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Seriously Entertained: Antecedents and Consequences of Hedonic and Eudaimonic Entertainment Experiences With Political Talk Shows on TV

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This study's purpose is twofold: to introduce a new format into existing political entertainment research ("serious" political talk shows) and to establish a more specific definition of entertainment in a political context.

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Carina Weinmann (M.A., University of Mannheim) is a Ph.D. student in the Institute for Media and Communication Studies, University of Mannheim. Her research interests concern political and health communication, with a specific focus on entertainment media.

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Peter Vorderer (Ph.D., TU Berlin, Germany) has been a Professor of media and communication studies in the Institute for Media and Communication Studies (University of Mannheim) since 2010, with a special focus on media reception and media effects research, especially of new media. Since June 2014, he has served as President of the International Communication Association.

Correspondence should be addressed to Franziska S. Roth, Insitute for Media and Communication Studies, University of Mannheim, Haus Oberrhein, Rheinvorlandstr. 5, 68159, Mannheim, Germany. E-mail: f.roth@uni-mannheim.de To do so, the authors rely on a two-process-model of entertainment experiences. A telephone survey (N = 230) was conducted to analyze the antecedents and consequences of eudaimonic and hedonic entertainment experiences and to look into politically relevant variables and their distribution among viewers and nonviewers of such talk shows. The results highlight the importance of introducing new entertainment concepts and their relations to other relevant political and motivational variables into the research of political entertainment. More specifically, the findings demonstrate how entertainment experiences contribute to viewers' feeling of being informed and point out several differences between viewers and nonviewers concerning their internal political efficacy and political interest. Finally, looking at political talk shows from an audience perspective extends previous content-based taxonomies.

INTRODUCTION

Political entertainment has largely been defined via different formats that are grouped colloquially under that label, including entertainment talk shows, interviews with politicians, and soft news (for further examples, see Holbert, 2005). With the increasing importance of such formats, the strict distinction between information and entertainment formats becomes obsolete, as has been recognized by various scholars. Somewhat pessimistically, the label "infotainment" has been invented to describe the merging of information and entertainment in political media coverage over recent years (e.g., Brants & Neijens, 1998; Delli Carpini & Williams, 2001). However, the majority of scholars, in political science as well as in political entertainment research, continue to differentiate among information-only, entertainmentonly, and "infotainment," or between "hard" and "soft" news (e.g., Baum, 2003; Moy, Xenos, & Hess, 2005; Prior, 2003).

Our aim is to examine entertainment aspects of a format that usually is thought of as serious political information or discussion: political talk shows on TV in the form of round-table discussions about a specific issue. This format differs from late-night talk like *The Tonight Show* or from political satire like *The Daily Show*, which are sometimes called political talk shows as well. A political talk show, as we understand it here, always focuses on one political or societal issue that is discussed by a group of politicians and other public figures, and is led by one host. Those political talk shows are currently extremely popular in Germany, and in many other countries.¹ For

¹This format is similar to Sunday morning talk shows in the United States (e.g., *Face the Nation, This Week*), Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and Japan. Other similar formats are for example *Roda Viva* (Brazil), *Inside Brüssel* (Austria), *Capital Talk* (Pakistan), and *The Big Debate* (South Africa).

example, the *BBC* even broadcasts a worldwide political talk show format called *BBC World Debate*. From a normative democratic viewpoint, political talk shows can be seen as valuable for the public discourse (e.g., Schultz, 2006). Also, political talk shows are a special kind of format in that, from the producer's perspective, they are an information format, but from a viewers' perspective they stand between information and entertainment, and they are often called infotainment by journalists and in other public discourse (Fahr, 2008; Mattheiß et al., 2013). However, scholars in the field do often not explicate a detailed conception of political entertainment. As a result, studies so far have not asked how viewers actually experience various so-called political entertainment shows and why they watch them.

This study aims to address these concerns by proposing a theoretical model for possible antecedents as well as consequences of political talk show use by implementing recent results from entertainment research into the area of nonhedonic entertainment experiences. We conceptualize the entertainment experience using a two-process model of entertainment and connect it with findings on political entertainment formats. Furthermore, we introduce viewers' motivations for watching these shows as antecedents and the feeling of being informed as a consequence of these entertainment processes. In addition, we analyze the possible influence of important variables from previous political entertainment research and the relevant talk show viewer demographics compared to those of nonusers.

VIEWING MOTIVATIONS AS ANTECEDENTS OF POLITICAL TALK SHOW USE

Existing research on political entertainment often neglects the most important aspect in defining entertaining or informing media: Entertainment and gaining information are functions of the users' perspective and motivation, not functions of the respective formats (Williams & Delli Carpini, 2011). Viewers may watch television news for entertainment purposes, and they may also watch political satire programs for information purposes. For example, a considerable amount of younger American citizens name political satire programs as their main source of political information (Hollander, 2005).

With respect to political talk shows, Mattheiß et al. (2013) found that there are mainly two motivations for watching these shows: information seeking and entertainment seeking. The authors further showed that viewers' motivations (which were manipulated in an experiment) actually matter: The specific motivation to watch influenced how informed and entertained viewers actually felt (which is consistent with results reported by Eveland, 2002). Besides the general entertainment and information motivations, we assume that viewers have

various specific motivations to watch political talk shows, for example, to be distracted or to be prepared for future discussions with family members, colleagues, and friends (Rubin, 2009). Therefore, we pose as our first research question:

RQ1: What are viewers' specific motivations for viewing political talk shows on TV?

ENTERTAINMENT EXPERIENCES THROUGH POLITICAL TALK SHOWS

The assumption that political talk shows are watched not only for information but also for entertainment experiences is rather new. With the exception of two studies that were conducted with German talk shows (Fahr, 2008; Mattheiß et al., 2013), research has not vet investigated entertainment as a primary outcome of these programs. Political entertainment research, which has been done primarily in the United States and which is often exclusively concerned with U.S. formats (e.g., Holbert, 2005), has, with only few exceptions, rather neglected the "serious" type of political talk in television. Furthermore, the focus of those studies was on comparing the programs' effects on viewers' political knowledge and/or attitudes compared to those of more entertainment-oriented shows like political comedies or satire (e.g., Baum, 2005; Brewer & Cao, 2006). In other research areas, empirical studies on political talk shows are similarly rare, especially on an international level (see, e.g., Bilal, Ahsan, Gohar, Younis, & Awan, 2012; Bruun, 2013; Sakr, 2013). These studies mainly focused on the programs' content and on its production, but not on viewers' experiences while watching them. This also applies to the study of Schultz (2006), who assessed shows' argumentative rationality from a normative democratic viewpoint rooted in deliberative democracy. However, as an underlying assumption of his analysis, he addresses the shows' entertainment value. Fahr (2008) as well as Mattheiß et al. (2013) found that, depending on the specific circumstances, viewers feel entertained by political talk shows, for example, when humor comes into play during the televised discussions.

The studies by Fahr and by Mattheiß and collaborators consider a rather traditional, but undefined, notion of entertainment as a relevant dimension of the viewers' experiences. The same applies to the majority of studies in the field of political entertainment, regardless which format they address. They also do not ask viewers to what extent they actually perceive political entertainment to be entertaining. Rather, they simply assume that these shows *are* in fact entertaining, whatever this may mean exactly. This might relate to the idea that entertainment is nothing that occurs while watching formats "with a message"

or with a serious background. Rather, entertainment has often been understood to happen while watching a comedy or a thriller: The response follows the format rather automatically, one does not need to ask the viewer about it. This understanding of entertainment also influenced early studies in the field of media psychology: They dealt with mood-management and affective dispositions and tried to describe, to define, and to explain viewers' responses to various entertaining formats (Raney, 2003; Zillmann, 1988). This view of entertainment is informed by the notion that entertainment constitutes itself through positive affect and a hedonic experience.

However, those studies and theories were not able to explain the entertainment experience that may occur while watching sad movies (e.g., Oliver, 1993) or—particularly important to this study—serious content like politics. Nonetheless, research in the field of political entertainment seems to have specifically applied this earlier notion of entertainment, if it explicated any definition at all. For example, Holbert (2005) explicitly mentioned affective disposition as a relevant construct for political entertainment, and Mattheiß et al. (2013) stated that entertainment "can be understood as a feeling of pleasure while watching a TV show" (p. 14).

Although this notion of entertainment as pure enjoyment is still shared by many researchers in the field (cf. Bryant & Vorderer, 2006; Vorderer & Reinecke, 2012), it needs to be complemented, particularly when it comes political entertainment. Recent suggestions include more diverse responses to media content such as those that leave the user in a more considerate, contemplative, and even sad state of mind. Two main lines of theorizing seem distinguishable (Vorderer, 2011). One of them conceptualizes entertainment as the satisfaction of the three basic intrinsic needs that have been explicated by self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985): autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Tamborini, Bowman, Eden, Grizzard, & Organ, 2010; Vorderer & Ritterfeld, 2009). The other line of research, which we draw upon here, defines entertainment as a meaningful experience (Oliver & Bartsch, 2010; Oliver & Raney, 2011; Wirth, Hofer, & Schramm, 2012). Following this conception, a meaningful entertainment experience may be triggered by thought-provoking media content that poses questions about the meaning of life and other existential issues. It is emotionally defined as a multilayered and complex psychological experience that involves positive emotions like feeling moved or inspired and negative emotions like sadness. Simultaneously, these emotions enable a condition of advanced reflectiveness. Both of these new notions and understandings of entertainment are typically subsumed under the label of "eudaimonic entertainment" (e.g., Oliver & Raney, 2011; Wirth et al., 2012).

To account for the possibility of hedonic as well as eudaimonic entertainment, we thus rely on a two-process model of entertainment (e.g., Bartsch & Schneider, in press; Vorderer & Reinecke, 2012) that defines entertainment as a rather complex reception phenomenon that is characterized by these two dimensions. This perspective offers ways to also account for interactions between entertainment experiences and, for example, political interest and political knowledge on the user's side.

To specify how a program may be entertaining in both hedonic and eudaimonic ways, we use one example out of each field of Holbert's (2005) typology of entertainment TV and politics. Fictional political dramas like The West Wing, as well as traditional satire and satirical situational comedies, will likely be more hedonically than eudaimonically entertaining. A eudaimonic entertainment experience for those formats might only appear when the topic itself is highly important to one's own life or when the story line is connected to something personally relevant to the viewer. Soft news or political docudramas are more likely to elicit both types of experiences, depending on the topic they cover and how they cover it. A docudrama on the effects of the food industry on children might offer hedonic entertainment (because there are funny sequences) but also eudaimonic entertainment, because it might be moving those viewers who have children on their own. Entertainment television events that are to some extent political (e.g., Live Aid), may offer even more eudaimonic entertainment, because they often deal with important questions of life and death (like "who needs help" and "who should get help and by whom"). But they could also be watched hedonically for the pleasure of the music played by one's favorite artists. The same should account for reality-based programming.

Concerning political talk shows on TV, it seems as if hedonic and eudaimonic entertainment experiences can both come into play, because viewers may watch these shows with a different focus each time they are exposed to them. For example, they might like a specific politician and want him to succeed in the discussion, leading to affective disposition and hedonic entertainment. Or they might like the suspense and the aggression in the discussion, leading to hedonic entertainment as well. But there is also the possibility of them watching it to learn something important for their lives, to brighten their knowledge in a particular domain, and to be moved by what is discussed. Those experiences rather refer to eudaimonic entertainment. Of course, it remains an empirical question which kind of entertainment experience is more pronounced in which situation. Overall, applying newer conceptualizations of entertainment to watching political talk shows on TV leads us to the following second research question:

RQ2: What is more pronounced while watching political talk shows, viewers' eudaimonic or hedonic entertainment experience?

As previously mentioned, Mattheiß et al. (2013) found that viewers' motivations for viewing political talk shows had an influence on their entertainment experiences. However, their study did not differentiate between hedonic and eudaimonic entertainment. We extend this research by looking at other possible relevant motivations for watching and how they affect the entertainment experiences:

RQ3: How do viewers' motivations for viewing political talk shows influence their eudaimonic and hedonic entertainment experiences?

FEELING OF BEING INFORMED AS A CONSEQUENCE OF ENTERTAINMENT EXPERIENCES

What citizens know about politics is crucial for democratic societies. It affects their political attitudes, their trust in the political system, the extent to which they feel able to understand political problems (external and internal political efficacy; Niemi, Craig, & Mattei, 1991) as well as their political participation (e.g., Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Popkin & Dimock, 2000). It would therefore undoubtedly be a desirable effect of political talk shows to enhance viewers' sense of being politically informed. Whereas Mattheiß et al. (2013) found that viewers' motivation to watch political talk shows for entertainment purposes leads them to feel more informed, another study by Weinmann, Löb, Mattheiß, and Vorderer (2013) suggests a direct influence of viewers' entertainment experience on their feeling of being informed. Although this latter study was based on the exposure of a fictional crime series, it showed that at least viewers' hedonic entertainment experience positively predicted how informed viewers felt.

The feeling of being informed does not necessarily tell something about the acquisition of factual political knowledge (Radecki & Jaccard, 1995), but it offers insight on how the program is perceived and how the information might be processed. Furthermore, there is empirical evidence that what people think they know might even be more influential on their decisions than what they actually know (e.g., Ellen, 1994; Frewer, Shepherd, & Sparks, 1994; Knight, 2005). In this sense, talk show viewers' feeling of being informed might add to their ability of getting involved in political discussions because they feel more competent about political issues or lead them to actively participate in political actions. Based on the findings of Mattheiß et al. (2013) and Weinmann et al. (2013), we state the following hypothesis:

H1: Viewers' eudaimonic and hedonic entertainment experiences have a positive influence on their feeling of being informed.

CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL TALK SHOW VIEWERS

Various political attributes as well as sociodemographic characteristics have been found to influence the effects that political entertainment programs have on their viewers. For example, Holbert, Lambe, Dudo, and Carlton (2007) showed that individuals with a lower internal political efficacy experienced lower political gratifications from watching national television news after watching political satire than individuals with a higher internal political efficacy; various studies found that for younger viewers, effects from political satire programs are stronger than for older viewers (e.g., Cao, 2008; Landreville, Holbert, & LaMarre, 2010). As with the audience of political satire programs, whose members tend to be young, male, and liberal and to have a modest level of political interest (Cao, 2010; Young & Tisinger, 2006), we assume the political talk show audience to have certain sociodemographic and political characteristics that differentiate them from nonviewers of these programs. We therefore ask:

RQ4: How do political talk show viewers differ from nonviewers of these programs with respect to sociodemographic variables as well as political attributes, that is, political interest, internal and external political efficacy?

Figure 1 illustrates our assumptions as well as the research questions and the hypothesis we posed.

METHOD

Participants and Procedure

To answer the research questions and to test the hypothesis, an exploratory telephone survey was conducted in Germany between April 29 and July 12,

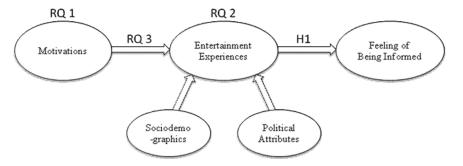


FIGURE 1 Antecedents and consequences of users' entertainment experiences.

2013. The Leibniz Institute for Social Sciences (GESIS) initially provided 10,000 randomized telephone numbers across the country, which were accessed by applying the Gabler-Häder Design (Häder, 2000). Five previously trained interviewers called 5,292 numbers. A total of 230 interviews (125 viewers and 105 nonviewers) was completed. The survey had a cooperation rate (COOP1) of 0.22 (The American Association for Public Opinion Research, 2011). The average interview with a political talk show user was 16 minutes long; for nonusers, the interview took on average 6 minutes. The numbers were called Monday through Saturday and mainly during the afternoon and evening (from 4 p.m. until 9 p.m.). The survey was directed at private households only. People from the age of 14 and older could participate. To improve random selection, the interview was performed with the person in the household that celebrated her or his birthday most recently.

Participants were on average 48.82 years old (SD = 17.87). Overall, we had slightly more female participants (54.8%). The two subsamples differed in their time spend watching TV: Talk show users watched on average 2 hours 10 minutes per day, whereas nonusers spend about 1 hour 40 minutes with watching TV (overall use: 1 hour 56 minutes).

Measures

A pretested questionnaire was used to guide participants through the interview. To differentiate between users and nonusers, people were asked whether they had ever watched one of a few explicitly mentioned political talk shows, and if they did, how often per week and per month. People who watched some or at least one of the before-mentioned political talk shows at least once per month were defined as users and were asked the following questions.

The first section of the questionnaire assessed the respondents' motivations for watching. Nine items were taken from the so-called longitudinal study of mass communication (Reitze & Ridder, 2011, pp. 300–301) and were measured on 5-point Likert scales from *does totally apply* to *does not apply at all*. For instance, participants had to agree or disagree with statements like "I watch political talk shows to relax." Other questions were directed at political talk show users' hedonic and eudaimonic experiences and their feeling of being informed *during their last exposure to* an episode of the political talk show that they had named as their favorite.

To measure viewers' experiences, three hedonic and three eudaimonic items of Oliver and Bartsch's (2010) audience response items were used, for example, "I really enjoyed watching the political talk show" (hedonic; Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$) and "The talk show moved me" (eudaimonic; Cronbach's $\alpha = .78$). Due to the fact that Oliver and Bartsch's entertainment scales have only been applied to fictional movies so far, we conducted two confirmatory

factor analyses to establish discriminant validity in the context of political talk shows. The first model we analyzed was a one-factorial model. The fit indices indicated a bad-fitting model: $\chi^2(9) = 50.39$, p < .001, χ^2/df ratio = 5.60, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .206, 90% confidence interval (CI) of RMSEA [.152, .262], comparative fit index (CFI) = 0.775, standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .113. The second model included two correlated factors-eudaimonic and hedonic entertainment experiences (or in terms of Oliver and Bartsch, 2010, appreciation and fun, respectively). The model fit for the second model yielded the following fit indices: $\chi^2(8) = 6.16$, p = .629, χ^2/df ratio = 0.77, RMSEA =.000, 90% CI of RMSEA [.000, .094], CFI=1.00, SRMR =.030. Thus, the second model showed a good fit. As chi-square difference test indicated, there is a statistically significant difference between both models, $\chi^2(1) = 44.23$, p < .001, in favor of the second model including two correlated but conceptually different factors-namely, eudaimonic and hedonic entertainment experiences.

The three items for the feeling of being informed were taken from Mattheiß et al. (2013) and forwarded in statements like "I felt well informed while watching the political talk show" (Cronbach's $\alpha = .66$). All items were measured on 5-point Likert scales from *does totally apply* to *does not apply at all*.

The final questions were addressed at both users and nonusers of political talk shows and measured several covariates. Participants' internal and external political efficacy were measured along the political efficacy short scale designed by Beierlein, Kemper, Kovaleva, and Rammstedt (2012). Each construct was measured with two items (internal political efficacy: Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$; external political efficacy: Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$; external political efficacy: Cronbach's $\alpha = .70$). Moreover, political interest was measured with five items taken from the short scale of Otto and Bacherle (2011). Participants were asked to agree or disagree with certain statements like "In general, I am very interested in politics" (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$). All items were measured on 5-point Likert scales from *does totally apply* to *does not apply at all*. At the end of the interview, sociodemographics of users and nonusers were surveyed.

RESULTS

To address RQ1, we investigated viewers' motivations for viewing political talk shows. Viewers' predominant viewing motivations were information (M = 3.82, SD = 1.23), provoking thoughts (M = 3.25, SD = 1.24), utility (M = 3.17, SD = 1.27), social interaction (M = 2.94, SD = 1.26), and fun (M = 2.81, SD = 1.30). Other motivations viewers agreed less with were

habit (M = 2.18, SD = 1.23), relaxation (M = 1.84, SD = 0.90), escapism (M = 1.75, SD = 0.92), and companionship (M = 1.48, SD = 0.82).

To find whether viewers' eudaimonic or hedonic entertainment experience is more pronounced while watching political talk shows, RQ2 was analyzed by running a paired samples *t*-test. It showed that the participants scored significantly higher on hedonic experiences (M = 3.77, SD = 0.90) than on eudaimonic experiences (M = 3.24, SD = 1.11), t(108) = 4.96, p < .001.

How do viewers' motivations for viewing political talk shows contribute to their eudaimonic and hedonic entertainment experiences while watching these shows (RQ3)? To investigate this research question, we conducted hierarchical multiple regression analyses with eudaimonic and hedonic entertainment experiences as dependent variables and controlled for sociodemographic variables as well as for political attributes. As Table 1 shows, altogether the control variables explained 10.6% of the variance in hedonic entertainment experiences, with external political efficacy being positively

| viewing Motivations | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|--|----------|--|--|--|
| Predictor | Hedonic entertainment experience | | Eudaimonic entertainment experience | | | | |
| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 1 | Model 2 | | | |
| Block 1: Control variables | | | | | | | |
| Age | .00 | .05 | .04 | .04 | | | |
| Gender | .19 | .11 | .37* | .32* | | | |
| Internal political efficacy | .06 | .11 | 11 | 09 | | | |
| External political efficacy | .28* | .12 | .16 | .02 | | | |
| Political interest | .04 | 06 | .15 | .10 | | | |
| ΔR^2 (%) | 10.6^{*} | | 18.6* | | | | |
| Block 2: Viewing motivations | | | | | | | |
| Social interaction | | .16 | | 02 | | | |
| Provoking thoughts | | .07 | | .12 | | | |
| Information | | 04 | | .24* | | | |
| Relaxation | | .21* | | .00 | | | |
| Fun | | .15 | | .18 | | | |
| Companionship | | 01 | | .08 | | | |
| Escapism | | .07 | | 22^{*} | | | |
| Habit | | .01 | | 01 | | | |
| Utility | | .27* | | .09 | | | |
| ΔR^2 (%) | | 22.0* | | 22.8* | | | |
| Total R^2 (%) | 32 | .5* | 41 | .4* | | | |

| TABLE 1 | |
|---------|--|
|---------|--|

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Entertainment Experiences From Viewing Motivations

Note. N = 105. Scores are standardized regression weights.

*p < .05. We used an alpha level of .05 for all statistical tests.

related to the experience of hedonic entertainment ($\beta = .28$, p = .001) at entry. For eudaimonic entertainment experiences, the control variables explained 18.6% of the variance, with gender being positively related to the experience of eudaimonic entertainment (i.e., female individuals experience more eudaimonic entertainment than male; $\beta = .37$, p = .001) at entry. The second block included the viewing motivations and represented the largest incremental increase of explained variance (22.0% of hedonic and 22.8% of eudaimonic entertainment experiences). For hedonic entertainment experiences, the viewing motivations "relaxation" ($\beta = .21$, p = .025) and "utility/learning for daily life" ($\beta = .27$, p = .012) were the most important predictors, whereas the viewing motivations "information" ($\beta = .24$, p = .019) and "escapism" ($\beta = -.22$, p = .020) were the best predictors for eudaimonic entertainment experiences.

To test H1, we analyzed whether viewers' eudaimonic and hedonic entertainment experiences are positively related to the feeling of being informed when thinking about the latest political talk show the participants have watched. The results in Table 2 show that the control variables in Block 1-sociodemographics and political attributes-explained 13.1% of the explained variance in the feeling of being informed, with political external efficacy being the most important predictor ($\beta = .30$, p = .002) at entry. Block 2 (viewing motivations) added an increment of 22.9% of explained variance with "habit" as the most important negative predictor $(\beta = -.22, p = .036)$. The last block (entertainment experiences) represented another incremental increase of explained variance (15.0%) with eudaimonic entertainment experiences being significantly positively related to the feeling of being informed ($\beta = .42, p < .001$). This partly supports our H1. However, contradictory to our hypothesis, hedonic entertainment experiencesalthough positively related to the feeling of being informed, too-were not statistically significant at the alpha level of .05 ($\beta = .16$, p = .096).

Finally, we were interested whether political talk show viewers differ from nonviewers of these programs with respect to sociodemographic variables as well as political attributes (RQ4). No difference was found with regard to gender (viewers = 57% female; nonviewers = 54% female), $\chi^2(1) = 0.14$, p = .709. The results of independent *t* tests showed that viewers of political talk shows were significantly older (viewers: M = 52.41, SD = 17.48; nonviewers: M = 44.53, SD = 17.46), t(226) = -3.38, p < .001, and scored significantly higher on internal political efficacy (viewers: M =4.25, SD = 0.83; nonviewers: M = 3.69, SD = 1.16), t(226) = -4.28, p < .001, as well as on political interest (viewers: M = 3.84, SD = 0.84; nonviewers: M = 3.01, SD = 1.06), t(223) = -6.55, p < .001. However, no difference was found with regard to external political efficacy (viewers: M = 2.19, SD = 0.89; nonviewers: M = 2.12, SD = 0.79), t(225) = -0.64, p = .523.

| | Feeling of being informed | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------|---------|--|
| Predictor | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | |
| Block 1: Control variables | | | | |
| Age | .02 | .02 | .00 | |
| Gender | .16 | .11 | 05 | |
| Internal political efficacy | 06 | 10 | 09 | |
| External political efficacy | .30* | .22* | .19* | |
| Political interest | .13 | .10 | .08 | |
| ΔR^2 (%) | 13.1* | | | |
| Block 2: Viewing motivations | | | | |
| Social interaction | | .06 | .05 | |
| Provoking thoughts | | .12 | .06 | |
| Information | | .24* | .14 | |
| Relaxation | | .17 | .13 | |
| Fun | | .02 | 08 | |
| Companionship | | .00 | 03 | |
| Escapism | | 12 | 04 | |
| Habit | | 22* | 22* | |
| Utility | | .11 | .03 | |
| ΔR^2 (%) | | 22.9* | | |
| Block 3: Entertainment experiences | | | | |
| Hedonic entertainment experience | | | .16 | |
| Eudaimonic entertainment experience | | | .42* | |
| ΔR^2 (%) | | | 15.0* | |
| Total R^2 (%) | | 50.9* | | |

 TABLE 2

 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Feeling of Being Informed From Viewing Motivations and Entertainment Experiences

Note. N = 105. Scores are standardized regression weights.

*p < .05. We used an alpha level of .05 for all statistical tests.

DISCUSSION

The Role of Entertainment

Our first research question dealt with different viewer motivations for watching political talk shows on TV. Results in this area should offer insights with regard to other political entertainment formats, where viewer motivations have been a rather neglected topic so far. Our data support the results gained by Mattheiß et al. (2013): Having fun and gaining information are both important motivations for watching political talk shows. In addition, political talk shows are also watched in order to provoke thoughts; they are regarded useful for viewers' daily lives, and are seen as a means for parasocial interaction.

Concerning hedonic and eudaimonic entertainment (RO2), we established discriminant validity for the scale of Oliver and Bartsch (2010), highlighting its usefulness in a context that is different from "traditional" entertainment research. Furthermore, we found differences with regard to what is more pronounced in viewers of political talk shows, that is, hedonic entertainment. This is a rather surprising result because the talk shows we focused on are usually considered to be "serious" and "informative," particularly by its producers, but also in the public discourse. Even the interviewees expressed "serious motivations" as very relevant for themselves. One possible explanation for this could be that such talk shows offer neither enough depth and information nor sufficient mixed affects to elicit strong eudaimonic entertainment experiences in the sense of Oliver and Bartsch. But, as already discussed by Vorderer and Reinecke (2012), there is more than one dimension of eudaimonic entertainment. Our measure of eudaimonic entertainment as a meaningful experience might not fully cover talk show viewers' experiences while watching these shows. Perhaps an operationalization that is based on the second perspective on eudaimonic entertainment, that is, the one based on self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), would make more sense here. It might thus be that political talk shows are not meaningful or elevating enough to fulfill the definition of eudaimonia as it has been established and used for the appreciation of fictional movies. Talk shows on TV might better serve the viewers' need for autonomy, competence, and relatedness, which would differ from an eudaimonic experience while watching a film, but still offer an entertainment experience apart from hedonic satisfaction.

As far as the influence of demographics, of politically relevant variables, and of motivations for watching talk shows are concerned (RQ3), external political efficacy and the motivation to "relax" as well as "utility/learning for daily life" had a positive influence on hedonic entertainment. The most likely explanation for the effect of external political efficacy seems to be that watching a political talk show is already perceived as a political act, which leads to a positive perception of the show and in turn to additional hedonic entertainment. This is also in line with findings on the motivation "utility/learning for daily life": Usually, one would not associate learning with hedonic entertainment, but in this specific case, learning in a "relaxing" way (the other relevant motive) leads to hedonic entertainment. This further supports the argument that hedonic or eudaimonic entertainment indeed does not depend on the format and is not predetermined but rather determined by an individual's motivations.

Gender (female) and the motivations "information" and "distraction" were found to positively influence eudaimonic entertainment. The result concerning gender is in line with findings by Oliver (2000), who showed that entertainment preferences are influenced by gender differences. "Information" as motivation also fits well with the idea that eudaimonic entertainment is influenced by the search for meaning and knowledge. This is complemented by the negative predictor "distraction": A person who strives for information and eudaimonic entertainment most likely experiences a media stimulus actively, and does not consume it to be distracted, but to really "dive in."

Overall, the results for RQ3 further corroborate the importance of looking into political entertainment formats from an audience perspective and not with a sole focus on the content. Furthermore, the investigation of two different entertainment processes adds new and important insight to the ongoing discussion in political science concerning the relationship between information and entertainment. Our results support the argument that keeping these two aspects separate is rather artificial and ignores the specific needs, motivations, and experiences of the audience. Specifically eudaimonic entertainment creates a bridge that helps to explain entertaining processes in formats that offer political information by emphasizing the importance of growing and learning through content as a beneficial and desirable experience for the audience.

Our results also include an important consequence in the context of entertainment and information. Ultimately, the goal of most political formats is not only to inform but to induce and encourage political participation. We did not directly measure those intentions in our study, but included the feeling of being informed, which could be regarded an indicator for future participatory processes. So far, only hedonic entertainment had been connected to the feeling of being informed (Mattheiß et al., 2013, Weinmann et al., 2013). This study establishes a different connection and actually contradicts earlier results as it finds that hedonic entertainment does not contribute to the feeling of being informed but rather that eudaimonic entertainment does. It is possible that earlier results were artifacts, created through noncomplete measures that only included hedonic entertainment experiences. Indeed, it seems more likely that a eudaimonic entertainment experience leads to a feeling of being informed and probably even to better information processing, also resulting in greater participation. That eudaimonic entertainment was also associated with the motivation of information seeking in our data supports the conclusion that people feel more informed when they experience this form of entertainment.

This is complemented by the results concerning relevant political variables and viewing motivations: External political efficacy also had a positive influence on the feeling of being informed. This means that people who feel properly represented by politicians are more likely to feel knowledgeable through watching these shows on TV. Viewers with a high external political efficacy are more likely to trust the politicians involved and will therefore listen more closely and feel like they gained more from it. Overall, the

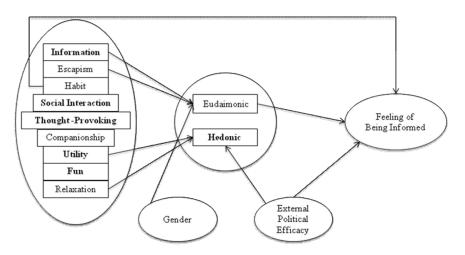


FIGURE 2 Antecedents and consequences of users' entertainment experiences revised. *Note.* The first circle represents the motivations and the second circle the entertainment experiences. Bold print indicates which viewing motivations were predominant (RQ1). Arrows indicate significant connections (p < .05). Habit is a negative predictor, all other predictors are positive.

connections between entertainment processes and political participation appear to be a very promising research direction in the future.

Consequently, we offer a revised model for hedonic and eudaimonic entertainment experiences with political talk shows on TV that covers (some of) the antecedents and (some of) the consequences. It includes the measured motivations, their specific impact, and the connections between sociodemographic and politically relevant variables with outcome variables (see Figure 2).

Differences Between Viewers and Nonviewers

Concerning the comparison between viewers and nonviewers of political talk shows, we found differences with respect to internal political efficacy and political interest (RQ4). Both variables were higher among viewers. For internal efficacy we see two possible explanations. In political talk shows, viewers can observe their elected officials and listen to how they talk about what they are doing. This might help them forming own argumentative structures and creating an understanding of the democratic system, leading to a stronger feeling of competence and power. In this case, internal political efficacy would be the dependent variable. Another explanation could be that people with an already higher internal efficacy tend to watch political talk shows because they tend to accept and like political arguments and discussions as part of the political system they live in. Furthermore, they see the necessity to inform themselves in order to be an active member of society. In this case, internal political efficacy would be the independent variable. Of course, due to our survey design we cannot ultimately resolve this. The differences in political interest, however, can be explained more straightforwardly: People who are more interested politically will be more likely to watch political television content.

Limitations

Our study has some limitations that need to be discussed. One is the rather small sample size for a telephone survey (a lot of numbers were not reachable, which complicated the procedure). Due to the limited possible duration of a telephone survey, we also could not include all relevant variables we would have liked to look into (e.g., political participation and factual political knowledge). Furthermore, we see some problems regarding the possible interpretation of our results: We only asked for the most recent exposure to viewers' favorite political talk show. This might have lead to less sufficient and clear answers, as this exposure could have happened in the near or distant past. Also, some of the interpretation remains speculative as we did not conduct an experimental study (e.g., concerning the difference between viewers' and nonviewers' internal political efficacy).

Conclusion

The results of this study explicate how political talk shows on TV fit into the existing system of political entertainment. It demonstrates the importance of a more detailed look into entertainment theory and the additional benefits this could offer: Viewers experience television shows differently depending on their motivations to watch, and in turn these varying entertainment experiences result in different ways of processing information. In this study, this was demonstrated for the feeling of being informed, but it seems plausible that it also applies to actual learning, as LaMarre and Landreville (2009), for example, have demonstrated for fictional formats. Therefore, a further application of the two-process model of entertainment might offer additional insights for other political entertainment shows as well. Finally, this study offers insights into how viewers and nonviewers of a political entertainment format differ.

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