV, albeit a smaller and conventional one). If a technology has no time-shifting option, it is considered either "useless, because our life does not revolve around some TV program" (Matti 50y), or subject to special use like watching news with very timely content or "zeroing" for a couple of minutes after work or school. Families also say that they get bored with entertainment that was has only one possible use. The exception of this rule are children under 7 years old, who love repeating their favorite things, watching the same TV shows over and over again. Entertainment without choice over content is also considered either pointless or only suitable for unwinding for a couple of minutes after school or work: "do-it-yourself-TV is the only option; we need 5 million TV channels in this country." (Joonas, 42y) Subjects resist consuming "too much" content that they could not choose themselves, saying that this makes them feel like "a couch potato." Entertainment without, or with limited, personalization options is rejected, used occasionally or limited for boredom or moral reasons.

5.3.4   Integration into practices

The results of previous research in sociology generally agree that limiting entertainment use, at least when talking about it, has been considered as virtuous, and unlimited use has been seen as suspicious, referred to as "uncontrolled" or "borderline addiction." Limiting entertainment use for moral reasons has been a recurring theme in sociological research (see Morley 1986 or Bourdieu 1984). This

has been especially prominent in the middle and upper classes, with those who have less education being more permissive. According to previous research, entertainment has been something that demanded a well-defined place to be acceptable: freely and openly talking about use of entertainment as "our life" has not been valued. The closest phenomenon to this kind of attitude that entertainment could be part of life is found in Morley's study, where some families refer to certain programs as "our things."

The families studied for this research resist using "too much" entertainment in general but do talk about using some forms of entertainment as "our life." When saying this, they do not mean that they are "addicted" to using entertainment. The entertainment they talk about as "our life" has very special and strict requirements (see below). When talking about entertainment use as "our life," families are talking about leading a technology mediated lifestyle, and feel that using entertainment technology enables them to better their condition, achieve more and lead a more satisfying life in general. To pass this test of domestication, the entertainment has to pass and maintain all the previous tests: attachments to the family's existing practices, being seen as easy to use and personalizable, and then pass the test where the families start to feel that the entertainment is integrated into their practices. If these tests are passed, the subjects say that the entertainment device or service is "just what we want." They say that these kinds of technologies are those that are used "all the time, on every occasion possible." The subjects talk about using these kinds of technologies as "part of our life." These unions could have lasted many years already, and were still seen as favorite pastimes, while some were relatively new but nevertheless considered essential. Entertainment that is regarded as "our life" is not seen as merely entertainment but as an essential enabler of the preferred lifestyle. The subjects say that they feel no need to limit their use. Quite the contrary: they actively promote use of entertainment technologies in this category, because their use is seen as a step towards an improved quality of life. The subjects say that they could not even imagine their life to be possible without these technologies.

These findings are in line with Ilmonen (2004), who notes that technologies can become integrated into the practices of their users, and they can subsequently start redefining these practices (as it seems to be in this research in discussions about the practice of spending quality time). In this research, the families studied were found to

actively resist changing their practices until the entertainment technology is considered as a life enhancing part of "our life." They also say that they have clear priorities where family time and personal enjoyment come first, and any device (entertainment or otherwise) has to serve them, not the other way around. This is not the only option for living with technology, however: previous research has noted changes in practices even when the technology demands compromises from its users, like a radio program that must have the exclusive attention of everyone present (Morley 1986) or a desktop computer that isolates its user from social interaction at home because of its dedicated place outside the social space of the home (Kennedy and Wellmann 2007). This question of the demands, compromises and modes of changing practices would be interesting to study further.

The findings of this research also confirm the findings of Ilmonen (2004) where he notes that under certain conditions humans are willing to change their practices and train their bodies to meet the demands of using a technology: under the right conditions, this may happen swiftly. The families studied say that they took to using touch screens (requiring a different mode of communicating with the device than the traditional keyboard and mouse) with ease, and now using tablets (with touch screen) is an integral part of their personalized quality time, for example. Ilmonen also notes that these kinds of integrated practice, once established, are relatively resistant to change. The findings of this research partly confirm these results, because the families say that they cannot imagine their life (as in its preferred current form) without these "our life" technologies. As domestication is a process, integration into practices does not however necessarily mean a happy end for the entertainment technology. All of those questions resolved during the process must be maintained constantly: if the practices of a family change for some reason, a favorite form of entertainment can suddenly lose its status. This can also happen if the family becomes more demanding for some reason, if there is a change in condition that demands more of them. If a rival technology appears to provide the families with a perceived advantage over the previous one, the families seem to be ready to change, even if they have an emotional attachment to the old favorite. As Ilmonen (2004) says, to remain in the home, the entertainment technology has to prove its worth every day. For example, if the condition or practices of the family change for some reason, the old favorites could become useless overnight, as was the case with the

headphones that were abandoned by one family after moving to a new home. The families say that they are also willing to abandon their old favorite entertainment devices if something considered better comes up, although this meant continuing the practice, but using a different device, and not abandoning the practice altogether: This kind of swapping of a practice is seen in substituting cooking blogs for printed magazines about cooking, for example.

It is common for a practice of using entertainment to be dependent on the individual's or family's situation in life. This has been noted in previous research (see Shove, Panzar and Watson 2012, 78) and is confirmed by the results of this study. Some practices come across in the study as would-be practices that the families would like to do, but can not do in their current situation. These include, for example, watching movies in a situation where the parents say they are too tired to do so, or wishing to go out with friends when childcare requires them to stay at home. The families say that they often substitute some other practice for these preferred but impossible ones, like watching TV series instead of movies and reading blogs and chatting on the Internet instead of going out with friends. Their practices of entertainment use are shaped by the condition of the family, and therefore they may change when the condition changes. Examples of this include moving house in one family, leaving the practice of using headphones to watch TV unnecessary overnight, or the gradual growing up of children where the parents lose their practice of using entertainment to "keep the kids quiet when parents are working." These kinds of changes in condition could change family practices and leave previously used entertainment unnecessary, and they may also be planned beforehand: One family said that they plan to dispose of their video recorder and video tapes as soon as the children stop coming into the master bedroom so early in the morning that the parents need the VCR to keep them quiet while they try to get some more sleep. If entertainment technology is integrated in the practices of a family, it may also start changing the practices of which it is part. Examples of this are the changes that the interviewees point out in their practices of spending quality time, reading cooking blogs while cooking and using video games instead of board games for traditional quality time.

5.3.5   Model 2

Model 2 shows the results of analyzing ways in which subjects talk about the domestication of entertainment, integrated with the previous literature. The results of this analysis have some attachments to the previous sociological theory and research and also to some interdisciplinary research, as discussed in the next section.

Model 2: Entertainment use as domestication in relation to practices
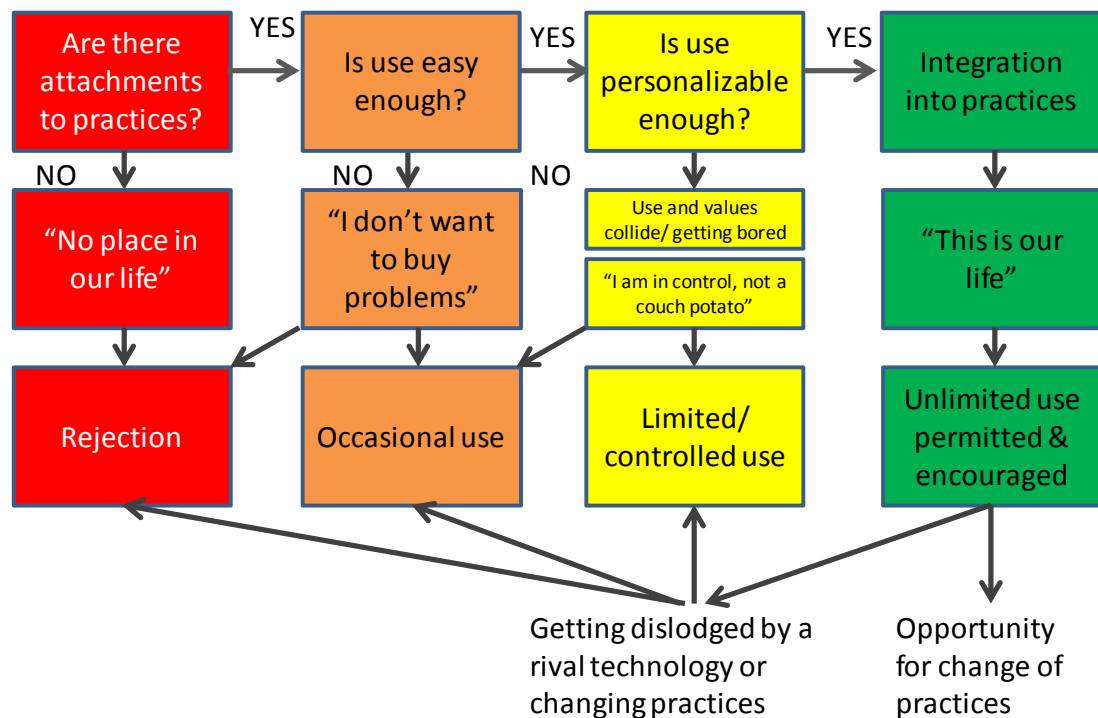
5.4   Some interdisciplinary comparisons

This chapter discusses the results presented in the previous sections with reference to some interdisciplinary findings. Domestication has been studied extensively in sociology, but hierarchical models of the process were not found within the discipline during the literature review for this study. The hierarchical models presented here are a result of grounded theory analysis (Model 1) and a second round of grounded theory analysis with theoretical integration of the results with literature on domestication and practice (Model 2).

Flowchart models are often used in various other disciplines, for example, technology acceptance research. These models may be based on extensive quantitative research, unlike Model 2, which is grounded in field data on eight families with children using entertainment. Model 2 presented in this study has factors similar to Davis et al's (1989) and Venkatesh et al's TAM models (2000, 2003 and in preparation) and UTAUT: They also consider ease of use to be one of the determinants of use and in particular TAM3 gives many determinants for ease of use that are not considered further here. TAM and UTAUT also name perceived usefulness (for determinants, see Venkatesh et al 2003, 447) to be a determinant of use behavior and job relevance as a determinant of perceived usefulness. These are related to the actualization of concepts of practice that in this study means established continua of action that aim at achieving something, but the starting point of the models is not the same: The domestication model presented here focuses on the chances and possibilities during the process of domestication and also outcomes that are manifested as changes of practices, attitude changes or different use behaviors ranging from total rejection through partial adoption to adoption. Even adoption is not seen as the end point of domestication, but a temporary one subject to change and modification. Technology use that is integrated into the practices of users is relatively slow to change (see Ilmonen, 2004.) Venkatesh et al and other TAM models do not put job performance expectancy/job relevancy and ease of use into a hierarchical order. The domestication model presented in this study is grounded in field data that gave practices primacy over ease of use.

In the sociological literature, the unresolved question remains, whether practices always have a primacy or whether factors like ease of doing result in practices that would not otherwise be carried out. This question of whether new practices can be formed, or whether all action is about carrying out pre-existing practices is a topic of scientific discussion in itself and will not be considered further here owing to limited space (for recent discussion on the topic, see Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012). The model and theory presented here are grounded in field data, and in the situation of subjects studied: the primacy of practices was discovered in the analysis. As many actors today are in similar, time-pressured situations both in work and in their voluntary leisurely settings, and given the recent interest in studying practices, it is

suggested that the question of possible primacy of practices over other aspects of choice would be interesting to consider further.

5.5   Inside the "invisible living room"

Put together, a family afternoon at home with entertainment in living room is a composition of mind-boggling complexity. A stranger entering a home is at first encountered by a family nesting inside a few walls in a space with an array of seemingly randomly placed objects, enjoying their time off, but with increasing focus, the picture turns into one consisting of more and more details, normally hidden from view.

The whole scene at home is akin to Latour's Invisible Paris, where the great cityscape recognized by everyone is in fact composed of details that in themselves may seem pointless or haphazard, but are nevertheless invaluable to the big picture. In the same way, the family living room is equally made of all the details in it, no matter how small or seemingly random, making up the "invisible living room". The gaze that at first encounters the family members, a sofa and a TV soon begins to accommodate smaller and smaller details and their meanings. The more one zooms in the living room, the more obvious it becomes that absolutely nothing is there by chance, but that every family member, pet, object or pile of dust is just in its own place for a good reason that tells us volumes about the ideologies, practices, atmosphere and social relations of its inhabitants.

The family members and their pets are there seeking company and taking care of each other in a space that has affordances for the get-together, while the neighboring space sits there empty and forlorn because it lacks something important to draw the family in. The objects inside a living room are there precisely because of their affordances that make it possible for them to be stored and used there and the affordances of the space that provides, for example, electricity, WLAN or cable connections, space for storage and other objects to store or use yet more objects on or in. Even a magazine lying face-down and open on the sofa is not there by chance, but because its reader maybe wanted to spend time with others while at the same time

engaging in something personally meaningful, but then something else came up: maybe it was a chance to use the laptop or maybe the child needed something and the magazine ended up in its place as a manifestation of family dynamics and affections, waiting to be picked up again. It could not be in any other place at the moment, however, because a different situation would have resulted in a different outcome: a used-up magazine could have ended up in the recycling bin or a cupboard. A magazine lying on the floor could have been thrown there because of an emergency of food boiling over in kitchen or because the family pet had seen his chance to take over the sofa when nobody was watching. Children's games and DVDs also have good reasons to be where they are: Maybe they naturally gather around the places where they are used, maybe they are stored inside cupboards because of family traditions, or maybe they are withdrawn temporarily on a high shelf as a manifestation of family rules that have been broken. Even the dust inside the living room is there for a good reason: it claims the forgotten objects and surfaces and gives clues as to where the family spends time. Dust is an excellent marker of the strategy and tactics of the living room: An object may be strategically placed inside the living room, with an intention to be used, but the lived-in tactics of the room leave it collecting dust, because it is not used in its owners' practices. The lists of objects, their placing, uses and meanings are endless and unique to each family studied, but each list still makes up a spatial space of a "living room" that is instantly recognized by anyone who has ever been in one.

The lived-in living room is in a constant state of flux: Humans and objects are coming in and going out, more or less permanently. All aspects of the living room seem to be interconnected and have more or less effect on each other. Yet the "living room" stays the same, even if the details making it up change, although it also evolves as time goes on. The practices carried out inside the living room are at the same time dependent on the affordances of the space and objects available, and also in command of the objects allowed inside. Sometimes the object may have an upper hand in this process: if one wants to surf the Internet, one has to use a device with an affordance for it. But as soon as possible, the humans and practices start striking back: if the device is somewhat uncomfortable or compromising, time spent using it is limited, the device is replaced with a better fitting one or something else entirely is done. The limits of the affordances of an object or space are carefully and creatively

stretched to better fit the practices of its user(s). The studied families seem to be somewhat willing to train themselves to fit the demands of their entertainment devices, but not so much that this would compromise other practices that are deemed more important, like spending time with others.

If an entertainment device or service wants to be an integral part of the living room, it must assimilate itself to the practices of the family living there. At first the rookie enters the living room as an anomaly, to be regarded with suspicion, without any place or use of its own. Only after many rounds of successful trials may it lose its status as an anomaly, consider itself to be integrated into the practices of the family and be granted honorable mention of being part of "our life." Only then it may slowly start redefining those practices, taking care not to offend anyone or any practice in the process. Looking back, these social processes that have been put into the trials of domestication have redefined the uses, places and meanings of digital entertainment in family leisure, but also the socially loaded spatial space called "living room" and the practices of "quality time" and "our life" spent in it, only to give way to yet more trials and redefinitions as time goes on.

In a family living room, the highest price granted for entertainment is that of being merged into the practices of the life inside the living room to the point of becoming invisible, inseparable from the big picture, as the Paris skyline conceals the details that make it up in Latour's invisible Paris. These entertainment winners lead a comfortable existence in the home: they nest luxuriously in the living room, perhaps sitting on the sofa along with the family, perhaps being carried around with care and tenderness. They are taken good care of, and if broken, they are mourned, with tales of their heroic feats of valor living on in the family heritage. These winners cannot fully rest on their laurels, though. They must forever be on the lookout for signs of tides of practices changing or contenders luring the family with their shining promise of a better life. One day, without explanation or mercy, the current winners might be thrown into a different reality that may exist within a few centimeters of the couch, concealed from view by the doors of cupboards and lids of baskets. There, in dark corners and recessions, covered by the dust and accumulated debris of family life, lie the losers of the family entertainment game. Forgotten and forlornly, these entertainment technologies share the Latourian misfortune of Aramis, a technology that never quite made it: failing to achieve connections with the minds, practices and

networks of the family, they are doomed to an invisibility of a different kind, that of being separated from the lived-in reality of the living room and forgotten for the time being, and, most likely, forever.

The success or failure of an entertainment device or service at home is not limited to the politics or even the walls of the living room, however. The question also includes the work of the designers and engineers that have created it and brought it to market and the general culture that gives basic guidelines for understanding how entertainment could and should be used at home. These understandings and guidelines evolve in relation to the feedback that comes from the living room back to the designers and engineers.

6 Conclusion

The research question of this study has been "How do families with children use digital entertainment at home?" The results of this study suggest that families with children use digital entertainment, as all forms of entertainment, at home in a socially conditioned and situative way as a part of their everyday practices. Use is performed under pressures concerning time and social relations. Hedonistic individual relaxation is a small part of the use, but very important. The need to take others into account and fulfill social expectations when making choices of entertainment use results in the need for compromise. Users' attempts to bypass or lessen the need for compromise result in creative entertainment use. Family members use digital entertainment technology to successfully navigate the demands of family and work with personal objectives. Advances in the ease of use and personalization (portability, time-shifting and choice over content) of digital entertainment are the most important facilitators of digital entertainment acceptance in time-pressured families, because they increase the social and practical affordance of digital entertainment and allow most effective and situational creative use.

Digital entertainment is used at home to enhance everyday practices. According to the results of this study, entertainment that fits into the practices of a family is seen by users not as entertainment but as an essential enabler of a family lifestyle. Entertainment that does not fit into the existing practices is rejected, and entertainment considered complicated or not personalizable becomes rejected or subject to occasional use. These results are in line with previous sociological knowledge on domestication (see Pantzar 1996, Ilmonen, 2004), but the previous literature has not formed any unified model of the process of domestication and the changes in user practices that accompany it. This study has arranged existing pieces of information into a sequence grounded in field data: when choosing and domesticating digital entertainment, practices have a primacy, followed by ease of use and personalization. The most important factor of personalization is portability, followed by time shifting and choice over content. This results in a winning combination that encourages entertainment use and facilitates the incorporation of the entertainment into everyday practices. When modeling domestication, it is important to bear in mind, that it is by nature a never-ending process. Therefore there

cannot be any outcome where a technology would be fully domesticated. All outcomes are to be seen as temporary unions, although sociological theory suggests that a technology that has been integrated into practices is somewhat resistant to change (see Ilmonen 2004). At the time of this study, cloud technology is gaining momentum. There has been some speculation that clouds may alter the importance of portability in some use situations in the near future.

Children's age affects the motivation for digital entertainment use: families with young children use digital entertainment to manage the demands of everyday life. When children become teenagers, family dynamics change and the most important motive of digital entertainment use becomes maintaining the social bonds of the family.

Taken together, motivations for digital entertainment use in a family are either connected to promoting individual objectives (unwinding after work, having a feeling of company when doing homework alone or personal interests) or come from mutual objectives within the family of promoting togetherness, organizational issues (making life run smoothly). During an afternoon when there are other family members present, individual motivations are in the minority and mutual motivations in the majority.

Recent advances in technology (the key issues being ease of use and personalization) promote change in the places and meanings of digital entertainment in family life, both literally and figuratively. These advances make digital entertainment more important in family life. Devices and services that families like to use incorporate themselves into family practices, and the users talk about using them as "our life" instead of using a technology or consuming digital entertainment. These changes have either already happened or are currently underway.

With portability, the disposition of digital entertainment evolves, too: devices no longer have special dedicated places (except for the TV and other heavy equipment) but are used wherever the family wants to spend time. Ways of spending quality time together have new forms, too. Now families have two options: either the so-called "Traditional quality time," where everybody focuses on the same content, or new, "Personalized quality time," where everybody is situated in the same space (often on

the living room couch) using their own device and content. Personalized quality time, is seen as a viable alternative to traditional quality time. The subjects are pleased with this new possibility, because it eases the pressure for compromise within the family and gives them a possibility to achieve more in less time: to be together with others, to have something to share with others and simultaneously do something to achieve their personal objectives (either related to duties or personal interests). The subjects say that portable digital entertainment changes their ways of using space at home: instead of staying in their own rooms using a PC, they now take their devices and spend more time together, and this encourages sociality at home.

The benefits of personalized quality time (promoting individual freedom and hedonistic aspects to everyday routines, giving something to share) are deemed so important by users that this promotes its acceptance (see Ilmonen 2004 on changing practices). On the other hand, it is to be noted that new innovations always require domestication and, especially at the beginning of this process, the limitations of use for moral reasons and susceptive attitudes are common (see Douglas 2000).

The meaning of digital entertainment metamorphoses, too. According to previous literature, people (especially middle-class) have wanted to limit the time they spend using entertainment for moral reasons, but according to the findings of this study, there is no such a need if entertainment fits into the so-called "Our life" category, meaning that users regard it as an essential part of their life. Quite to the contrary, the users see that with increased use of entertainment in "Our life" category, their quality of life improves and the digital entertainment technologies in question are enablers of their preferred lifestyle.

It is also noteworthy that although the use situation in this study has been a voluntary one (leisure use), the social bonds and obligations of the users have been found to affect their choices. The binding force of social obligations is at its strongest in intimate settings like at home with family, but these kind of social obligations exist in all social settings, from face-to-face to virtual, and also, as the sociological literature suggests, as the feelings of a user towards technology (Ilmonen 2004). Inevitable as these obligations may be, they nevertheless cause stress to the actors that have to obey them. Therefore these obligations are always re-negotiated in

interaction with individual actors struggling either towards greater independence or intimacy, depending on the situation (see, for example, Jallinoja 1997).

The results of this study reveal that families use portable entertainment technology to gain room for hedonistic individual choice behavior in social situations where togetherness is expected by social bonds. The possibilities of sharing digital content easily with others make it feel more social and promote its acceptance. This is regarded as an advantage over traditional books and magazines, that are seen as solitary pleasures. Digital entertainment is seen as promoting sociality and giving "something to talk about" every day as well as enabling a more enjoyable way of carrying out the practice(s) of the family.

7   Limitations and contributions

The theory presented has been formed by studying one area and one segment of all potential users and use cases: voluntary use at home when there are other family members present. The result of this study is a sample of all the potential ways of living with technology at home. The subjects studied are all time-pressed, well-educated, urban middle-class families with children living in Southern Finland. The theory of digital entertainment use and domestication applies to voluntary ICT use of families with children in the home environment, although some subjects worked from home during the research and claimed to apply identical determinants to their work and leisure use. This is a finding that could be studied further. The findings also suggest the primacy of practices when choosing entertainment. This result may be affected by the time-pressed condition of the subjects, but some references suggest that consumption is always performed within practices (Warde, 2005). This could also be studied further, by finding out, how content is chosen in different motivational situation, whether the hierarchy of practices, ease of use, and personalization is somehow dependent on the motives of use and if the determinants of use are different in a more leisurely setting. It would also be interesting to discover if these findings have some relation to ICT use, adoption and acceptance in the workplace, where the subjects may not always choose their tools themselves.

The families studied make many creative uses for ICT. They say that this is because of their time-pressed condition. These creative uses and their manifestations in different settings would be interesting to study further.

Another possibility for further study could be the changing and alternate ways of spending quality time (traditional and personalized quality time) at home and its historical references (see Gillis 1997), to form a general view of the phenomenon.

The theory of entertainment use and domestication shows potential for scaling up when integrated with existing sociological theory, some interdisciplinary findings and quantitative studies of entertainment use, but further research is needed. This might include, for example, further fieldwork in other use cases and segments of digital entertainment technology users, analyzing the findings of other empirical

studies on the subject, theory and quantitative studies and further investigation of different aspects of the findings.

The results of this study contribute to understanding current uses of entertainment and advancing sociological theories of domestication and practices. They can also be used in system theory by explaining the use and domestication of digital entertainment of families with children. The results can be used in digital technology and service development and management when designers and technology specialists are developing new products and services and managers are considering strategy. The results can also be used in marketing. Taken together with existing knowledge on individual human choice behavior in voluntary settings, a more complete view of choice behavior and its applications for science and business can be developed with further research.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Research question and sub-questions

Main question: How do families with children use digital entertainment at home?

The sub questions were:

 -How are the technologies of entertainment being used at home amongst the family? Are used differently when used alone and when used together with others? What is the difference? Are there many technologies used at the same time together or separately? Are some technologies reserved for a single user or for shared use? Why is that? Are there any creative or unexpected ways of using the technologies?

-What is the "place" of the technologies and devices at home, literally and figuratively? Where are the devices situated in the home? Why there? What is the relationship the users have with the devices and services and the meanings they give to them? How do the users talk about the technologies? Are there any stories or family histories about the technologies (e.g. "the life before and after we got x")? Do the informants say anything about the 'old' entertainment equipment (radio, board games etc.)?

-How is the use negotiated: Who decides and why on the matters of what will be chosen and why? How the different members of the family make themselves heard in this negotiation? How are the decisions and rules implemented?

-What do the users want to achieve when using digital entertainment (examples: entertainment, relaxation after work, bonding with other members of the family or friends, fun for the kids, getting the kids to be quiet etc). Do they have a special word for this goal or does it vary from purpose to purpose? Is it all really about "entertainment" or is there another term that the families use that would be more accurate?

-How important is the element of choice (example no choice in the traditional TV vs. increased choice in the IPTV)? Do the new services of recommendation on the basis of popularity or previous choices or choices of friends have any impact on use or the meaning of the technologies (e.g Does it guide the choices or make the entertainment feel more important or personal)?

-What part do the peer groups (friends of the children and parents) play when choosing the content? (Is it important to know what is happening for example in the 'Salkkarit' and why?).

For the complete set of interview questions, see Interview guide

Appendix 2: Interview guide

"At Home with Entertainment"

Before the interview starts:

-mark the number of the participant to the informed consent form

-read the informed consent form with the participant and get a signature

-check that the equipment is working

-record the date, your name and participant number

-are there others present Yes_____/NO

-interview is done at home Yes/NO,where_____

START:

Thank you for letting me to come to your home to do this interview. It will take about 30 min. I will record the interview (if allowed) and also make notes. Please talk loud enough and towards the recorder. Everything you say is confidential and will not be told to anybody else. You can skip any question that you don't feel like answering. You can also quit the interview at any time. Do you want to ask something now? May we proceed to the interview?

1 Let's talk for a moment about your family. Who lives here?

2 Let's then talk about what you normally do during a weekday. Can you describe your average day (probe for: routines, chores, duties, hobbies etc). Is the weekend different? How?

3 Let's then talk about the devices and things you have here at home that you use for leisure. What kind them are there? (Check the prefilled list with the participant and ask if there is anything more like books, magazines etc).

4 Where are they situated? (Go through the prefilled map, or draw one if not done in advance). Remember to say the names aloud for the tape!!

5 What of these devices do you use, why you don't use the others?

6 Locations for the devices: Why is the X (TV, stereos, PC etc) here? Has it always been in this place and who decided it? Is it convenient to use here or would you like it somewhere else? Why?

7 The use of X (TV, stereos, PC etc): When do you use x and how (live, recorded, DVD:s, rental DVD:s, libarary etc)? Why?

8 Do you have any favourite types of programs/content, why? (probe: my favorites, family wants these, friends want etc).

9 How did you decide to record X program? What would happen if you forgot it?

10 Do you talk about the programs beforehand/after/with whom?

11 If the others want to use X when you do, what will happen? What will you/the others do then as an alternative?

12 Do you feel you can use X (TV etc) the way you want? If not, why?

REMEMBER TO CHECK ALL THE DEVICES (with questions 6-12) AT LEAST TO SOME EXTENT!!

Let's then see the predrawn chart you on your relation with TV (draw the chart if not dome in advance). (the chart is supposed to describe the ups and downs of TV use when other devices join the family, see the appendix)

13 How long has the TV, (stereos etc) been in your home? How did your life change HERE (point at the changes at the chart) Why? How would you predict that this chart will continue in the future?

14 What do you want to achieve when you use TV/other devices (probe: relaxation, getting some quiet time etc). Do you watch TV anywhere else (like iPad, smartphone etc). Which way of viewing do you prefer?

15 Do you do anything else while watching TV/using X device? What/why/alone or with others?

16 NOTE WHAT SEEMS TO BE THE SPACE THAT THE FAMILY SPENDS MOST OF THEIR TIME IN together. Can you describe what happens in the X (living room or other space)? How do you spend time here?

17 if you were to have only one device for your leisure purposes, what would it be? Why? What would you do with it?

WE HAVE REACHED THE END OF MY QUESTIONS. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING YOU WANT TO ASK OR ADD?

Thank you for the interview!

(Remember to send a thank you for participating –note in a few days)

Appendix 3: Assignments

Homework 1: draw a picture of your home and mark there the devices you have.

Homework 2: keep a diary of the entertainment use

Use of entertainment at home, date:

Time	Room	User	Device	Content

Homework 3: Listing entertainment devices and technologies

-Write a list of entertainment devices and services that you have at home.

-Do you use something else for entertainment purposes (books, board games, music instruments etc.)? Write them down in a second list.

Homework 4: Lifeline curve of TV use at home

Draw a curve that best describes the significance that watching TV has had for you over time. Write down the reasons that have led to the changes over time (for example changes in TV programs or life events like getting married etc.)

"The importance of watching TV"

Very
important

Somewhat
important

Not very
important

Not at
all
important

Situation when TV
was bought

Time

Situation
today