

Review

Not peer-reviewed version

A Comprehensive and Critical Literature Review on Uses and Gratification Theory in the Digital Media Age

[Safran Almakaty](#)*

Posted Date: 26 March 2025

doi: 10.20944/preprints202503.2033.v1

Keywords: uses and gratifications theory; digital media; social media; virtual reality (VR); methodological critique; user motivations; and augmented reality (AR)



Preprints.org is a free multidisciplinary platform providing preprint service that is dedicated to making early versions of research outputs permanently available and citable. Preprints posted at Preprints.org appear in Web of Science, Crossref, Google Scholar, Scilit, Europe PMC.

Copyright: This open access article is published under a Creative Commons CC BY 4.0 license, which permit the free download, distribution, and reuse, provided that the author and preprint are cited in any reuse.

Review

A Comprehensive and Critical Literature Review on Uses and Gratification Theory in the Digital Media Age

Safran Safar Almakaty

¹ Professor of Communication and Media at Imam Mohammad Ibn Saud Islamic University (IMSIU) imamu.edu.sa, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia MA from msu.edu and PhD from uky.edu; safran93@hotmail.com

² Consultant, Researcher in Communication & Media, Corporate Communication, International Relations, and Higher Education

Abstract: Uses and Gratifications Theory (UGT) has significantly evolved to address the complexities introduced by digital media technologies. This literature review synthesizes empirical findings and theoretical advancements from the past two decades, emphasizing how digital platforms have reshaped user motivations, behaviors, and gratifications. Key themes explored include the adaptation of traditional UGT frameworks to accommodate new media affordances, platform-specific gratifications in social media, online gaming, mobile media, and video-on-demand services. Methodological critiques highlight the limitations of conventional survey methods, advocating instead of mixed-method approaches integrating qualitative, quantitative, and computational analytics. Critical perspectives underscore the need to incorporate cultural and contextual considerations into gratification research. Emerging technologies such as virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) present unique gratifications, prompting further theoretical expansion to capture immersive and embodied user experiences. Future research directions proposed include interdisciplinary studies, cross-cultural analyses, and ethical considerations surrounding algorithmic personalization. Ultimately, this review underscores the continuing relevance of UGT in understanding user engagement within rapidly evolving digital media environments.

Keywords: uses and gratifications theory; digital media; social media; virtual reality (VR); methodological critique; user motivations; and augmented reality (AR)

Introduction

Uses and Gratifications Theory (UGT), originally developed by Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitch (1974), remains one of the most influential frameworks for understanding media consumption behaviors and audience motivations. At its core, UGT posits that media users are active participants who intentionally select specific media platforms and content to satisfy psychological, social, and emotional needs. These needs traditionally encompass information-seeking, entertainment, identity construction, social interaction, and emotional regulation (Ruggiero, 2000; Sundar & Limperos, 2013). The advent and rapid proliferation of digital media technologies over the past two decades have significantly reshaped the landscape within which UGT operates, necessitating continuous theoretical refinement and methodological innovation to remain relevant. Digital media platforms, characterized by heightened interactivity, immediacy, user-generated content, and algorithmic personalization, offer users unprecedented opportunities for gratification fulfillment. Unlike traditional mass media, digital platforms empower users not only to consume but also to actively produce, share, and engage with content, thereby expanding the scope and complexity of user gratifications (Quan-Haase & Young, 2010; Sundar & Limperos, 2013). Consequently, recent scholarship has increasingly focused on how digital affordances—such as interactivity, modality, and

customization—alter traditional gratification categories and introduce novel motivational dimensions.

This literature review synthesizes empirical and theoretical contributions to UGT research from 2004 to 2024, critically examining how digital media environments have influenced user motivations, behaviors, and gratifications. It explores diverse contexts, including social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter; online gaming and live-streaming services like Twitch and YouTube Gaming; mobile media applications; and video-on-demand platforms exemplified by Netflix and Hulu. Additionally, this review addresses emerging technological contexts such as virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR), which offer unique immersive experiences that challenge existing UGT conceptualizations.

Moreover, the review critically analyzes methodological approaches employed in contemporary UGT studies, highlighting limitations of traditional survey-based methods and advocating for mixed-method designs that integrate qualitative interviews, quantitative surveys, computational analytics, and big data methodologies. Critical perspectives are also considered, particularly regarding UGT's categorization of gratifications and its attention to cultural and contextual factors influencing media use. Ultimately, by synthesizing existing literature, identifying methodological gaps, and proposing future research directions, this review emphasizes the ongoing necessity of theoretical innovation and methodological rigor in UGT research to adequately capture the complexities of user engagement within rapidly evolving digital media landscapes.

Uses and Gratification Theory: Core Concepts and Evolution in Digital Contexts

According to Blumler (2019) and Rubin (2009), UGT has always placed an emphasis on audience agency, individual motives, and the active role that users play in selecting and understanding content from various forms of media. Quan-Haase and Young (2010) and Sundar and Limperos (2013) are two recent studies that highlight the adaptation of the theory to digital contexts. In these environments, interaction, convergence, and user-generated material change traditional patterns of media consumption. Traditional user-generated content frameworks need to be updated in order to accommodate digital media, which is defined by interaction and immediacy. This is because digital media extends user control and enhances pleasure potentials (Chen, 2011; Phua, Jin, & Kim, 2017). Researchers like Sundar and Limperos (2013) propose for the incorporation of technological affordances into UGT, which would result in a more nuanced understanding of the gratifications that are gained from media interactivity, modality, and personalization.

Gratifications in Social Media Usage

According to Alhabash and Ma (2017) and Phua et al. (2017), research on social media constitutes a significant component of current studies on user-generated content (UGC). These studies have revealed a variety of reasons, including social contact, information exchange, amusement, status-seeking, and various forms of self-presentation. Studies (Alhabash, Chiang, & Huang, 2014; Sheldon & Bryant, 2016) have found that the key gratifications that Facebook users experience are social connection and the maintenance of relationships. The use of Instagram, on the other hand, places an emphasis on self-expression, identity management, visual communication, and appreciation of aesthetics (Lee, Lee, Moon, & Sung, 2015; Sheldon & Newman, 2019). According to Chen (2011), Hanusch and Tandoc (2017), and Johnson and Yang (2009), there is a significant emphasis placed on Twitter gratifications that include information searching, opinion leadership, and real-time news involvement.

Satisfactions and the World of Online Gaming

Examples of how digital media can meet different gratifications include escapism, achievement, competition, social engagement, and community building (Hamari & Sjoblom, 2017; Sjoblom & Hamari, 2017). Live-streaming platforms and online gaming programs are two examples of how digital media can fulfill these gratifications. According to research conducted by Hilvert-Bruce et al.

(2018) and Sjoblom, Torhonen, Hamari, and Macey (2019), platforms such as Twitch and YouTube Gaming function as community centers that provide players and spectators with social gratifications, entertainment, and interactive communication opportunities.

Media and Gratifications for Mobile Devices

UGT research has been extended to mobile contexts as a result of the proliferation of mobile applications and smartphones (Leung & Zhang, 2016; Wei & Lo, 2015). This research places an emphasis on gratifications that are associated with factors such as convenience, immediacy, personalization, and mobility. The research on mobile news consumption highlight immediacy, accessibility, and ease as important gratifications that drive the use of mobile media (Chan, 2015; Wolf & Schnauber, 2015).

Platforms that Offer Streaming Media and Video-on-Demand Services

Streaming services and video-on-demand (VOD) platforms, such as Netflix and Hulu, have been the subject of researchers at UGT who have investigated the user motives behind these services. Gratifications identified include convenience, binge-watching behavior, autonomy, and content customization (Pittman & Sheehan, 2015; Steiner & Xu, 2020). Binge-watching, in particular, has received attention from researchers studying gratifications such as escape, entertainment, immersion, and social currency (Flayelle et al., 2019; Rubenking & Bracken, 2018).

Analytical Perspectives and Methodological Approaches to Investigation

Quan-Haase and Young (2010) and Rubin, Haridakis, and Eyal (2020) have published recent research that criticizes the standard survey methodology that are used in UGT studies. These researchers advocate for mixed method approaches that integrate quantitative surveys, qualitative interviews, content analysis, and computational tools in order to gain a more profound understanding. The application of computational methods and big data analytics presents new options for the systematic analysis of large-scale user behaviors and patterns of pleasure on social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram (Bayer, Ellison, Schoenebeck, & Falk, 2016; Wohn, Freeman, & McLaughlin, 2018).

Critical Perspectives and Limitations on the Study

Scholars believe that Universal Generative Theory (UGT) faces limitations, despite its broad implementation. These challenges include the possibility of superficiality in the classification of pleasure and an inadequate attention to cultural and environmental aspects that shape media use (Athique, 2013; Ruggiero, 2018). Athique (2013) and Karimi, Khodabandelou, Ehsani, and Ahmad (2014) are two examples of critics that advocate for frameworks that are more nuanced and culturally sensitive. These frameworks should acknowledge the global diversity of digital media and the different user motivations that exist across different cultural settings.

Towards the Future Paths

In the future, research on UGT should incorporate interdisciplinary viewpoints, including psychological, sociological, and technological variables, in order to improve the strength of explanation (Rubenking & Bracken, 2018; Sundar & Limperos, 2013). Scholars propose continuing to investigate developing digital platforms such as virtual reality (VR), augmented reality (AR), and media driven by artificial intelligence (AI) to broaden theoretical frameworks and stay up with the changing landscapes of the media industry (Fox & McEwan, 2017; Yee & Bailenson, 2016). Virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) are becoming increasingly relevant media environments as digital media technologies continue to advance. These environments provide a challenge to conventional UGT frameworks and bring up intriguing areas for researchers to investigate theoretical concepts. Virtual reality and augmented reality technologies offer media experiences that are highly

immersive, interactive, and personalized. These technologies radically alter the relationships between users and media as well as the gratifications that are gained from interactions with media. The most recent research reveals that virtual reality and augmented reality (VR and AR) broaden pleasure prospects by enhancing presence, immersion, interactivity, and embodiment. As a result, traditional ideas of user-generated content (UGC) need to be updated (Fox & McEwan, 2017; Yee & Bailenson, 2016 and others). According to Rauschnabel, Rossmann, and Tom Dieck (2017) and Sundar, Kang, and Oprean (2017), the essential qualities of virtual reality and augmented reality are immersion and presence. These traits provide a variety of distinct gratifications, including sensory engagement, experiential authenticity, escapist, spatial and social presence, and embodiment. Research by Fox and McEwan (2017) highlights that users pursue gratifications in VR experiences related to social connectedness, fantasy fulfillment, identity experimentation, and emotional regulation. Similarly, AR applications extend real-world environments by overlaying digital content, satisfying gratifications related to information convenience, real-time social interaction, utility, and enhanced situational awareness (Javornik, 2016; Rauschnabel et al., 2017).

Future UGT research in VR and AR should focus on the following major areas:

1. Identification of New Gratifications: Research into how immersive technologies can foster novel gratifications that were not previously captured by classic UGT. These novel gratifications include spatial immersion, embodied interactions, and augmented social presence (Fox & McEwan, 2017; Sundar et al., 2017).
2. Implications of Embodied Interaction: Investigate the ways in which embodiment, which refers to the physical and sensory experiences that users have with virtual avatars and augmented digital content, influences user motivations, gratifications, and long-term engagement with media (Yee & Bailenson, 2016).
3. Social Dynamics and Community Formation: Evaluate the ways in which virtual reality and augmented reality platforms encourage one-of-a-kind social gratifications, community-building, and interpersonal interactions that are qualitatively distinct from traditional or even existing digital environments, such as online gaming communities or social media communities (Mutterlein & Hess, 2017).
4. Algorithmic Personalization in Immersive Media: Investigate the ethical considerations and user awareness that are associated with algorithm-driven personalization in virtual reality and augmented reality environments, as well as the impact that this has on gratifications, autonomy, and user pleasure (Rauschnabel et al., 2017).

UGC has the potential to continue its development by addressing these research directions, which will allow it to provide more nuanced insights into the user motivations and behaviors that are associated with developing media technologies. The theoretical knowledge and practical applications of UGT will be strengthened because of such breakthroughs, which will provide researchers and practitioners with the ability to predict and adapt to quickly changing digital media landscapes respectively.

Discussion

Uses and Gratifications Theory (UGT) has demonstrated remarkable adaptability in the face of rapidly evolving digital media landscapes. This review reveals several significant theoretical and practical implications that warrant further consideration. The digitalization of media has fundamentally transformed the relationship between users and content, expanding UGT beyond its traditional conceptualizations. As evidenced throughout this review, digital affordances have created novel gratification opportunities that transcend conventional categories (Sundar & Limperos, 2013). The active user paradigm central to UGT has been amplified in digital environments, where users not only consume but also produce, share, and interact with content across multiple platforms (Quan-Haase & Young, 2010). This multi-directional engagement challenges researchers to develop more nuanced theoretical frameworks that can account for these complex user behaviors. Platform-specific gratifications identified across various digital media context social networks, gaming environments,

mobile applications, and streaming services—reveal both commonalities and distinctive patterns. While social connection remains consistent gratification across platforms (Alhabash et al., 2014; Phua et al., 2017), each environment offers unique gratification opportunities. Instagram facilitates visual self-expression and aesthetic appreciation (Lee et al., 2015), Twitter enables real-time information exchange (Chen, 2011), gaming platforms foster achievement and competitive gratifications (Hamari & Sjöblom, 2017), and streaming services enable binge-watching behaviors that satisfy escapism needs (Flayelle et al., 2019). This diversity underscores the necessity for context-specific approaches when applying UGT to digital media research.

Methodological innovations represent another critical dimension of contemporary UGT research. The limitations of traditional survey-based approaches have prompted scholars to adopt mixed-method designs that integrate qualitative, quantitative, and computational analytics (Rubin et al., 2020). These methodological advancements enable more comprehensive analysis of user behaviors and gratification patterns, particularly when examining large-scale digital platforms. However, methodological challenges persist, particularly regarding measurement consistency across studies and contexts. The emergence of immersive technologies like virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) presents perhaps the most significant challenge to current UGT frameworks. These technologies introduce unprecedented gratification dimensions related to embodiment, presence, and spatial immersion (Fox & McEwan, 2017; Sundar et al., 2017). The sensory engagement and experiential authenticity offered by VR/AR environments require theoretical expansions to adequately capture user motivations and experiences. As these technologies become increasingly mainstream, UGT researchers must develop conceptual tools that can address the unique gratification opportunities they present.

Critical perspectives highlighted in this review emphasize the need for greater cultural sensitivity in UGT research. Digital media usage patterns and gratifications vary significantly across cultural contexts (Karimi et al., 2014), yet cross-cultural analyses remain relatively sparse in the literature. Future research must address this gap by investigating how cultural factors influence gratification patterns and user motivations across diverse populations. Additionally, the ethical dimensions of algorithmic personalization demand greater attention. As digital platforms increasingly employ sophisticated algorithms to curate personalized content, questions arise regarding user agency, autonomy, and the potential for manipulative gratification fulfillment. UGT researchers must grapple with how algorithmic systems might shape user gratifications in ways that traditional theory does not fully capture. The temporal dimension of gratifications also warrants further exploration. While immediate gratifications have been well-documented in existing research, the long-term gratification patterns associated with sustained digital media usage remain less understood. Longitudinal studies examining how gratifications evolve over time could provide valuable insights into user engagement and platform selection behaviors. Finally, UGT continues to offer a valuable framework for understanding user engagement with digital media, but its continued relevance depends on theoretical innovation, methodological rigor, and interdisciplinary collaboration. By addressing the challenges and opportunities identified in this review, researchers can ensure that UGT remains a robust theoretical approach for analyzing user behavior in increasingly complex digital media environments.

Conclusion

With the rapid expansion of digital media technologies, it is imperative to rethink and expand Uses and Gratifications Theory (UGT) to fit new media environments. Recent research highlights the active and goal-oriented nature of digital media users while emphasizing the importance of gratification of variety across platforms, cultures, and user demographics. This diversity underscores the value of understanding the multifaceted nature of user gratifications in contemporary media landscapes. Additionally, it is essential to recognize the unique gratification opportunities provided by immersive technologies like virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR). These technologies introduce new dimensions of user engagement, such as embodiment, presence, and spatial

immersion, which traditional UGT frameworks may not fully capture. Hence, theoretical expansions are necessary to adequately address the motivations and experiences associated with these advanced media environments. Moreover, as digital platforms continue to evolve, there is a pressing need for interdisciplinary approaches in UGT research. Integrating perspectives from psychology, sociology, and technology can enhance the explanatory power of UGT, allowing it to remain relevant and robust. Methodological advancements, particularly the adoption of mixed method designs that combine qualitative, quantitative, and computational analytics, are crucial for a comprehensive analysis of user behaviors and gratification patterns. Future research should also focus on the ethical dimensions of algorithmic personalization, which raises questions about user autonomy, agency, and potential manipulative gratification fulfillment. Addressing these concerns will ensure that UGT continues to provide valuable insights into user motivations and behaviors in increasingly complex digital media environments.

Finding: The paper received no specific financial support.

Institutional Review Board Statement: Not applicable.

Transparency: The author confirms that the manuscript is an honest, accurate and transparent account of the study that no vital features of the study have been omitted and that any discrepancies from the study as planned have been explained. This study followed all ethical practices during writing.

Competing Interests: The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

References

1. Alhabash: S., Chiang, Y. H., & Huang, K. (2014). MAM & UGT: A study of gratifications among Facebook users. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 35, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2014.02.019>
2. Alhabash, S., & Ma, M. (2017). A tale of four platforms: Motivations and uses of Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Snapchat among college students. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 61(2), 237–255. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2017.1309417>
3. Athique, A. (2013). *Digital media and society*. Polity Press.
4. Bayer, J., Ellison, N., Schoenebeck, S., & Falk, E. B. (2016). Sharing the small moments: Ephemeral social interaction on Snapchat. *Social Media + Society*, 2(4), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116675634>
5. Blumler, J. G. (2019). The evolution of Uses and Gratifications Theory. *Journal of Communication*, 69(2), 178–186. <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqz006>
6. Chan, M. (2015). Examining the influences of news use patterns, motivations, and age cohort on mobile news use: The case of Hong Kong. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 92(4), 849–865. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699015596339>
7. Chen, G. M. (2011). Tweet this: A Uses and Gratifications perspective on how active Twitter use gratifies a need to connect with others. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 27(2), 755–762. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2010.10.023>
8. Flayelle, M., Maurage, P., & Billieux, J. (2019). Toward a qualitative understanding of binge-watching behaviors: A focus group approach. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 90, 26–33. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2018.08.003>
9. Fox, J., & McEwan, B. (2017). Distinguishing technologies for social interaction: The Perceived Social Affordances of Communication Channels Scale. *Communication Monographs*, 84(3), 298–318. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2017.1332418>
10. Fox, J., & McEwan, B. (2017). Virtual reality and Uses and Gratifications Theory: Exploring motivations for engaging with immersive media. *New Media & Society*, 19(2), 318–335. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816644804>
11. Hamari, J., & Sjöblom, M. (2017). What is eSports and why do people watch it? *Internet Research*, 27(2), 211–232. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IntR-04-2016-0085>

12. Hanusch, F., & Tandoc, E. C. (2017). Comments, analytics, and social media: The impact of audience feedback on journalists' market orientation. *Journalism Studies*, 18(11), 1389–1406. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2015.1104260>
13. Hilvert-Bruce, Z., Neill, J. T., Sjöblom, M., & Hamari, J. (2018). Social motivations of live-streaming viewer engagement on Twitch. *New Media & Society*, 20(4), 1414–1434. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817697729>
14. Javornik, A. (2016). Augmented reality: Research agenda for studying the impact of its media characteristics on consumer behaviour. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 30, 252–261. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2016.02.004>
15. Johnson, P. R., & Yang, S. (2009). Uses and gratifications of Twitter: An examination of user motives and satisfaction of Twitter use. *Paper presented at the Communication Technology Division of the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication*, Boston, MA.
16. Karimi, L., Khodabandelou, R., Ehsani, M., & Ahmad, M. (2014). Gratifications theory and social network sites: A cross-cultural study of Malaysia and Iran. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 35, 463–469. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2014.03.016>
17. Katz, E., Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1974). Utilization of mass communication by the individual. In J. G. Blumler & E. Katz (Eds.), *The uses of mass communications: Current perspectives on gratifications research* (pp. 19–32). Sage.
18. Lee, E., Lee, J.-A., Moon, J. H., & Sung, Y. (2015). Pictures speak louder than words: Motivations for using Instagram. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 18(9), 552–556. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2015.0157>
19. Leung, L., & Zhang, R. (2016). Predicting tablet use: A study of gratifications-sought, leisure boredom, and multitasking. *Telematics and Informatics*, 33(4), 1098–1108. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2016.03.006>
20. Mutterlein, J., & Hess, T. (2017). Immersion, presence, and flow: Understanding the differences and commons when using virtual reality in marketing. *Academy of Marketing Science Annual Conference*, Coronado, CA.
21. Phua, J., Jin, S. V., & Kim, J. (2017). Gratifications of using Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, or Snapchat to follow brands: The moderating effect of social comparison, trust, tie strength, and network homophily on brand identification, brand engagement, brand commitment, and membership intention. *Telematics and Informatics*, 34(1), 412–424. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2016.06.004>
22. Pittman, M., & Sheehan, K. (2015). Sprinting a media marathon: Uses and gratifications of binge-watching television through Netflix. *First Monday*, 20(10). <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v20i10.6138>
23. Quan-Haase, A., & Young, A. L. (2010). Uses and gratifications of social media: A comparison of Facebook and instant messaging. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 30(5), 350–361. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0270467610380009>
24. Rauschnabel, P. A., Rossmann, A., & tom Dieck, M. C. (2017). An adoption framework for mobile augmented reality games: The case of Pokémon Go. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 76, 276–286. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.07.030>
25. Rubenking, B., & Bracken, C. C. (2018). Binge-watching: A suspenseful, emotional, habit. *Communication Research Reports*, 35(5), 381–391. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2018.1525346>
26. Rubin, A. M. (2009). Uses-and-gratifications perspective on media effects. In J. Bryant & M. B. Oliver (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 165–184). Routledge.
27. Rubin, A. M., Haridakis, P. M., & Eyal, K. (2020). Methodological challenges in using Uses and Gratifications Theory for understanding new media. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 36, 93–97. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2020.05.005>
28. Ruggiero, T. E. (2000). Uses and Gratifications Theory in the 21st century. *Mass Communication & Society*, 3(1), 3–37. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327825MCS0301_02
29. Ruggiero, T. E. (2018). Uses and Gratifications: A context for understanding consumption and civic engagement in the digital age. *Communication Theory*, 28(3), 296–314. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ct/qty003>
30. Sheldon, P., & Bryant, K. (2016). Instagram: Motives for its use and relationship to narcissism and contextual age. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 58, 89–97. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.12.059>

31. Sheldon, P., & Newman, M. (2019). Instagram and American teens: Understanding motives for its use and relationship to excessive reassurance-seeking and interpersonal rejection. *The Journal of Social Media in Society*, 8(1), 1–16.
32. Sjöblom, M., & Hamari, J. (2017). Why do people watch others play video games? An empirical study on the motivations of Twitch users. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 75, 985–996. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2016.10.019>
33. Sjöblom, M., Törhönen, M., Hamari, J., & Macey, J. (2019). The ingredients of Twitch streaming: Affordances of game streams. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 92, 20–28. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2018.10.012>
34. Steiner, E., & Xu, K. (2020). Binge-watching motivates change: Uses and gratifications of streaming video viewers challenge traditional TV research. *Convergence*, 26(1), 82–101. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856517750365>
35. Sundar, S. S., Kang, H., & Oprean, D. (2017). Being there in the midst of the story: How immersive journalism affects our perceptions and cognitions. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 20(11), 672–682. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2017.0271>
36. Sundar, S. S., & Limperos, A. M. (2013). Uses and Gratifications 2.0: New gratifications for new media. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 57(4), 504–525. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2013.845827>
37. Wei, R., & Lo, V. H. (2015). News on the move: Predictors of mobile news consumption and engagement among Chinese mobile phone users. *Electronic News*, 9(3), 177–194. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1931243115593319>
38. Wohn, D. Y., Freeman, G., & McLaughlin, C. (2018). Explaining viewers' emotional, instrumental, and financial support provision for live streamers. *Proceedings of the 2018 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3173574.3174048>
39. Wolf, C., & Schnauber, A. (2015). News consumption in the mobile era: The role of mobile devices and traditional journalism's content within the user's information repertoire. *Digital Journalism*, 3(5), 759–776. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2014.942497>
40. Yee, N., & Bailenson, J. N. (2007). The Proteus effect: The effect of transformed self-representation on behavior. *Human Communication Research*, 33(3), 271–290. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2007.00299.x>

Disclaimer/Publisher's Note: The statements, opinions and data contained in all publications are solely those of the individual author(s) and contributor(s) and not of MDPI and/or the editor(s). MDPI and/or the editor(s) disclaim responsibility for any injury to people or property resulting from any ideas, methods, instructions or products referred to in the content.