Chapter 11

# Audience Value and Transmedia Products

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Abstract

'Transmedia' refers to a storyworld that occurs on multiple platforms where each component text makes a "distinct and valuable contribution to the whole". In much of the practitioner discussion of transmedia storytelling, the attraction to audiences of transmedia products is taken for granted. This chapter asks: What is the respective value of a transmedia offering to the audience and to the originator? A review of diverse literature shows that while transmedia audience engagement strategies largely seek to elicit fanlike behaviour entailing psychological investment and social involvement in 'spreading', distributing, commenting on and creating media content, this is also true of less complex media products. It is a challenge to design transmedia products that appeal to audiences with very different propensities to engage, and although transmedia-enabled scope economies are attractive, they are more accessible to larger companies than to smaller ones.

## Introduction

*In the business of television, viewers matter more than fans, but the product itself matters more to fans than to other viewers* (Bielby, Harrington and Bielby 1999:35).

Companies in the screen media industry face multiple challenges in creating and capturing value from product innovation. They need to decide which products to develop or acquire, and effectively attract the attention of viewers and improve the rate of conversion of casual viewers into loyal audiences. The product portfolio must contain a sufficient portion of high-performing products to compensate for the larger portion that fail to recover production costs. Revenue must be coaxed from each product over its entire life cycle: from launch, to placement in the back catalogue, to repurposing and extension of content to other products (Aris and Bughin 2009; Arrese Reca 2006; Norbäck 2005).

The challenges of successful screen media product innovation are amplified by the proliferation of distribution channels and platforms. The contemporary audience is substantially more fragmented than mass audiences (Napoli 2011; Webster 2005). At the same time, a wide range of possible new configurations of content, access points, channels, consumption contexts and value propositions is emerging. In particular, audience fragmentation and channel and platform proliferation, along with ownership concentration in the media industry, invite strategies to create economies of scope by innovating 'convergent' media products–families of products with related content that are distributed in various versions and formats across platforms and channels.

This chapter concerns 'transmedia' product innovation. As discussed below, transmedia products are considered to have certain distinguishing design characteristics and parameters and are intended to appeal in certain ways to particular audiences. While not new, transmedia product innovation is becoming an increasingly important management challenge to media companies, requiring not only new storytelling conventions and aesthetics but also complementary innovation in business models, production tools and processes, market feedback mechanisms and audience information systems, performance metrics, tactics to induce audience engagement and retention, and audience literacy.

Much of the current discursive enthusiasm about transmedia product innovation is driven by media storytellers' strong sense of transmedia's many novel creative affordances. But what do *audiences* value in transmedia offerings, and what is the particular value of the transmedia audience *to the media company*? In this chapter, the current scholarly and trade literature concerning the intended and perceived value of transmedia offerings is reviewed and assessed. The analysis draws on contemporary discussions and debates regarding craft norms for transmedia storytelling, and also on the emerging empirical and theoretical research literature on transmedia product innovation and transmedia audience behaviour. It shows that while fan-like consumers are almost always the implied audience for transmedia properties, practicality makes it necessary to meaningfully segment the fannish audience. Furthermore, elaborate transmedia storyworlds with commercial ambitions must be designed to appeal to, and be accessible to, casual media consumers in addition to more highly engaged audiences.

## Nailing down 'Transmedia'

The term 'transmedia' is one of a related group of concepts that refer to the property of *intermediality*, the myriad ways that mediated content can make intertextual references through linking, allusion, recombination, extension, association, fusion, hybridisation, adaptation, translation, or synthesis within and

across media formats or platforms, including extensions or reflections of media content in art, performing arts, physical places and commercial products or services, and vice versa. The terms branding, convergence, cross-media, cross-platform, franchising, mashing up, merchandising, multimedia, multimodality, multiplatform, remediation, repurposing, remixing, remaking and transmedia all refer to intermedial practices. This obviously covers quite a lot of territory in which to situate transmediality.

When content is simply repurposed in different formats across various platforms to increase audience reach, it is considered to be a cross-platform extension. The same story is told but in a different medium. For example, the *Lord of the Rings* or *Harry Potter* video games permit players to navigate around the narrative and experience the plotline, but no additional story value is offered although the audience's experience may be broadened through a call to action that drives the viewer to another platform, usually online or mobile, for previews, summaries, extended scenes, merchandise and so forth.

In contrast, Henry Jenkins, one of the most prominent transmedia theorists, in a definition that has gained considerable following, uses the term transmedia to refer explicitly to fictional narrative entertainment that extends a differentiated 'storyworld' across media platforms in a cumulative, composite or coherently articulated fashion:

> A transmedia story unfolds across multiple media platforms, with each new text making a distinctive and valuable contribution to the whole. In the ideal form of transmedia storytelling, each medium does what it does best – so that a story might be introduced in a film, expanded through television, novels and comics….Each franchise entry needs to be self-contained so you don't need to have seen the film to enjoy the game or vice versa. (Jenkins 2006:95-96)

Well-known contemporary canonical examples of transmedia screen products include the *24, Lost, Matrix, Dark Knight* and *Spiderman* franchises.

Not everyone insists on narrative self-containment or narrative additionality to define a transmedia property. The Producers Guild of America (PGA) defines a transmedia property according to three criteria: the number of narrative storylines, the kinds of platforms involved in the project and the requirement for narrative novelty:

> A Transmedia Narrative project or franchise must consist of three (or more) narrative storylines existing within the same fictional universe on any of the following platforms: Film, Television, Short Film, Broadband, Publishing, Comics, Animation, Mobile, Special Venues, DVD/Blu-ray/CD-ROM, Narrative Commercial and Marketing rollouts, and other technologies that may or may not currently exist. These narrative extensions are NOT the same as repurposing material from one platform to be cut or repurposed to different platforms. (PGA 2010)

The question of commercial intent is also germane to contemporary debates about the meaning of 'transmedia'. Kinder (1991), the first to use the term 'transmedia', referred to the deliberate employment of intermediality in the design of commercial storyworlds for children. Such commercial cross-media franchising, branding and merchandising practiceswere pioneered by Disney and have now moved into the Hollywood mainstream (Wasko 2003).

Contemporary debates seek to distinguish clearly between these commercial intermedial practices and truer or more authentic transmedia practices that create experiential immersive novelty across media and are not defined *primarily* by commercial content-extension tactics such as branding, merchandising, franchising, repackaging, repositioning, versioning or recycling of media products (Hardy 2010; Kerrigan 2010:45). Recently, some individuals in the transmedia storytelling community have taken steps to distance true transmedia storytelling from the simple commercial use of various promotional or intermedial techniques, or even to dissociate transmedia practice from commercial intent altogether. However, in 2011 when Jenkins sought to dispel various 'myths' about transmedia storytelling, he did not insist on a distinction between commercial and non-commercial tactics or objectives. Instead, he made a key distinction between creative storytelling and the numerous mundane techniques of cross-media extension. He maintained that proper transmedia practice is first and foremost about creative storytelling, not about the application of techniques of extension (novelisations, adaptations, remixing, mashing up, product placement, viral strategies, cross-platform versions and so forth), which can be employed to extend or promote any media property.

In view of the ongoing debate about the meaning of transmedia, Jenkins enunciated seven principles of transmedia storytelling, which are reproduced in Tableau 1. Jenkins emphasised that a properly designed transmedia storyworld requires a very active and participatory audience that explores multiple levels of narrative, and creates and shares content among audience members by 'spreading' it (Green and Jenkins 2011). Each member thus provides a 'performance' that contributes in some way to the storyworld. Since the implied audience member is highly engaged with the storyworld's 'text', the narrative must be coherent throughout all extensions of the franchise, taking the form of differentiated story chunks that are dispersed among platforms. Furthermore, the transmedia storyworld may deliberately incorporate multidimensional story attributes in order to permit the motivated audience member to explore the narrative through the eyes of secondary characters or third parties (Jenkins 2009).

A fair amount of controversy persists within the practitioner community concerning the core principles and practices of transmedia (Arrglington 2011), raising important questions about transmedia innovation. Must transmedia be restricted to *fictional* media content? Transmedia principles and practices are also applicable to the realm of factual media products, where thriving experi-

**Tableau 1.** Seven Principles of Transmedia Storytelling (after Jenkins, 2009)

**Spreadability vs. Drillability.** The ability and degree to which content is shareable and the motivating factors for a person to share that content versus the ability for a person to explore, in-depth, a deep well of narrative extensions when they stumble upon a fiction that truly captures their attention.

**Continuity vs. Multiplicity.** Some transmedia franchises foster an ongoing coherence to a canon in order to ensure maximum plausibility among all extensions. Others routinely use alternate versions of characters or parallel universe versions of their stories to reward mastery over the source material.

**Immersion vs. Extractability.** In immersion, the consumer enters into the world of the story (e.g. theme parks), while in extractability, the fan takes aspects of the story away with them as resources they deploy in the spaces of their everyday life (e.g. items from the gift shop).

**Worldbuilding.** Transmedia extensions, often not central to the core narrative, that give a richer depiction of the world in which the narrative plays out. Franchises can exploit both real-world and digital experiences. These extensions often lead to fan behaviors of capturing and cataloging the many disparate elements.

**Seriality.** Transmedia storytelling has taken the notion of breaking up a narrative arc into multiple discrete chunks or installments within a single medium and instead has spread those disparate ideas or story chunks across multiple media systems.

**Subjectivity.** Transmedia extensions often explore the central narrative through new eyes, such as secondary characters or third parties. This diversity of perspective often leads fans to more greatly consider who is speaking and who they are speaking for.

**Performance.** The ability of transmedia extensions to lead to fan produced performances that can become part of the transmedia narrative itself. Some performances are invited by the creator while others are not; fans actively search for sites of potential performance.

Source: *http://whatconsumesme.com/2009/posts-ive-written/core-principles-of-transmedia-storytelling/*

mentation in transmedia documentaries is taking place (Documentary Network 2011). News publishers create narrative content for various media platforms and are faced with many of the cross-platform asset management, windowing, versioning, monetisation, audience literacy and workforce skilling issues familiar to entertainment media (Deuze 2007; Erdal 2009). For that matter, non-narrative interactive *games* and *music* are susceptible to transmediation, and have received much less scholarly attention than narrative fictional transmedia practices (Dena 2009; Vellar 2012).

## Fans as Paradigmatic Consumers of Transmedia Products

Jenkins' principles of transmedia storytelling imply that transmedia audiences have certain attributes, behaviours, literacies and perceptions of the transmedia product's value proposition. Of all possible audience types suggested by Jenkins' seven principles, the best-fitting is that of the loyal and highly involved devotee or *fan*. The connection Jenkins makes between fannish audiences and the transmedia value proposition is not coincidental. In *Convergence Culture* (2006), Jenkins argued that fans are the vanguard of contemporary audiences, exhibiting certain kinds of motivations and characteristic individual and social behaviours that are now moving into the mainstream with the advent of the Web 2.0 culture and the spread of digital media literacy (Busse and Gray 2011; Green and Jenkins 2011, 2009).

A clear distinction may be drawn between on the one hand the fan and on the other hand the less involved media consumers: the passive television viewer, the convenience-seeking transient cross-media grazer, the media multitasker, the functionally illiterate media consumer, and the uninterested non-member of an audience. Fans are individuals who are so deeply invested in some attraction – a celebrity, a fictional character, a sports team or an entertainment programme for example – that they develop a lifestyle to accommodate the interest, devoting time and resources to obtain pleasure, satisfaction and social recognition from highly engaged media consumption.

The rehabilitation of the fan in media studies, from antisocial and dysfunctional consumer to creative and active "produser" (Bird 2011), has taken place concurrently with the rise in the salience of fannish behaviour in marketing thought. Mere transactional audience members are neither emotionally involved in the company's brand nor engaged in significant economic exchanges with the company, and so are the least valuable of all customers. In contrast, fans are considered to be ideal customers because they travel in easily-identifiable groups, willingly expressing their interests, values and concerns, and they develop strong emotional bonds with the company's brand and products (Sashi 2012). Fans often consume a favourite media product more than once, or even many times. Furthermore, fans are associated not just with loyalty, but also with "high relational exchange" (i.e. they spend money with the company), engaging in impulsive and compulsive consumption behaviour. The average fan is worth considerably more than the average non-fan audience member in terms of product spending, loyalty, propensity to recommend, brand affinity, media value and acquisition cost (Syncapse 2010).

However, important differences exist within the fannish audience. Busse and Gray (2011) warn that contemporary audiences' participation in media consumption, though often imbued with a fannish look and feel, differs significantly from classical fandom:

> Whereas a decade ago, fans were easily identified as those more intense and invested media audiences who engaged and connected with one another, media convergence, new technologies, and transmedia marketing have all created new types of fans who exhibit many similarities and yet may not be quite the same (Busse and Gray 2011:430).

These new fans do not have deep roots in fan communities or a deep historical knowledge of a fan culture. Their fandom is less a way of life than a hobby or consumption style, induced by the media industry "actively interpellating viewers as fans" (Ibid.:431) in order to commodify fans' texts, signs and feelings in an "affective economics" (Andrejevic 2011).

'Engagement' has become a key concept in scholarly and industrial research on media consumption, and an emerging literature considers how to conceptualise and measure engagement (Neale 2010; Sashi 2012; Smith, Fisher and Cole 2007). For example, Busse and Gray (2011) suggest classifying viewers along two dimensions: psychological investment and social involvement. Highly invested and involved audience members are way-of-life fans. Invested but socially uninvolved viewers are engaged with a text but are socially isolated, and therefore are less valuable than socially involved fans because they are not influential. Highly involved but psychologically uninvested viewers are those who are influenced by peers, while viewers who are neither invested nor involved are transients, the least valuable of all audience members.


## Fans and Transmedia Product Design

Ultimately, transmedia products are of interest to any company seeking to engage audiences through the organisation and amplification of intertextual meaning, thereby creating economies of scope which can be strategically and economically advantageous. By extending content from one medium to another across horizontal media markets, companies can cross-finance product lines, providing themselves with an important instrument to manage market risk (Ludwig 2000). 'Consumer media scope', or the ability to cater knowledgeably to media consumers' behaviour and preferences across platforms, channels and formats, is a potential competitive advantage provided by media franchises or horizontal branded families of related products (Chan-Olmsted 2005). The elicitation of 'product spillovers', which occur when goods and services "increase demand for complementary goods in other sectors", is a well known merchandising and branding strategy in the cultural economy (Chapain et al., 2010:25).

It has become very common to involve audience members in the co-creation of value, typically by employing audience labour to create content for commercial purposes (Thrift 2006). For example, fans are invited by producers to

provide useful feedback about shows, as analysed in the case of the website *TelevisionWithoutPity.com* by Andrejevic (2008), the online interactive teen drama *Reservoir Hill* by Hardy *et al*. (2011), the TV show *American Idol* (Jenkins (2006), teen fan fiction (Martens 2011), and a paradigmatic transmedia property, the *Lost* franchise (Clarke 2010a; Graves 2011; Mittell 2009; Smith 2009). Audience feedback provides valuable free information about demand for the show, allowing producers to stay ahead of the game with the storyline, and the feedback can be turned into an attraction in itself. The research literature identifies many examples of expropriation and exploitation of fanlike audience labour for purposes of commercial value creation (see Green and Jenkins 2009 for further discussion).

Fanlike audience members are used as 'influencers' to help to develop mainstream demand for media properties. Conventional blockbuster strategy is "based on the theory that motion picture audiences choose movies according to how heavily they are advertised, what stars are in them, and their revenues at the box-office tournament" (De Vany 2004:122). The strategy is to "herd" audiences to theatres through heavily promoted, wide releases of films in order to create market momentum. The herding strategy is intended to create a broad mainstream audience of casual viewers and families. However, advertising signals can be overpowered by word-of-mouth audience signals and amateur critics (De Vany 2004; Hennig-Thurau, Wiertz and Feldhaus 2012). It is generally considered that 'earned' media visibility (word-of-mouth amplified by social media) more effectively induces interest in a product than promotion via 'owned' or 'paid' media, because of the perceived greater credibility of earned media (Katona, Zubcsek and Sarvary 2011). Word-of-mouth market dynamics place fans and other influencers – such as formal and informal critics, friends in social media networks and 'brand zealots', – in key roles in market-making. The implication is that "marketing support does not carry the full burden of educating and attracting customers" to screen products and other experience goods (Hennig-Thurau, Houston and Heitjans 2009).

Fans can, of course, undermine product value through their active contribution of inappropriate content, as for example in the case of fan-generated pornographic renditions of popular cartoon characters, spoiler information about show outcomes, negative word-of-mouth and agitation over production decisions. Therefore, a content owner, in an attempt to 'incorporate' fans (Scott 2011), may impose measures designed to control audience expression to prevent behaviours that would damage the brand, challenge the authorial voice of the official storyteller or result in the dilution of intellectual property value. While audiences may perceive the franchisor's responses to their invited interactions as 'cool' when the experience is highly novel, they also may perceive franchisor interaction as scripted, contrived or gimmicky (Hardy *et al*. 2011). 'Revengeful' fan behaviour can be triggered by overly aggressive and

manipulative tactics in narrative deployment, product integration or merchandising (Edwards 2012; Scott 2011).

Thus, the interests of fans and content owners do not necessarily coincide. Furthermore, the interests of fans and mainstream audiences are not necessarily convergent. If most of the audience members of a television-based transmedia property are mainstream viewers, this audience determines the business model's bottom line, affecting scheduling, latitude for involvement of engaged fans in the development of the storyline, and other enticements and entitlements expected by the most ardent fans. In this respect, "viewers matter more than fans" to the show owners (Bielby, Harrington and Bielby 1999:35). Leiter (2011) relates how transmedia fan audiences of the television series *Harper's Island* were disappointed with programming decisions about the show, which were based on Neilsen ratings rather than on transmedia audience engagement ratings. In this case, the transmedia audience did not gain enough market traction to affect the development of the core television property.

The problem is that only a small minority of viewers are likely to fully engage as fans (Evans 2011). Audience engagement occurs in a power law distribution of participation. The least engaged audience members only experience and interpret a media 'text', while the most highly engaged collaborate, moderate discussions and lead developments. According to one analysis, in a cross-platform Alternate Reality Game (ARG), 75 per cent of the audience members chose to passively experience 'sitback' elements of the product, 20 per cent engaged in the gaming content and five per cent contributed original content (Pratten 2010). Dena describes how ten percent of the audience of the Canadian television series *ReGenesis* visited the website of the companion 'Extended Reality Game'; ten percent of these visitors signed up to play the game, and ten percent of these players became 'hardcore' players (Dena, 2009: 241). Thus, in this case, only one out of a thousand audience members fully engaged as a fan.

The more elaborate the transmedia product's narrative, and the more entry points and pathways through the product, the more complex the product must be. This poses a challenge to author and audience alike. The transmedia author must produce a 'mastermind narrative' that keeps track of all story details to ensure coherence and consistency (Clarke 2010a). Casual viewers such as Jenkins' 'Joe Popcorn' lose interest in products that are too complex for casual consumption, and single-media fans feel excluded if the narrative requires exploration in unfamiliar or unavailable media environments. This was reported in the case of the *Matrix* sequels,which casual and single-media audiences felt were not designed for them but instead for avant-garde transmedia fans who were prepared to spend a great deal of time and energy deciphering the narrative puzzle across three films, two graphic novels, nine anime stories, a computer game and an online multiplayer game (Dena 2009; Jenkins 2006; Leiter 2011):

Regular moviegoers were not prepared for the hypertextual logic of the *Matrix* sequels. The sequels' complex narrative placed complex demands on audiences, and many were upset that transmedia exploration and collective intelligence seemed to be a requirement for comprehension. Additionally, the *Enter the Matrix* game received poor reviews with many critics and fans who were frustrated by the limited linear game play and the over-use of cut scenes (Smith 2009).

A key challenge in transmedia product design therefore must be to accommodate natural variation in the degree of audience engagement throughout the extended property. Casual viewers quickly recognise when they are not the addressee audience of a transmedia property. The feature film *Attack of the Clones* is considered to have failed as a franchise blockbuster because it appealed mainly to fan audiences not to mass audiences (Schauer 2007). The television series *Lost* and *Dr Who* are regarded as much more successful than the *Matrix* sequels in accommodating relatively casual viewers while also providing challenging transmedia experiences for highly engaged audiences (Perryman 2008; Smith 2009).

Transmedia product innovators seek to deal with the problem of mainstream audience exclusion (and therefore to increase the appeal of the property to broader audiences) through the product design principle of *tiering*, "the addressing of different audiences with different content in different media and environments" (Dena 2009:239; Scolari 2009). Tiering is commonly practised in children's literature, where properties are designed for children and their parents, and in 'tentpole' feature films, which are intended to appeal to more than one audience segment (Dena 2009). Bakioglu (2009) describes how tiering allows Alternate Reality Games "to appeal to various audiences and affords different levels of engagements and time commitments which, in turn, allows [them] to reach mass audiences" (Ibid.:148). Although tiering does not imply or require transmediality, in the case of transmedia properties tiering permits storytellers to tempt audiences who might not jump right away into the extended narrative. Such audiences "have to be teased and led like Hansel and Gretel by a trail of breadcrumbs" (Pratten 2010:18).

# Conclusions

Extensive, deliberate intermediality challenges older understandings of audience activity and engagement (Bolin 2010). In everyday life, audiences are confronted with a multitude of mediated messages. Today's audiences inherently consume media across platforms, moving from venue to venue and channel to channel; newer media more frequently blend with older media than substitute for them

(Schrøder2011). Formerly discrete or relatively stable audience roles such as citizen, spectator, reader, player, customer and user now overlap and combine (Syvertsen 2004). As Livingstone observes, viewing "is converging with reading, shopping, voting, playing, researching, writing, chatting. Media are now used anyhow, anyplace, anytime" (2004:76). Contemporary audiences are organised as complex layers, networks and segments (Webster 2005; Webster and Ksiazek 2011). Consequently, content producers, in their approach to media product innovation and distribution, can no longer rely on well-established knowledge about aesthetic conventions or audience behaviours.

As argued in this paper, transmedia audience engagement strategies largely seek to elicit fanlike behaviours entailing psychological investment and social involvement in "spreading", distributing, commenting on and creating media content. It is a challenge to innovate transmedia products that induce engagement and also appeal to audiences with different propensities to engage. Tiering may require tradeoffs between narrative-centricity and audience-centricity (Merkin 2003). A central transmedia product design challenge is to effectively reconcile business logic, audience logic and aesthetic logic in a family of offerings.

A key research issue, which cannot be explored here due to space limitations, is how to measure the effectiveness of transmedia products, campaigns and integrated marketing initiatives. A comprehensive, 360-degree view of transmedia audiences will require the development of audience information systems using multiple sources of data and deep analytical capabilities (Breur 2011; Gunzerath 2012; Napoli 2011; Taneja and Mamoria 2012; Voorveld, Neijens and Smit 2011). These next-generation audience information systems will presumably also help to provide greater insight into the value to the company of the individual audience member.

While true transmedia designs seek to elicit fanlike engagement, so do many other media product designs. Thus, a second key issue requiring further investigation is whether true transmedia products, as defined earlier, are more effective than less elaborate cross-media product configurations in inducing audience engagement in support of the desired outcome, whether it be audience loyalty, critical acclaim, volunteering, donating or voting.

A third key research issue, in light of current debates about whether fanlike media consumption behaviour has become so predominant as to render the concept of fan meaningless (Gray, Sandvoss and Harrington 2007), is how to understand various modes, degrees, kinds and dynamics of audience engagement. This chapter argues that even if current conceptualisations of audience engagement point to mainly fanlike behaviour, and fanlike behaviour in turn is presented as the epitome of audience engagement, it is necessary to find ways to effectively differentiate among different kinds and degrees of engagement. Clearly, further conceptual development and greater in-depth empirical research

on convergent audiences of all types are needed in order to understand the various ways that complex intermedial products create value for audiences, and the ways these audiences are valuable to media companies.

## Notes

1. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the Roundtable on New Media, New Audiences: the Challenge to Audience Research in Canada, Annual Conference of the Canadian Communication Association, Waterloo, June 2012, and at the International Symposium on Media Innovations, Oslo, April 2012.

2. *Audience perceived value* means the value of an offering as perceived by the audience, while *audience value* means the value of the audience to the firm. The distinction between perceived value and value to the firm is taken from the customer value literature. For more about customer value, see Sanchez-Fernandez and Iniesta-Bonillo (2007).

3. For further discussion of semantic proliferation around the concept of transmedia, see Scolari (2009).

4. Multitasking does not necessarily imply the interrelatedness of concurrently consumed media content (Bardhi, Rohm and Sultan 2010; Tokan and Mattila 2011). Recent research, however, reveals important complementarities between television as a core medium and use of second or third screens when television content stimulates searches for further information on the Internet (Zigmond and Stipp 2011).

5. Klinger (2006:chapter 4). For example, viewers of *Avatar* who reported the most intense emotional response to the film, sometimes extending to depression at the end of the film, viewed the film on average eleven times (Michelle, Davis and Vladica 2012).

6. For four-quadrant typologies of fan engagement, see Forrester (2007) and Mackellar (2009). More complex formula-based, multi-indicator measures of engagement have been proposed by companies in the web analytics industry (e.g. Peterson and Carrabis 2008).

7. Space limitations preclude a thorough discussion here of the economic and strategic implications of scope economies in media firms. See *inter alia* Doyle 2002 and 2010; Grainge 2008; Murray 2005; Ots 2005; Picard 2005; Tang, Newton and Wang 2007; Wasko 2003:chap. 4.

8. For example: Beck (2008); Brower (1992); Iyengar, Van den Bulteand Valente (2011a,b); Sweeney, Soutar and Mazzarol (2010); Webster (2010).

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