Children's Film Viewing Practices:
A Qualitative Investigation into Engagement
with a Feature Film

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Abstract

This study investigates the ways that children engage with a repeatedly viewed film in domestic settings. The research questions focus on the children's language, their multimodal behaviours while viewing and the understandings they form about a film. The study aims to provide insights for educators by demonstrating the range and nature of the educationally significant understandings, about film, that children construct.

An initial survey of 9 and 10 year olds produced 17 children who nominated *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (Columbus, 2002) as a favourite film that they had viewed at least 10 times. A video illustrating the research procedures was used to inform and to stimulate discussion with these children, to ensure that they were able to give educated consent. Observations of pairs of children viewing the film in their homes, followed by a series of activities to elicit discussion, created a set of rich data on the children's engagement practices and understandings of the film.

Framed within the interpretivist paradigm, social semiotics and a sociocultural model of learning informed the generation and analysis of the data. A viewing practices engagement framework adapted existing frameworks in literature, literacy and critical literacy to better analyse viewing behaviours, responses and understandings. The engagement practice categories (literal, connotative, aesthetic, structural and critical) enabled multimodal and transcribed verbal data to be meaningfully linked. Several analytic approaches (including multimodal analysis and discourse analysis) were used to provide a full description of viewing engagement.

The findings revealed variable levels of overt behaviour during viewing which did not relate to levels of understanding about the film. The range of understandings included aspects of characters, narrative, causation in the film and special effects. Discourse analysis revealed a range of viewing positions taken and social languages used, as well as gender differences in the balance of language used to attribute the film's emotional effects.

The findings provide evidence that children construct a range of educationally relevant understandings through their repeated home viewing of favourites, although structural and critical engagement was not well developed in this group. The findings are relevant to children's learning, audience research and the culture of childhood. The study has implications for parents, for primary school teachers and for education policy.

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Transcription conventions

The names given throughout are the children's self-nominated pseudonyms.
The following conventions have been used:

examples of children's talk are commonly separated from running text and indented;

line numbers in transcripts are shown only where they are needed for clarity in the discussion;

a Capital letter and new line indicate a new speaker;

where children's talk is quoted within running text, single quotation marks are used;

UPPER case is used to name film characters and so indicate that the following dialogue belongs to the film;

italics are used for the researcher's utterances;

( ) parentheses are used within extracts to signify sounds which are not words (eg laughter or exclamation), or to indicate indistinct words, and at the end of quotations to enclose the source by giving the children's pseudonyms and an indication of the activity during which the talk was produced, eg (Tayla & Analeese, viewing);

[ ] square brackets convey kinesic features (facial movements or physical gestures), contextual information or explanatory notes;

" " double quotation marks indicate children saying film dialogue;

*" " asterisk and double quotation marks indicate film dialogue said by the children in unison with a character (chorusing);

' ' single quotation marks show children creating speech for characters; and

… ellipsis indicates that one or more words or speaking turns have been omitted from the transcript.

While the children's talk has not been corrected or standardised, the transcripts are punctuated to convey the meaning as clearly as possible.

Quotations of children's talk while viewing include an indication of the film's running time to the nearest complete minute, as shown on the Warner Bros DVD 23592 (Region 4).

No time is given when the period between utterances is less than two seconds; paralinguistic features (non-verbal vocalisations such as laughing or giggling, exclamations etc) are not counted as utterances in time-keeping unless they involve words.

Chapter one

Introduction

Several years ago, I spent some time with a 6 year old family member watching the film *Forrest Gump* (Zemeckis, 1994). I was present when Rebekah viewed the part of the film in which Forrest Gump is seen running across the USA, becoming progressively more unshaven. The scenes require the viewer to realise that Gump runs day after day without bothering with his normal ablutions. Rebekah asked, 'Who's the guy with the beard?' Her 11 year old brother replied, 'Forrest Gump', with no further explanation and they continued to watch together in comparative silence. The question revealed to me that recognition of a character through changes of appearance and across time, is a learned skill. After several viewings together, the film was so well-known by the family that Rebekah's father used the catch- phrase from the film, 'Run Forrest, run' with her as an affectionate shorthand to encourage persistence. This continued to be used between them for several years. These incidents triggered a curiosity about children's understandings and how these are built up through home viewing, which linked to my teacher educator's curriculum interest in visual language and which led in turn, to this study. Chapter one provides some background context to the research questions and then gives an overview of the thesis.

1.1   A changing semiotic landscape

The communication landscape has changed significantly over the last few decades with visual elements becoming much more pervasive than they ever were before. As well as the increasingly visual nature of printed material in society, new affordable domestic technologies such as television, video recorders, DVD players, computer games and internet-connected computers, have separately and together through convergence, changed the context and nature of the language we engage with (Hurell & Sommer, 2001; Livingstone, 2002). Each of these innovations has, in turn,

prompted fears about its impact on children, and often created an accompanying rhetoric of 'moral panic' (Buckingham, 2000). Alongside the increase in visual elements in communications there has been a parallel change in the conceptualisation of language 'from linguistics to semiotics, from a theory that accounted for language alone to a theory that can account equally well for gesture, speech, image, writing, 3D objects, colour, music and no doubt others' (Kress, 2003, pp. 35-36). The study of systems of signs (semiotics), has developed theoretical explanations which include the importance of social and cultural contexts.

Children's leisure has moved from public spaces (such as the street and the cinema) to family spaces (the living room) (Buckingham, 2000), and there have been negative public responses both to the technologies themselves and to these social changes. Systems of education, in the current managerial climate, have maintained a focus on print literacy and, at least in the case of New Zealand's, has made minimal accommodation to the digital and semiotic changes that constitute the 'new literacies' (Freebody & Luke, 2003; Gee, 2004b ; Kress, 2003; Lankshear, 1997; New London Group, 2000). This vastly changed semiotic context in which today's students live challenges the concept of literacy which education privileges.

Being a competent viewer of moving images is becoming a more important aspect of human development as visual media become more pervasive within developed countries. Democracies rely on a foundation of well-informed citizens and being informed depends on the ability to be discriminating about social, political and economic 'information' (especially during election campaigns). Media education and the specific field of media studies are important initiatives that focus on the development of media literacy. Being media literate involves being critical readers, listeners and viewers who are able to discern the implicit values in, and points of view of, texts; it also involves being capable of producing texts (Anstey & Bull, 2006; Buckingham, 2003; Burn & Durran, 2007; Evans, 2004; Jewitt & Kress, 2003; McDougall, 2006). The development of critical audiences depends on successful media education, which in turn depends upon fostering more competent viewing throughout all the levels of the school system.

As well as the utilitarian reasons given above, there is an argument for ensuring the development of children's abilities to comprehend and more fully enjoy mainstream cultural products (in this case visual media) in the same way that education, at present, aims to do in terms of print literature. Conservative views about the 'worthiness' of narratives according to the medium they are communicated through, might be challenged by studies such as this one.

1.2   Viewing films in domestic contexts

The domestic affordability of videorecorders and DVD players (and of films on video and DVD) has radically altered the access that children have to films. Films have become consumer items that can be borrowed or purchased for similar prices to books, which means that households with children build collections of films that children are able to view whenever they wish. The home context of the viewings means that the constraints which apply to the public viewing of films in cinemas do not necessarily apply (although those who remember the introduction of television to New Zealand will recall the temporary imposition in lounges of cinema conditions such as dimmed lighting and disapproval of talk). Other familial activities can occur during domestic film viewing – as they do for television viewing. For instance there may be interactions with other family members (who may or may not be viewing), interaction with pets, eating and drinking, playing with toys, answering a phone and holding phone conversations. These are all accepted as part of normal domestic viewing (Browne, 1999; Fisch, 2004; Lealand, 1998; McKinley, 1997; Palmer, 1986; Tulloch, 2000).

Media research in New Zealand has not, so far, included a specific focus on children's film viewing. Figures from both Australia (ACMA, 2007) and New Zealand show that films feature prominently in children's television viewing. The Australian evidence from 2005 showed that 'the most watched programme genres among the 5-12s were movies and reality television.' (p. 31), while the New Zealand children

(ages 6-13) also ranked feature films in their top programme categories[1] (Walters & Zwaga, 2001). Although these figures indicate that the telecasts of films were often repeats, for some children they may be a first, and for others a repeat, viewing. While the figures question the distinctions previously made between television viewing and film viewing, this study will focus on film viewing only.

A repeated experience of a story (whether through print or film) is a different experience to the initial one, which is usually dominated by concentration on following the narrative. Subsequent experiences allow attention to be given to the way the narrative is conveyed and the convenience of print in facilitating this has, in the past, been used to argue for the desirability of books ahead of films. However, children who have chosen to view the same film repeatedly can also be expected to have built up understandings of it, potentially providing researchers with information about the kinds of understandings this viewing constructs. Recruiting children who had each viewed the same film repeatedly, ensured that they had, prior to the research, been personally motivated to closely view the title. The focus of this research is to investigate the ways that children engage with a film (that they have seen before) with other children in a home setting, and the understandings that they have accumulated through multiple viewings.

Researchers within New Literacy Studies (eg Freebody, 2001; Lankshear & Knobel, 2007; Maybin, 2000; Street, 1997; Tusting, Ivanic & Wilson, 2000) have documented the practices and skills that children display outside of school, with the aim of having those abilities recognised and utilised by schools. Recognition by schools of children's different literacies is seen as a precursor to change (Moss, 2001). Children's learning from leisure activities has been labelled 'informal' learning or 'out of school learning' but is more accurately characterised in terms of the nature of the activity (Schultz & Hull, 2002) rather than the setting, as 'self-selected' in contrast with 'school-selected' activities such as homework or classroom activities (Lankshear, 2006). The gap between children's out of school experiences and school culture has been commented on at least since Dewey's comment, 'From the standpoint of the

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[1] Films were the second most watched programmes during the survey period, while generally, on Friday (4th), Saturday (2nd) and Sunday (4th) nights they were a highly ranked programme genre. (p. 72, 77)

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child, the great waste in the school comes from his [sic] inability to utilise the experiences he gets outside of the school in any complete and free way within the school itself" (Dewey, 1899/1998, p. 77 cited by Hull & Schultz, 2002). This study, following the example of New Literacy Studies research, provides evidence of children's learning from self-selected activities and aims to promote the value of the kinds of understandings that children gain from them so that teachers can plan to acknowledge and build upon them.

The next section introduces and discusses the school context for understandings from visual texts.

1.3   A single literacy within the education system

School systems define learning as a particular selection from the range of available knowledge in a culture. Curricula, through what is included, deem some knowledge as valuable and other knowledge as not. Excluded knowledge becomes what Kincheloe (2005) calls 'subjugated knowledge', a term which conveys the power society exerts through the indications that its schools give about what learning and knowledge is valued. This section discusses some of the tensions around the ways in which 'literacy' is practised in primary schools.

During the 1990s educational policies in New Zealand shifted significantly with the adoption of neoliberal policies and practices of governance – what Peters & Marshall (1996) call a 'busnocratic' model. These changes increased the emphasis on 'outputs' and accountability and limited the scope for teachers' professional autonomy, reducing them to 'managed professionals' (Codd, 2005). This orientation toward a business model of 'efficiency' has, according to A. Luke (2002), 'set in place a systemic proclivity toward print literacy'. That proclivity has contributed to the limited attention, in practice, to the viewing aspects of the curriculum.

While the concept of 'text' was expanded in New Zealand's English Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1994) to include both static and moving image texts, there is some evidence that primary teachers' practices generally remain print-focused and

that where visual language is included in classroom programmes, it is mainly through static image topics such as picture books and posters (Finch, Jackson & Murray, 2003). The latest National Education Monitoring Project report on viewing (Crooks, Flockton, Smith & Smith, 2007) where half the tasks involved moving image texts, commented that year 4 students 'were less successful where the task components involved interpretation or evaluation of visual messages, or of the intentions of the designers of those messages.' (p. 3). These two sets of evidence suggest that activities involving moving image texts remain uncommon in New Zealand's primary classrooms.

Film studies and media studies now have stand alone positions within tertiary academia, and textual study is an accepted feature of secondary level English and uses both print (plays, novels and poems) and film (short films, feature films and occasionally documentaries) (Lealand, 2007). While many primary teachers read novels to their classes and facilitate discussion at various points during the process, few primary teachers use feature film texts educationally (Finch, Jackson & Murray, 2003). Primary teachers often use video as a 'treat' on Friday afternoons or before a holiday break, which conveys an attitude to children that films are not part of 'real learning' but are 'just entertainment' when you deserve a 'break' (the quoted terms are from the teachers of the children in this research). Within the primary system's contested curriculum, 'English' or 'language' are the contexts where visual media have been granted some legitimacy, though the new label of 'literacy' tends to imply an exclusion of visual language (Limbrick & Aikman, 2005).

The concepts of multiliteracies (Kalantzis & Cope, 2000), the multimodal nature of literacy (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001) and ecologies of literacy (Mackey, 2002) are based on the contemporary semiotic environment in western societies as touched on in section 1.1 above. Despite rhetoric by the Ministry of Education about the need for education to prepare students to participate in a 'competitive world economy' (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 3), the broader concepts of literacy have not been accepted by the New Zealand schooling system. Nor has there been acceptance of Bazalgette's (2007) claim that, as children have been learning about film even before they reach school, that 'school has a responsibility to move them on, to open up their ideas about the possibilities of the medium.' (p. 7). The notion of film and other

visual literacies are accepted as part of secondary education, but are not thought of as beginning at primary levels despite the official curriculum spanning the primary and secondary sectors.

Dyson and others have documented the ways that popular culture texts inform children's literacies from before they begin school, gathering their evidence from home (Brown, 1999), or from school contexts with a print-literacy focus (eg Dyson, 1997; Robinson, 1997; Willett, 2002). Dyson (2003) found that films were the most widely appropriated media for writing in her study, while others highlight the home as a significant learning location (Buckingham & Scanlon, 2003) which ought to be recognised by schools to encourage children's involvement (Gee, 2004b). The concern in this study is also with the 'knowledge' that children construct at home but also with the potential utilisation of that knowledge at school within the broader language arts or English area (defined as not just writing and reading, but also including viewing).

1.4   Rationale for the research

While this research is framed within the field of education, it focuses on children's learning at home from film texts. Its ultimate concern is with the relationships between the learning children are engaged in within their everyday lives and the learning in schools which teachers have responsibility for. The main focus is to provide evidence of children's learning so that educators might better appreciate the knowledge and perspectives which their students bring into classrooms. It is, from a schools' perspective, research about learner characteristics. Nuthall (2002), in calling for improvements in teaching called for 'research that focuses on the realities of student experience and the learning that results from that experience. … It means developing a precise and accurate … account of the realities of their experience' (p. 24). This study aims to contribute such an account of a particular kind of experience.

My *Forrest Gump* experiences stimulated a desire to investigate the understandings children construct through their leisure viewing. Alongside this was a need to document the children's viewing behaviours which had enabled them to create

meanings from the film. Did they talk during viewing, and if so, what about? Did peers ask each other for explanations, for example? Since language is social and situated (influenced by context), children's homes are the most appropriate settings to collect data about their home viewing behaviours.

Identification and analysis of the understandings children have developed during home viewing is a way of demonstrating the value of children's knowledge and may encourage educators to acknowledge the understandings children will bring into the classroom. It may also encourage teachers to re-assess films as legitimate classroom texts and to consequently incorporate film into their programmes, so providing a context for children to utilise their home-gained knowledge. Describing those understandings in terms particular to film, but also in terms of generic narrative understandings may demonstrate to teachers that film viewing can contribute to children's broader structural appreciation of story. For those children whose home print literacy practices do not closely match those of the school, acknowledgement by teachers of their understandings about film may encourage their closer engagement with education (Buckingham, 1996; Buckingham & Scanlon, 2003; Dyson, 1997; Lee, 2000; Mackey, 2002; Marsh, 2006; McClenaghan, 2005; Moss, 2001; Tobin, 2000). Such changes in practice would bring teachers closer to achieving the potential provided by the official curriculum, but not yet widely explored.

This research can also be seen as a contribution to the broad field of screen studies, as a detailed audience reception study investigating the meanings that young viewers construct through their interactions with a feature film.

Since the understandings being explored are those which are developed in children's own homes it is important that data-gathering take place in children's homes and that the text be one which they are motivated to view and talk about. For this reason the focus-text was one nominated by the children as a favourite and so was 'chosen' by the children themselves. Rather than the children necessarily being a representative sample of larger populations, the text is representative of mainstream contemporary or 'popular' culture and in this sense the children's understandings displayed here may well be considered typical of expected engagement practices of their age group.

1.5   Research questions

This study proposes that nine and ten year old children who repeatedly view a favourite film at home can articulate understandings appropriate for classroom study of the film. Two broad questions structure the research. They concern the nature of children's engagement with a repeatedly viewed film, and the kinds of understandings of a film that repeat viewers have constructed. These concerns are more specifically framed as the research questions:

Research question 1.   In what ways do these children engage with their favourite film during viewing?

Research question 2.   What does the language that the children use during viewing reveal about their engagement?

Research question 3.   In what ways do the children verbally interact with each other when viewing a favourite film?

Research question 4.   What kinds of understandings of the film are revealed by the children's talk?

Research question 5.   In what ways are understandings about children's engagement extended by using several analytic approaches?

1.6   Outline of the thesis

Chapter one establishes the foundations upon which this study builds by describing the context for, and genesis of, the study. Chapter two reviews relevant literature in the areas of social semiotics and sociocultural learning, and in the fields of audience reception research and visual language in the New Zealand teaching context, before describing an analytic framework. The interpretivist philosophy of research used in this study is outlined in chapter three followed by a description of the ethical considerations and process which were implied by a sociocultural model of learning. The two phases of the research design are then described, including an explanation

for the use of several analytic approaches to adequately deal with the data within a poststructural context.

Chapters four, five and six discuss and analyse the data using the approaches of multimodal analysis, interaction analysis, content analysis and discourse analysis. Chapter six also includes a section in which the approaches are each applied to two short extracts to demonstrate the case for such research using several analytic approaches. Chapter seven evaluates the methodology of the study and discusses the findings. Chapter eight identifies and discusses implications of the findings for both research and for education.

Chapter 2

Review of the literature

The purpose of this study is to explore the understandings shown by pairs of children of a mainstream film they had nominated as a personal favourite. The findings will be provided to educators, so that children's understandings about film might be productively drawn on at school. In this chapter the theoretically foundational areas of social semiotics and a sociocultural model of learning are considered. Then, selected literature in audience reception research, particularly that which involved children, is reviewed, and this is followed by a review of information about the place of teaching about film in New Zealand primary schools. In the absence of any suitable existing framework with which to explore children's responses to film, a new framework for use in this research is described.

2.1   Social semiotics

Theories of how televisual texts generate meaning are fundamental to this study because audience reception research relies upon testing of theory about the ways in which audiences construct meaning from symbolic systems of communication. Positions taken in the past on whether the film text or the audience members create meaning have led to quite different research approaches[1]. The position taken on that matter results in not only different research questions and methods, but also in implications for the transcribing of viewers' talk and the status of a researcher's interpretation and analysis of transcripts. A consistent stance on how semiotic systems convey meaning is essential in audience research projects.

Social semiotics shares poststructural assumptions about semiotics, meaning and the subject (the nature of people), with the sociocultural model of learning used in this study. The significance of the social and cultural context is recognised in both

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[1] The movement from textual determinism to a constructionist view is summarised by Alasuutari, 1999.

theories; context is important for the way in which meanings are constructed and for the kind of learning which takes place. In this section social semiotics is described in general terms to provide background for the following sections on a sociocultural model of learning and on audience reception research.

Semiotics originated from a formalist or structuralist theory (Saussure, 1916/1974 cited by Kress, 2001) within which the meaning of a sign, based on a referential epistemology, was stable. Poststructuralist thought conceives of the nature of signification as essentially unstable (Selden, Widdowson & Brooker, 1997), by extending Bakhtin's (1986) view of language as dialogic (ie utterances are not only influenced by context, which includes other language users, but also by the ways others have used the words that we use). Halliday (1978) established social semiotics as a functionalist explanation where the relationship between the sign and signified was seen to be culturally created. Signs, within social semiotics, are thought of as the products of social processes across cultural history, and as the material resources for individuals' meaning-making (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). The term 'social semiotics' makes it explicit that meanings are made within communities and thus that meanings embody the social, historical, cultural and political dimensions of those communities (Lemke, 1995). Social semiotics focuses on the material social actions or practices rather than on signs per se (Iedema, 2001), conceptualising signs as abstractions from socially meaningful actions which change as social practices change. This focus on practices as the micro-level site of meaning-making is common to social semiotics, to sociocultural learning and to cultural studies generally.

While Halliday's functionalism assumes that language has functions which are external to the linguistic system and that such external functions influence the internal organisation of the linguistic system (Schiffrin, 1994), his conception of socially-situated meaning systems also claims that there is a relationship between the organisation in a semiotic system (such as language) and its use. The relationship of 'realisation' between language and social context creates reciprocity between lexico-grammar (words and structures) and social activity (Martin & Rose, 2003). This means that some features of a text can be predicted from the context and that it is possible to describe aspects of context from a text. The shift away from the concentration on abstracted signs in classic semiotics, changes the locus of inquiry

from an individual's mental processing to that person's participation, as a member of a group, in social practices and interactions. Such a focus makes the theory cohere with the sociocultural model of learning discussed below. While social semiotics takes a materialist view of language which emphasises its constructive and constitutive roles, views of language have moved from the binary poles of referential (or idealist) and material, to seeing that language simultaneously both reflects and constructs 'reality' (Filmer, Jenks, Seale & Walsh, 1998 ; Gee, 1999).

Thus, the field of social semiotics encompasses all meaning systems (systems of signs) including language. The broad scope of the theory makes it appropriate for the study of audience response to televisual text[2] because the text (containing images and sounds), the audience's non-verbal responses, their viewing talk and their later response talk, can all be treated from the standpoint of one theoretical orientation. There is further discussion of the implications of social semiotics for the treatment of data in chapter 3 (section 3.3 Assumptions about communication, and 3.15 Data analysis phase two).

Social semiotics is a broad theory that explains the resource systems used for creating and conveying meaning. Theories of human learning build upon theories about how 'meaning' is generated, as they draw upon assumptions about the nature of operations of the human mind. Social semiotics and sociocultural learning both draw on an approach to the nature of the mind called 'culturalism' (Bruner, 1996) which sees meaning as culturally situated. Mention has been made, above, of the two theories' common focus on social practices as sites of meaning-making. Further sociocultural learning literature relevant to this study will be discussed next.

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[2] 'Televisual' has been used to refer to moving image texts, whether made for cinema or for television, which are viewed in homes or institutional spaces, at least since Hall (1980). The term will be used here when referring more generally to film and television.
'Text' will be used in its broad sense to include print, visual and televisual works.

2.2 Sociocultural learning

Sociocultural learning conceptualises learning as changes in the nature of participation in given practices, rather than the traditional view of learning as individual acquisition. This sociocultural perspective changes the site and nature of learning; it is seen as a social rather than an individual phenomenon and as displayed primarily through changes in practices (which have social components) rather than as a cognitive alteration. While many explanations of learning acknowledge context, the sociocultural model defines the social and cultural contexts within which learning occurs as being significant elements for the learning rather than just providing a setting. The social notions of practice and of participation remove the traditional dichotomy between the individual cognitive and embodied activity elements of learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Sociocultural learning does not separate the activity and the learning in the way that other theories of learning do; instead it focuses attention on changes in the pattern of participation in an activity (Wells, 1999). Sociocultural learning conceives of cognitive change as also being a social and interpersonal process rather than a solely individual one.

Both social semiotics and sociocultural learning theory draw on the poststructural assumptions that our 'reality' is constructed and that the construction is shaped by the surrounding society and culture. Further, as Bruner (1996) explains, it is primarily through interaction with others that learners find out about how their culture conceives of the world and what responses are expected.

Vygotsky's theory of learning also places importance on the child's social milieu, and on the tools that mediate intellectual activity. The social context is seen as important because it provides social interaction with others, including experts who are able to scaffold learning. The metaphor of scaffolding refers to the temporary assistance by which an expert helps a learner to do something so that the learner will later be able to complete alone (Rogoff, 1990). Second language learning research has evidence of peers providing learning support through 'collective scaffolding' in the absence of an expert (Smith, 2006). Tools are conceptualised as an extension of scaffolding because they carry the ways of thinking from that culture's and society's past into a present activity (Rogoff, 1990) by embodying previous expert practice. By conceptualising

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inner speech as part of a larger dialogue which includes the earlier utterances by others and self and the prospective rehearsals of what one intends to say, Wells (1999) has extended Vygotsky's idea of learning first taking place socially before being internalised. Further, Wells sees social and inner speech as occurring not in a temporal sequence but as contemporaneous. Wertsch (2000) sees language as the link between social dialogue and the individual mental functioning that derives from it, that is, between the personal-level, interpersonal-level and community-level learning processes.

Sociocultural learning theory is appropriate for audience research because the concept of activity, where several participants are involved in accomplishing something (not necessarily defined by them as learning), can apply to out-of-school activities such as domestic video viewing. Indeed, Buckingham (1993) characterises television audience responses as socially situated practice. Although sociocultural learning literature focuses on the learning resulting from the social practice, socially situated practice also implies a poststructuralist view of personal identity being non-unitary, because self is discursively constituted, multiple and situated (Gee, 2004a). A corollary of sociocultural learning theory applied to a complex social practice such as a viewing lasting an hour or more, may be that any audience member may enact several identities.

Sociocultural theory is also appropriate because film narrative is seen as a 'supertool' by Kozulin (1998) because it presents mediated understandings, just as literature does. A film text, as a cultural tool, embodies 'expertness' with which viewers can engage and subsequently learn. As the basis of learning in this model is participation in purposeful social practice, it is important that any research data-generating situations incorporate social interaction and purpose. It is also important for research using this model to gather data from a number of practices or activities, given the situated nature of participation and learning (Wells, 1999).

2.3   Audience reception research with children

The social category of 'childhood' (Cunningham, 1995) currently exists in two major forms in relation to media: children as innocent, vulnerable and in need of adult protection (the 'protectionist' rhetoric (as described by Jenkins, 1998; Buckingham & Scanlon, 2003), and children as 'media-wise' and savvy through experience in dealing with media and technologies (Buckingham, 2000). The literature based on these essentialist positions will not be included in this review, which has selected research focusing on children as learners. This section will focus on audience reception research involving children 5-12 years old. Studies which investigated the links between televisual reception and literacy will be examined, followed by those which focus on children's viewing.

2.3.1   Reception research focused on literacy

Since 1996 a number of studies have been published that have a focus on the contribution of visual texts to the print literacy of primary school children. The studies reviewed in this section belong to the ethnographic approach to audience research and take the active roles of the audience as a given. For instance, Browne (1999) looked at the development of comprehension of both print and televisual texts in younger children (aged 4 -7 years). Her evidence shows that, through high levels of engagement, significant literacy learning occurred at home from both written and televisual texts, as 'each form of text may support children's literacy development in different ways' (p. 170). Browne's focus on the discernible transfer of understandings to print narrative means that her study does not establish understandings of or about film (apart from its plot).

A number of studies have investigated the use of media experiences in children's classroom writing. They have in common a working assumption that the usual narrow confines of 'school literacy' unduly restrict children's writing, and they provide evidence to show the varied and creative ways that children utilise media experience. Dyson (1997) for instance, worked alongside elementary school students to explore the personal, social and narrative purposes that the media material in their writing performed. Willett (2002) thoroughly analysed data from 8 and 9 year old children in her own class to reveal that the media references in their writing were accomplishing

social and identity work. She showed that the children used media references either to conform to, or to transgress, school norms. Robinson (1997) focused, within a school setting, on narrative understandings across print and television and found that children used 'similar strategies to make sense of narratives encountered in different media' (p. 180). Her focus on identifying which information was seen and which was heard is similar to that used in Hodge & Tripp (1986). While some sessions were videotaped, no sustained discussion of children's viewing behaviours was given. Robinson's study demonstrated the potential gains for teachers and students in considering the narrative function rather than the medium through which it was experienced. However, because the focus was on narrative understandings and discourse analysis was not used, the social functions of talk were not fully dealt with. In a study exploring the transfer of informal home-based learning to school settings, Moss (2000) worked with 9 year old boys' experience of television wrestling shows and reported no retention of understandings over time. The study's lack of any observation of viewing, coupled with its reliance on the boys' reports of viewing (without any consideration of the social and identity elements of their later denials about having enjoyed the wrestling), undermine its conclusions about the lack of 'transfer' from informal literacies.

While these studies provide evidence of some of the purposes that televisual media fulfil in children's lives, for example the ways in which home-media experience can feed into writing and the ways in which school literacy practices are enriched when media material is legitimised, they do not provide detailed evidence of children's viewing practices or of the extent of their understandings of televisual texts.

2.3.2 Reception research on children's viewing

Observation of children's viewing behaviour at home by Palmer (1986), with 8-12 year olds, and Lealand (1995, 1998), with 3 and 4 year olds, established the range of ways in which children are 'active viewers'. Palmer's 'expressive' categories of viewing activity identified various overt manifestations of children's engagement such as talking, singing or acting along with the programme. However, the 'non-expressive' categories used by Palmer raise further questions about the kinds of 'activity' they might be classifying (eg what is happening during 'intent viewing'?). These studies established a broad range of viewing behaviours and pointed to a

direction for further research into how children watch but did not suggest relationships between the various viewing behaviours. Palmer and Lealand classified involvement and performance behaviours (eg imitation, singing) but did not collect evidence about the understandings resulting from the viewing. (Collecting understandings data is an additional challenge when researching three and four year olds.) In further discussion about the essentialist debate over 'active viewers', Silverstone (1994) argued that viewing 'activity' ought to be considered an analogical rather than a binary term and that the important question about viewing is not whether or not it is active but whether the activity is significant. He saw the central problem for audience research as understanding engagement (with television) which he believed involved the same practices used in the rest of everyday life. This implied the need for audience research to be cognisant of theory about how meaning-making practices occur in everyday settings.

Early audience studies assumed that language is a transmission of information so that children's language was seen as a neutral conveyance of their views and took positive comments about characters as indications of 'identification' with those characters. Materialist and post-structuralist views of reality (ontologies) however, identify the contribution made by language to the shape of the reality that we inhabit. Audience studies that use a materialist view of language see children's comments as simultaneously performing Halliday's (1978) ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions, and consequently take comments about characters as evidence that the viewers are doing personal identity work or relationship work. This language paradigm implies the need to examine the data from different (metafunctional) perspectives and this issue will be taken up during the discussions of data.

Hodge and Tripp (1986) were the first audience researchers to apply Halliday's (1978) concept of 'register' and to accept 'the influence of the social context on meaning construction' (p. 45) in their discussion of (8 and 9 year old) children's viewing of a cartoon. Their model of communication included the process of interpretation by the audience (not merely mechanically decoding content) and subsequently, the interpretation of responses by researchers. They paid attention to the meanings created through the dynamics of group interaction including laughter, tone of voice and direction of gaze, in their acknowledgement that 'the experience of

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television must include both the context of viewing and the context of discussion … along with media content' (p. 157). They also acknowledged that audience members have 'different selves' (p. 47) and used the concepts of transactional analysis to explain the layers of potential response. It can be seen from this brief account that the process of viewing was framed in more complex ways than previous studies, and used a range of concepts from related disciplines. Hodge and Tripp concluded that 'general social relations' were primary in 'developing a reading of television' (p. 158). This conclusion breaks with previous research that had attributed the meaning of content solely to the programmes themselves. This study demonstrated a more complex and social view of the reception process than previous audience reception research.

This more complex approach was developed further in Buckingham's (1993) study of similar age children (8-11 years). Most of Buckingham's data is children's discussion of viewing (there was also a brief viewing with pauses for discussion) and the talk is fully discussed within a framework of language as a social practice. Buckingham used Fairclough's (1989) three elements (contents, relations and subjects) to organise the data analysis. This utilisation of social semiotics (of which systemic grammar is an element) can be seen as marking a new era in audience research through its paradigm shift to a poststructuralist view of audience talk. Buckingham's discourse analysis of the children's language provided more nuanced (and more credible) accounts of children's responses. Part of his poststructural approach conceptualises individuals having multiple identities that are enacted discursively so that a particular individual's utterances are not necessarily consistent across contexts. An example of this is his data showing how black children voiced more positive views about black actors when in groups with only black children than when in racially mixed groups. His data also shows boys using the discussion about television to 'police' 'masculine' language usage. Buckingham's research (1993), which had a focus on a range of television viewing, provides detailed analysis and informed discussion, making it an exemplary model for television audience research with children. However, there have been few subsequent studies focusing on children's viewing, so research practice cannot yet be said to have consolidated or extended this development.

A study by McKinley (1997) fully utilised the post-structuralist paradigm in an exploration of a group of females (aged 11-25 years) engaging with several episodes of the television show *Beverly Hills, 90210* (Attias, 1990). This study is relevant because it focused on responses to a favourite televisual text (which contained the same characters from week to week) and it included a range of data-collecting contexts. However, its methodology and analytic approach are of most interest here because not all participants were children (some were adolescents) and this limits the relevance of the findings. McKinley collected data from observing viewings, from group discussions and from small group interviews in domestic settings, from which to examine the discursive constructions of identity expressed through responses to the show. Like Buckingham's study (1993), this was a significant scale (36 participants, 18 interviews) project and the discourse analysis undertaken focused on detailed discussion of the participants' identity-building. McKinley's analysis shows the girls' and young women's engagement with the show and their talk about it as part of 'the discursive enculturation process.' (p. 241). She illustrates the cultural micro-processes at play in viewing, contradictory talk about the influence of television, and the operation of the 'autonomous self' as the audience claim attitudes and ideas as their own. This cultural studies research approach provides empirical evidence of the complex interplay between audience identity work and a televisual text.

Research in an elementary school setting, by Tobin (2000), using a poststructural approach but not discourse analysis, focused on 6-12 year old children's discussions of ideologies in short clips from a single film text. Careful interpretation resulted in detailed discussion of the fluid identity work being performed and thoughtful discussion of the conflicting values held within the school's community. Although the group discussions were video-taped, the children's viewing behaviours were not analysed. This study drew on discussions from a large number of children (162) so the video record could have provided valuable evidence for comparison of children viewing the same footage.

Buckingham (1993) and McKinley (1997) treated viewing responses as social practice, examined the talk generated as discourses with multiple functions and discussed the empirical evidence in terms of the identity issues of power, gender and

class. Their research demonstrates the power of discourse analysis in the audience field to tease out the layers of significance carried by talk about viewing.

2.3.3 Gender in reception research

Audience research by Buckingham (1987, 1993) and Hodge and Tripp (1986) showed gender differences both in responses to texts and through different participation patterns in discussions (with boys talking more than girls in mixed groups, and boys focusing more on action and less on characters' emotions). The discussion participation findings underscore the interpersonal and identity work which talk performs and illustrate the performative nature of gender. The findings also support a conclusion by Holmes (1998), based on her meta-analysis of gender literature, that 'women tend to focus on the affective functions of an interaction more often than men do' (p. 463). Research with picturebooks by Arizpe and Styles (2003) also showed that the quality of engagement differed by gender. The differing responses to texts may be linked to the willingness of girls to take on male identities and incorporate the wishes of boys in their role play, and the reluctance of boys to demonstrate a similar level of adaptability, as reported by Marsh & Millard (2000) based on the findings of B. Davies (1993, 1997; Davies & Banks, 1992).

The gender differences noted in reception research are specific instances of the general differences in discourse patterns of boys and girls that have been analysed by sociolinguists such as Cook-Gumperz & Kyratzis (2001) and Tannen (2001). Gender differences in language are consistent with a poststructuralist view of discourse as a use of language that constructs and constitutes social identity (Walshaw, 2007) including gendered identity. The audience findings of Buckingham (1993) and Hodge and Tripp (1986) contribute to evidence on 'how people use linguistic resources to produce gender differentiation' (Cameron, 1997, p. 49). Research involving the discourse analysis of the writing of children aged 8-10 confirms the focus of boys on actions and of girls on cognition and relationships (Kanaris, 1999). This area of literature suggests the use of single-gender research groupings to gather further evidence and to avoid potential confusion within data caused by gender- based discourse differences.

2.3.4   Summary of reception research with children

The studies reviewed above show that children talk about what is on-screen, talk back to the screen, generate dialogue for characters, use their talk to establish their identities, challenge special effects, and create a sense of community with peers and characters. These studies have established that talk during viewing has social functions as well as experiential ones, and that children manifest physical engagement with the film through behaviour such as gestures and talking back. The data in the studies has mainly come from discussions after viewing, with some data from viewings of very brief clips. While Palmer (1986) and Lealand (1995) have documented viewing behaviours and Buckingham (1993, 1996) has analysed talk about viewing, these two approaches to examining viewing do not appear to have been consistently applied together in any widely disseminated study. The significance of children's viewing 'activity' has not been examined, so that theoretical ideas about 'active' viewing have not been supported by empirical evidence. While children's use of their understandings of televisual narrative in their writing have been studied, there have not been studies of children's viewing in terms of their film understandings. There has been discussion of the range of children's responses (eg Buckingham, 1993, 1996) and of the analytical levels of films, but there is no accepted framework within which to locate and relate the various components of responses. For the sake of primary school children's learning about and from film, evidence-based understanding of the knowledge children may bring to school with them is needed. Such information is required irrespective of whether film learning is to occur under the auspices of English or of Media Studies[3].

While studies with a school/literacy focus do comprise research into children's learning, they treat understandings about televisual texts as contributing to print literacy, rather than as valuable learning per se. Of the studies which are concerned with engagement with visual texts (Buckingham, 1993, 1996, 2000; McKinley, 1997), it is just Buckingham's studies which were framed with a focus on the audience's understandings. The relative absence of research evidence suggests that the present study can make a relevant contribution for primary school educators.

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[3] Media Studies is not currently a primary school subject in New Zealand, even though it is experiencing growth in the secondary sector (Lealand, 2007).

Also pertinent to the study of understandings of favourite texts is the literature on repeated experiencing of texts, which will be discussed next.

2.4   Repeated reading and viewing[4]

Mackey (1993) suggests that while recreational reading is often nothing more than an accumulation of fleeting and unconsidered emotions, full consideration of a text usually comes from subsequent rereading. The repeated reading of literature has been described as productive (Huck, 1999; Iser, 1974) and the greater discernment and appreciation gained through subsequent readings has been discussed (Galef, 1998; Sumara, 2002; Wolf and Heath, 1992) but there has been little attention, theoretical or empirical, given to repeated viewing of televisual materials. One behavioural discussion (Bickham, Wright & Huston, 2001) uses 'the travelling lens model' (p. 111) which predicts a bell-curve of increasing and then decreasing interest and attention as a complex televisual text becomes comprehensible and then boring. (A similar pattern could be expected with print texts.) The general lack of attention paid to repeated viewing may be a reflection of the higher status of literature compared with televisual texts. Dinsmore-Tuli (2000) and Barker and Brooks (1998) both mention adult fans repeatedly viewing films on videotape but comment only in general terms about them noticing additional details. Srinivas (2005) documents viewing behaviours in India of adults who have seen a film previously and who talk back to the characters, announce what will happen next and sing along with the soundtrack. (English-speaking audiences behave in similar ways at special cult 'audience performance' screenings of, for example *The Sound of Music* (Wise, 1965) and *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (Sharman, 1975)). Such overt adult behavioural participation is similar to that of the children observed by Palmer (1986), but is probably more self-conscious. Dobrow (1990) pointed out that the repeated experience of music was a cultural norm but that little attention was paid to repeated experience of televisual materials. The 13 and 14 year old participants in the study by Faust and Glenzer (2000) compared rereading literature to their practices with movies and music, and suggested that the two latter were more usual for them. It appears that

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[4] 'Reading' will be used to refer to gaining meaning from print text and 'viewing' to gaining meaning from a moving image text (film or television), throughout.

to date there has been little detailed research of the repeated viewings of primary school age children.

In Meek's (1988) explanation of what print texts teach readers, she states that it is after children have discovered what happens in a story that they pay attention to the words. The same attentional logic can be applied to film viewing – that after the story is known, audiences can attend more closely to details carried by the many modes through which film communicates. Meek's 'commonsense' view provides a basis for investigating the understandings that repeat viewers have, rather than focusing on single viewings.

A number of writers have tendered explanations for the motivation behind repeated experience of narrative. Sumara (2002) describes the urge to reread as a response to the loss of the relational identity that literature provides, while Dobrow (1990) and Galef (1998) suggest that a sense of community comes, not from the text, but from knowing a text well and sharing that accomplishment with others. Buckingham (2000) suggests that repeat viewing is partly about reliving the pleasure. It is possible that viewers will have a range of such motivations for repeatedly viewing their favourite film. While this section has considered voluntary repeated experiences of texts, the next one discusses the viewing of film within the school context.

2.5   Film in New Zealand primary schools[5]

Although the data in this research comes from children's learning away from school, the conclusions are intended to apply to primary schooling, so this section of the review will discuss that sector of education. The discussion will be framed within a 'reconceptualist' discourse (Codd, et al., 2002) which promotes critical pedagogy and education for a democratic society, rather than the discourses of education as economic and social reproduction or education focused on standards of achievement. Reconceptualist discourse acknowledges the operations of power by dominant groups

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[5] In the New Zealand system children attend primary schools from age 5 until approximately 12. Some children in larger population centres attend an 'intermediate' school for the final two years of primary schooling (age 10-12).

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within societies and within the various levels of education systems. The discourse recognises the role of informal learning but distinguishes between the functional or pragmatic literacy required for everyday living in a community and the critical literacy that problematises and challenges the power relations inherent in texts (Luke, Comber & Grant, 2003). The discourse recognises that since language is part of the exercise of ideologies that literacy practices should interrogate texts as well as decoding the words. Reconceptualist discourse includes aims to 'lower the school walls' (Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, 2001, p. 129); that is, to link learning occurring within the community with that happening in schools. Framing the discussion with reference to a philosophical scenario (ibid) or discourse can provide some perspective on the current state of the New Zealand education system.

2.5.1   The curriculum and the current schooling context

English in the New Zealand Curriculum (MoE, 1994) which includes films within the visual language strand[6] has been officially mandated since 1994. However, a report from the Education Review Office (ERO, 2001) commented on 'low levels of teacher expertise and confidence in visual language', which suggests that implementation of this aspect of the English Curriculum has not been successful, so far.

Schools implement a national curriculum through the teachers' professional capabilities. Both Dyson (1997) and McNaughton (1999) have written about the potential a curriculum has for accommodating diversity in skills and knowledge. (Dyson uses 'permeability' as a metaphor, while McNaughton explains his point in terms of 'wide or narrow channels'.) While the Curriculum mandates visual language, Ministry research (McGee et al., 2003, p. 56) showed that 'most' primary and intermediate school teachers said they needed professional development in order to be able to teach visual language. More narrowly focused research on teachers' self-reported practice showed very infrequent moving image work (Finch, Jackson and Murray, 2003). Since the launch in 1998 of the New Zealand Ministry of Education's Literacy and Numeracy Strategy, significant professional development resources have been committed to it. One effect of this strategy has been to foreground the print

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[6] 'Within the English curriculum, the study of visual language … lays the foundations for advanced studies that extend beyond the scope of English, such as advanced design, media studies, or film-making.' (MoE, 1994, p. 39).

literacy elements of English for teachers and this emphasis has consequently minimised the systemic attention given to visual language. In McNaughton's terms, the English curriculum 'channel' has become narrower because of the foregrounding of (print) literacy.

The neoliberal approaches to educational governance and management in many British, American, Australian and New Zealand jurisdictions create tensions between system-level policy and acceptance of any broadening of definition of literacy (A. Luke, 2002). The characteristics that A. Luke (2002) outlines of the neoliberal and 'third way' approaches (commodification and privatisation of materials, performance management, and accountability for quantifiable outcomes) match those noted in New Zealand (Peters & Marshall, 1996; Codd, 2005). Such approaches, he says, lead to a 'systemic proclivity toward print literacy' (A. Luke, 2002, p. 200) and such systems, not just the behaviour of teachers, contribute to a lack of acceptance of multiliteracies. In commentary on the English Curriculum, Locke (2002) points out its emphasis on assessable 'skills' despite some rhetoric on personal growth. The high status given to print literacy by dominant groups is operationalised through the managerial, assessment and reporting requirements that are set for schools. A revised national curriculum which was released late in 2007 retains the status of visual language within English and adds a cross-curricula 'key competency' aimed at producing students who are competent users of 'language, symbols, and texts' and who 'can interpret and use words, number, images …' (MoE, 2007, p. 12). This new element encourages use of multimodal media in all curriculum areas, but it may take time for any changes to occur.

Despite visual language being mandated in the official curriculum, the New Zealand primary school system has continued to enact an emphasis on print literacy.

2.5.2 Concepts of literacy

The particular view of literacy currently valued in the New Zealand system is of a set of individual skills transferable from one situation to another. This view has been labelled the 'autonomous' model and has been critiqued by 'New Literacy Studies' scholars for disguising the cultural and ideological assumptions that underpin its claimed neutrality and naturalness (Street, 2001). New Literacy Studies, which

investigates community practices and their potential for use in schools, argues that social and cultural contexts significantly affect literacy (Morrell, 2002). New Literacy Studies uses social constructivist ideas to describe the links between social and cultural contexts and the structures and processes they constitute (Barton and Hamilton, 2005; Maybin, 2000) and to argue for the importance of schools acknowledging literacy practices rather than overlooking, misrecognising or devaluing practices from communities other than those belonging to the dominant group (Moss, 2000). Through such devaluing, social, cultural and economic power operates within the field of semiotics and its subset, literacy.

New Literacy Studies defines literacy in terms of events which are situated within social and cultural practices and discourses (Schultz & Hull, 2002), rather than as a set of skills which are separable from their contexts. New Literacy Studies has provided evidence of educationally significant home-based textual practices which have not been utilised by schools and seeks to counter the hegemonic dominance of particular literacies (Tusting, Ivanic & Wilson, 2000) by making other practices visible. For these same reasons, the present study aims to provide evidence of children's educationally significant home-based viewing practices.

Within New Literacy Studies, there are several bodies of literature that explore ways of bridging the gaps between the knowledge and practices valued by schools and those existing in communities. Using an economic metaphor, the 'funds of knowledge' approach (Moll, 2000, 2005) has teachers research the cultural practices and resources found in the children's households as a precursor to incorporating some of the out of school knowledge into the classroom programme. The New Literacy Studies literature advocates positive recognition by school systems of the literacy practices of all students, not just those from within the dominant culture. Such opinions agree with those of a number of school-based researchers (including Dyson, 1997; Freebody, 2001; McCarthey, 1997; Millard, 2004; Moss, 2001; and Schultz & Hull, 2002). However, the New Literacy Studies position has not to date been taken up or endorsed by the New Zealand school system.

2.5.3 Teachers' attitudes to televisual texts

International research has documented teachers' attitudes to both visual media in classrooms and to their own viewing. Wenger's (1998) social definition of 'knowledge' as competence with respect to valued enterprises is apposite here because a number of studies show that teachers ascribe low value to televisual viewing. So even when a curriculum document ordains televisual texts, teachers may not count children's televisual understandings as knowledge, because of the low value they ascribe to such texts. Findings of teachers' lack of knowledge about visual literacy resources and methods come from Begoray's (2002) survey of Canadian teachers, Hart's (2001, cited in Marsh, 2004b) survey of and Browne's (1999) interviews with primary teachers in Britain, and Hobbs' (2006) survey of teachers in America. Freebody, Forrest and Gunn's (2001) interviews with Australian teachers revealed perceptions of a connection between television viewing and a lack of cultural knowledge. Closely focused studies by Xu (2004) and by Sanger, Wilson, Davies and Whittaker (1997) showed that teachers' understandings of their students' home lives were sketchy and that they did not view their students as knowledgeable about popular culture. Lambirth (2003) found that teachers spoke with warmth about the media of their own childhood but with revulsion towards the media enjoyed by their students. This dichotomy could reflect the perceptions of the teachers' generation and class towards contemporary popular culture, but may also serve as an obstacle to the potential professional task of enabling children to draw on their viewing experiences at school. These studies from the UK, the USA and Australia show that despite some inclusion of visual media within curricula, teachers' attitudes and knowledge would not lead most of them to treat popular media in the classroom in a positive way[7]. These findings reflect the comments cited earlier about New Zealand teachers' attitudes towards, and knowledge of, contemporary televisual texts.

While many teachers are unwilling to use popular media texts, Marsh and Millard (2000) advocate using such texts because of their positive motivational effects that can be channelled to print literacy ends. However, such a pragmatic stance does not address a number of issues that arise concerning the use of popular televisual texts. As has been shown above, there is a bias against these texts stemming from the systemic marginal status of visual media in schools and the distaste of teachers for

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[7] Film as adaptation of 'literature' may be an exception because of its higher cultural status.

contemporary televisual texts. Both of those problems can be countered by educational arguments, but four further issues will be considered here. Two issues also affect children's literature, while the second two are particular to televisual texts.

Dyson (1997, p. 174) has written of the 'ideological uneasiness' which mainstream media for children causes for teachers because it draws on the most marketable and ideologically dominant stereotypes (Harklau & Zuengler, 2004). Popular material may be attractive for students but be perceived as containing unacceptable values by teachers. Teachers committed to challenging stereotypical thinking in their programmes would require further skills and strategies to incorporate popular texts that reinforce such values. Yet teachers currently choose popular print literature to read aloud to their classes, and as Conroy (2004) and Bloom (2007) show, significant numbers select texts by Roald Dahl, which often contain stereotypical characters. Debate about the use of print literature with dominant ideologies has occurred for decades but has not prevented reasonably widespread professional acceptance of children's literature. Davies and Saltmarsh (2006, 2007) argue convincingly that popular culture materials used in literacy programmes are implicated in the construction of students' gendered economic identities. They argue that using 'commercial texts' as pedagogical ones 'reconfigures literacy teaching/learning as a transactional/commercial enterprise inexorably tied to industries and economies that education is obliged, through neo-liberal policies, to serve.'(2006, p. 242). This issue applies, of course, equally to commodified print and televisual texts, but teachers may perceive print texts as more 'natural' representations, unlike the problematic ones in some visual texts.

Lambirth (2003) pointed out the issue of the transgressive nature of many popular televisual texts. He used Barthes' (1975) distinction between pleasure and bliss[8] to discuss the threat that children's transgressive delight from popular culture could present in classrooms. An example of a popular satiric and parodic transgressive series currently screening, and watched by children, is *The Simpsons* (Silverman, 1989-). Again, professional knowledge and judgement are required to select texts

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[8] According to Barthes, p*laisir* (pleasure) produces safe 'fun' within the social order; while *jouissance* (bliss) is the delight in mocking or evading the social norms.

that are engaging but not so transgressive as to make children's responses problematic in a classroom.

A further factor that may discourage teachers from using contemporary televisual material in classrooms was identified by Grace and Tobin (1998) as the threat to teacher supremacy by children who have more knowledge of such material than teachers do. Such a perceived threat to teachers' authoritative position and discourse reveals two issues, that of lack of knowledge of the content of the texts themselves, but also the issue of how pedagogically to handle a televisual text in a primary school context. In terms of content, teachers may be influenced by parental and community resistance to popular texts unless they are adaptations from print literature (such as J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series and C. S. Lewis' *Narnia* series). Such community attitudes draw on protectionist rhetoric and transform taste distinctions into moral (Jenkins, 1998) and educational ones. While reader-response pedagogy has influenced literature-based work in primary schools, it has not resulted in a similar level of film-text-based activity even though its literature has acknowledged films as texts (Beach, 2000, 2004; Booth, 1995 (foreword to Rosenblatt, 1938/1995)).

Research on teacher-response to curriculum innovation shows that many teachers transform or adapt new content to their existing pedagogical practices, with only a small number both learning new content and using innovative instructional strategies (Sherrin, 2002). In the case of teaching film, appropriate primary school level pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1990) is not readily available in New Zealand, so it is not surprising that televisual texts remain marginalised.

2.5.4   Pedagogies for televisual texts

The pedagogical literatures relevant in this discussion are those of primary school English and of secondary level Media Studies. Marsh (2004b) points out that while curricula for primary schools do not prescribe in the same detail as those for secondary English, there is a canon of 'suitable' texts for primary students, even though its presence is rarely acknowledged. This unwritten canon, reflective of an 'interpretive community' of teachers, does not usually include popular media texts. Such privileging of the written word means classrooms do not acknowledge the understandings children bring from home about plots, characters and genre (Grace

and Tobin, 1998). Such exclusion of the knowledge of and pleasures from popular visual texts leads to what Anstey and Bull (2003) term 'doing school' rather than a pedagogy of literacy which would focus on the usefulness of literacy skills (more broadly defined).

A comprehensive United Kingdom report focusing on film, video and television education from the Film Education Working Group (1999) provides a framework for learning televisual literacy across compulsory schooling. It outlines learning progressions in the viewing of televisual texts and in the production of them, across three learning areas of 'film language', 'producers and audiences' and 'messages and values'. The document, which is based on a critical media literacy model, compresses understandings of a film's messages and its values together into one category. This overlooks the importance of acknowledging pleasure in, and appreciation of, popular culture texts before addressing their ideology and so may result in pupil resistance. Refinement of the framework in light of student learning data would be productive.

Buckingham and Sefton-Green (1994) and Buckingham (2003) point out that much writing about media teaching focuses on making students 'critical' (without defining 'critical') at the expense of 'the pleasurable or emotional dimensions' (1994: 130) which could contribute to appreciation. Appreciation has been discussed by literary critics but is absent in discussions of film (eg Bordwell & Thompson, 2004; Monaco, 2000), of audience research (eg Alasuutari, 1999; Ruddock, 2001) and of media education (eg Buckingham, 2003; McDougall, 2006). When writings about film do mention appreciation they tend to link understanding and appreciation without defining either term (eg Bone & Johnson, 1997). In tracing the concept of appreciation within literature teaching, several writers have argued that it includes both cognitive and affective components that contribute to the necessary understanding and interpretation (Buckridge, 2006; Codd, 1980; Feagin, 1996; J. Robinson, 2005). Lamarque (2002) argues that appreciation is a particular kind of interpretation which needs to include 'imaginative reconstruction of a work's thematic content' (p. 302) revealing the value of the text by identifying patterns, thematic unity and the interconnectedness of parts. The consensus from the literature reviewed is that appreciation is an evaluation that rests upon a particularly thorough interpretation of the text in its context (especially with regard to its wider genre). That

quality of interpretation incorporates affective responses and cognitive reflections about them and many other aspects of the text. This review, by critiquing the critical viewing approach and considering appreciation, does not wish to ally appreciation with the cultural heritage model of literature teaching. That approach (Ball, Kenny & Gardiner, 1990) has been identified with readers showing qualities of deference and acculturation, but neither does this review accept the detachment associated with a critical approach as a sufficient pedagogical objective. Misson & Morgan (2006) argue for a way forward for teachers by incorporating 'aesthetic' considerations into a critical literacy approach, where their concept of 'the aesthetic as a way of knowing' (p. 26) is close to what has been termed appreciation in this discussion. Their position will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Buckingham (2003) has articulated a pedagogical position that builds upon current audience research findings and a sociocultural model of learning. He proposes 'active learning' classroom strategies which accept the validity of what students already know, but which also assume that there are skills and knowledge that students need to learn. His model of media education for media literacy is based on dialogue between students and teachers and is appropriate for New Zealand primary school teachers. Buckingham's model also assumes that effective dialogue will occur between peers to facilitate the sharing of understandings. Wegerif and Mercer (1997) identify three kinds of classroom student to student interaction, one of which (exploratory talk) is characterised by a critical but constructive focus on the learning topic and which is most productive for peer learning.

A relevant pedagogy in a related field is that of literature circles which use student-led groups to facilitate authentic interactive talk about books (Cappellini, 2005; Daniels, 2002; Steineke, 2002). Although the modes of engagement with film texts are different from those with print texts, the interactive skills and processes required to enable sociocultural learning within the group, as advocated for literature circles, are appropriate for film discussions. This pedagogy has both research evidence of its effectiveness and a literature that details its practice at upper primary school class levels to recommend it. A strength of the approach which makes it adaptable for film discussion is that children can set the discussion agenda to focus on particular aspects of the text which interest their group (eg personal connections, characterisation,

soundtrack music etc). As the literature circles approach is becoming more widely used by New Zealand primary school teachers, it may be an appropriate starting point from which teachers could explore a 'viewing circles' pedagogy.

A number of obstacles to the implementation of learning from televisual texts have been identified in the literature reviewed here. Dominant values in communities ascribe greater status to print literacy, and teachers in general also reflect this by excluding popular televisual culture from classroom learning. (Although there are always some innovative teachers exploring alternatives.) When the use of televisual texts in the classroom is discussed, the aims often are to increase motivation towards print literacy, or to use critical literacy to identify the ideologies of the texts, rather than to foster appreciation of film narrative.

2.6   Literature review summary

This review established the coherence of social semiotics and a sociocultural learning model through their shared assumption of meaning as socially and culturally situated. The combination of the theory of meaning (social semiotics) and of learning (sociocultural learning) was described as a desirable foundation for audience reception research.

Strengths of the reviewed audience-reception research were identified as treating children's viewing talk as discourse with both ideational and interpersonal functions. This approach has resulted in several studies that have created nuanced analyses of children's viewing. These studies provide models of close analysis that can be productive for research focused on education. The situated nature of participation, from the view of sociocultural learning theory, suggests that research on learning from a televisual text should involve several different data-generating activities.

To further develop Palmer's (1986) empirical evidence for the concept of 'active viewing', Silverstone (1994) has suggested that evidence of children's levels of viewing practice is needed. A framework of viewing responses could make a contribution. There have been few further studies of 'naturally occurring' viewing of

whole texts (Lealand, 1998; Browne, 1999; and McKinley, 1997 are exceptions). There have been some studies of preschoolers (Palmer, 1986; Lealand, 1998; Browne, 1999) and of adolescents (Buckingham, 1993, 1996; McKinley, 1997) but none of middle childhood viewers. While a number of studies have included some viewing observation, the material has not been the viewers' own choice except in the case of McKinley's (1997) adolescents. Theoretical writing about repeated reading of print texts suggests that understandings increase, but no previous study appears to have been undertaken of children's voluntary repeated viewings. While some studies have been framed to focus on learning from film, it has often been in terms of the contribution to literacy learning, rather than focused on understandings about film per se.

The literature on film teaching pedagogy for primary school children is sparse and provides few models for teachers' guidance. In the literature there is a focus on critical literacy with little attention given to appreciation of the kind that a literature programme would highlight. Before teachers can further develop effective learning from film, it is important to explore the viewing understandings, behaviours and knowledge that children could bring from home. Evidence of such understandings, analysed in terms of a classroom-relevant framework, could assist future policy level planning of film teaching for primary school students.

This review has established that there are opportunities for research contributions in the area of children's viewing of films to provide evidence, for educators, of the understandings that children can bring to classrooms. From the literature reviewed, it can be assumed that, while viewing, children may talk about what is on-screen, gesture, talk back to the screen, generate dialogue for characters and challenge special effects; their talk may also fulfil social functions such as establishing their identities and creating a sense of community with peers and characters.

The next section proposes a new framework for analysing and describing children's engagement with film because, as Burn & Leach (2004) state, there 'is no established model of progression in moving image literacies' (p. 161).

2.7   A viewing practices framework

This section proposes an engagement practices framework after discussing a number of existing concepts and frameworks for categorising responses to print texts and to film texts.

2.7.1   Existing frameworks

The frameworks to be discussed are drawn from the areas of literature education, literacy education and of media education. The discussion provides the context for a framework suitable for this research. The literature to be discussed shares assumptions about reading and viewing being active processes which create meaning through interaction between the text and the audience, and about qualitatively different kinds of responses and interpretations. All the reviewed writing also assumes a hierarchy of response ranging from literal description to the more abstract level of evaluation. The literature discussed also shares the dual purposes of this framework, which are to understand better how children engage with texts, and to assist children in developing understandings about texts (Burn & Durran, 2007).

Within literature education, Rosenblatt (1938/1995) laid the foundations for the reader-response theory by conceiving of textual meaning as the product of 'transactions' between the reader and the text, and so challenged the assumption that meaning resides solely in texts. She described a continuum of reading practices, with 'efferent' and 'aesthetic' reading as the poles. She defined these as the extracting of information from a text (efferent) and the involvement in the experiences of a text (aesthetic). A number of empirical studies have explored young people's responses to literature (including Applebee, 1978; Machen-Horarik, 2006; Many, 1991 (cited in Probst, 2003); Purves and Rippere, 1968 (cited in Marshall, 2000); Roser, 2007; Thomson, 1987 (cited in Probst, 2003); and Wilhelm, 1997) using a small number (three to five) of categories of cognitive response. While the studies collectively affirm Rosenblatt's continuum by describing a hierarchy of responses from a focus on action through consideration of the inner states of characters to more abstract considerations, they have not established any consensus about response categories.

Despite Rosenblatt's (1938/1985) emphasis on emotional involvement as part of aesthetic response, affective dimensions have been less frequently included in studies. Codd's (1980) investigation described poetic appreciation as requiring knowledge, understanding, interpretation and evaluation of the work in its context. In his view, emotional responses are cognitively appraised and then contribute to appreciation. Although focusing much more on emotional responses, M. Robinson (2005) also sees them, finally, as a source of data to be cognitively monitored for interpretation. Appreciation is seen as combining intellectual and affective skills by Feagin (1996) as well. These writers provide justification for a viewing practices framework to incorporate affective responses and cognitive reflections on them and on the text. The ways in which appreciation is included in this framework will be discussed later in the chapter.

Luke and Freebody (1997) conceive of literacy as social practice and their framework has four roles for readers, from literal decoder to critical analyst[9]. The practice of literacy within each role takes a different stance toward texts and the kinds of meaning they are assumed to embody. The critical analyst role takes a position of greater agency and power in relation to the text. A more recent iteration of the framework (Freebody & Luke, 2003) re-conceives the roles as 'resources' open to readers and includes visual texts, while Simpson (2005) suggested that the classroom study of images could be theorised using the four resources framework. To date, no teaching exemplars have been published to illustrate the model applied to activities with a particular film, nor is there any writing that discusses the model in terms of children's actual viewing. Luke and Freebody usefully elaborate different relationships with texts but, being a literacy rather than a literary practices framework, their approach moves from the pragmatic 'text user' to 'critical analyst' with no clear place for awareness of a text's structure or for appreciation of a text's qualities.

Frameworks created specifically for film texts have been advanced by Pailliotet (1995, 1998) and Phillips (2000) with the latter distinguishing between viewers who are active at the level of the film's action but not necessarily at a second level (of

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[9] Luke & Freebody's (1997) roles are text decoder, text participant, text user and text analyst.

messages and values). Phillips also points out that some viewers have more awareness of the film as a whole, or 'textual construct' (2000, p. 93), than others. Two levels of experiencing multimodal texts are also proposed by Douglas & Hargadon (2001) who contrast immersion within the text, with an involvement that shuttles between the text's schemas and other real-world schemas. A three level conceptualisation of viewing responses by Whitley (1996) also includes immediate emotive and more cognitive responses. Pailliotet's (1998) 'deep viewing' pedagogy involves a structured progression from literal description, through interpretation to evaluation of texts. Her structure provides a route towards the goal of critical viewing, but does not include appreciation of the text's structure or qualities. As mentioned earlier, the recent British report (FEWG, 1999) on cineliteracy placed understandings of film's messages and values together within one learning category. This collapses any gradations of appreciation of the film together with any awareness of the ideologies embodied in the narrative. The distinctions that Phillips (2000) made between audiences being active in terms of narrative events but not necessarily in terms of the text's values and Pailliotet's (1998) view that critical evaluation of a text depends on prior interpretation, are negated by the British framework. Recent writing based on multimodal theory (Burn & Parker, 2003) includes viewers' pleasures along with responses expressed through gesture and movement as well as through language, but does not offer a framework for analysis of responses. This inclusion of viewing pleasure begins to address Buckingham and Sefton-Green's (1994) criticism of media education's omission of the dimension of pleasure and of emotional engagement with televisual texts. The acknowledgement of pleasure and positions of appreciation, also provide alternatives to an insistence on students critiquing their favourite texts, which can lead to students concealing their pleasures and becoming alienated from schooling (Buckingham, 1993; C. Luke, 1997). Recent critique of the rationalist critical literacy approach by Misson and Morgan (2006) argues that since 'aesthetic texts' consist of both affective and intellectual elements, interpretations also need to acknowledge the corporeal and affective responses as well as cognitive understandings, interpretations and reflections.

The framework below (Table 1, p. 41) attempts to provide comprehensive reference points against which to locate children's engagement practices and responses. It does this by building on previous work, but also by incorporating textual appreciation and

multimodal responses. The framework adapts concepts from Rosenblatt (1995), Luke and Freebody (1997, 1999; and Freebody & Luke, 2003) and P. Phillips (2000) and incorporates Wells' (1999) notions of learning.

2.7.2   Film codes within the framework

Film 'codes' are categories of the different semiotic modes that convey meanings within film. (Other media, employ different codes rarely found in film (such as direct address). This section reviews writing about how codes contribute to the meaning. of film. Film codes ('technical', 'symbolic', 'audio' and 'written' are the terms used by Lealand and Martin, 2001) are sets of semiotic variables. Particular visual texts utilise each code[10] to differing degrees and each viewer in responding to the narrative may attend more to some codes than others. Monaco (2000) points out that film codes are culturally derived, that many exist outside film and other arts (eg ways of behaving or performing everyday activities), that some codes are shared with other arts (eg gestures are also used in theatre), and that some are emphasised more in film (eg montage, though that is also used in novels). Signification in a film scene, as Metz (1974) pointed out, can pass from one mode within a code to another, for example from lighting to camera movement, or from one code to another as from dialogue to music. Burn & Parker (2003) characterised signification as being 'transformatively shuttled' (p. 71) across modes and codes, so it is appropriate that this framework (Table 1) assumes that audiences can potentially respond to narratives and their values through any or all of the codes. Codes are used according to 'conventions', which are culturally agreed ways of using the codes (Lealand & Martin, 2001). The code dimension of the framework includes engagement with both the codes and their conventions.

Stam (1989), in discussing Bakhtin's 'translinguistics', points out that all utterances are socially located and therefore perform ideological work, whether they are verbal or visual. Social semiotics is founded upon unity across semiotic modes (eg Lemke, 1995; van Leeuwen, 2005). These theoretical positions, along with that of Monaco

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[10] Both Lealand & Martin (2001) and McMahon & Quin (1986) list the codes as containing the following elements: technical - format, lens, focus, shot composition, camera movement, editing, shot duration, lighting, special effects; symbolic – performance, production design, setting, cultural symbols, symbolism specific to text; audio – voice, atmospheric sounds, diegetic sound, music, silence; and written – credits, captions, subtitles, print within images.

(2000) writing specifically about film, justify the combining of the codes along the same axis within the framework. This axis makes explicit the multimodal nature of films' communication and in doing so distinguishes the framework from those describing literary responses.

2.7.3 A continuum of engagement practices

The concept of 'engagement practices' is introduced here to avoid the neutral skill connotation of descriptors such as 'viewing behaviour'. The term 'practices' signifies (by analogy to its use in New Literacy Studies (Street, 2001)) that viewing (even solo viewing) is a set of social behaviours embodying culturally constructed epistemological beliefs. It includes 'the events and the patterns around literacy' (Street, 2001, p. 11) and connects them to broader cultural and social practices that 'link people, media objects, and strategies for meaning making' (Lemke, 1998, p. 283). 'Events' are particular instances (Street, 2001), while 'practices' as a term encompasses events and patterns of engagement with and about texts which are multiple, dynamic, malleable and inextricably linked with particular locations and social positionings (van Sluys, 2004). (The concept of practices with its links to broader cultural and social components brings it into the same territory as Gee's (1999) 'Discourse' (capital 'D') but the separate terms are used here to enable 'practice' to refer particularly to ways of being in relation to texts.)

'Engagement' is used to signify 'involvement' in viewing and is also used by analogy from the reading literacy field where Guthrie (2000) explains it as 'a merger of motivation and thoughtfulness' (no page numbering). Its use here does not imply anything about the level or nature of the involvement that will be assumed to vary from viewer to viewer. 'Engagement' indicates that the focus of this framework is not on the physical or social aspects of viewing, but on the involvement (and interaction) of the viewer with the text. So, 'engagement practices' is an inclusive term for all of the ways a viewer is involved with a televisual text, and acknowledges the socioculturally situated nature of the involvement. Engagement practices may also involve multimodal behaviours before, during and after viewing, including non-verbal communications such as gestures, facial expressions and body movement.

Table 1, below, provides a framework for thinking about the ways audience members engage with and respond to film texts. The continuum, or horizontal axis, includes a range of viewing perspectives and of levels of involvement with and response to the text. Earlier discussion in this review indicated that existing conceptualisations of audience response, such as Hall's (1980) (preferred, negotiated and oppositional) and Rosenblatt's (1938/1985) (efferent and aesthetic) were unsatisfactory because of the limited positions they acknowledged. This framework seeks to include the pleasures of engagement such as simple visceral responses (eg fright), identifying with a character, enjoying the camera work, experiencing the text's emotional tensions, appreciating understated dialogue, enjoying the narrative shape and agreeing or disagreeing with the film's message. In short, it aims to describe the full range of viewing engagement practices, including affect, that child or adult viewers might produce across a range of films.

The concepts of the engagement practices are adapted from Luke & Freebody's (1997, 1999) 'elements of reading as a social practice'[11] in the light of Phillips' (2000) and Pailliotet's (1998) ideas about responses to film. Rather than treating practices as discrete categories, they are conceived of as areas on a continuum. Added to these concepts is the distinction which Rosenblatt (1938/1995) made between literal (efferent) interactions with literature, and aesthetic interactions which involve both 'referential and affective aspects of consciousness' (p. 33). The use here of Rosenblatt's term 'aesthetic' does not imply idealist or philosophical aesthetics (the application of 'universal' judgements based on form), but rather an experience which involves engaging with a text to construct connotative, inferential and affective meanings and an 'appreciation' of the text's qualities. The continuum's two poles are literal involvement with the film's actions and critical engagement.

2.7.4 Framework for analysis of viewing engagement practices

While two of the frameworks adapted and combined here were developed for print texts, they can appropriately be applied to multimodal texts such as films because they identify different relationships between the audience and the text and

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[11] As indicated in footnote 9 (p. 36), Luke & Freebody's (1997, 1999) categories are coding practices, text-meaning practices, pragmatic practices and critical practices. In Freebody and Luke (2003) the categories are treated as practices or resources rather than roles.

consequently different kinds of meaning making. The addition of the vertical dimension of the framework incorporates the various semiotic systems that convey potential meaning in films.

Table 1

Framework of narrative film viewing engagement practices

Engagement practices Film codes	Literal	Connotative	Aesthetic	Structural	Critical
Technical code					
Symbolic code					
Audio code					
Written code					

2.7.4.1   The nature of the framework

The points on the continuum (Table 1) differentiate the ways in which engagement practices relate to the film. To reiterate a point made above, engagement practices across the continuum, along with all other communications, also do social or interpersonal work. The continuum deals with the ideational, but not the interpersonal or textual metafunctions of audience communication.

Even the beginning point of the continuum assumes active viewing and involvement with the world of the story. The continuum categories label different kinds of engagement with the text through the connotative and aesthetic categories and the increased awareness of the shapes and patterns within the text, and of the text's values, in the structural and critical categories.

The continuum is based on post-structuralist assumptions of polysemic texts and of audience members having discursive and plural, rather than unitary, identities. It draws on both reader-response criticism, which holds that texts 'initiate 'performances' of meaning rather than actually formulating meanings themselves'

(Bruner, 1986, p. 24 citing Iser (1978)), and post-structuralist literary theory, where the cultural context (and intertextual relationships) are important (Beach, 2004). The continuum also reflects the critical literacy approach (Lankshear, 1997) which conceives of texts as embodying ideologies and hence power positions, and of the role of audiences as assenting to or resisting those ideologies and positions. The critical stance is placed at the end of the continuum because it reflects a more distanced (a 'spectator' rather than 'participant') involvement with the text (Britton, 1993).

2.7.4.2 **The engagement practice categories**

The continuum of categories can be considered as descriptions of discourses, that is, of kinds of relationships between language, knowledge and discursive agency. This continuum has analytical usefulness because it enables the different kinds of discourses children construct through their engagement with a text to be meaningfully and consistently distinguished. The continuum spans five levels of engagement practice as described below.

1. Literal engagement practices

General definition

In this practice, there is literal representation by the audience of what appears or occurs on-screen. This 're-presentation' may be through a commentary about the text while viewing, or a recount after viewing. This is similar to Rosenblatt's 'efferent' category in which a text is treated as information (in this case, events occurring) or as plot. Responses are to what Bruner (1986, p. 14) terms the 'landscape of action' (story events).

Engagement

Overt engagement consists, receptively, of responses to what is on-screen, and productively, of saying dialogue or acting-out on-screen actions. This engagement shows participation in the story world.

Links

Repeat viewers, by talking about something on screen, may make links with information which is revealed later in the narrative (eg 'this is the entrance to the chamber') or by anticipating imminent action (eg 'he

needs to take off his glasses' – because in the next scene the wearing of them will be questioned).

2. Connotative engagement practices

General definition

> In this kind of practice, some processing of the film material by the audience takes place, such as interpretation or inference. The text is treated as a series of equivalent (or paratactic) elements (Hodge & Tripp, 1986). This engagement is with what Bruner (1986, p. 14) calls the 'landscape of consciousness' – what those involved in the action do, or do not, know, think or feel.

Engagement

> Announcing interpretation ('this is freaky'), conditionally empathising with characters or situations ('I would be scared'), or any mention of the technical code (eg camera, lighting, etc) signifies acknowledgement of the textual or mediated nature of the experience.

Links

> The inner states of characters or characters' traits in different scenes may be linked.

3. Aesthetic engagement practices

General definition

> This level of engagement involves personal involvement, or identification with character(s) or in story event(s). This practice is based on Rosenblatt's category of the same name in which portions of a text are 'lived through' as experiences rather than just responded to as a series of external events, as in the literal category.

Engagement

> This category is characterised by what Chambers (1994) calls 'implicated readers' who are totally involved and who become participants in the making of the text because they are aware of the 'tell-tale gaps' (p. 46). Such meaning making is demonstrated through audience members acting as characters, inventing dialogue appropriate to the story or using other modes in character-role in ways not shown on screen.

Links

This category is distinguished from connotative by linkages from the diegesis (film world) to the personal real world of the viewer (including other texts).

4. Structural engagement practices

General definition

There is an awareness of the shapes, textures or structures in the text as a whole (which may be constituted through any film code). This awareness perceives patterns of textual elements as larger-scale syntagmatic structures (Hodge & Tripp, 1986). The patterns are 'larger-scale' as they relate elements from one shot to those from shots in other parts of the text where the linkage does not depend on identical literal elements (eg the pattern constitutes a resonance, motif or theme).

Engagement

The film is related to as an artistic or narrative product, rather than an experience, and may be compared with other such texts.

Links

There may be linkages made across the text through higher order narrative concepts such as motif and theme, and to those characteristics in other texts.

5. Critical engagement practices

General definition

The film is related to as a representation or an artefact rather than as an experience, and consequently there is a focus on how the text represents settings, characters and events (in terms of values presented through one or more of the codes) rather than what it represents.

Engagement

The film is seen as an economic and political product. In this practice, questioning, which ranges from aspects of the film text (such as continuity, consistency, etc) to the identifying and questioning of the value position(s) communicated through the world of the film, occurs.

Links

Values within the film world are related to real world socio-cultural realities, either at the level of personal identity politics, of national politics or of international political issues.

2.7.4.3   Film 'appreciation' within the framework

To distinguish between the kinds of engagement labelled as connotative, aesthetic and structural on the continuum, the terms 'paratactic' and 'hypotactic' are useful. The terms were introduced by Hodge & Tripp (1986) to describe televisual text structures and perspectives on such structures (at a number of different levels of specificity). Paratactic refers to a text's structure as a series of elements that 'exist alongside each other' (p. 35) while in hypotactic structures and perspectives each element 'is subordinated by the more general option' (p. 35). Here the terms are used to distinguish whether a viewer's comments are focused on the film as a series of episodes or are focused on aspects of the narrative as a whole. A paratactic response conveys an understanding of sequences, scenes or episodes in the film as if they were a series, while hypotactic understanding links separated elements (eg non-adjacent scenes which, for example, contrast or resonate with each other) as part of a more general element (for example, a motif of closing doors, or a theme of intergenerational relationships). A hypotactic understanding attends to what Hodge and Tripp refer to as syntagms (elements combined into structures) and perceives more general unities (than plot) which contribute to thinking about the 'shapes' or 'structures' within the text. Hypotactic understandings and responses are the basis for 'appreciation' because interpretation is a prerequisite for hypotactic perspective, and also for appreciation.

Earlier discussion in this chapter established that appreciation involves understanding and interpretation of a text and one's cognitive, corporeal and affective responses to it, in light of its context. The framework is based on social practices which encompass the different aspects of responses (corporeal, affective, cognitive) and enjoyment, whether through empathy with characters, through identification with characters (aesthetic engagement) or from the narrative structure (structural engagement), as well as cognitive engagement (all practice categories except, perhaps, literal engagement). By including the range of kinds of response (corporeal, affective and

cognitive) as well as a range of response contents, the framework can accommodate viewings focused on pleasure, on narrative and on critique. The notion of hypotactic understanding introduces explicit elements of breadth (linking elements across the text) and abstraction (perceiving motifs and themes) to the notion of interpretation, which itself is a major component of appreciation.

The framework allows various practices that contribute to appreciation to be identified.

2.7.4.4 Evaluative engagement practices

The critical engagement practice end of the continuum corresponds to what media education literature refers to as 'critical viewing' (eg Buckingham, 1993; Pailliotet, 1998; Simpson, 2005). Buckingham (2003) interrogates the use of the concept of 'critical viewing' and finds it unsatisfactory because it can lead to doctrinaire viewings of texts (either celebrating popular culture or attacking it) without a firmly held critical framework. He argues for a more 'comprehensively critical' approach, which incorporates analysis of subjective responses (p. 121). The notion of 'evaluation' of a text has been considered earlier in this review as a part of interpretation and hence of appreciation (Codd, 1980) but will also be considered here as a separate practice. Appreciation has been a focus in this discussion not just because it is an appropriate orientation towards mainstream televisual texts but also because it is seen as providing an unproblematic basis for primary school children on which to build evaluation and critical viewing. While advocates for critical literacy have shown that it is appropriate for children from the beginnings of school (eg Morgan, 1997), others point out that critical literacy challenges the discourses through which children gain their identity and is thus problematic (Davies & Saltmarsh, 2007).

Audiences may respond to the ideologies (or value positions) of a film, which can be expressed through any number of codes, in part or whole, explicitly and/or implicitly. It is possible that some audience members may be more aware of ideological significance than hypotactic appreciation (eg a 'feminist' or 'political' but not 'aesthetic' or 'structural' perspective on a film). In other words, the processes of aesthetic, structural and critical practices may not necessarily be hierarchical –

empirical evidence will be needed to confirm what permutations of response may occur. An individual's or a group's responses to a film may reveal significant attention to some codes and not others (or at some phases of the film) and awareness of some codes at a number of levels. For example, some viewers might be very aware of a particular technical code and its contribution to characterisation and also be very sensitive to ideologies of gender (but perhaps not to ideologies of class). The framework's two axes allow for considerable potential differences in viewers' critical engagement practices.

2.7.5 Development of viewing engagement practices over time

While the framework as outlined so far provides distinctions that are more analytically productive than the simplification of labelling viewers as active or passive, it does not, thus far, include any mechanism to explain changes in engagement practices over time.

A particular film viewing may consist of several different levels of engagement contributing to the processes of comprehension, interpretation, appreciation and evaluation. An individual's subsequent viewing of the same film may involve slightly different combinations of engagement practices, just as viewing at home with a different viewing partner may produce a different mix of engagement practices. (Viewing at home is used in this discussion because it can include talk (and other modes of expression) during viewing and so can include jointly-constructed engagement practices.) In such ways repeated viewings may result in changes in viewers' engagement practices. Wells' (1999) spiral development of knowledge model provides an appropriate explanation for changes in engagement practices. His model contains four kinds of knowing (experience, information, knowledge building and understanding) represented as quadrants on the face of a cylinder (see Figure 1, below). He characterises 'experience' and 'information' as not including intentionality whereas 'knowledge building' and 'understanding' are the result of 'deliberate constructive effort' (p. 86). Applying Wells' development of knowledge model provides an explanation for development from engagement as the 'experiencing' and receiving of 'information' to engagement as a more 'conscious' process towards 'understanding'. The continuum outlined above and in Table 1 can

be mapped onto Wells' quadrants[12] with the advantage that his spiral of knowing allows for the potential of changing proportions of levels of engagement through successive interactions with a text (as in repeated viewing). Figure 1 is an adaptation of Wells' model of knowing to represent the relationship between the processes of engagement (described above, Table 1) and the different kinds of knowing within each level of practice.

Figure 1. Spiral development of viewing engagement practice*s*
(Adapted from Wells, 1999, p. 85)

Each kind of knowing, represented by a quadrant in Figure 1, can involve a viewer engaging with and about one or more of the film's codes, as those codes are semiotic systems that present aspects of the narrative. During a first viewing of a particular film text, the spiral of knowing begins with 'information' because films are 'other people's interpretations of experience … works of art' (Wells, 1999, p. 84). If viewers, after a first viewing or conversation about a viewing, actively integrate aspects of the film experience into their model of the world, then that 'knowledge building' and/or 'understanding' will contribute to the interpretive framework they use to make sense of new experiences. That altered interpretive framework will be used during subsequent viewing or conversation about viewing, so producing development in engagement practices. Wells characterises the 'information' and

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[12] Both continua describe movement from direct experience and responses towards more mentally processed, abstracted perceptions of the experience (text).

'knowledge building' parts of the metaphorical cycle as being social, and as featuring Vygotsky's 'social speech', while the other two parts have a more 'inner speech' role. In this way the model incorporates both collaborative (social) and inner speech (individual) learning interactions. This combination of the engagement practices framework with Wells' spiral model of learning provides an explanatory tool for the progress from one engagement practice category to the next and so is also a useful basis for guiding the design of learning situations. The processes of interpretation and appreciation can be located on the diagram within the quadrants making up the aesthetic and structural engagement practices, thus enabling the mapping of gradations of development for research, or for planning for learners.

This framework accommodates a range of responses to viewing, from literal to critical, and allows for appreciation and affective engagement at several levels. The category-labels on the continuum imply a direction of development and a progression in levels of engagement practice which echo Pailliotet's (1998) successive steps of description, interpretation and evaluation to achieve 'deep viewing'. While the currently prevailing media education model posits critical viewing as its primary goal (as critiqued by Buckingham, 2003), some teachers may follow the lead of Misson and Morgan (2006) to include appreciation as an aim and so set combinations of aesthetic and structural engagement as desirable learning goals. The framework enables meaningful distinctions between different children's engagement with, and understandings gained from, viewing.

2.8   Chapter summary

In this chapter, relevant literature in the fields of social semiotics, sociocultural learning, audience reception research and repeated viewing, and information about the teaching of film in New Zealand schools has been reviewed to describe the context for this research. The potential contribution from a study of primary-school age children's viewing of a film of their choice was established. The lack of an educationally suitable set of concepts for describing children's viewing engagement led to the proposal of a new framework specifically for use in the study. The

framework allows for viewing pleasure, appreciation of various sorts and the development of viewing engagement over time.

The next chapter will discuss methodological issues to provide a rationale for the research design, which will then be described.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter first discusses the theoretical orientation underpinning the study and then the techniques and procedures used. The constructivist and critical paradigms will be explored and their relationship to issues of language and images. A discussion on the ethical considerations in the research will precede a description of the data gathering and analysis methods.

Research undertakings are seldom value-neutral, because objectives and questions reflect the researcher's intentions and interests, and data generating processes change the context being studied. The present study is influenced by the researcher's personal experience as a teacher of children, some of whose homes had different literacy practices than those sanctioned by schools and by a belief in the importance of valuing the range of knowledge that learners bring to school. The objective of this study is to provide evidence to educators that children's out-of-school understandings of film are significant. Because this objective spans the discipline areas and research orientations of literacy education, literary education, and audience reception, it is important that a consistent theoretical position, appropriate to the cross-discipline undertaking, should inform the study.

3.1   Research paradigms

Paradigms pre-suppose philosophical positions on ontology and epistemology, and those positions affect the type of research questions posed, the research methodology, the procedures used, the ethical processes followed and the criteria for rigour and trustworthiness against which the researcher tests evidence and conclusions. This section of the chapter will review the relevant paradigms of constructivism, realism and critical theory before establishing a position appropriate for this research.

3.1.1 Constructivism

Constructivism assumes that there is no independently knowable social 'reality' (as distinct from physical reality) but that social 'reality' is co-constructed by humans. It follows that it is not possible to assert the 'truth' of one reality over another, which is a relativist position. The nature of knowledge then, for constructivists, is subjective and the research methodology most appropriate is a hermeneutical or interpretivist one.

The relativism which constructivism leads to may undermine research endeavours, as within the paradigm it becomes impossible to claim truth value, and difficult to establish trustworthiness for findings which themselves are socially constructed accounts. Two proposed resolutions of this difficulty will be considered next.

3.1.2 'Weak' constructivism

Schwandt (2000) cites Longino's (1993) position that scientific knowledge is, in part, the product of processes of social negotiation, although such knowledge is not a matter solely of social negotiation. The qualifications in the previous sentence of 'in part' but not 'solely' a product of social negotiation, allow for tangible products. In turn, while tangible products may not be completely knowable, their existence presumably constrains the social negotiation as to their nature. This position is similar to subtle realism (discussed below) in that it retreats from claiming that 'reality' is solely a social construction and so avoids the relativist extreme position.

Socio-cultural views of learning, which are used in this study, take a 'weak' constructivist view of meaning as not pre-existing in the world, but also hold that meaning can not be simply made up and that negotiating meaning involves both interpretation and action (Wenger, 1998).

3.1.3 Subtle realism

Hammersley (1992) proposes the position of subtle realism to resolve the conflict between realism (which holds that there is a reality independent of researchers whose nature can be known) and constructivism (which assumes a social world constructed by people's interpretations and actions). Hammersley says that, for the most part, reality is independent of the claims that social researchers make about it in the sense

that their claims are not usually self-fulfilling nor self-refuting. He says that the aim of social research is to represent reality not reproduce it and that there can be multiple non-contradictory, valid descriptions and explanations of the same phenomenon.

Cultural studies, a multidisciplinary approach within which much audience research takes place, uses materialism (which views culture as the tangible product of human practices) as its view of society (Ruddock, 2001). This materialism asserts that culture ('lived' experience) exists independently of the claims made about it, and so is consistent with Hammersley's subtle realism.

Research within the paradigm of subtle realism investigates independent knowable phenomena even though researchers do not have direct access to 'reality'. All knowledge, including research findings, is seen as based on cultural assumptions and purposes and as a human construction. This view of the nature of researched knowledge requires serious attention to ways of checking conclusions to establish trustworthiness and to escape the relativist conflict.

3.1.4 Critical theory

Critical theory shares the constructivist view of interpretations of reality as socially constructed, but adds further elements to the paradigm's philosophical positions. It recognises the existence of empirical reality and also gives prominence to the exercise of values in research and of power through individuals' social construction of their reality. This paradigm has drawn on ideas from Marx, Habermas and more lately feminists such as Lather to see many people as oppressed and the role of social science research as emancipatory. Liberation from the oppressive forces of society is posited as occurring through being informed by social scientists about oppression and subsequently being empowered by that information. It thus becomes incumbent on researchers to critique the social structures which exert power on the weaker members of society. Critical theorists correctly point out that all social science research takes value positions and hence is political whether its values are stated explicitly or not. Hammersley (1992) opposed this view in his discussion of critical theory as applied to ethnography by critiquing many of its claims and asserting that the paradigm is not coherent and that it risks producing 'research directed towards serving the interests of some particular group whose interests may conflict with those of others, including

those of other oppressed groups' (p. 119). While any research may serve the interests of a particular group, the coherence of critical theory has been adequately defended (including by Collins (2003), Gould (1999) and Kincheloe & McLaren (1994)).

Aspects of critical theory have influenced many aspects of research including the use of discourse analysis to uncover the power relations and ideological work being done within texts and conversations. Fairclough (1995) argues the importance of attending to the 'texture' of language as well as its content, to uncover the relationships between texts, discourse practices and sociocultural practices. In a later results section (chapter 6), which uses discourse analysis there is discussion of this 'critical' element of the analysis. The objective of this research is to stimulate discussion and changes in educators' practices for the benefit of children. This research is not framed as socially emancipatory but as aiming to provide evidence to challenge current educational thinking and practices (perhaps even praxis). It will combine aspects of empiricism and interpretivism in line with critical theory, but aims to evaluate its effectiveness by the quality of its evidence and discussion rather than by any change that might result from its dissemination. Hence, the aim is to illuminate and inform practice, rather than to initiate political change. This, however, is an appropriate purpose for critical theory.

3.1.5   Paradigm for this research

Further reasons for 'weak' constructivism being an appropriate paradigm for this study come from its interactional epistemology, that is, the assumption that reality and hence meaning are constructed from the interplay between people and their social and physical environments. This 'negotiated' nature of meaning is appropriate to the subject matter of this study, the experience of film. Within media audience research, meaning is theorised as resulting from interactions between audiences, producers and texts rather than residing exclusively in the texts, in the viewers' interpretations or in the producers' intentions. Application of this assumption maintains consistency in the current study because it holds that the meanings ascribed to 'reality' come from interaction between what exists beyond us and our own social and cultural perspectives; similarly, the meanings we construct through viewing a film come from a parallel process of interaction between the film's 'reality' and our own sociocultural perspectives. Further, the theory of learning used in this study, socio-cultural

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learning, assumes that learning is an interactive process producing socially enacted understandings.

As communication and language are central to this research, views of communication will be discussed after a brief discussion of the methodological position, which follows from the paradigmatic position outlined above.

3.2   Methodology

3.2.1   Interpretivism

Interpretivism follows by implication from constructivist views of ontology and epistemology - that the social world is interpreted, and partly created or constructed, by people and is therefore different from the world of nature, because the mind is active in the construction of knowledge. The metaphors used reflect this position, that we do not 'find' or 'discover' knowledge (already existing 'out there') so much as we 'construct' or 'make' it (implying assembly of some 'given' elements but with a number of potential combinations). Through this logic the constructivist paradigm leads to interpretivist methodology and its sets of techniques and procedures for collecting and analysing data in ways to produce the best quality meanings.

A methodological implication of the constructivist paradigm is that data collecting should be undertaken within the usual setting of the participant (Merriam, 1998). This maximises the possibilities of collecting data most typical of the participants. Concern with representing the customary qualities of participants' practices also transfers to ascribing importance to conveying participants' views through their own language. A number of writers have discussed the importance of context when collecting data. Scott (2000) stresses the importance of context for research involving children, as 'the expression of the child's personality, in terms of behaviour and attitudinal preferences, is often so context dependent' (p. 103). Buckingham (1991, cited by Rose, 2001) suggests that audience researchers should pay 'more attention to the effects of the interview context on what is said' (p. 201) because children will adjust what they say to the situation. The current study reflects these concerns by locating the pair sessions in children's own homes.

3.2.2 Case study

Case study is a research strategy that is appropriate for investigating 'a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin, 2003, p. 13). As a strategy, it can encompass a number of methods to collect data about the 'meaningful characteristics of real-life events' (ibid, p. 2). This research also matches the features of an educational case study as characterised by Bassey (2003), which adds educational focus and purpose to Yin's generic definition. For this research, the unit of analysis that is most appropriate is the whole group of participants because the objective is to describe the range of understandings the children have about a film. Treating the group as a case allows understandings, whether manifested by a single pair or several pairs, to be incorporated into the analytic framework. The development of a framework (in the previous chapter) is in keeping with the nature of a 'theory-seeking and theory-testing' or 'exploratory' case study (Bassey, 2003; Yin, 2003) which is what this study is.

3.3 Assumptions about communication

This section extends the review of social semiotics in the previous chapter by discussing the implications for data of the various meaning systems which are central to the study. Halliday and Hasan (1985) write of culture as a set of systems of meaning which interrelate, and use the term 'social-semiotics' to refer to those systems of meaning. Social semiotics acknowledges socially situated agency as central, whereas traditional semiotics saw signs as arbitrary conjunctions of form and meaning. Social semiotics explicitly recognises the socially constructed nature of meaning systems, and consequently, their propensity for change. This section will discuss the relevance to the study of social semiotic theory and two of its corollaries, multimodality theory and systemic functional grammar.

Social semiotic theory is important in audience research because it provides a set of concepts that encompass signification through a range of modes including language, image, sound and gesture, thus providing a common theoretical framework for the film text, its reception by an audience, and the audience's discussion of the film.

Ideas about 'reality', 'language' and 'meaning' have long been part of the paradigm debate and there are contested conceptions of each. Previously, reality was thought of as existing prior to, and independent of, language, so that the role of language was to refer to this reality. This view of language is termed 'referential' or 'empiricist-idealist' in contrast to views of language as 'material' (Codd, 1988; Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 1999). Language as a social semiotic system is seen as representing and also constituting a socio-cultural reality, so that language use is not merely a reporting about an independent reality but constructs certain aspects (and by implication, not other aspects) of reality, through social practices (Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 1999). We talk, gesture and image our version of the world into being. (In each mode, Bakhtin's (1986) point, that the meaning system is dialogic, applies. That is, we use words, gestures and images that others have given to us, to represent ourselves and our experience of our world.) Thus, social semiotics is constitutive, and reality is, at least partly, discursively constructed. The qualification of 'our version of the world' indicates that while there may be social or cultural contributions (givens), we construct a personal or familial version of reality. An indication of the move from thinking of meaning as conveyed by the 'signs' of traditional semiotics, is shown by van Leeuwen's (2005) use of the term semiotic 'resources' (drawing on Halliday, 1978) to avoid the inference that meanings are pre-given and independent of use. Filmer, Jenks, Seale & Walsh, (1998) point out that social semiotic systems are referential and representational and constructive; the systems describe the world and are constrained in their possible representations by an externally existing reality, as well as generating new realities. This view is compatible with the epistemology of the 'weak constructivism' paradigm described above.

Halliday and Hasan (1985) argue that all language performs three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal and textual), simultaneously fulfilling the requirements of each. This approach to oral and written texts has also been applied to visual texts (eg Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) because 'it works well for thinking about all modes of representation' (2006, p.20). The content of a film shot can, for example, not only represent an experience, it may also position the audience in relation to a character, action or issue and contribute to the text's cohesion in terms of mood, motif or symbolism. Audience members may respond to the meaning potentials in any or all of the metafunctions in a film shot. It follows then, that audience research using this

perspective ought to focus not just on an audience's engagement with content-experience (ideational metafunction), but also on their engagement with the social positioning elements (interpersonal metafunction), and on their engagement with the televisual text's structural aspects (textual metafunction). Viewer talk should ideally be analysed with regard to each of the metafunctions.

Audience reception literature reviewed in the previous chapter showed that during viewing children may be physically engaged and that their talk has both social and ideational purposes. This implies that analytic approaches are needed which focus on behavioural engagement, on the social metafunction of talk and on the ideational (content) metafunction of talk. Analysis which uses a number of approaches is necessary in this study because not only the social semiotic approach and the literature, but also the research questions require it. The research questions ask about how children understand the film, about how they engage with the film and about how they use language during viewing. As the data elicitation methods were paradigmatically consistent, the transcribed talk from different activities was able to be treated as equivalent within analysis. Because the research seeks to establish the range of understandings and engagement practices the children showed, data were aggregated from different pairs.

Multimodality theory, an extrapolation of social semiotics theory, focuses on describing the deployment of the range of semiotic resources (Burn & Parker, 2003; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2005). Resources such as gestures and body movements are modes of representation used both within films and by audiences viewing films. The broad implication of multimodality for audience research is that both films and audiences communicate through multiple modes and so it is insufficient to deal only with the linguistic semiotic mode (language) in analysing audience responses (Taylor, 2006). The audience engagement data in this study includes a visual as well as an audio record so that multimodal analysis is possible in addition to the analytic approaches mentioned above. Although visual 'resources' have more than one meaning (they are polysemic), most audiences assent to what Hall (1980, cited by Rose, 2001) calls the 'preferred meaning', which retains 'the institutional/political/ ideological order imprinted on them' (Rose, 2001, p. 134). So

audience research analysis needs concepts to deal with both the range of meaning systems that films use and the ideologies those modes convey.

Children's understandings about film, in terms of the engagement practices framework, were explored through content-level coding categories. In this way the substance of their perceptions about the film were established and documented through the content of their talk (ideational metafunction).

The materialist view of language as social practice (as discussed in the literature review) is a rationale for the research question about how the children used language during viewing. Discourse analysis using systemic functional grammar to analyse the children's linguistic engagement with the film reveals their discursive practices during viewing (through both ideational and interpersonal metafunctions).

This study will demonstrate that applying several analytic approaches to the same data set can provide a 'thicker description' of the complexity of audience response than any single approach. The analytic approaches used will focus in turn on the multimodality of viewing, on verbal interaction between participants during viewing, on content understandings, and on the discourses used while viewing. These analytic approaches will be discussed further in section 3.15 (p. 88).

3.4   Quality issues

Trustworthiness is a contentious issue within qualitative research in general and particularly in constructivist-interpretivist research. The 'truth' measures (validity and reliability) used by positivism and the natural sciences do not fit with the philosophical bases of qualitative paradigms, but neither is there a widely accepted set of alternative procedures. Reliability is important within quantitative research as an assurance of replicability and hence of 'objectivity'. Qualitative research has different epistemological and ontological assumptions and so different criteria are important for trustworthiness. Validity and relevance are the appropriate requirements for all social science research according to Hammersley (1992).

Validity involves checking for assurance that research findings are 'sufficiently authentic … trustworthy' (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 205). Guba and Lincoln usefully distinguish between rigour in the application of method and in the interpretation. To satisfy both elements of validity a comprehensive data record is required to warrant the process and the findings. Hammersley (1992) elaborates on considerations about the sufficiency of evidence, suggesting that the plausibility and credibility to fellow researchers is a standard. He also qualifies this requirement according to the type of claim (eg less for description compared with explanation or theory) and the centrality of the claim to the researcher's argument, by saying that lesser claims do not need evidence that is as convincing as more central ones.

Relevance, Hammersley says, is also to be judged by the research and practitioner communities in terms of the importance of the research topic and the knowledge contribution it makes. The judgment of these qualities will be different for the two communities.

This study will provide examples of its comprehensive data record and also endeavour to produce soundly based interpretations with sufficient evidence to back its modest claims.

3.5   Overview of study

To address the research questions this study employed a number of data gathering approaches across two[1] phases using a funnel-shape design (Agar, 1996) to gather information on paper from a larger number of participants and then more detailed data from a smaller number.

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[1] As noted in footnotes to Appendices B and C, the research consisted of four phases but only two are covered in the thesis.

Table 2

Overview of research phases

Research phase & dates of sessions (2004)	Participants	Research method & activity	Duration of session	Setting of session
1a April	Children (n = 55) in groups of up to 10	Survey of favourite films	30 mins	School
1b April/May	Children (n = 55) in groups of up to 10	Limited choice survey of favourite films	20 mins	School
1c May	Children (n = 33) in groups of 5 or 6	Showing of Information video & discussion of phase two	30 mins	School
2a June – Nov.	Children (n = 17) in twos with one group of three	Observation of viewing	100 mins	Children's homes
2b & 2c June – Nov.		Think aloud clips, card activities	60 mins	Children's homes
2d Aug. – Dec.		Approval of transcripts & thanks	20 mins	Children's homes

The first phase survey provided information on the children's leisure priorities to establish the context of their video viewing, and it also enabled the identification of a group of children who nominated the same film as a repeatedly viewed favourite. Phase one was designed to provide wider context information about children's leisure interests.

In phase two, children participated in pairs, in a viewing, a series of activities and a semi-structured interview over three sessions. This phase was designed to gather data for the research questions about children's engagement with, and understandings of, the film.

3.6   Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for the study was granted by the Massey University College of Education Ethics Committee (Appendix A). This section describes a number of considerations concerning children's consent which were incorporated into the consent process. It recounts how understandings about the research were created, before reporting on the interactions between the researcher and participants.

3.6.1   Obtaining the consent of participants

Informed consent is a cornerstone element in codes of ethics for research in the social sciences (eg New Zealand Association for Research in Education (NZARE), 1999) but as David, Edwards & Alldred (2001, p. 348) point out, 'the notion of the information on which that consent may be based has rarely been interrogated'.

The language of the NZARE guidelines, 'participants … should <u>be given</u> a clear description of what the research involves, how it will be reported, and the extent of public availability'(1999, p. 14, emphasis added), assumes the transmission or distribution of 'information'. The guidelines imply that a clear understanding by potential participants will result from their receiving a clear description of the research procedure. The adjective 'informed' explicitly signals the requirement for potential participants to be knowledgeable. While codes of ethics and the committees which oversee them focus on the content of information sheets for truthfulness, consistency, completeness, legality and appropriateness of language, they currently tend to concern themselves less with how potential participants come to be 'informed'.

Bernstein's definitions (adapted from Nash, 2003), which separate pedagogy and curriculum, help to clarify ethics processes. If curriculum is seen as 'what is to be learned' then codes of ethics prescribe the kind of information to be given, that is, the ethical curriculum. If pedagogy is defined as 'how learning is organised', it can be applied in this context to the ways in which procedural knowledge of research comes to be comprehended by potential participants. In these terms then, in the past, what information was 'given' to participants (the consent curriculum) has been the focus of

ethics considerations and how that information was to become understood by participants (consent pedagogy) has been given less attention.

This focus on the content of the information is more problematic within the principlist perspective on ethics (King, Henderson & Stein, 1999) because its key principles (respect for persons, beneficence and justice) are assumed to be universals which apply in all situations. The relationships paradigm of ethics (King, Henderson & Stein, 1999; Cullen, 2005) on the other hand, addresses the pedagogical dimension by creating a framework which provides guidelines for the nature of the relationships between researchers and participants. In specifying the characteristics of the relationships, this paradigm describes the kind of context within which consent knowledge can become understood by both parties.

Assumptions about language, and by extrapolation, about communication, impact on the informing process. Referential views of language, derived from Saussure's structuralist model, (Barker & Galasinski, 2001) recognise only the literal and descriptive functions of language. Discursive views (Burbules & Bruce, 2001) include the power of language in constructing and shaping perceptions, thoughts and social realities. The two views of language result in distinct concepts of communication, with referential views linking to 'conduit' or transmission models where information is sent and received 'mechanically'. Discursive views of language lead to interactive socially mediated and contextually shaped communication models in which knowledge is constructed through social interaction as mentioned earlier in discussing the constructivist paradigm.

Sociocultural learning theory, used in this research, builds from a view of social practice that emphasises the socially negotiated nature of meaning (Lave & Wenger, 1991) through the idea of situated learning. Learning from shared thinking is conceived of as changing participation in communities of practice rather than as acquiring something (Rogoff, 1998). As Cullen (2001) points out, sociocultural learning encompasses learning embedded in informal everyday contexts (such as the video viewing being studied here). Since this research design was based on a model of learning which includes socially negotiated learning, it was decided (in the

interests of theoretical coherence) to utilise an ethical informing procedure which was based on the same assumptions about learning.

Researchers, despite projecting calm exteriors, need something from potential participants (often the stakes are high). In pedagogical terms, it is important that the learning about the research information be 'open' and not propagandised. Nash (2003), in talking about the teaching of science makes a point equally appropriate in this discussion. 'The students may not have been taught propaganda, but they have been taught by the methods of propaganda, and so cannot realise their knowledge in the right way' (p. 760). In the context of ethics processes, this point is a reminder that information sheets should not be used to indoctrinate; that they must have information not persuasion as their purpose, and that the ways such texts are used (the pedagogy) must be consistently 'open'. However, as Newkirk (1996, p. 5) points out, the very information sheet and form help to 'heighten the sense of importance' of the study and to stress 'our own benevolence'. He points out how careful researchers need to be to avoid 'seduction' (metaphorically) during the consent process.

After critiquing the transmission assumptions of 'informed consent', David, Edwards and Alldred (2001) put forward the alternative concept of 'educated consent' which has been used in this study. The central concern in this discussion about consent pedagogies is that participant knowledge must be sufficient for making a realistic decision about participation, where 'realistic' means having reasonable congruence with the future actuality of the research sessions.

3.6.2   Research with children

Children and young people between the ages of 7 and 16 years old are currently often conceptualised within education as semi-autonomous research participants. Their consent is necessary, but not sufficient, for participation in research; parental consent is also required. The ethical considerations that apply to adult participants are also important with children, but in addition, as Morrow (1999) points out, there are added considerations. It is assumed that their understandings of the world in general and research procedures in particular are less developed than those of adults. Children are defined by society as 'dependents' and are potentially vulnerable to exploitation in interactions with adults; access to children is mediated by adult gate-keepers. The

building of children's understandings about proposed research is even more important and requires greater care than with adult participants.

It is not realistic, or practical, to rely on parents being able, willing and available to provide appropriate scaffolding to build their children's understandings of a research procedure. The onus is on researchers intending to conduct research with children, to design interactive learning phases for their ethical processes, using pedagogies that are appropriate for the research material and the children. The ways this research enacted these concerns are described next.

3.6.3   Pedagogy for consent in this research

The research design complied with the *Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Teaching and Research involving Human Subjects* (2003) and was approved by the *Massey University College of Education Human Ethics Committee* (Appendix A). Potential participants were informed through standard information sheets for phase one of the research (Appendix B), however this section focuses on the consent process for phase two as it used an information video (Appendix D) to educate participants.

Table 3

Overview of ethics processes

Research phase	Consenters	Consent information (Appendix reference)
1	Children & parents	Phase 1 Information sheet for children (B)
		Phase 1 Information sheet for parents (B)
2	Children & parents	Information Video viewing (D) & discussion at school
		Phase 2 Information sheet for children (C)
		Phase 2 Information sheet for parents (C)
		Copy of Information Video for home viewing (D)

Children (and their parents) being asked to consider participation in phase two of the research had already given consent for the earlier phase. This consent round had provided them with experience relevant to their phase two decision. Firstly, they had been through a cycle of printed information being 'given' (on the transmission learning model) and then taking part in the research. Thus, they had been involved in this researcher's print information that was subsequently experienced in practice. They had personal match or mismatch experience about the print information from which to approach their phase two decision. Secondly, the children had experience of interacting with the researcher in their familiar school setting. They had seen the researcher talking with their teachers and numbers of the children would say, 'Hello Brian Finch' in the playground (perhaps enjoying the unaccustomed permission to call an adult by their first name). The shared experiences of the initial phase also meant that children had already asked questions about procedure and content so they were potentially positioned to be able to ask questions for clarification about phase two.

The consent process for phase two was given more time and energy than consent in the earlier part because the consequences for participants (and the researcher) were greater. It involved four sessions in a home setting lasting a total of 4 ½ hours. Both the shift to a domestic setting and the greater time commitment asked for, justified greater efforts to build the children's knowledge about the procedures. This consent process can also be seen as a transition from school-based to home-based research settings and so it may have signalled a different kind of participation. No longer were children in the research to be the 'captive sample' by nature of being 'objects' of schooling as Morrow (1999) comments. Participation would not mean the attraction of time out of class anymore (as Edwards & Alldred (1999) report), but would take some hours of the children's precious 'own time'.

3.6.4 Information video

An information video (Appendix D) was designed as part of the consent process to provide, as Munford and Sanders (2001, p. 103) had, 'a concrete example of … the things they might be asked to do.' Children of this age cannot be assumed to have accurate or relevant understandings of 'interview' and labels such as 'sorting activities' will not necessarily have relevant meanings for them. Verbal descriptions

depend on knowledge and past experiences. Showing the children simulated research procedures with similar age participants was seen as an effective supplement to the information sheet in providing a realistic impression of what the research would entail. The intention was to provide images of participation in each of three planned data-gathering sessions and the confirming of transcript material, to make the written information more comprehensible. A further reason for supplementing the print information was to reinforce the positive orientation of the research. Teachers and parents on hearing that the research focused on video viewing, invariably assumed that negative 'effects' were being investigated. The video demonstrated that interview questions were not about violence or other negative aspects of viewing.

Further, following a sociocultural learning model (and Munford and Sanders' example), an opportunity to discuss the video content was given. Discussion was thought to be especially necessary to allow children to think through duration (of sessions and of involvement), which cannot be clearly conveyed in a brief video. The aims of the video were to convey, through indicative examples, not just the process but also the research tone (friendly, relaxed, respectful, appreciative of time, accepting of answers), to make concrete the child pair - researcher interaction and the domestic (rather than school) setting. The video was structured to provide enactments of each procedure; for example, the word 'interview' appeared on screen followed by the acting out of an interview between the researcher and a pair of children. In this way the video provided a gloss for the information on the printed sheet. This procedure also reduced the reliance on print comprehension for building the children's knowledge (their literacy levels were varied). The researcher made it clear before beginning the showing that the video could be paused and that children were free to talk while it was screening. The talking and pausing which occurred during the viewing ensured that questions were vocalised as the children thought of them, rather than risking them being forgotten by the end of the six-minute video. The viewing of the video and discussion of it occurred during group discussion sessions.

Recognising children's location in, and their comparative lack of power within, their families implies the need for parents too to have the opportunity to build understandings for consent and thus the need for their own copies of the video. Each child at the session received a videotape copy of the six-minute information

presentation to take home and keep. This was intended to allow the children and parents together to reach a decision about further participation in the light of their other commitments. The usual contact details were given on the video to allow adults to further clarify or ask questions about the information supplied. This was an attempt to provide the opportunity for interaction with the researcher as part of educated parental consent.

3.6.5   The information video as a stimulus for participant interaction

From the six group discussions (involving a total of 33 children), 58 comments relating to the video were made. Most of the utterances (80%) were questions. The comments that were not questions were statements which spanned a number of topics, from identifying the researcher, attempting to identify the children in the simulation, identifying the university library, linking the questions being asked in the simulation with the present session, through to commenting on the number of times the simulation participants were thanked ('there's a lot of 'thank-you's in that'). The discussions did not centre around whether to take part, but on clarifying the nature of the research process ahead. (There were three short statements of intention to participate (eg 'I want to do it') but no other child responded to those comments.)

The children's questions showed a range of inquiry. Aspects they asked about included:

  the practicalities of the simulation procedure ('What school were those kids
  from?', 'Where's this?');

  the ethics of the simulation procedure ('Did those children know they were being
  taped?');

  the future research process ('Is this what we'd do?');

  the exact conditions of consent ('If we don't want to do the next part, do we have
  to or in the middle if we .. can we..?' (child's ellipsis));

  the place of parents in the consent process ('Could we watch with our family, like
  our parents?'); and

  the research results and dissemination of them ('What are you going to write
  about in your research?').

The preponderance of questions and their range illustrate that the children's focus was clearly on finding out about the research prior to making a decision. They took the opportunity through questions to initiate interaction about the research. The example quotations above are representative in that first person plural ('we') was the most common pronoun form used. It seemed that this form of language was indicating that individuals were inquiring on behalf of the group. Within the group discussion room there was no hint of social leaders showing pressure either to participate or not to. The impression was of thoughtful group inquiry through which the children were preparing to exercise their agency. The researcher was not, however, privy to the conversations as they returned to their classrooms.

These interactions showed the children as inquiring, thoughtful operators who wished to be fully informed before committing themselves. The interaction pattern was not an 'Initiation-Reply-Evaluation' one because the children were generating questions (and sometimes answering them). In short, they were taking the opportunity to learn about the consequences of consent for themselves. Twenty children from this group of 33 gave consent with seventeen actually taking part over the six month data gathering period.

The consent process artefacts (the videotape and information sheets) to be taken home may potentially have acted as bridges for discussions about the consent decision at home. From the school sessions, it was clear that children did think about and learn about the planned research process. The sessions may have formed a useful information-base for the decision-making by children and their parents.

3.6.6 Resources to produce an information video

There were costs in time, effort and money in producing the information video. Although the video required less than 10% of the total data-gathering and transcribing budget, it did require time, thought and organisation (including, of course, a further round of informed consent involving the children to be filmed). There were significant technical problems associated with sound, with light and with editing due to inexperienced operators. (Murphy's Law contributed irreparable faults with equipment, and loss through theft of the student filmmaker's private computer used for editing and storing footage.) While assembling the usable segments, it was

necessary to keep in mind that the research purpose of the video was more important than its technical polish.

3.6.7 Feedback

3.6.7.1 Feedback from children and parents on the consent process

Parents and children were asked during the final (confirmation of transcript) session about whether the research process did match their expectations from the consent process.

Parents' reports indicated that some households (around half) did not watch the information video ('I have to admit to not watching it') while others found it helpful ('Um, it did give you information. It told you basically what you wanted to know.') Several children watched separately with each parent. This occurred both where the parents lived separately and where they were in the same house. One child in such a situation watched it 'like four or five times, it was kind of soothing' (unintended consequences!).

Some parents indicated that participation was solely the child's decision.

> We actually left it up to Scott. We said, 'you decide'. We do that with lots of things with our kids. They choose their sports and then take the consequences. So if Scott had said no, that would have been fine with us.

Other children indicated that it was 'partly mum and partly me' who decided. One pair of children reflected that before seeing the information video 'I just thought I'd have to write a big report, or something like that' (Maisy and Sonya). There were no indications after the consent process was completed that the research process had produced any surprises for either parents or children.

3.6.7.2 Feedback to children and parents – concluding the relationship

During the research, participants were asked to 'pretend' that the camera and tape recorder were not really there and were asked to act normally (which is counter to our social senses about language, audience and situation) in order to satisfy the

researcher's curiosity about the research questions. Participants knew that others were following the same procedures and were curious about what others might have said. To provide closure on the experience it seemed appropriate to give some feedback as part of the researcher's reciprocity (Fook, Munford & Sanders, 1999) with the families.

Morrow (1999, p. 309) raises the question of 'how researchers bring to an end what may become a close relationship with the children they are working with'. In this case there was a gap of about a month between the third and the final session with children, due to the time required for transcription. After consultation with members of the ethics committee it had been decided to create extracts of transcript (usually around six typed pages) for the children to read and approve rather than confront them with full transcripts (although the full transcripts of all sessions (usually totalling 100 pages) were always taken and shown to the children). At this session the researcher thanked them for their contributions to the research and gave them a book voucher, (this was not signalled to them earlier, so that it would not act as an inducement (Hill, 1998)). This was a closure move. Also at this final session, several parents asked when findings would be available and asked that they be posted to them. A preliminary summary (Appendix E) was posted to each household within six months as feedback and a conclusion to the relationship.

3.6.8   Discussion of consent process

Within phase two, the information sheet and the information video each provided a representation of the research procedure. The video was able to show 'children like us' demonstrating that silences, hesitations or 'I don't know' responses were not seen as negative because they were included in the example. In this way, the intended tone of the research may have been conveyed. The concrete enactment on the video generated more interaction between the researcher and potential participants than would have been expected from a print representation.

It is important that where there are dual representations of the research, they must offer consistent information. It is important, too, that the portrayed tone of the research sessions not be misleading in any way. To be ethical, the purpose and

intention of the visual text must be, along with information sheets, to inform participants, not to persuade them.

Consent pedagogy does not guarantee complete understanding by participants. Alderson (2004, p. 107) suggests that researchers ask the children 'how much they understand about the project and their rights'. Nevertheless, such asking is not sufficient to ensure children's comprehension, trust or their ability to actually utter the words 'I no longer want to do this' to an adult researcher. Within most cultural contexts, adults have power over children and so such attempted evaluation runs the danger of receiving feigned comprehension. There are significant limits then, to any 'assessment' of the consent learning process. The situation requires considerable thought and care in designing the process to ensure the highest possibility of consent with genuine understanding.

The discussion of the importance of thinking about the learning models embodied in the consent process leads to the suggestion of an amendment to the NZARE's Ethical Guidelines by adding wording such as 'steps should be taken to ensure their [the participants'] understanding of what the research involves'. This would provide some encouragement for researchers and committees to begin considering the pedagogies of the consent process.

Up to this point, this chapter has explored the theoretical framework for the study and the ethical considerations and processes for involving the participants. The next sections provide detail about the research methods used.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

3.7   Preliminary phase

The purpose of this phase was to find out whether children of 9 and 10 years old repeatedly viewed favourite video titles. Casual observation suggested that repeated viewing was common, but there was no evidence in the literature to confirm this, so it was a necessary step before finalising the main research design around a repeatedly

viewed text. This phase, undertaken in November 2002, also enabled trialling of a survey form, which was subsequently modified for the study (see Appendix F).

The 46 consenting respondents from a provincial city primary school (different from the one used for the main research) indicated that they did repeatedly view favourite videos at home and that *Harry Potter and the philosopher's stone* (Columbus, 2001) and *Lord of the Rings: The fellowship of the ring* (Jackson, 2001) were the most popular titles at that time.

3.8   Research design

The central features of the design were to have pairs of children viewing the film in domestic settings, and for their understandings about their favourite film to be revealed through several activities. This plan was designed to minimise a number of identified shortcomings in previous research into children's interactions with video texts.

Viewer engagement with a text is clearly a prerequisite for research into viewer understandings about that text, but research often assumes viewer motivation. Here the criterion for selecting participants was their preference for a particular text to ensure a sample of viewers who were 'committed' to the text. Not choosing which text would be the focus for the research before the participants were established, guaranteed that children were not influenced in their responses to the survey, which they completed individually. Only those children who had nominated the most popular title were approached to be participants, so that they would be working with a text that they had nominated as one of their most favourite. This rationale for research participants choosing the focus text(s) was also used by Radway (1987).

The engagement practices and the understandings of pairs of children, rather than of individuals, were explored. There were several reasons for this. A sociocultural view of learning is used in this research so at least two children were needed to allow engagement to be expressed and understandings to be co-constructed with a peer. Further, in discussing Vygotsky's theory of conceptual development as being socially

based, Maybin (2004) suggests that the theory implies that 'collaborative understandings and interpretations of texts negotiated in children's talk may be ahead of individual comprehension' (p. 90). Both the social dynamics of talking with a peer and the more even power balance in the research setting (two children and one researcher) were seen as more conducive to encouraging more 'normal' behaviour about the film. Previous researchers into child audiences, such as Morrow (1999), had found that children preferred not to participate as individuals. So there were theoretical, social and practical considerations in favour of the pair/group format.

Single-gender groups were used in this study because, according to the literature, girls and boys respond differently to visual texts, and in group discussions girls and boys participate differently. General differences in the discourse patterns of boys and girls have been noted by Cook-Gumperz and Kyratzis (2001) and Tannen (2001). Differences within audience research are discussed by Buckingham (1987, 1993) and Hodge and Tripp (1986); these differences were expressed both through responses to texts and through different participation patterns in discussions (eg boys talk more in mixed groups and focus more on action and less on the emotions of characters). The discussion participation findings underscore the interpersonal and identity work which talk performs. The differing responses to a range of texts are more difficult to account for but suggest that the use of single gender research groupings to gather further evidence in this area would be useful.

Children who view a text repeatedly were assumed to have built up familiarity with the text and to have more developed understandings of it. The understandings available were thought of as the accumulated insights from interacting with the text and a variety of co-viewers by analogy from the writing (reviewed in chapter two) on rereading literature. This picture of the results of repeated viewing is a 'commonsense' view that was offered by participants in previous research (Faust & Glenzer, 2000) and reiterated by some participants in this study. It was also the intuitive view of the researcher, which led to ideas for this research design to investigate that which commonsense does not know – what kinds of understandings were the products of such accumulated gains? Such an accreted set of perceptions are what children could have available to draw on in a school classroom.

Studies which require participants to recall film details run the risk of having memory as a compounding factor. In this design, rather than needing to remember the text, short sections of clips were viewed and then talked about immediately after. As film texts are very complex and duration based, many thoughts may occur to a viewer and be lost after the viewing of several seconds of subsequent text. A situation where the film can be stopped and thoughts verbalised immediately is more likely to maximise the understandings revealed, than speaking from recollections of the text. Short clips of televisual text have been used in audience research by Davies (1997) while investigating modality, by Tobin (2000) when exploring values, and by Buckingham (1993) to discuss a television episode. This latter example, which used 'pauses for discussion' (p. 54), is most similar to the format used here. This data-generating method also draws on the 'oral think-aloud' of reader response theory (Beach, 2004) and the use in reading research of 'verbal reports' and 'think aloud protocols' (Afflerbach, 2000; Kucan & Beck, 1997; Trabasso & Magliano, 1996) but with adaptations for the purposes of this study. The writers above accept that such verbal reports present only those thoughts that are expressible in language, and that other thoughts may be available and expressible in language, but may not be reported because of the pragmatics of conversational convention. They also point out that because the reporter is addressing a listener, thinking aloud may motivate them to communicate more ideas than would have occurred during solo reading. The main justification for using such a method in this study was to bring talking and viewing into the closest proximity possible. Further justification for pausing the text for talk comes from Baxandale's (1985) description of the difference between talking, in the field of still images (paintings), about an image which is present where the speaker and listeners can supply precision by reciprocal reference to the word and the image, while an image which is absent must be described. Here, the pause control allowed frequent stops in a viewing to facilitate, or even to prompt, talk about a section immediately after viewing it. Such a method may enable data about the specific detail of viewers' thoughts and interactions to be collected without the generalising influence and the interference of memory, which a longer section of film may cause.

At other times in this research children worked with still images from the film which were assumed to prompt and support their memories of the film. This assumption is backed by evidence from the use of photo-elicitation within anthropological research

(Harper, 2002). Concrete materials (still images printed on cards) were used in grouping activities that allowed children to reveal their understandings through their sorting of the images as well as through their explanations. Activities were judged to be more effective means of uncovering understandings than, for example, an interview using direct questions about understandings. It seemed appropriate for 'non-formal' learning to be explored in a situation that did not involve 'teacher-like' interrogation, but rather used game-type activities such as those children might choose to play. Punch (2002), in supporting such approaches, terms them 'task-based methods'. The research did not collect written responses because variations in children's writing abilities could mask understanding levels, and also to avoid evoking 'pupil-type' or school-language responses. Oral data, of course, can similarly mask children's understandings. Using visual stimuli in a number of relatively open-ended sorting tasks was designed to provide optimal situations for children to display their understandings. Graue et al. (1998) say that when interviewing children the purpose is to get them to talk about what they know. The activities were intended to provide contexts within which the children would reveal what they knew and understood about aspects of the film. Buckingham (1993) had used photographs of liked and disliked characters to prompt discussion and evaluation, and that idea was extended in the light of White and Gunstone (1992) who outline problem-solving and manipulation activities designed to stimulate children to reveal understandings.

Children's understandings from informal viewing and learning had been built up mainly in domestic settings (while most children had first viewed the film in a cinema, their subsequent viewings had been from videotape) so children's homes were chosen as the research site. This study was not investigating any transfer of learning, so it made sense to have children reveal their engagement practices and understandings in the kind of context within which they were developed. Moores (1993), in discussing reception ethnography, emphasises the importance of the situational contexts in which media are used and interpreted. M. M. Davies (2001) showed that children often present a 'school discourse' about media texts when asked about them at school. This research was trying to capture the results of informal learning as free as possible from a 'school perspective', which may be given by children in a school setting.

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3.9 Research text

Although this is audience research, not a textual or a production study, brief consideration of some characteristics of the text is necessary to provide context for the study. The focus here is not on the film text itself, but on the types of engagement with it, the language and discourses produced in conjunction with viewing it and the kinds of understandings children created about it. But the text itself is not irrelevant because a particular text may have characteristics which constrain, or conversely, which sponsor certain kinds of responses and discourses. This discussion will briefly consider the 'Harry Potter phenomenon' and the characteristics of the film text *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (Columbus, 2002).

The Harry Potter phenomenon is global (the books sell in English and 64 other languages (Bloomsbury Publishing website, 2007)), multimedia (with core texts in print, in moving image formats, as computer games and with associated sites on the internet) and includes a wide range of branded merchandise, which has attracted the label 'the Harry Potter industry' to convey its commercial aspect. The implication for this study, is that most children have significant extratextual (that is, from outside the film) knowledge of the 'Harry Potter world' and they also have knowledge of the projected series of seven stories. At the beginning of data-gathering (April 2004) there were two films (and then three, from June 2004 with the cinema release of *Harry Potter and the prisoner of Azkaban* (Cuaron, 2004)) and five books (*Harry Potter and the order of the phoenix* (Rowling, 2003) had been published a year earlier). During viewing, the children displayed their knowledge about the films and the actors, which they had learned from magazines and television. The films, Gupta (2003) suggests, were preordained to be blockbusters because they were anticipated with 'informed readiness' (p. 143) and were judged on their ability to provide a 'convincing illusion of the reality of the Magic world' (p. 143) which children had already experienced through print or through the previous film. Nine of the seventeen children in the study had read the second book, while twelve had read at least one Harry Potter book and all had seen the first Harry Potter film.

The wide appeal of the stories has been explained by a number of writers as due to: the combination of 1950s school story with contemporary consumer culture (Blake,

2002), the blending of the mimetic school story with a hero story (Devlin-Glass, 2005), fulfilling audiences' unthinking desires (Gupta, 2003), and a combination of narrative about ordinary children and the pervasiveness of a hero's subject position (Nikolajeva, 2003). These characteristics suggest that the narratives may appeal to children both in terms of familiarity (through incorporating ordinary childhood tensions and consumer culture) and of fantasy (representations of a hero figure, the past and the magical). Also of significance for this study are the nature of the Harry Potter narratives as texts that 'aim at arousing a precise response' and which are classed as closed texts (Eco, 1981, p. 8) with qualities of predictability and a single perspective, and the concomitant operating of the hero through external action, as noted by Burn (2004). While open texts with their different perspectives can be interpreted at a number of levels, closed texts have a single uncomplicated perspective that can be expected to produce a relatively narrow range of audience responses. The closed quality of the film's narrative needs to be clearly acknowledged in a study such as this, which explores the range of children's understandings, because it means that the range of interpretations will be clearly circumscribed by the nature of the film. The research text is still a valid one, because many films children have as favourites, and that teachers might use in classrooms, will be mainstream, popular, closed texts such as this one.

While the story and its settings draw on a number of genres and periods, the narrative structure is uncomplicated. There is just one flashback sequence which breaks the otherwise chronological order of the plot of *Harry Potter and the chamber of secrets* (Columbus, 2002) (Appendix G is a brief synopsis of the film plot). The focus of the story is Harry, since his experiences drive the plot and the audience is consistently connected to him through, for example, as Burn (2004) details, 'frequent close-ups, [and] over-the-shoulder shots that locate him in the foreground with his back to us' (p. 13). Nikolajeva (2003) also perceives the books as action-oriented rather than character-oriented, where the hero's incontestable subject position is imposed on the audience. This uncomplicated story-telling which constitutes the closed nature of the film text makes it accessible for young audiences and can be expected to provide little scope for widely varied interpretations.

3.10   Research location

The research objective to provide educators with the findings about children made it appropriate to have a school as the base for identifying the case children rather than using other recruiting strategies such as the 'snowball' method (McKinley, 1997). The researcher is a teacher educator and while studying out-of-school learning, intends the findings to inform educational discussion. The educational orientation of the research made it appropriate to use a school as a starting-point and a reference-point.

The particular school was approached because its location was convenient for the researcher and the socio-economic ranking of the school was 5, which indicates that the community of the school's pupils is on the middle decile[2]. This middle-ness meant that the research results would be less likely to be affected by any social factors that affect children from communities at either extreme of the socio-economic scale. The range of student backgrounds and students in the school represented a range within the middle deciles. The school is a primary school catering for children from 5 years to 10 or 11 years old. It is located in a provincial city (population 75 000) in New Zealand.

3.10.1   Gaining access to the school

The researcher had a prior professional relationship with the school through teaching there twenty years previously and since then he had visited to observe and evaluate student teachers. In the initial approach to the school the researcher outlined the research objective of providing information for teachers, indicated a willingness to accommodate the most suitable timing for teachers and showed the limited time and organisation required from teachers. The professional focus of the research combined with minimal disruption to classroom programmes suited the school's interests and

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[2] 'A school's decile indicates the extent to which the school draws its students from low socio-economic communities. Decile 1 schools are the 10% of schools with the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities, whereas decile 10 schools are the 10% of schools with the lowest proportion of these students.' Five factors make up the socio-economic indicator: household income, occupation, household crowding, educational qualifications of parents, and income support. (MoE, 2006)

access was granted. The information sheet for the school's Board of Trustees is Appendix H.

3.11 Research participants

The design required the identification of participants who had repeatedly viewed the same film title because such children would have accumulated significant understandings. Such a sample, where the researcher identifies certain respondents as being potentially able to provide significant data on the research subject is known as a 'purposive sample' (Oliver, 2004), a 'telling case' (Knobel, 1999) or as a sample of 'theoretically significant individuals' (Mason, 2002; Tierney & Diley, 2003). A purposive sample was appropriate because analysing engagement and understandings from such a sample would be more illuminating of children's potential than a normative sample. The aggregate 'case' of the children in the sample allows description and discussion of the range of understandings the children have. As the research objective is to develop a descriptive and analytic framework, what Miles and Huberman (1994) call 'exceptional instances' are appropriate because these children's repeated viewing may have allowed them to optimise their understandings of the film. Such a sample also allowed the collection of 'naturally occurring' understandings since the children's choice of film and their repeated viewings of it were motivated by the children themselves rather than the researcher and had occurred prior to the research.

The research design involved children aged 9 and 10 years for the following reasons: they are more able to articulate their understandings than younger children, their development in Piagetian terms is between concrete operational and formal operational stages (Drewery & Bird, 2004), children in 'mid-childhood' are the central target audience of 'family films', they may exercise more autonomy over the videos they watch than very young children whose parents may control their viewing more closely, the time spent viewing videos peaks in the age range 9-11 (Livingstone, 2002), by age 9 children decode moving images with essentially the same 'grammar' as adults (Hodge & Tripp, 1986), ages 9 and 10 were described by Davies (2001) as a watershed after which children began allying themselves with older viewers rather

than younger ones, the re-reading of books declines after age 10 (Hall & Coles, 1999) and video re-viewing may follow a similar pattern, and because older children may not have favourites which they repeatedly view this group may be near the limit for drawing on the repeated experience. Also, this group are not as physically mobile as teenagers (who may have access to cars) and not so able to socialise across neighbourhoods which may mean that they view videos more than older children do. While each part of the above rationale may be challenged, together the factors indicate that this age-sample of children is more suitable for the purposes of this research than any other in middle childhood. A final, educational, rationale for having participants from Years 5 and 6 is that if a believable case is to be made for the inclusion of film teaching in primary schools, then Years 5-8 are the levels it is most likely to be included. Evidence of children's understandings from the lower part of this range may be the most compelling for teachers, and mainstream 'family films' are the most appropriate texts for study.

Children approached for inclusion in the sample were those who had indicated a particular film as either their first, second or third most highly ranked title. This criterion meant that the particular film was not established until the children had indicated their favourites. Their preferences dictated which film the study would centre on. The sense of participant-control had a positive affect on the children's enthusiasm for, and involvement with, the study and avoided the need for the researcher to choose particular children. Children completing the questionnaire seemed to enjoy the 'democracy' involved in identifying the most popular favourite from the list.

3.12   Research phase one

The researcher met with the teachers prior to this phase to discuss the upcoming survey with their students and to inform the teachers about the research process.

The purpose of this phase was to identify a group of students who had a favourite video title in common. The survey (Appendix F) was developed from the version used in the preliminary phase. The categories of leisure activities were adapted from

those used by Cupitt and Stockbridge (1996) in their media-use diary research for the Australian Broadcasting Authority. This survey was a one-occasion snapshot and needed to be concise as other information was required in the same session. Nine specific categories (plus 'other') were used rather than the ABA's fifteen. Several categories were able to be collapsed for this research because the purpose was to find the type of activity rather than the specific medium. An example of this was the incorporation of the 'listening to tapes/CDs' and 'listening to the radio' into 'listening to radio, tapes, CDs'.

This data provided information about children's viewing of favourites within the context of their leisure preferences. The survey (Appendix F) asked children to list their three favourite video titles and also asked about the manner of their video viewing and whose company they preferred while viewing.

All Year 5 and 6 children in the school were issued with information about the research and invited to take part. This involved five mainstream classes and the Year 5 and 6 children in the upper level bilingual unit (Māori/English). The information and consent forms were sent home with a total of 156 children. Consent was received from 55 parents and children (29 girls, 26 boys) for phase one, which involved administering a questionnaire to children in groups of 10-12.

The results of the initial survey provided a clear favourite title (*Harry Potter*) but with only five boys selecting it as a first choice (along with 20 girls) which was not seen as a viable set of participants. Significant numbers of the preferred titles were rated 'M' certificate by the censors, making them unsuitable for research with children of this age. Consequently, a follow-up survey (labelled 'Questionnaire 2', Appendix I) asked children to rank their favourites from eight titles (a mix of 'G' and 'PG' certificate) all of which had been ranked highly in the previous survey and to indicate approximately how many times they had viewed their favourites. At this second session a feedback sheet (Appendix J) giving the ranking results of titles from the first survey was given to each student to demonstrate the value placed by the researcher on the information already provided. The censorship issue was explained to each group of students as the reason for the second survey. The researcher

explained that while they and their parents might be comfortable viewing the 'M' rated material, that the legal rating meant that those titles were not possible for research purposes. Some children reasserted their maturity and their preference for those titles, but all accepted the situation and were happy to fill in the second survey.

From the 53 returns of Questionnaire 2, there were 33 children (18 girls and 15 boys) who had nominated *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* within their first three rankings. These children were provided with information sheets and consent forms for phase two of the research.

3.13   Data analysis phase one

Most of the children's survey items provided rankings that were collated to produce group rankings, with separate boys' and girls' rankings on each item. The rankings of favourite films were counted using 'top three' indications to achieve both clear favourites and sufficient numbers for a viable sample size for phase two. Children who placed a title in the top three (of eight) and indicated that they had viewed the film at home at least 10 times met the sample criteria of having that title as a personal favourite. The top-ranked title received 33 rankings in the top three, with the next two titles gaining 25 and 20 respectively. Thirty three children attended group discussions about the next research phase, during which they viewed and talked about the Information Videotape (Appendix D) which was then issued to each child.

3.14   Research phase two – pair sessions

This phase involved pairs of children in their homes taking part in three data-generating sessions followed later by a session to confirm some transcript excerpts. This phase was designed to provide detailed data on the research questions:

> *In what ways do these children engage with their favourite film during viewing?*

What does the language that the children use during viewing reveal about their engagement?

In what ways do the children verbally interact with each other when viewing?

What understandings of the film are revealed by the children's talk?

Seventeen children (seven boys and ten girls) and their parents gave consent for this more intensive phase. The group consisted of eleven 10 year olds and six 9 year olds. One child is Maori and one comes from each of Sri Lanka and Korea, with the remaining fourteen children being European New Zealanders (Pakeha). The participant from Korea first experienced Harry Potter books and films in the Korean language prior to arriving in New Zealand. The information these children gave in the questionnaires showed that their leisure patterns and attitudes were the same as the larger group.

Seven children (only two of whom were girls) indicated that they had played Playstation™ or X-box™ games based on *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*. Thirteen of the seventeen children said that they had favourite books, which they had read more than once[3]. It may be that more of these children repeat read than an average sample of their peers, but it is clear from their book choices that not all of them focus their reading solely on the fantasy genre. This information suggested that while this group of children were quite committed to the film they were not a group of 'fanatical fans'. Fourteen of the seventeen households owned copies of the video *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (Columbus, 2002)*,* while the others had borrowed copies from relatives or video libraries.

One further meeting at school was arranged to gather contact and commitments information from the children so that session arrangements were able to be made (see Appendix K). This was necessary because most families had a number of weekly commitments (which the research sessions needed to be fitted around) such as sports and music practices, club meetings, money-earning deliveries, and commitments

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[3] The range of titles given included eight mentions of J. K. Rowling titles, two of J. R. R. Tolkien (fiction) and then a variety of titles spanning horse-riding novels, titles by J. Wilson (teenage fiction), by L. Snicket, by R. Dahl and also C.S. Lewis. (The classifications in brackets, from the university library catalogue, are for those books not categorised as 'junior fiction'.)

involving other family members. Making such arrangements provided logistical challenges for both families and researchers but these are an inevitable consequence of researching in domestic settings.

These sessions took place in children's homes to approximate, as closely as research conditions allow, a domestic setting with friends viewing a favourite title. Three data gathering sessions were arranged for each group (pairs, or in one case, a group of three, because of the odd number of boy participants). Some pairs gave directions to the researcher, which was an indication that they were comfortable in the situation.

3.14.1 Session one – viewing

Snack food and drink were provided by the researcher for each session to contribute to the usual domestic viewing conditions. This initial session lasted up to two hours and involved children in a 'normal' viewing session with a peer. The children had control of the remote and were told to pause, fast forward or rewind as they normally would with a well-known title and children were assured that they could talk during the viewing and create pauses for food or toilet breaks.

The data records gathered from this session were a videotape recording of the children's viewing behaviour, an audio recording to ensure the children's dialogue was recorded, and the researcher's observational notes. The video footage enabled a continuous record of children's behaviour while viewing (in contrast with the technical difficulties earlier researchers of children's cinema viewing faced when using flash still cameras (Staples, 1997)). Stills from the video record are used in the discussion of viewing engagement in chapter four. The sessions were normally stopped after 90 minutes of viewing to fit in with family arrangements. This meant that most groups did not see the whole film in this time as *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (Columbus, 2002) is two hours and thirty-five minutes in duration.

3.14.2 Sessions two and three

Sessions two and three combined three elements to elicit and generate information. Short clips from the movie were viewed and discussed, there were still-image card activities, and some questions about children's past viewing of the film were asked.

The short clips and card activities were spread over two occasions to ensure each session was varied so that the children's interest and involvement was maintained.

3.14.2.1   Clips

The short clips procedure was designed as a 'think aloud' with text images available to prompt children's articulations. The clips were 3-5 minutes long (see Appendix L for details) and the researcher used the remote control to pause the clip frequently for the children to talk about any aspect of what had just occurred onscreen. Using the pause function meant that an image remained on the screen as a reminder of what had been playing. The image also allowed the children to use context-bound language ('that', 'there', 'this', 'before') in their explanations (as described by Baxandale (1985) and referred to earlier in this chapter). Even this language was meaningful data when the transcript of the audio recording was matched with the recorded movie image being discussed. These two channels of information conveyed specific information about children's understandings of the particular section of text.

The research focus was on gathering information about children's behaviours as they created meaning, the language they used to explain things to each other, and the meanings they jointly constructed from the text. The researcher did not have a particular reading of the text in mind but was exploring the engagement practices and meanings that the children constructed.

At the end of the first session, the pairs of children were invited to nominate any parts of the film they would like to look at again in the following sessions. For those pairs who said they 'didn't mind' or who nominated only one or two sections, a selection of six brief clips was compiled which are listed in Appendix L. Often children nominated scenes to view which were contained within the clips. The researcher's aim to keep sessions enjoyable for the children meant that not all groups viewed all the clips due to other activities taking longer or due to the children becoming tired.

3.14.2.2   Activities

Once the choice of text became apparent from children's preferences, the creation of child-friendly activities that would help elicit understandings was begun. The

intention was to create tasks which involved concrete materials and which would stimulate peer interaction.

For this purpose a range of images which seemed 'significant' within the film in terms of characters, plot, theme or motif were selected and colour printed onto cards (117mm x 55mm). Twelve different sorting and grouping tasks were created using the images (Appendix M details the tasks and the images). The 47 images were presented in a number of combinations (involving from 2 to 11 images). As the tasks were intended to accommodate a range of understandings, only general instructions suggesting possibilities for commonalities were given. A general instruction provided minimal potential help for the task but also ensured that each pair began with the same cue. The physical manipulations of cards were intended to enable children to produce dialogue about 'complex and abstract issues' as reported by O'Kane (2000, p. 141). The sets of images and the initial prompt questions were designed as stimuli to help elicit children's thoughts and understandings about the characters, images or plot. They were designed as contexts within which the pair of participants would interact and exchange their feelings and views about aspects of the film. Appendix M contains the images, lists the prompt questions and gives the focus for each set of cards. Kress & van Leeuwen (1996, p. 79) distinguish between narrative images (representing unfolding actions and events) and those which are conceptual (representing participants in more general terms). These activities use narrative images but most often ask children to treat them as conceptual, by making connections in terms of aspects other than narrative. This use of images may create some difficulties in practise and will be discussed in chapter 7.

These activities were spread across the second and third sessions. The discussions the children had during their arranging for each activity were recorded on audio tape for later transcribing. Each final arrangement of a set of cards was recorded by taking a digital photograph (see Appendix M, Figure M.2 for examples), which proved invaluable as observational notes were difficult to make while facilitating the activities.

3.14.2.3   Interview

During either the second or third session each child was asked to tell the 'story' of their previous viewings of the film *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (Columbus, 2002). They were asked, among other things, whether they initially saw the film in the cinema or at home and which of the Harry Potter books they had read. Information was also collected on whether their viewing had occurred more often with adults, siblings or with friends. At the end of the third session the children were asked whether they thought the research sessions had changed the way they saw, thought about or talked about the film. In the data chapters, information or quotations from this source are labelled 'viewing history'.

3.15   Data analysis phase two

Transcripts were produced for all sessions and where these had been typed by assistants they were checked by the researcher listening to the audio and editing the initial transcript. Initial data categories were developed through multiple readings of the transcripts and through using the constant comparison method (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). All transcripts were transferred into *NVivo*™ software (Qualitative Solutions and Research, 2002) which allows multiple coding. This meant that one section of transcript could be given a number of different codings. A section could be coded as the particular activity (such as card activity #x) and the language within it could also be coded in terms of categories of understanding film (such as character development, camerawork), of response (such as fear, laughter) and of interaction (such as question, disagreement). Codes were created for data that was thought to be relevant to the engagement framework and for areas of prospective interest such as comments children made, which linked one part of the film to another. The ability to easily recode or un-code sections of text and to refer to the passage of interaction surrounding a coded example proved useful in the process of splitting, combining and refining the categories. The *NVivo*™ software easily accommodated numerous iterations of the categories.

Initially all categories were established as 'free nodes' within the software. Once the categories were stable, some conceptual linkages between nodes were expressed by

creating 'tree nodes' in which a series of nodes are linked together. The tree nodes reflected the main areas of research interest; the kinds of language used to construct understandings, the film understandings, and interpersonal language. Tree nodes were established for:

'Language and interaction' which contained twelve categories (question, agreement, agreement & extension, disagreement, disagreement & extension, qualification, confusion, language approximation, language play, invented dialogue, chorus and dialogue,);

'Links' which contained six categories (temporal, spatial, motivational, causal, parallel and relationship);

'Film' which contained two subcategories; 'visual' (detail, image, colour, unreal appearance, film-ness); and 'structure' (symbols, plot compared to story and links to other examples); and

'Social and identity talk' which contained four categories (identity, liking, social talk and personal world).

A significant number of free nodes (49) remained, providing coding categories for concepts (which might have proved useful) outside of the main themes. These nodes included fifteen nodes that were labelled with character names, allowing efficient access to all comments about a character by any pair in any session. The software helped in managing the volume of transcribed data from the eight groups across their three sessions. Appendix N provides examples of multiple-coded transcript sections with annotations in red to show the different kinds of code categories (codes which classify film understandings (content), engagement, social and identity talk, and research activity).

The search facility in *NVivo*™ proved valuable in testing hunches on the data, such as whether certain words or phrases were used by more than one pair. A successful example of searching was the identification of one pair giving directions to the researcher or issuing challenges to him. The utterances 'you should play it now' and 'you should know that' prompted a 'string' search for 'you should' which turned up other examples (as well as uses by children which were discarded from this category).

Other searches (for example for 'you', for the researcher's name) helped to firm up the category and its boundaries.

An earlier section of this chapter (3.3 Assumptions about communication) outlined the necessity for employing several analytic approaches so that the range of semiotic resources the children used could be adequately explored. Multimodal analysis focuses on non-linguistic viewing engagement practices. Observation notes and the video record of the participants' viewing were used in conjunction with some of the 'language and interaction' codes (such as 'invented dialogue', 'chorus', 'dialogue') to identify the different modes of engagement that were being used. Examples of a range of engagement practices within each category of the framework illustrate the variation of viewing behaviours.

Children's understandings of the film were collated through the *NVivo*™ tree node 'film', supplemented by free nodes such as those for significant characters. Within aspects of understanding about the film (eg causation) examples were organised using the framework categories by attending to the ideational metafunction of language.

As a view of language as constitutive of reality is fundamental to this research, it was important to examine the way children's language constructed their worlds. As the viewing sessions represented the children's language when it was least structured by the researcher, further analysis was performed on the transcripts of those sessions. Discourse analysis based on the grammar within clauses was used as it has the potential to reveal different styles of representation of experience or of interpersonal interaction. Paper and pen coding was used for this analysis and Appendix O has examples of hand-coded viewing transcripts and the figures derived from them. The discourse analysis is reported and discussed in chapter 6.

Before the analysis was completed, there was an obligation to provide feedback to the phase two parents and children, as mentioned earlier in the consent section of this chapter. Although the twelve months since data collecting began did not seem long to the researcher (who had been busy collecting other data and doing analysis in the meantime) it was probably considered to be a long period of time to participants. It was important for participants to feel that they were not discarded once they had

provided data and a number of parents had expressed interest in the findings. Therefore, although only preliminary and indicative results could be given in a letter to parents and children, these were sent out and are assumed to have been accepted as sufficient, as no replies seeking further detail were received. Appendix E is the letter to participant-households.

3.16   Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the reasons for adopting a 'weak constructivist' paradigm and an interpretivist methodological approach in this study, and the research phases have been outlined. The ethical considerations of the study were discussed along with trustworthiness, evaluation of the data gathering methods and potential methodological limitations. Detailed accounts of the specific research procedures and the analytic approaches have been provided to convey the intention of the research to apply the implications of social semiotics. These implications involve attending to the use of different semiotic resources by using a number of analytic approaches. The multimodal engagement of participants with the film will be analysed and discussed in chapter 4. Content understandings will be the focus of chapter 5 and the different discourses used will be analysed and discussed in chapter 6.

The first data chapter uses multimodal analysis to explore children's viewing engagement and conventional transcript analysis so that different styles of verbal interaction can be identified.

Chapter 4

Analysis and discussion of viewing engagement and pair-interaction

This chapter addresses the research questions about the ways in which children engage during viewing and about the language children use in interacting with each other during viewing. It shows a range of ways in which children are visibly active while viewing, using not only their language as evidence but also using their gestures, and expressive facial expressions and body movements. A multimodal approach to analysis is important in researching children as audience members because they communicate through a range of modes. To discuss only those modes that have been traditionally amenable to print description is to discard potentially important information. A comparison of pairs' viewing activity during the same section of film illustrates the range of overt responses. This study provides evidence that 'active viewing' should not be used as a behavioural term but as one describing engagement with a text, which may or may not be observable.

The chapter then focuses on the kinds of interactions that the children had with each other during the research activities using Wegerif and Mercer's categories of cumulative, disputational and exploratory talk.

4.1   The multimodal data

The term 'multimodality' refers to a characteristic of communication that uses a number of 'channels' or modes. Everyday conversations may take place against background music and talk and involve awareness of facial expressions, clothing, gesture and body language as well as of the words being exchanged. Texts on paper communicate through layout, colour, images and print, while televisual texts use sound, mise en scène, lighting, acting and actors' appearances along with dialogue. Research data in audience studies has usually been the participants' words (spoken and written). Although Palmer (1986) used children's drawings for data and Lealand & Zanker (in press) also uses drawings for insight into media use, those publications

used still-images about viewing and the means of viewing, not moving-images of viewing. In general, in the fields of education and audience studies[1], language data is foregrounded.

A multimodal analysis approach will be used here to provide evidence of the modes the children used in their viewing. A mode of communication or system of representation is a semiotic system with regularities attached to it (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001) which contributes to the meaning making. Modes relevant to this data include talk, proxemics (the ways individuals use space), posture (body position), gesture (deliberately expressive movement with clear boundaries), head movement and gaze (Norris, 2004). The discussion here focuses on larger gestures and body movements that extend the language used, as the ethical obligation to ensure the participants' anonymity means that gaze and subtle facial expressions cannot be used. The ethical constraints also mean that images of participants have the facial areas blurred.

In this section, data from children's uninterrupted viewing will be considered (along with some supplementary data from the viewing of short clips). This data consists of videotape of the viewing engagement of the children with the film and the interactions between the children while viewing. Images of children viewing are used to document their interactions with the film and each other (and one viewing sequence more fully illustrates the range of behavioural action during viewing). This discussion is indicative rather than exhaustive, that is, it comments on significant instances rather than counting every occurrence. Its purpose is to demonstrate the range of semiotic resources the group of children use rather than quantifying their occurrence. It is included as part of the study's exploration and evaluation of types of analysis appropriate for audience research with children. This indicative application of the analytic approach is appropriate because audience understanding, rather than viewing behaviour, is the research focus and the viewing interaction is only one type of data among a number included in this study.

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[1] In textual studies of film and television, of course, the full range of a text's communication modes is considered.

4.1.2   Engagement categories

The concept of 'viewing engagement practices' will be used to organise discussion about different ways that children engage with the film and each other while viewing. Each of the practices described below is a way of engaging which may use a number of semiotic systems (eg talk, gesture, facial expression) just as Palmer's (1986) 'expressive' categories included different modes. The engagement practices are described in detail in the literature review chapter (pp. 41-45) so are just briefly outlined here.

- *Literal engagement:* semiotic reportage and commentary by the audience of what is occurring on-screen at the time.
- *Connotative engagement:* interpretation of on-screen content, the discussion of links between parts of the film and the making of inferences.
- *Aesthetic engagement:* indications that the film is being 'lived through' as an experience, for example, by acting as a character through one or more semiotic systems or showing affective responses.
- *Structural engagement:* comment on the narrative structure in terms of its use of any semiotic systems.
- *Critical engagement:* the film is related to as an artefact rather than as an experience and consequently there is a focus on the kind of narrative world the text represents.

The different practices are conceptualised as places on a continuum rather than quantum levels and viewers may move between the different ways of relating to the text during a particular viewing.

The actions (including talk) described here are manifestations of the children's engagement with, and the pleasures they derived from, the film text. While this chapter presents evidence about the children's interactions, and thus about the perceptions, thoughts and feelings that they are expressing, it is not possible to know what they were actually perceiving, thinking and feeling (Norris, 2004). These viewers had all nominated themselves as 'committed viewers' of the Harry Potter film, who had repeatedly engaged with the text. The uninterrupted viewings showed

that some pairs were frequently overtly engaging with the text while others were relatively less physically and verbally 'active'. The section below comparing responses to a particular section of film clearly shows this variation. The amount of a pair's multimodal interaction is not assumed to correspond to their engagement with the film, and subsequent data collected, showed that those children who showed less overt engagement (especially Elena & Kit) still provided evidence of significant understandings about the film.

4.2   Literal engagement

This engagement practice includes communications in a number of semiotic modes which represent the on-screen action. There was talk describing what was occurring (a commentary on unfolding action) and there were gestures and physical actions that mimicked those on screen. While the content of the talk is discussed in the understandings results chapter (chapter 5), attention is paid here to the viewing engagement practice behaviour that was shown.

4.2.1   Commentating

This talk described what was happening on screen at the time (or in very close temporal proximity). This kind of talk was common, although pairs varied widely in the amount of talk generated across the categories, including this one. Some single-line examples from different times across one pair's viewing include:

> Those two are twins.   (13 minutes)
> Harry's door flies open.   (24 minutes)
> Dumbledore is huge, he's so tall.   (29 minutes)
> Here's that little guy.   (57 minutes)
> Is that like the only way to get up to Dumbledore's office? (71 mins)
> (Billy & Scott, viewing)

For some pairs this kind of interaction seemed to be part of their social viewing pattern and most commonly consisted of single lines with no response. There were a number of questions such as the one in the last line, which seemed to be treated as if they were rhetorical, not often being responded to by the partner.

Figure 2. Literal engagement: commentating and using gesture for emphasis

Some commentating included deictic gestures, such as pointing at the screen to emphasise the utterance, as Figure 2 shows. On-screen, Lockhart is teaching a lesson and one of the boys said, 'His spells don't work' (Marty & Rick, viewing, 97 minutes). The gesture adds emphasis to the assertion and forms part of Marty's physical expression of his engagement with the film.

4.2.2   Chorusing

During the viewing, individuals in many groups chorused lines of dialogue in unison with the characters in the film. These verbal actions indicated close knowledge not only of the unfolding order of the film, but also of the fine detail of who said what and when. Some of the chorusing was of lines of characters that the children admired and may have identified with, while some was of less admired characters and some of those utterances were qualified with disparaging remarks. Primarily though, this kind of revoicing (Maybin, 2001; Bakhtin, 1986) demonstrates a closeness to and familiarity with the diegesis (the 'world of the film'). It is an aspect of repeated domestic viewing that requires further investigation and theorising but operates socially to claim affiliation with, or membership of, a group who know the film well.

There were no discernible patterns in the characters whose lines were chorused. The lines of a wide range of characters (both 'good' and 'bad') were chorused. Often the pleasure in chorusing seemed to be derived from the character's accent or the power of the language (funny lines were often chorused, as was the Latin-like spell language). Twenty-five characters' lines were chorused (15 male characters, six female and four androgynous object/creature characters (Sorting hat, Basilisk, snake,

Dobby)) with pairs ranging from a total of four utterances for four characters (Elena & Kit) to 43 utterances, speaking for 19 different characters (Maisy & Sonya).

Chorusing utterances varied in length from single words or short phrases (the most common) to one example of a character's complete tirade (Miranda & Lizzie, shown below on this page). Single words were most often either the final word of a spell or the end of a character's line delivered after a pause. In both these cases it would appear that the earlier part of the dialogue provided cues for the child, and a pause before a 'punch line' allowed time for a child to then deliver in parallel. Lockhart's dialogue in the duelling scene is an example with a pair's chorus shown below (signalled by an asterix).

> LOCKHART: Can you all see me, can you all – hear me?
> *"hear me"
> (Marty & Rick, viewing, 60 minutes)

This example also illustrates children saying the lines of a character whom they know is a sham. Overall, one third of all chorus utterances were for Harry and Ron, the boy protagonists, but the other two thirds were for a range of characters, which included seven 'baddies'. This suggests that chorusing is behaviour indicating engagement in the film world rather than identification with particular characters. It is as if, by chiming in, children are participating in the telling of the story. (An indication of the story's male-dominance is that only 17% of chorus utterances were for female characters' dialogue.) One pair delivered, in unison, this telling off by Ron's mother, exactly matching the actor's accent, phrasing, emphases and changes of pace and tone.

> Ronald Weasley, how dare you steal that car! I am absolutely disgusted. Your father's facing an inquiry at work and it's all your fault. If you put another toe out of line we'll bring you straight home. Oh and Ginny dear, congratulations on making Gryffindor. Your father and I are so proud.
> (Miranda & Lizzie, viewing, 33 minutes)

These girls may gain social status for being able to recite such a passage to their peers who value Harry Potter performances, they may deliver it to experience the powerful feelings of parental admonition or they may be rehearsing the exercise of power over

younger siblings. Their mutual eye contact prior to the speech, their pleasure in the sustained delivery and their relish over the righteousness of the telling off, all indicated pleasure in participating in this part of the film.

4.2.3   Enacting

This term labels gestures or body language occurring during viewing which reflected actions on screen. It is a physical equivalent to verbal chorusing, that is, a joining in with the characters' actions that may express knowledge of, and engagement with, the film. The examples illustrating this type of interaction were selected from those images of suitable quality for reproduction, and come from three of the pairs.

Figure 3. Literal engagement: enacting through gestures

In Figure 3 Marty enacted the use of floo powder by Ron (and did so again when Harry uses it) (Marty & Rick, 15 minutes). His actions were the same as those of the character (shown in the right hand image) and were timed to coincide with the actors' movements.

| Dumbledore always claps like this, - always looks like this (Maisy & Sonya, 55 minutes) | Here's the bludger, here's the … (Maisy & Sonya, 56 minutes) |

Figure 4. Literal engagement: enacting through gestures

In the left hand image of Figure 4, Maisy is demonstrating the close-to-the-face very small movement clapping of Dumbledore. In the right hand image, hand movements are being used to illustrate the erratic movement of the bludger. In both cases, Maisy's language points to her actions rather than to the screen, and so underlines her own performance as part of the viewing experience.

I like this
Oohhh, I feel sorry for him
(Maisy & Sonya, 58 minutes).

Figure 5. Literal engagement: enacting through body movement

When Harry's arm bones are melted so that his wrist can be bent double (as shown in the right hand film image, Figure 5), Maisy mimics his actions (as far as she can) again 'participating' or engaging with the film action.

Is that Colin?
(laugh) I don't like him, he's annoying
(Emma & Arpege, 57 minutes).

Figure 6. Literal engagement: enacting through facial expression

In unison, this pair mimicked Colin's open-mouthed fear of the approaching bludger (shown in the right hand film image, Figure 6). Such simultaneous actions were

unusual, as this was the first time pairs had viewed the film together and so had not previously experienced each other's style of viewing engagement.

Figure 7. Literal engagement: enacting through body movement

Emma enacted Colin ducking to dodge the bludger (Figure 7) to emphasise his surprise even though Emma & Arpege's talk at this time agreed that, 'Yeah, he's a bit too annoying' (E & A, 57minutes). This enacting, while not of a significant character or action, illustrates literal engagement with the film action.

Figure 8. Literal engagement: enacting through body movement

The following talk accompanied an enactment of Dobby's walk (Figure 8), 'Look at his knees, they're like … /He walks like a chicken' (Emma & Arpege, 61minutes).

These example**s** demonstrate the physical acting out by some pairs of on-screen actions during the initial research viewing. Such overt engagement showed how those participants were attending to and enacting parts of the film for each other.

4.3   Connotative engagement

Some processing such as interpretation or inference by the audience takes place in this kind of engagement. Attention is still focused on the on-screen present as a series of equivalent elements. These interactions include comments in which children explicitly 'identify' with the experience of characters.

4.3.1   Announcing interpretations

These utterances preceded the event being labelled and seemed to be claims to ensure agreement of interpretation of the scene and/or claims of familiarity with the film. One pair, across the film, produced one line announcements including,

I like this bit, the chimney	(14 minutes)
This part's a little bit scary.	(16 minutes)
I don't like this bit.	(22 minutes)
I like how the owl's eyes just go wide.	(24 minutes)
I like Malfoy putting his finger in the mandrake's mouth.	(32 mins)
It's disgusting	(38 minutes)
	(Miranda & Lizzie, viewing)

The announced interpretations were never disputed and while some produced no response, some were responded to affirmatively (eg 'yeah'). All pairs generated utterances such as these and pairs that talked more, produced more of these.

4.3.2   Closeness talk

This category contains talk that expressed emotional responses to what was occurring on screen. The talk will be considered in terms of the directness of response, beginning with first person comments.

> I feel sorry for him [Dobby].   (Maisy & Sonya, viewing, 58 minutes)

> I like the cape (giggle) I don't know why.
>   (Emma & Arpege, viewing, 62 minutes)

The first line expressed emotional alignment, with a minor character who is not immediately 'sympathetic', being given attention and empathy. The second line was a response to the film sequence that shows the girl students swooning over, and the boys scornful of, Lockhart. As repeat viewers know that Lockhart proves to be not

worthy of admiration, some mixed feelings are understandable. The talk showed that the girls still responded positively to the scene, but with misgivings. This evidence suggests that these repeat viewers still shift their positions towards characters a little during viewing.

Apart from direct responses such as those above, all other expressions of affinity with characters involved conditionality or distance created through the use of modal auxiliaries (eg 'would', 'could'). This is explicit where children use the first person, 'if I were him I would be scared', construction that indicates both identification with a character, but also recognition that the speaker is not that character.

> I'd be scared of one of those ghosts.
>> (Miranda & Lizzie, viewing, 69 minutes)

> Yeah. If it was me I'd be like yelling for help and stuff. Yeah.
>> (Elena & Kit, viewing, 26 minutes)

Each of the examples expressed the position that 'if I were that character this is how I would feel or act', so constructing their closeness to the character. This conditional identification is a more direct expression of connection with the character than a comment such as 'I'm scared' which is a statement of a viewer's response, or 'he's scared' which states the character's feeling. Using the modal auxiliary with a first person subject combines the character's feeling with an acceptance by the speaker of that probable feeling, were they ever to be in that situation.

Two pairs created more explicit contexts through talk within which to state their identification. In this example, one of the girls began with an involving question to her partner and then made her own position clear by identifying with Harry Potter.

> Would you feel embarrassed if you had a whole heap of money and they had hardly any and you went and got some out, and everyone was like gawking at it? I'd feel embarrassed.
>> (Maisy & Sonya, clip 1)

The speaker brought her knowledge of Harry's significant inheritance to the situation in clip one where the impecunious Weasley family have to buy school supplies. The film does not show this situation, nor does the book of *Harry Potter and the Chamber*

of Secrets (although it mentions Harry feeling 'a bit awkward' (Rowling, 1999, p. 57) about this contrast in resources), but Maisy used talk to explore the emotional situation that would have occurred within the story world (even though it is not shown). The use of the informal 'gawking' effectively conveyed an intensity of looking which heightened the sense of embarrassment communicated.

While Harry was seen by all these children as brave, and many aspired to his qualities, this exchange among the group of three boys identified with him but admitted that they would not do what he has done.

> Harry's always too - , if there's something scary he'll always go after it. I wouldn't do that if something, like especially in some parts of this story, like the big huge spider …There's even worse parts than that, eh?
> Yeah, like fighting the snake.   (Step, Mazu & Kyle, viewing, 42 minutes)

This talk shows that the viewers saw Harry as doing things beyond what they, the children, considered they would do. In constructing him in this way, they have created heroic distance between themselves and his actions. Although they did not provide words for Harry's quality ('always too -'), their language was working to make Harry's deeds more admirable, not to bolster the egos of the speakers. These examples show that the use of a modal auxiliary in a first person statement worked to create close identification with a character, and when used in the negative created viewer distance from an heroic character.

Third person pronouns were often used in comments on characters and their actions during the initial viewing. There were many commentary statements of the basic kind, 'Owh, that would have hurt' (Billy & Scott, viewing), where 'that' is used as a exophoric (or pointing) reference to what had happened on screen.

The pair in the next example used talk to explore in detail their identification with Ron and Harry who were transforming into Crabbe and Goyle. Clearly the girls were using their own reality to imagine the situation.

> It would be so gross to wear their clothes. Their undies could have skids.
> (Giggles)   (Elena & Arpege, viewing, 77 minutes)

Another pair of girls showed a similarly complete identification with Ron who is about to receive an admonishing letter from his mother.

> It's not very nice. I bet he'd be wetting his pants …. He's going to be frightened, it's got teeth. He's scared, he's embarrassed. (Giggles through this)   (Maisy & Sonya, viewing, 33 minutes)

They surmised how Ron must be feeling, in detail, by naming three emotions. There is a contrast in vocabulary between 'nice' and 'wetting his pants'. The two terms seem to come from different 'social languages' one of politeness and manners and the other from the delight in the scatological and from the shared frankness of friendship. They used both these languages in their construction of Ron's emotional state and closely linked him with their own world, through applying their own likely reactions to him.

4.4   Aesthetic engagement

These responses and interactions indicate that the text was being 'lived through' or 'experienced' rather than involving the kind of engagement which was a set of separate reactions, as in the literal category, or a series of interpretations, as in the connotative category. Three categories of this practice are described, showing the audience members acting as characters, extrapolating from the story within the film world and making personal connections with characters and events.

4.4.1   Acting as a character

Examples in this category show the children's involvement with a character being expressed through the extension of that character's on-screen dialogue (through speaking) and actions (through gestures).

4.4.1.1   Speaking

This category of interaction involves creating appropriate lines of dialogue for characters in particular scenes and 'putting those words into their mouths'. This talk constructed close links between the speaker and character because it allowed the speaking aloud of possible thoughts of the character. The child could 'be' the

character, rather than describing those thoughts from outside the character. Such speech is a spoken equivalent to 'interior monologue' in writing or 'voice over' in film, techniques used to convey characters' inner thoughts. While viewing produced the majority of the chorus behaviour there were, understandably, very few examples of this invented dialogue (because the action always carries on and provides dialogue as it proceeds, leaving little time for additional dialogue). One example from viewing was in response to an order, 'You and Mr Weasley are to come with me' from McGonagall, to which a child said 'Why? Am I in trouble?' (Maisy & Sonya, viewing, 92 minutes) thus generating a reply from Harry's point of view.

The discussions during the short clips activities included a number of instances of the children speaking as a character, almost all of it on behalf of Harry Potter. The first example had no lead in, and followed immediately the clip was paused (the temporal proximity to the character still on screen conveyed sufficient context to indicate the intended speaker). (The quotation marks indicate that speech is being created for the character (Harry in this case), not just by the participant.) Both members of the pair take the point of view and voice of Harry,

> 'It worked'
> 'Now we can all go home'   (Elena & Kit, clip 4)

The next pair had been invited to speculate on Harry's reasons for stabbing the diary and the opening line indicated this through 'probably thinks'.

> So he probably thinks, 'He's becoming stronger, can't I stop it somehow?
> He must be evil. This book probably has something to do with it.' And he
> says like (indistinct) and stuff.   (Tayla & Analees, clip 4)

The second pronoun refers to Tom Riddle with the change in referent being linked to the point of view of the invented utterance. The example shows a sustained set of thoughts from the point of view of the character. The three examples of this kind of interaction demonstrate the children speaking, as if they were in the film, within the present time of the film's action, from the view point of Harry.

4.4.1.2   Gesturing

These actions are not those performed by the actors on screen as in the literal practice of 'enacting', but are gestures which elaborate the responses of a character on screen. They show the children acting *as* the character at a particular point in the film. The examples below illustrate how the children acted out extra responses that communicated how the character was feeling (in ways equivalent to the voice over nature of the speaking category immediately above).

Figure 9. Aesthetic engagement: acting as a character through gesture and posture

In Figure 9, Marty's actions are showing the despair Harry is feeling at having the noisy Dobby in his room and at Dobby's prank with the cake (Marty & Rick, 8 minutes). On screen, Harry is wide-eyed in both scenes so Marty's gestures are making physical Harry's implied affective responses. In this way, Marty was acting as Harry is feeling or as a viewer engaged so closely with Harry that he is acting 'dual' responses.

Figure 10. Aesthetic engagement: acting as a character using gesture and proxemics

Figure 10 shows the pair at the place in the film when Filch discovers his cat has been petrified.

> R: It's not dead.
> [M acts out Filch's shock]
> M: *"You murdered my cat".   (Marty & Rick, 44 minutes)

Marty chorused Filch's line and then physically expressed shock in a way that the character does not, and oriented his body, the gesture and the dialogue to Rick rather than to the screen. Proxemics concerns the way people arrange and utilise their space (Norris, 2004) and Marty's shift in position (Figure 9) shows the proxemics mode being used to more effectively involve Rick.

While the gestures referred to earlier in the literal practice 'enacting' section were what Norris (2004) terms 'iconic' because they portrayed pictorial content, these gestures, which were bodily expressions of the characters' affective states, are 'metaphoric' gestures because they do not portray actions.

This communication on behalf of characters by using speech and gesture indicates a particularly close engagement with the film through alignment or identification with characters. The example immediately above (Filch's shock) showed that impersonations did not just involve characters who were viewed positively.

4.4.2   Imaginative involvement

Talk in this category extends the ideas or situations in the film, either within the parameters of the Hogwarts world or extends them into the children's personal lives. One pair used talk during the initial viewing to extrapolate characters across time into adult roles.

> I bet he'll be a photographer for the news ah *The Daily Prophet* when he grows up, do you? Sonya, I reckon Colin will be a photographer for *The Daily Prophet* when he grows up. (Maisy & Sonya, viewing, 43 minutes)

This pair also saw that Hogwarts needed another reference work that would have rescued Harry from misunderstandings about what his snake talk was saying, 'They should have a parsel-tongue dictionary, eh?' (Maisy & Sonya, viewing, 66 minutes).

They were thinking of improvements to the story world that would support Harry. While the talk of this pair operated within the boundaries of the Hogwarts world, other pairs discussed the possibilities of phenomena from the film being part of their lives.

> That would be cool if you could if like when you're like a hundred you burst into flames and you came out the same but like you're young as.
> (Billy & Scott, clip 2)

We see that the idea has been applied to humans in general, rather than being seen as a personal wish. Emma and Arpege both owned a cat and a cat was present at each session and their extension of the phoenix phenomenon was expressed in terms of thinking about their cats being 'reborn'. Both pairs' responses demonstrate not merely participation in the experience of the text but involvement with ideas about the way the fictional world operates. This may be evidence of what Wells (1999) terms 'knowledge building'.

4.4.3 Linking to reality

During viewing, some pairs used talk to link aspects of the film to their own world. This talk expressed involvement in the world of the film and made that world's relationship to the children's realities explicit.

One child talked of a literal link, 'Last year I went to London and stood right there and touched the pillar' (on the platform at King's Cross Station) (Tayla & Analeese, viewing, 22 minutes) and there were also examples of straight-forward physical comparisons.

> But it would be really scary if you had a snake that big in real life.
> I reckon.
> I know there's a balloon about seven metres long.
> (Billy & Scott, clip 4)

Here, talk was used to explore the scale of the basilisk in terms of the children's known physical realities. Others used talk to link their relevant experiences with the film. As Harry Potter is transforming into Goyle, the screen shows an image of his hands changing, and one pair focused on their own hands.

> [They examine their hands] Can you do this?
> My friends are all double jointed in all of their fingers and Josephine can do
> this … she's double jointed and she can turn her eyelids back too
>   (Emma & Arpege, 74 minutes)

Figure 11. Aesthetic engagement: linking to reality through body movement

The flexing of and comparing of wrists shown in Figure 11 was an integral part of their response to that part of the film and, since this was a repeated viewing, such interaction took place without displacing needed information from the film. These viewers linked the on-screen transformation to social interaction about their own physical capabilities. The film action was a stimulus for friendship exchanges and added a further exchange to earlier gestures and talk about wrists (discussion of Harry's boneless wrist, Figure 5 above). This pair also responded to the footage of spiders during viewing.

> And there are huge spiders. There was a white-tail at school and the
> teacher was on a chair, cos someone said to …
> Who killed it?
> I don't know, I can't remember. (Emma & Arpege, viewing, 99 minutes)

Familiarity with the film action and the importance of conversation to this pair created a pattern of talk with a number of links to their social and physical realities.

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4.5 Structural and critical engagement

These types of engagement make links across the text and to its values. Examples of these practices were carried out through talk (with minimal gesture or other modal action) and so they are discussed in chapter five.

4.6 Engagement and interaction during one scene: 'duelling club'

This section provides a systematic comparison between the viewing behaviours of four pairs viewing the same scene. The 'duelling club' scene occurs 60 minutes into the film. The images presented here represent all significant communicative semiotic actions for a given pair. They do not include non-communicative actions such as the children eating, blowing their nose or playing with their hair etc, but do include changes in posture and orientation towards each other, which are part of interaction between the pair or engagement with the film[2]. The times shown are from the starting point of the first dialogue in the film scene. The left hand column labels actions depicted in the image using the engagement category terms used earlier in this chapter, or the modes being used. The three mode labels used are proxemics (the ways individuals use space), posture (body position) and gesture (deliberately expressive movement with clear boundaries) (Norris, 2004).

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[2] Significant actions with low quality images or images which are repetitive, are not shown but just listed.

Figure12. Communications during the duelling scene (duration: 4 minutes 40

seconds)

Pair, time. Mode of interacting, Engagement category.	Description of children's actions, dialogue from children, CHARACTERS' dialogue	Image or description
1 **Emma & Arpege** 0:36 Gesture – Enacting	Emma uses arm actions accompanying, 'You need to be there to catch the cape'	Arms cradled ready to receive a cape.
2 E & A 0:49 Gesture – Commentating	Arpege (on right) points at Lockhart's hair, 'He's got a wedgie'. The gesture emphasises her comment.	
3 E & A 3:52 Gesture – Technical code talk	Emma points with her foot at Harry, 'He's not even talking snake language, you can so tell.' The gesture emphasises her comment.	
4 **Elena & Kit** 0:15 Connotative talk	'So pretty. Pretty boy' at Lockhart. The talk criticises the character.	

5 **Marty & Rick** 0:05 Adjusting proxemics, Connotative talk	Both looking at the screen and smiling. 'Snape's way better than Lockhart./ Mm.'	Rick kneeling on sofa and Marty leaning back on the sofa after moving from the floor.
6 M & R 0:58 Posture – Aesthetic Speaking as a character	Marty (on right) talks back to the film, 'But will they still have their 'Defence Against the Dark Arts' master?'	
7 M & R 2:21 Proxemics, posture - Commentating talk	Rick points out that Malfoy casts his spell early, R: 'Malfoy is the first. He does it at number two. M: 'Yeah, he cheats on the counts.'	
8 **Maisy & Sonya** 0:38 Gesture – Enacting	S: 'He likes to be star of the stage. It's just embarrassing, eh' M (on left) mimics the girl adoringly cradling Lockhart's cape.	
9 M & S 1:23 Proxemics Connotative/critical talk	'Smelly armpits' [giggles] 'Or smelly armpits' They both mock Lockhart's spell ('Expelliamus')	

10 M & S 1:47 Commentating talk	LOCKHART: 'Teach you to block unfriendly spells' Sonya (right) leans across, 'He can't do it.'	
11 M & S 3:14 Connotative talk	Sonya leans across again as Harry falls, 'Oo that would hurt.'	Very similar image
12 M & S 3:45 Proxemics Connotative talk	Maisy leans across, 'He can't do anything'	Image similar to that at 1:23 (#9, above)
13 M & S 3:50 Controlling viewing	They use the remote to rewind and re-view a short section showing the snake being flung into the air.	
14 M & S 4:04 Posture – Enacting	Maisy (left) enacts what everyone on screen is doing – looking up at the snake. The film shows this with a high shot looking down.	
15 M & S 4:35 Posture, Chorusing	Sonya covers her face while the snake threatens a student and Harry tries to calm it by talking in parsel tongue. Maisy says the snake language in unison, "Sigh huss siheth".	

16 M & S 4:37	Maisy reaches over to get Sonya's attention, 'They should have a parsel mouth dictionary, eh?' (Anticipating the next scene in which Harry's snake talk is shown to be misunderstood.)	
Posture, Proxemics, Imaginative involvement		
17 M & S 4:40	Return to their 'normal' viewing positions.	
Proxemics		

Figure 12 illustrates the different levels of talk and interaction during this 5 minute period of viewing. The number of conversation 'turns' during this scene ranged from one (Elena & Kit) through eight (Emma & Arpege; Marty & Rick) to fourteen (Maisy & Sonya). Elena & Kit produced just one utterance and no appreciable gestures or movements during the time. They intently focused on the screen. The two pairs of Marty & Rick and Emma & Arpege each produced a small amount of talk and interaction, with Marty moving physical position frequently during the viewing. The pair of Maisy & Sonya frequently interacted with each other and the film. The images show the use of gesture as part of literal enacting (Figure 12: #1, 2, 3, 8, 14), the reflection in proxemic behaviour of interpersonal interaction (#7, 9, 16) and the changes in posture (#6, 15) which are part of viewing. As shown earlier in the chapter, gestures were part of aesthetic engagement in some parts of the viewing. (Figure 12 also shows that children responded to different aspects of the text. This is discussed in chapter 5.)

Figure 12 shows how the levels of engagement of pairs varied across a scene and shows the variability of overt engagement behaviour. However, the four pairs whose viewings of the scene are compared in Figure 12, produced comparable

understandings of the film during the subsequent sessions. Examples used in the chapter five sections on character, story and causation, to illustrate higher level engagement (aesthetic, structural and critical), draw equally from these four pairs.

While this analysis is qualitative and no strict quantification of the levels of understanding of pairs was undertaken, the broad conclusion from the sample scene is that overt viewing behaviour does not give any indication of the likely levels of understanding as shown in the data from subsequent sessions. What Figure 12 demonstrates is that active viewing can look very different depending on the behavioural styles of the children involved. Based on this sample, it is not possible to predict levels of engagement or understanding from observing overt viewing behaviour.

4.7   Interacting with each other

As well as engaging with the film, the children interacted with each other. This section discusses the language they used to illustrate the different ways they related to each other about the film. The language is not discussed in terms of its content, but in terms of the social interaction that was an integral aspect of the meaning making (to be discussed in the next chapter).

This discussion is organised using an existing set of categories that usefully illustrate different styles, at the level of exchanges, of verbal interaction. The three categories are those from Wegerif and Mercer (1997, 2000) labelled cumulative, disputational and exploratory talk. Although the categories are based on classroom language, they are appropriate in this context because they provide groupings for 'three distinctive social modes of thinking' (Mercer, 1995). Within an out-of-school context it would be expected that the uncritical agreement of cumulative talk would occur and also perhaps the short assertions and disagreements of disputational talk. What is of considerable interest is whether the collaborative category of exploratory talk occurs in this context, because it is the category identified as crucial for peer learning. As the ranges of examples in two of the categories will show, some pairs generated talk across the categories. This discussion will focus on interactional features of the

children's conversations, while the discourse analysis chapter will use a more grammatical approach to discuss the features of individual utterances in the children's viewing language.

4.8   Cumulative talk

In this category of talk, speakers 'build positively but uncritically on what the other has said' (Wegerif & Mercer, 1997, p. 54). This kind of talk was the predominant type in the participants' interactions but because it is not significant socially (beyond creating comfortable interactions) or as a vehicle for thinking or learning it will not be illustrated or discussed at length. Mercer (1995) characterises this way of talking as constructing a 'common knowledge by accumulation' through repetitions, confirmations and elaborations.

There were many examples of speakers agreeing with each other, 'She's embarrassed. /Yeah, I think she has a crush on him. /Yeah.' (Emma & Arpege, viewing, 12 minutes) thus creating and confirming a common perspective on the film. Most groups also created some tag questions of the form 'The nurse is pretty, eh?'(Emma & Arpege), which functioned as conversation-openers, rather than inquiries that required an informational answer. Such tag questions were part of building a relationship with a partner while confirming details or views about aspects of the film.

Most of the other questions were also cumulative talk, seeking confirmation or factual information as part of the viewing, rather than probing understandings about film. Most responses to questions were minimal, as the pair's primary attention was on the screen action. The biggest category of viewing questions was that of requesting information ('What's the cat's name?' (Emma & Arpege), 'Who's he?' (Maisy & Sonya), 'Is that the only way to get up to Dumbledore's office?' (Billy & Scott)). These questions were dealing with literal level information and were often closed questions.

Figure 13. Cumulative talk accompanied by proxemics

While most of the viewing was done with both children facing the screen, there were instances of them making eye contact as in Figure 13, which occurred after a question about the Quidditch players (Maisy & Sonya, viewing, 55minutes). Viewing a previously seen film can accommodate face-to-face conversation without disrupting the experience. The participants' familiarity with the film allowed them to share the past and present pleasures they derived from it and to use the session to accomplish social identity and relationship work. The category of cumulative talk has the strengthening of relationships as its focus rather than the content of the text or solving any problems it may present. The next category also has a social focus but one where individual identities are in competition with each other.

4.9   Disputational talk

Disputational talk is characterised by disagreement through assertions and challenges or counter-assertions (Wegerif & Mercer, 1997). There were two groups of the eight in this research where the researcher was aware that the verbal interaction about the film was predominantly performing social control work or enforcing status differentiation among the children. Children in the other six groups occasionally joked about each other or disagreed, but since this was infrequent, it was difficult to interpret the social forces being played out. Of the two groups where social power seemed to be foregrounded, one was a pair of girls and the other the trio of boys. This section discusses some examples from the girls because their power manoeuvres were

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verbally articulated whereas the boys, who did not all know each other well, seemed to operate more by giggling, rolling their eyes or making cryptic comments which defied clear interpretation by the researcher. While both were groups where language was being used to exert social power as well as to convey film content, just one will be the focus here.

This pair of girls often competed for the attention of the researcher (whose lines are shown in italics).

1   Hermione's brainy.
2   Hey, I'm talking about her.
3   *You can both talk about her.*
4   Oh, we can both say one thing about them each. We'll start with Ron.
     He's scared of spiders.   (Miranda & Lizzie, card task 5)

They had viewed the film together a number of times and this was demonstrated when they, in unison, spoke a long piece of dialogue (the howler message, quoted on p. 98) perfectly mimicking the intonation and accent of Mrs Weasley. However, in our sessions they vied for position to offer initial responses to any question. Here we see how the speaker in line 4 quickly took the initiative to set a protocol (echoing the response and language earlier used by the researcher) and made the first statement. A common response to offerings was of the nature of 'but that was what I was going to say' which often truncated the discussion. The social agenda being enacted was persistent.

1   Because there's no such thing as unicorns, but they're magical.
2   I don't get you.
3   Well like…….
4   I never have.
5   They're ummmmmmm
6   Every word that she's said, I haven't got it. It's just me. It's always me.
                                                    (Maisy & Lizzie, clip 2)

The second speaker did not attend to the content of line 1 but used each turn to dominate the person rather than the idea being explored. She also turned from interacting with her partner (line 2, 'you') to appealing to the adult authority of the researcher by referring to her partner in the third person (line 6 'she's'). This example suggests that this type of verbal interaction was a pattern between these girls whose

families had (over the research period) daily contact. The parental tone of the language of 'it's always me' was part of the interaction style.

These examples of the social role of language for individual ends overriding the film discussion, serve to indicate by contrast how harmonious the other groups were and how thoroughly they focused during out-of-school time on thinking and talking about the film.

4.10   Exploratory talk

The children's talk sometimes consisted of sets of separate statements from each of the children while at other times it was a conversation characterised by turns which responded to the previous speaker and at still other times showed joint meaning-making. This section discusses examples of a number of manifestations of collaboration in the talk across the research sessions that show cooperation at word and clause level, before considering how pairs handled differing opinions. The joint constructions of meaning achieved illustrate the 'critical but constructive' criteria of Wegerif & Mercer's (1997) exploratory talk category.

4.10.1   Semantic exploration

The simplest level of collaboration was the supplying of specific vocabulary by a partner, as the example below shows.

> *What would happen if someone looks into their eyes?*
> They get like frozen
> Yeah they get petrified   (Step, Mazu & Kyle, clip 4)

While the second line used an approximation ('like frozen'), the final line provided the specific lexical term used in the film ('petrified'). There were numerous examples of this basic cooperation where specific vocabulary was supplied by the partner. Sometimes speakers would signal their need for a word.

> Yeah like, and what's that - the thing that - like they're both people that
> catches the snitch. I've forgot what they're called.

Seekers.

Yeah they're both seekers. (Maisy & Sonya, cards 9)

In some cases, the 'supporter' could not provide the word, but the exchange of turns facilitated the articulation of the appropriate term.

1   No. Snape used to be bad
2   Snape used to be really bad.
3   But in one of the books, on his arm or something, he's got this thing. He used to work
4   He's got that thing.
5   Yeah, a tattoo. He used to work for Sirius. (Marty & Rick, cards 4)

The speaker in lines 2 and 4 offered support by echoing ('thing (3), 'thing' (4)) or intensifying ('bad' (1) to 'really bad'(2)) but it was the original speaker who provided the specific term 'tattoo' which allowed the completion of the statement about Snape and his previous allegiance (which is relevant to his goodness/badness).

These three examples have shown the participants' focus on the constructing of meaning which characterises exploratory talk, operating at the level of the word.

4.10.2   Syntactic collaboration

As well as collaboration being manifest in the semantics of the discussion, there were also numbers of examples of pairs' language showing cooperation at a syntactic level. Transcripts in this section will show indented lines to signify a new speaker who follows the syntactic pattern of the previous turn. The first example shows that the second speaker offered syntactic support without extending the content.

1   Yeah so he knows that if he puts, 'cause the basilisk can, it's [purpose is] to kill,
2   it like kills people,
3   Yeah, and so if he puts that [basilisk tooth] in the book maybe he might guess that Tom Riddle will go [die]
4   because,
5   because it'll kill (Emma & Arpege, clip 4)

In line 2 the initial proposition was completed (the basilisk can kill people). In line 4, the causal connector 'because' suggested the syntactic way forward by linking back to the basilisk's tooth's ability to kill (following on as an application from the

proposition in lines 1 & 2). So speaker two (from the recording it is not possible to identify Emma and Arpege individually in this discussion) provided much more support than a general agreement (eg 'yeah') would have. She provided syntactic support through completion and offered an appropriate causal connector to extend the meaning of the discussion. In this way, the syntactic coherence across turns illustrates the pair's close collaboration.

The next conversation served to refresh the pair's memories about what Harry Potter would tell them later in the film. They were rehearsing, ahead of the film, part of the puzzle's solution and used syntactically parallel structures with each contributing to the list. The question they were discussing was how the basilisk, whose stare kills, had only petrified and not killed anyone. (Each new line below is a new speaker.)

> Everyone who was petrified were, didn't see it with their eyes
> 'Cos Hermione saw it with the mirror,
>   and that person,
>   Justin Finch-Fletchley, saw it through hidden mirrors,
>   the other kid through his camera,
>   the cat because there was water on the thing and saw its reflection.
> <div align="right">(Marty & Rick, viewing, 93 minutes)</div>

Although their recall was not perfect (Justin saw it through a ghost), it is the syntactic pattern of a consistent list to which they both contributed across six turns, which is impressive. They effectively used talk to combine their understandings about the plot in a single grammatically coherent structure, fulfilling the exploratory talk criterion of 'making reasoning visible'.

4.10.3   Differing opinions

Exploratory talk implies the potential for challenge prior to agreement, so examples where members of pairs used talk to state differing opinions are now considered. Not all pairs discussed their differences. In some pairs, there was always agreement while in others demurral was not commented on further.

There were numerous examples of simple and quick compromises.

> He's stupid. [Both laugh at Harry's threats to Dobby]
> He's funny.

He's stupid as well.   (Emma & Arpege, viewing, 58 minutes)

The speaker in the third line proposed a combination of descriptors rather than a dichotomy. The same pair, during a later activity, again used talk to create a nuance rather than endorse an 'either/or' position.

He's, hmm, pretty good. I wouldn't say he's brainy but he's not like 'Oh, I don't know what to do.'
He's brainy.
No. He's not dumb.   (Emma & Arpege, cards 5)

Speaker one returned to her position ('I wouldn't say he's brainy') after speaker two's offer of 'he is'. The final line proposed a definition of what Harry is not, as a way of maintaining the initial position. (Unfortunately, the following line, which seems to accept this position, is indistinct on the recording.) The disagreements led to a more precise statement rather than a stalemate ('tis/'tisn't', for example).

For another pair, disagreement stimulated further thoughts.

Well he [Harry] doesn't have anything to be jealous about. And um
Yes, he does have things
I know but Harry's probably jealous cos everyone, cos Malfoy has like a Mum and Dad.   (Maisy & Sonya, cards 9)

The challenge-interruption of the second line was responded to by agreement and elaboration, which may have been stimulated by that line. This challenging and countering is one of the hallmarks of exploratory talk. In the next example, the challenge to the initial statement is quite complex.

1   They're both head students. [Harry and Malfoy]
2   Well, I wouldn't think that. I wouldn't think [that] about McGonagall because I'd think she'd think Hermione was the best student.
3   Hmmm
4   Yeah.
5   Yeah but I think McGonagall believes in Harry.
                (Marty & Rick, cards 9)

Line 2 provided a relevant reason to contradict the position of line 1 and gave that reason from the point of view of the teacher-character's thinking. This moved the

discussion from the initial assertion to considering character perceptions in a very precise and articulate statement. The first speaker changed his position so that it did not conflict with line 2 by modifying from 'best student' to 'believes in' which is a more accurate and defensible judgement. Marty & Rick produced the most disagreement statements of all the groups but while firm in their statements were never emotional or heated and always maintained their joint focus on understandings about the film. The next example shows how productive their exchanges could be in stimulating further explanations. Harry's room has been ransacked and a diary is missing. To enter the room a password is required which is only known by members of Gryffindor.

> 1   Oh Ginny did it, Ginny.
> 2   No, I'm not too sure it's Ginny. I wouldn't think so because Ginny wouldn't probably do it.
> 3   Who did this, Ginny?
> 4   No.
> 5   It's Ginny, she was in Gryffindor.
> 6   I know. Oh no, it may be her. She stole it. Unless it was …. No it can't be Ginny. Ginny tried to dispose of it. She wouldn't try and get rid of it again. It was probably Tom Riddle.
>
> (Marty & Rick, viewing, 91 minutes)

Here, there was a move from an equivocal position in line 2 ('not too sure', 'probably') to the disagreement of line 4 and then the exploration of the problem in line 6. The assertions and questions in lines 1, 3 and 5 prompted the more thorough thinking through of the situation that was seen in line 6. Here the speaker had to convince his peer with reasons from the story, thus making 'knowledge more publicly accountable' (Wegerif & Mercer, 1997, p. 54). Such explanations in response to the prompting and questions of peers are the aim of many teachers in classroom practice.

Both the semantic and syntactic examples showed how, through a unity of purpose, the turn taking reinforced the pair's focus and allowed the best word to be recalled and used. The productive use of expressed differences of opinion also demonstrated the children supporting each other in the quest for articulation of meaning. The examples of exploratory talk have revealed these peers cooperating closely in constructing the meaning of the film. The interpersonal functions of their utterances were directed toward resolving the puzzles over meaning rather than asserting

individual identity. There was collaboration with partners, and disagreement was not interpreted as a personal challenge, but rather as challenge about the substance of the discussion.

4.10.4 Exploratory questions

The children created questions for each other during each of the three kinds of research activity with the majority generated during viewing, some during discussions of short clips and very few during the card tasks. Although there was some discussion about questions as conversation-openers within the cumulative talk category, questions will be discussed here in terms of the constructive but critical engagement that signifies exploratory talk.

There were a number of viewing questions asking about causation in the film ('Who sent the car?' (Miranda & Lizzie, viewing, 104 minutes), 'Who's doing that?' (Marty & Rick, viewing, 53 minutes)). The generation of such questions was exploratory talk that was seeking cause and effect explanations for the story's events beyond those given by the plot. Such explanations are important to a complete understanding of the film because, within this genre, there are often magical forces acting which are significant in comprehending the story world. The generation of such questions indicated that talk was being used to inquire beyond the superficial (cumulative talk), to open up more difficult areas of the film, even after repeated viewings. The lack of any response during the viewing may be due to the pressure of unfolding events or may be because the question was too difficult to answer.

The next extract begins with the character of Ginny being discussed, this time in terms of her motivation and her personal responsibility for bad actions, given the emphasis on morality in her family. (There are echoes of parental conversations in the tone and vocabulary of the first line.)

1	'Cause they don't even seem like each other, like why didn't Ron do something like that? Like, he's never been in trouble and done things like that and she does
2	Yeah, probably cause she's like, Tom made her
3	Yeah but why did she go down there in the first place?
4	Maybe because he like, he was making her,
5	But like, she would've had to find the entrance to go down there

6   He could have led her to it
7   True, but still
8   They should show us that scene   (Emma & Arpege, clip 4)

Here speaker one posed the questions (lines 1 and 3) while her partner was replying (lines 2, 4 and 6) with possible justifications. The topic was resolved satisfactorily with lines 7 and 8 forming a combined statement about the film's incompleteness in explaining the matter. The questions enabled construction of Ginny's lack of volition ('made her', 'making her', 'led her') and the pair created an acceptable resolution.

Although many of the questions the children posed during viewing and the clip activities did not result in rich or productive discussion, some did. Many of the questions focused on literal or factual matters and formed part of the ongoing comfortable cumulative talk that was an integral part of the interactions. Some questions, particularly those about magical causation, indicated thoughtful engagement with the film at the level of the overall story and the significant forces within it (structural engagement). The responses quoted above showed that both children were interested in exploring such meanings, as the questions were not dismissed but were addressed in the spirit in which they had been posed.

The examples of questions and responses, disagreements, and semantic and syntactic collaboration illustrate the exploratory talk process of 'knowledge being made more publicly accountable and reasoning more visible' (Wegerif & Mercer, 1997). The examples showed the competition between ideas, within exploratory talk, in contrast to the competition between identities within disputational talk. The examples were organised in terms of the linguistic actions of the participants that constituted exploratory talk. Such linguistic actions comprise, at a cultural level, dialogical reasoning, which is valued and encouraged in educational contexts.

4.11   Chapter summary

This discussion of the multimodal children's viewing data addressed the question:
In what ways do these children engage with their favourite film during viewing?

Some of the children physically expressed their engagement with the film during viewing, while others gave few overt signs other than attending to the screen. The viewing practice categories provide a way of organising the multimodal responses (including talk) according to the level at which the film was being engaged with. The practice categories allow gestures to be considered alongside the utterances that accompanied them and in conjunction with the film image, action and sound from that time of viewing. Digital technology enables both the audience's bodily and verbal responses to be used as data in examining their engagement with a film, in contrast to the intrusive earlier technologies such as flash cameras (Staples, 1997). This more comprehensive data contributes to meeting the intention of multimodal analysis to include as many modes of meaning making as possible in descriptions (Norris, 2004).

Social semiotics provides a unifying theory for treating the different modes of response together as does the notion of 'engagement practice' because it conceptualises viewing as a social practice which may involve a number of modes of communication in contrast to conceptions of viewing involving only the audience's ears and eyes. Palmer (1986) placed what audiences said and what they did in separate categories. In this study, responses are grouped according to their engagement level rather than the mode of expression that was used, so gestures and their accompanying talk can be considered together. The data images showed that gestures reinforced and sometimes extended verbal expressions within the engagement practices at literal, connotative and aesthetic levels. The framework could be tested and elaborated further through other reception research with children and could be used by educators to plan for and assess children's school-based film learning.

The viewing of the children in this study provided examples of two behaviours noted in other audience research. 'Chorusing' (saying dialogue with characters) was noted by Buckingham (1987) and the 'announcing of interpretations' of scenes during viewing was documented by Buckingham (1987) and in Srinivas's (2005) description of adult viewing in India. 'Announcing an interpretation' is also cited by Jenkins (2000) as one of the mechanisms through which interpretive communities (Fish, 1980) operate. The two behaviours, in this study, belong to different engagement

practices because they constitute different relationships with the film: chorusing is one way of 'performing the film' literally, while announcing is an interpretative or connotative action. A range of nine engagement behaviours across the literal, connotative and aesthetic categories was exemplified.

While the multimodal evidence of viewing engagement with a particular film sequence shows that pairs vary widely in their overt behaviour, other evidence reveals no clear relationship between behavioural activity while viewing, and understandings of the film. The empirical evidence is interpreted to show that levels of engagement with the text cannot be deduced from observation of viewing behaviour alone. The range of overt behaviour shown in the scene examined in this chapter is indicative of the different total levels of activity observed when 90 viewing minutes of each pair were compared. The lack of relationship between overt activity and understanding supports Silverstone's (1994) contention that the concept of the 'active viewer' is too vague to be of any use, that the real problem is 'to understand engagement' (p. 170). He further suggested that viewing engagement draws on 'the same practices that define our involvement with the rest of everyday life, practices that are themselves contained by, but also constitutive of, the basic symbolic, material and political structures which make any and every social action possible.' (p. 170). The variations in viewing behaviours documented here can be thought of as individual dispositions manifested through viewing with no necessary connection to levels of viewing engagement or to understanding. The different viewing behaviours may result from individual differences and household habitus, but do not determine viewing engagement levels. While Palmer (1986) used the term 'expressive' for a range of viewing behaviours, it may now be a useful label for a style of viewing which entails overt engagement behaviours. While observations of viewing are an important part of this study and provide more compelling evidence than self-reports of viewing, the variations in viewing styles suggest that audience research should not rely solely on data from observations of viewing behaviour.

The proximity of children to each other in the selected images showed a range of interpersonal interactions occurring during the viewing, with some pairs engaging in significant social interaction during viewing. A number of factors such as existing

friendships and familiarity with the household and the film may contribute to the different levels of interactions observed.

The talk through which the participants interacted spanned the three styles identified by Wegerif & Mercer (1997), but more importantly most groups used the exploratory style at times (examples from five of the eight groups were cited in the chapter). The exploratory talk data was organised in terms of the functions of the speech acts which enacted the focus on meaning. The examples of exploratory talk show some of the mechanisms by which children support and mediate one another's learning. The three types of talk can considered at a cultural level as 'social modes of thinking' (Wegerif & Mercer, 1997) or as discourses. Mercer (1995) discussed exploratory talk, with its closeness to educated discourse, as 'not being alien to children' but as requiring classroom modelling and teaching. The relatively naturalistic situation of these research settings provided evidence of children using such a discourse, at least at times, during viewing and while discussing a film. This evidence, of exploratory talk being used, further augments understandings of the activity of 'viewing at home' and the interactions associated with it. The use of exploratory talk supports Mercer's contention that it is not foreign to children, but more importantly, the evidence also shows that the repeat-viewing of films at home involves this educationally valued way of talking.

This chapter has shown the children's range of viewing behaviours and the ways they talked about one of their favourite films in out-of-school settings. The research question about the ways children engage with a familiar televisual text has been answered in terms of evidence of a range of multi-modal behaviours across the literal, connotative and aesthetic practice categories. Further consideration of engagement, from the viewpoint of the content of understandings, will be discussed in the next chapter. The research question that asked what the children's viewing language revealed about their engagement has been met by data illustrating the three categories of talk, with particular attention being given to exploratory talk. The data shows that cumulative talk occurred most frequently, that there were instances of disputational talk and that there were also examples of exploratory talk. While both cumulative and disputational talk focused on the social relationships that were being created through viewing, exploratory talk focused on aspects of the film.

The next chapter analyses the children's talk to discover the kinds of understandings they have about the film.

Chapter 5

Analysis and discussion of children's understandings

This chapter discusses and analyses data relevant to the research question, 'what kinds of understandings of the film are revealed by the children's talk?' The data come from the viewing, the short clips discussions and the card activities undertaken by the small groups of children (seven dyads and one triad). Two initial sections discuss the nature of this data by exploring the multi-layered nature of film texts and by discussing the situated nature of children's utterances about film characters. These sections justify the organisation of the subsequent material, which groups children's content interactions within the engagement practice categories to examine comments on particular aspects of the text. The sections that follow, foreground comments on film codes and conventions, and on reflections about repeated viewing.

5.1   The nature of the understandings data

This section explores two aspects of the data that affect how it can be interpreted from a poststructural perspective. The aspects are the multiple legitimate meanings available from film and the situated nature of responses to film.

5.1.1   Film as polysemic text

This section illustrates the capacity of visual images to sponsor multiple and complex meanings for this particular audience and the capacity of the audience to make varied meanings from the images. The implications of this for the treatment of the data will then be discussed. Children's talk about still images will be explored, then verbal responses to a shot will be described to illustrate the variations of meaning made from a film sequence.

5.1.1.1 Multiple meanings from still images

Talk about still images is discussed to show the children's awareness that film stills have layers of signification and can have several meanings (polysemy). The first exchange shows a pair first considering an image as having alternative meanings and in the next turn as having two meanings.

> And him, it may be, you know it could be his school or Hagrid
> 'Cause that's the school and Hagrid
> He likes Hagrid and the school is a very important thing
>
> (Elena & Kit, card task 2)

There was movement in this exchange from thinking of the image of Hagrid (in a school location, image #41, Appendix M) as literal, to seeing connotative significances where both meanings were seen as relevant (the shift from 'or' in the first line to 'and' in the second line shows the expansion of significance which is accepted by the first speaker in the third line).

Images sometimes carry meanings beyond that which is shown. Card task 3 (Appendix M has details) required the children to think about the causation of a series of plot events and to link them.

> 'Cause none of these actually have Dobby in them, I mean not that you can see
> But these are all things that Dobby's done, that's it
>
> (Elena & Kit, card task 3)

All participants identified the causal links from the single frame images even though only two of the five images show any part of Dobby, the causal character. The pair quoted above articulated to each other the fact that images could be linked by their connections outside of the images themselves – through causal connections, in this case.

In a task that asked about what was important to Harry, the image of a sword (#37, Appendix M) produced a range of discussion about its significance in the story. On a literal level it was chosen because it 'has helped him' (Elena & Kit) or more explicitly 'because it saved his life' (Billy & Scott). However, the sword is engraved

with the name of Gryffindor, Harry's school house (which has the quality of bravery associated with it) and the following example shows the group interpreting the significance of the engraving.

> This one's about the sword, that he is actually a real Gryffindor
> …
> Yeah because um, like, because you know when um Tom Riddle gives some of his powers to um Harry and everyone says, like he's a Slytherin.
> And he thinks, he thought he was Slytherin so that's why now, when he called it out, he knows now he's a Gryffindor because you can see the writing.
>
> (Step, Mazu & Kyle, card task 2)

In the last turn, the sword ('it') was taken as demonstrating Harry's true identity to him. This group of children showed their understanding that the sword is not just an instrumental object in the plot but that it also signifies in terms of Harry's inner character. This discussion of the image revealed a conception of the film as being not just about actions but also about confirmation for Harry that he is a 'real' Gryffindor in spite of 'everyone' saying he was a Slytherin. The image of the sword evoked responses, which ranged from literal (its use as a weapon) to aesthetic (its symbolic signifying of Harry's personal qualities and identity).

The three examples that involved still images showed that these children perceived the images as conveying meanings in addition to, and beyond, the literal.

5.1.1.2   Multiple meanings from a film shot

To explore the variation of responses during the initial viewing, data from a film segment during which most pairs had produced some talk was chosen. A detailed log was produced which recorded each film shot, the film dialogue and each pair's utterances on a matrix. From this information, one sequence was chosen to discuss here to document the variations in response to the same shot. The shot shows Harry and Ron magically levitating muffins, then Crabbe and Goyle eating the spiked muffins and becoming insensible (beginning at 67 minutes running time).

The opening shot of the scene involves significant camera movement during its 21 seconds. The shot is represented in Figure 14 by two stills (from the opening and closing frames of the shot).

Figure 14. Opening and closing frames of the 'spiked muffins' shot (67 minutes)

Five pairs of children talked while viewing this shot. Elena & Kit commented about the shot prior to this one in which Hermione had issued instructions and the drugged muffins, 'She didn't even eat anything'. The comment shows an awareness of Hermione's role as the 'knowledge provider' in the trio, while in this shot we see Harry and Ron performing the action. The comment belongs to the critical category in that it points out gender role inequality between characters.

One pair talked about Ron's offer to use his wand, 'Ron shouldn't use his wand for the flying spell 'cos it would make him fly' (Miranda & Lizzie). The children's comment elaborated on the shot's actions and dialogue which do not make this explicit – the film dialogue is, 'Ron, maybe I should do it./Yeah, right.' The children's comment is connotative because it gives an opinion on action (using knowledge from earlier action). Two pairs passed their judgement on Crabbe and Goyle, 'They don't look nice' (Maisy & Sonya) and 'Who wouldn't suspect two floating muffins? Would someone walk up and say, hey here's a floating muffin – choice?' (Billy & Scott). Both these pairs were voicing negative perceptions about the characters (their appearance and their stupidity) through connotative responses. One pair labelled the scene in anticipation of Crabbe and Goyle falling down asleep with, 'Oh this bit's funny' (Tayla & Analees) (a connotative response).

So, this shot produced comment about characters' roles in the story, about causation within the narrative, about aspects of the 'bad' characters, and about anticipated humorous action. Although four of the five pairs made connotative responses the content of the comments ranged widely.

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This brief example demonstrates that both the content of responses and the kinds of engagement practice varied. The relationship between signifier and signified in the sign is theoretically acknowledged by social semiotics to be not stable or fixed (Alasuutari, 1999; Selden, Widdowson & Brooker, 1997). Further, these images, both still and moving, are not discrete images; they acquire meaning together in a narrative. Repeated viewers can bring their experiences from any part of the whole narrative to their engagement practice with any single film moment or image. (The examples immediately above, of talking about the previous shot and of predicting the next shot, illustrate this point.) These responses to a small number of frames provide empirical evidence of audience meaning-making in action. The variations show that this text did not determine the responses of its audience at the micro-level. While some groups talked about what was happening and responded to it (literal engagement), some interpreted the action, while still others responded in terms of their personal values (critical engagement).

Since the talk data in this chapter was generated through the demonstrated variability of perceptions and responses to the polysemous film text, it is not valid or useful to make comparisons between such varied responses at the micro-level of individual shots or even short scenes. Consequently, the discussion that follows will use this variability to indicate the range of responses to, and understandings about, particular aspects of the text.

5.1.2   Situated responses

This section illustrates how children's comments at different points in a viewing (and in later sessions) construct different perspectives on a character. Those different perspectives may produce different kinds of understandings (as distinguished by different engagement practices). The discussion conveys the range of understandings about characters that the children generated.

The three examples that follow demonstrate that these viewers' attitudes towards a character are fluid. During the first research viewing, Emma & Arpege responded to Lockhart's part in the duelling scene by admiring him (along with some characters) and then evaluating his appearance.

> I like the cape …You need to be there to catch the cape.
> He's got a wedgie [hair style]. His hair is weird.
>
> (Emma & Arpege, viewing, 62 minutes)

Later, Emma & Arpege presented contradictory views of him as a self-deceiving ('he thinks … but he knows') lying fraud who is, nevertheless, funny.

> He thinks he's, he thinks he's a wonderful guy but he knows he's a fraud.
> He lies, he lies too much.
> Yeah. And he's funny and everything   (Emma & Arpege, cards task 4)

In another task they choose his image as a favourite and elaborated their attitudes,

> I like him
> Yeah, he's cool. He's just being a show-off there that's what I like, like, it's really funny when people be a show-off
>
> (Emma & Arpege, cards task 12)

It seems that the pleasure they took in him as a character ('cool', 'really funny') was through being spectators (not participants who are identifying) and at seeing his egoism exposed.

So, at different times they construed Lockhart differently. Their views ranged from being surprised at liking aspects of his scene, through being censorious ('he lies too much'), to enjoying laughing at him. In terms of the continuum, the comments range from literal ('He's got a wedgie') and connotative ('His hair is weird') to structural ('it's really funny when people show off'). Taken together we have a picture of viewers who were so closely involved with the film that at some points they talked as participants in the action, while at others they made comments which showed them to have a more distanced picture of (and attitude towards) the character.

There are three potential sources of this kind of variation. Firstly, the portrayal of a character often varies during a narrative. In one scene, Lockhart appears attractive and suave, in another boastful, and in a third, he is revealed as deceitful. Repeated viewing can overlay these aspects of his personality, so potentially they may all be available in each of his scenes. Secondly, post-structural views of identity replace the unitary self with the idea of multiple selves, which implies that the identity a viewer is enacting can vary from one section of viewing to another, potentially producing

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differing responses to the same aspects of a character. Thirdly, a material view of language holds that words have 'situated meanings' (Gee, 1999) in particular contexts. It is possible that the use of 'funny' in the second and third examples carries differing situated meanings for those children. So, variation may stem from the differing behaviour of the character, from the various identities of the viewer, or from the slipperiness of language across contexts.

Discussion of such data needs to acknowledge this fundamental variability, by either treating all of a pair's utterances as comprising their engagement with a character, or by discussing individual utterances without assuming they represent the full picture of the pairs of viewers' attitudes and understanding about that character. The latter possibility will be used here, with a focus on the range of responses from the group, rather than on particular pairs of children.

5.2 Understandings about character

The idea of 'character' implies that the physical and social actions of fictional entities reveal an 'identity' that can be discussed in similar ways to that of a real person. In fiction, as in life, a character's actions may be inconsistent or contradictory; within 'normal' limits, such varied motivations or personal principles contribute to 'complexity' of character. Viewer responses may take account of some or most of the character variation represented in a text. This section illustrates the meanings that the children constructed, through their talk across the research activities, about the characters within each of the five practices on the continuum of engagement practices.

5.2.1 Literal understandings about character

Literal viewing practice commentates on the actions and events on-screen. While many literal comments were made, they are not of great interest here as they state the obvious, so will be illustrated only briefly.

Harry was described in data from a card task in literal terms as 'strong' (in magical powers) (Billy & Scott) and 'famous' (Miranda & Lizzie). One pair responded to Hermione with literal comments about her attractiveness to them.

> She is so pretty.
> *Do you think she's pretty?*
> Yeah, she is. Especially when she goes, "Harry" [imitates accent]
> *Is it the way she talks or how she looks?*
> Yeah, yeah.
> The way that she talks, probably.
> But, like, her hair looks really pretty.   (Miranda & Lizzie, clip 1)

Hermione's appearance and accent were seen as her important features.

5.2.2   Connotative understandings about character

Connotative viewing practice evaluates aspects of what is viewed, and may consider associated implications of what is on-screen.

Connotative comments about Harry portrayed him as 'a bit bossy, brave, not dumb' (Emma & Arpege), 'a leader, figures out what is going on' (Elena & Kit), 'really brave, intelligent, explores all the time' (Maisy & Sonya) and 'mentally strong, not a scaredycat' (Tayla & Analeese). There was also discussion that contested the interpretation of Harry's actions.

> And he's like, really good at picking up like, how to do things, like when the snake was coming so he, cos the snake was blind, he made him blind, so he threw the stone so he
> I think he just did it in panic
> I didn't, he threw the stone so that the snake could think that was Harry or something. So that Harry, he's got a good imagination.
> (Maisy & Sonya, clip 1)

The perception that Harry sometimes acts reactively rather than proactively was suggested (couched in terms of a personal opinion by 'I think') but dismissed by the partner as not being consistent with her view of him having 'a good imagination'. There are two views of Harry in this exchange: Harry as a perfect hero who can always solve the problems he is confronted with; and Harry the near-human who sometimes takes a chance when he is under pressure. This discussion about Harry's

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actions late in the film took place while the girls were viewing a very early scene and were discussing his character at the level of interpretation of his motivation.

Hermione was given a range of qualities by a number of groups, for example, 'really girly, knowledgeable about spells, really clever, really nice' (Maisy & Sonya). The next extract, which compares her with Harry, features claims and challenges that invoke gender expectations.

1   Well, he's [pause] Harry's a bit bossy.
2   *Oh is he?*
3   No he's not
4   Yeah. Like to Hermione and Ron he –
5   Hermione is. Hermione is bossy.
6   They're both. They both act the same because they're both a little bit bossy. He's like, 'Ron. You stay here.'
7   *Right. And does she do the same sort of thing?*
8   Yeah. She's like –
9   She's like, she knows every spell –   (Emma & Arpege, card task 5)

In response to the statement about Harry being 'a bit' bossy, the other speaker, in lines 3 and 5 asserted that Hermione is bossy. Line 6 talked about the two characters together, though tempering the original claim (to 'a little bit' bossy), and provided an example of directive language from Harry. The researcher asked for an equivalent example from Hermione but received comments about her knowledge. This discussion can be interpreted as constructing Hermione as bossy because she is knowledgeable rather than because she is overbearing. Harry was defended against the apparently negative quality of being 'bossy' in line 3 and the charge was transferred to Hermione. Different criteria were applied to Harry and Hermione based on their gender. The extract shows both speakers citing characters' actions as evidence of how they exert authority. In this way the pair assembled actions from different parts of the film together as support for their assessment of the characters' qualities. The connotative negotiation brought their real world acceptance of gender inequalities (their hegemonic acceptance) to bear on their judgements of Hermione.

Another pair, through connotative comments, was unanimous about her smartness.

> Hermione she's really smart, she's really cool. She seems like, a bit
> boring. She's a goody-goody. Sometimes she can get a bit emotional too.
> She's pretty kind really. (Elena & Kit, card task 5)

The utterance presented a list of six attributes, with positive ones intensified by 'really' and 'pretty' and two attributes moderated by 'a bit'. This was the most comprehensive characterisation of Hermione, represented her as a rounded character and was not contested by the partner. In this extract, Elena & Kit talked predominantly in terms of the character's inner qualities.

In discussing the vain and ineffectual character of Lockhart, the pair below stressed the difference between his perceptions of himself ('he thinks he's great') and their own ('stupid', 'the only thing he can do'), in connotative responses that included the film's evidence for their view.

> Lockhart is stupid.
> He's really, he thinks he's great
> He, the only thing he can do is memory charm
> Yeah he gets people to tell how they did things and then makes them
> forget
> He writes it down and takes credit for it.   (Elena & Kit, cards task 4)

They state and then detail his shortcomings that the film gradually reveals, thus projecting themselves as judges of his worth.

In discussing Snape's character, one pair provided a cautious judgement.

> 1   Snape isn't really bad
> 2   But he doesn't try to help Harry.
> 3   He seems to want Harry to be in trouble
> 4   He tried to get them expelled for flying the car (Elena & Kit, cards task 4)

The qualifications in these comments give them greater precision ('isn't really bad' and 'seems to want') and the use of 'try' in lines 2 and 4 gives importance to Snape's inaction and intentions. Line 2 follows syntactically from the previous one and further qualifies the earlier statement. Line 3 is a general statement and the following line provides specific evidence. This short extract is a focused and coherent collaboration

that included the character's actions and motivation to produce a nuanced connotative response.

Connotative practice is shown to include interpretations of the qualities of characters through evaluative statements justified in terms of their actions and motivations. The members of pairs often had different perceptions, which were negotiated to achieve a consensus.

5.2.3   Aesthetic understandings about character

Aesthetic viewing practices are characterised by close involvement with the film, affective responses and the explicit contribution of viewers' personal experiences to the meaning-making.

The larger Harry Potter series can be characterised as a contest of wills and magical powers that Harry must win (as this is part two of seven). In this story, Harry is still discovering his identity and the extent of his powers. Discussions about Harry's true identity, rather than about his actions, in terms of school house and therefore of 'moral personality', are shown below.

> 1   And he knows that he was a real Gryffindor person because Dumbledore says only a real Gryffindor person can hold the sword of the Gryffindor.
> 2   No, only he can pull out of the hat
> 3   Yeah and he thought he was Slytherin because he could speak parsel-tongue   (Marty & Rick, card task 2)

This extract (in lines 1 and 3) described the conflict Harry had over which house he truly belonged to, despite having an ability (to speak snake language) which is only possessed by Slytherins. This exchange shows comprehensive textual justification for its position by giving importance to the sword because it moved Harry from 'thought he was Slytherin' to 'knows that he was a real Gryffindor'. It is not the practical (or literal) purpose of the sword being discussed but its symbolic significance in terms of Harry's identity. In this extract, the boys consider the story to be, at least in part, about Harry's identity being progressively revealed both to himself and others. They see the story as having character-centred dimensions, and furthermore they discuss it from Harry's point of view.

The exchange below also showed a complex response to an adult character.

1   I like that, 'cause Gilderoy Lockhart is funny when he lets the pixies out of the cage he's like, 'oh well, I'll just let you three do it'
2   He's really stupid
     …
3   And yeah, that part because he's really stupid and he's like, telling everyone about himself and he's being like, really vain
4   And he gets these portraits and they're still smiling
5   I know, that's why I quite like that image, 'cause there's the three of them
                                                    (Elena & Kit, cards task 12)

This aesthetic position expressed pleasure in the character's flaws. There is a distance between the viewers and the character, and an appreciation of his role in the narrative. The two positions which opened this extract seem to differ (lines 1 and 2) but the two children agreed by the end. Line 1 established a link with the character through the quote which re-voiced Lockhart's dialogue (of 'I'll ask you three to just …'), while the response was emphatic through the intensifier 'really' (line 2), which also emphasised his vanity (line 3). The pair expressed pleasure in seeing his stupidity and vanity made so clearly manifest.

When Lucius Malfoy presents a petition to suspend the school's headmaster ('You'll find all twelve signatures there'), one pair mentioned that he had used threats to obtain the necessary signatures ('Lucius threatens other people to get the twelve signatures' Marty & Rick, viewing, 92 minutes) – this is revealed in the film at 136 minutes. This earlier talk of the threat constructed his actions as unjust and elaborated the immorality of his character before the film does. In such ways, the children's talk constructed their joint understandings of the character's role across the whole narrative and brought those understandings into the viewing present at a relevant point. No pairs made irrelevant linking statements; all showed a sense of relevance in mentioning connections.

The aesthetic responses extend the connotative practice of interpreting several qualities of a character, by drawing on the character's trajectory though the wider narrative and by explaining a character's understandings from their point of view.

5.2.4   Structural understandings about character

Structural viewing practice comments may not show such close affective engagement with characters as aesthetic ones, but there is an awareness of patterns within the text.

In the context of choosing favourite images, one pair expressed a different attitude toward Snape from that of the other children who saw him as acting meanly to Harry.

> Oh and I like him because
> Snape's cool you know, he's always, yeah I like the bits where he's sort of when you get to see him and Harry together and he's being all sort of cold and then
> Don't know [why] I like him though. I don't know, I think the bits with him are really interesting
> The funny thing is he's trying to protect Harry
>
> (Elena & Kit, cards task 12)

The pair explored their responses through this talk, showing that they were interested in some parts of the film (and characters) which were not necessarily attractive in the sense of being able to identify with, but which were intriguing. The vocabulary of 'when … he's … being … cold …I think … interesting' conveyed an engagement which gained pleasure from a character's antagonism to the hero (in contrast with the naïve identification with Harry of some other children). The appreciation of how tension between characters could increase dramatic intensity and the audience's interest is a structural view because it highlights the positive contribution of conflict to the story's dramatic tension.

When pressed to choose a limited number of images that represented things important to Harry, the following exchange took place.

> 1   They're all really important things.
> 2   *Because?*
> 3   Because this one can come into this one. For, because. [Dumbledore
>   represented by the Gryffindor sword]
> 4   *Or vice versa?*
> 5   Well, yeah, but that one's more important, I think, because well that can go into this one as there because, like, he told him to pick it up and have a closer look [Dumbledore told Harry]
>   …

6   And also this one can also go into that one because Harry would have died if he didn't show great loyalty to him. And that's why the phoenix went. [Dumbledore/phoenix connection]

(Tayla & Analeese, card task 2)

Line one was a justification to the researcher for not discarding any further images. In the space between lines one and three Tayla realised that one image could 'come into' or could 'stand for' another. In lines five and six she used 'go into' in identifying symbolic relationships in the film. Both the phoenix and the Gryffindor sword were used in the narrative to symbolise Dumbledore and loyalty towards him, and 'good'. Earlier, in the aesthetic understandings section, the sword's significance was described by Marty & Rick as contributing to Harry's sense of identity. Here, it is seen as a symbol for goodness and for Dumbledore. Tayla's talk described how objects and animals could be understood as symbols for characters, qualities and relationships. Such abstract thoughts express an understanding of the whole story and the commonalities and associations within it, which constitute its higher order patterns and structures.

The wider perspective of structural engagement resulted in understandings of how an unattractive character contributes to the narrative's higher order qualities of texture and dramatic tension, and of higher order views about characters that include symbolic representations of their qualities. The examples showed understanding of the contribution of conflicting characters to narrative structure and of the way in which symbols can represent allegiances between characters.

5.2.5   Critical understandings about character

Critical viewing practice focuses on the values and ideologies embodied in the text.

Two pairs, in discussing Draco and Harry (arch enemies), talked of the characters' parents and mentioned the mothers who do not figure in either the books or films. In doing so, the children were making explicit an absence in the overtly patriarchal world of Harry Potter texts. The first extract shows the children applying contemporary social expectations to the implied 1950s/1960s setting of the film.

It doesn't really talk about Malfoy's mum
I don't think he had a mum
Maybe she's dead or they broke up   (Emma & Arpege, cards task 9)

A second group also commented on the absence of Harry's mother.

But like, I want to see his [Harry's] mother. See what she's like. Because of, well maybe I want to see it in either the new books or new movies.
                                                              (Step, Mazu & Kit, cards task 9)

These two examples show critical practice through articulating a silence in the film's representation of the story world, although they were not explicitly articulating the patriarchal nature of the film's world.

The few explicit comments made about the values conveyed by the film were related to gender (the story's inclusion of the issue of racial diversity versus racial purity in the wizard world received no comment at all). Critical responses included a comment by Elena & Kit about Hermione organising the boys and not eating, and a girl's quietly spoken comment about the quidditch teams in this film, 'They're all boys, I think. They're all boys' (Emma & Arpege, viewing, 37 minutes). Although the film has four boys and three girls in Gryffindor's team as in the book (Rowling, 1999, p. 135), the consistent foregrounding in film scenes of the male team members renders them more prominent and leads to the impression these viewers articulated. Their comment shows an awareness of the potential for a patriarchal version.

These responses, which contain critical potential, show the children making connections between their own values and cultural expectations, and those represented in the film.

5.3   Understandings about story

The responses discussed in this section focus on the way the narrative is represented in the film. Film analysis distinguishes between a film's 'plot' (all that the audience experiences, including non-diegetic elements such as soundtrack music) and its 'story' (all the events that happen in the 'world' of the film (the diegesis) which

includes all implied events that the audience does not see on screen). Children made a number of comments about such implied story events and about the relationship between the book and film versions of *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*.

5.3.1 Connotative understanding about story

Most comments about the relationship between book and film were connotative in that they identified discrete 'missing elements' without any comment on the larger shape or structure, for example, 'They should show us that scene/In the movie they skip lots of parts' (Emma & Arpege, clip 4).

While a number of groups supplied occasional 'missing information' to each other during viewing, two pairs did this more consistently. Maisy & Sonya provided three instances of information from the book, which were offered, with no special emphasis, at the appropriate point of the film so that the extra details were incorporated into the engaged viewing experience. Billy had used the DVD version of the film for his repeated viewings and during the initial research viewing mentioned 'deleted scenes' (from the 'Extra features' on the DVD) at the points where they would have originally fitted in the narrative. At 12 minutes and at 68 minutes he described the 'missing action' ('there's a scene where Harry hides when the Malfoys come in'; 'There's another scene when he walks off, he stays and listens to them talking about him' B & S, viewing, 12 minutes & 68 minutes). Clearly, in his mind there was an 'expanded' version of the film that included the 'deleted scenes' so that when he watched, he was able to 'reinsert' the scenes. For these children, viewing the film's plot involved re-inserting the story's implied events to produce their version of the film experience.

5.3.2 Structural understandings about story

One pair made structural comments about the film's plot, demonstrating that they were aware of the multiple sub-plots ('there's heaps of stories in just one movie' Maisy & Sonya, viewing history). Further, they showed an awareness of a structuring pattern within the film.

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> I like the way that they um, when one bit happens and you don't quite get it, and then they kind of say to each other what happened.
>
> (Maisy & Sonya, viewing history)

This comment showed a meta-level awareness of viewing experience; the speaker was aware of when she understood clearly and when she relied on the expositional dialogue to provide explanation.

Even during the first research viewing, some children made observations about patterns across the Harry Potter films, for example, 'In each movie there is snow' (Step, Mazu & Kyle, viewing, 74 minutes). While discussing how scary the action was in one of the short clips, one boy made the following comment about the structure of the three Harry Potter films.

> Oh this, oh it seems that at the end of *The Philosopher's Stone* - this is at the pretty much at the end of *Chamber of Secrets* - and pretty much the end of um *Prisoner of Azkaban*. The really only scary parts are at the end of the movie.
> *Oh O.K.*
> When they, like find out stuff, they do more stuff and then it gets more serious and [scary] at the end. (Step, Mazu & Kyle, clip 4)

When asked to talk about whether a scene was frightening, Step replied that it was not in terms of the parts of that particular scene, but identified and explained a common 'cliff-hanger' pattern in the three films' narrative shapes. He identified not just the films' genre components (problem, investigation, adventure, danger, [resolution was talked about later]), but also linked the fear conveyed in the denouement with its function within the story shape. This explanation showed perception of how dramatic tension and fear could be related to the narrative arc of equilibrium, disequilibrium, equilibrium.

In the midst of discussing the immediate action in a clip, the following sustained statement about good and bad within fiction was made.

> 1 No, but in the movie it says Slytherin sucks, but on the movie if he was put in Slytherin and it was made the good one.
> 2 Yeah.

3   And then you'd say Gryffindor sucks. It all depends on – you get hooked
     up to what the movie says.
4   Because he's in Gryffindor -
5   At the start of the movie, if Gryffindor was bad and Slytherin was good,
     you would say Gryffindor sucks. So you get, like attached to the movie
     and, like you go along and like you're in the world and say so and so
     sucks and la la la. He's put in, he's in Gryffindor and Gryffindor's good.
6   Yeah.
7   But Slytherin's bad right?
8   Yeah, yeah.
9   If he was in Slytherin and Slytherin was good, then um and Gryffindor
     would be bad, then they'd say Gryffindor sucks, but it all depends on the
     movie   (Step, Mazu & Kyle, clip 2)

Lines 5 and 9 expounded the idea that, given a hero-figure like Harry, whatever choices a creator makes for that figure's base becomes 'good' and the 'other' one consequently is 'bad' and 'you get attached to what the movie says'. This is a reflection on this film where there are two 'sides' in the guise of the school houses and they are deemed to be 'good' and 'bad' depending on where Harry has been placed. There was no response from the other two boys and so, as the transcript shows, the researcher by default became the responder who prompted extra turns. This reflection explored the constructed (and arbitrarily assigned) nature of the moral dimension of the fictional world. The comments show separation from involvement in the plot and ruminate on its structure as a created artefact.

5.3.3   Critical understandings about story

While there were no explicit critical practice comments about the values embodied in the story, the pair of Billy & Scott challenged inconsistencies in the film's dialogue on two occasions. When the Weasley's car is made invisible but Ron and Harry are not, they asked, 'shouldn't the inside be invisible as well?' (B & S, viewing, 22 minutes). They were correct in asking such a question, as the book does use the logic they suggest by saying, 'The car around them vanished – and so did they.' (Rowling, 1999, p. 87). Two pairs pointed out a further inconsistency in the film version, 'This bit's cool. Ear muffs – how can they hear her with ear muffs on? They must not be very good' (Billy & Scott, viewing, 31 minutes; Miranda & Lizzie, viewing, 31 minutes). In the print version the teacher says 'When it is safe to remove them, I will give you the thumbs-up. Right – earmuffs *on*' (Rowling, 1999, p. 117). These children's comments indicated close attention to the detail of the film and an attitude

of challenging the film's internal logic and continuity which constitutes the beginnings of a very basic critical practice.

Understandings about story begin at connotative engagement level (literal engagement views events as separate and hence does not engage at story level). There were a number of connotative comments but only three groups produced engagement at structural or critical levels. One group's structural comments showed significant understandings of how narrative worlds are constructed and shaped. The comments classified here as critical, concerned logical consistency within the film-world rather than the values shown in that world.

5.4   Understandings about causation

Within narratives that use 'magic' as a causal mechanism, it is common for some causation to be explained and some to be left unexplained, and the Harry Potter stories are no exception. However, part of understanding a narrative is having some ideas about the causes of its major events, so the content in clip 4 was chosen to give the children an opportunity to talk about an illustration of magical causation in the film. The clip prompted children to explain how it is that Tom disintegrates when his magical diary is stabbed by Harry with the basilisk tooth. This section draws its examples from that activity (and one other extract talking about the same film sequence) so that the range of explanations of the same on-screen event can be established. Convincing explanations would draw on the film-world's processes rather than those of the 'real' world. There are a number of forces being played out at this point in the film. (The diary absorbs the writer's energy and creates contact between them and its owner (Tom Riddle). Riddle has two identities (an ex-student and the bodiless Voldemort) and is using his command over the basilisk to try to kill students of mixed (wizard and non-magical) ancestry. The basilisk's stare can kill and its fangs contain poison. Harry kills the basilisk, suffering a bite in the process, and then uses its fang to stab the diary, which causes Tom Riddle to disappear.)

5.4.1   Literal explanations for causation

This extract shows a pair who explained this incident in two different literal-level ways. The pronoun 'he' in these discussions can refer either to Tom or to Harry – usually the verb makes clear which one of them is the subject.

1   Yeah so he knows that if he puts, cause the basilisk can kill, like
2   It like kills people,
3   Yeah, and so if he puts that in the book maybe he might guess that Tom Riddle will go
4   Because,
5   Because it'll kill
6   And I think he got it from when he was writing in the [book] cause things disappear, like the words when he writes, disappear

<div align="right">(Emma & Arpege, clip 4)</div>

That the basilisk's tooth can kill because the basilisk itself 'kills people', is the film-world explanation they give. The pair's talk was collaborative (especially lines 1 and 2, 4 and 5) but did not explain the link between the book and Tom. The other cause given was that within the book, words disappear. No explanation linking the stabbing of the book and Tom was offered, just some literal description of what had happened earlier in the film.

5.4.2   Connotative and aesthetic explanations for causation

This pair explained how Harry came to think that if he stabbed the diary, Tom Riddle would die.

1   He might have got the idea from when he wrote in it and it soaked up and he
2   That's like, how he lives when people write in it. [Tom Riddle]
3   But like, [pause] oh it like, soaks up what everybody's ever like written in it. And like, Lucius Malfoy might have written in it heaps and he thought that if he didn't get rid of it, it would have like taken over him like it did Ginny.
4   *Right.*
5   That's why he gave it to Ginny.
6   That's weird because he's like, just stabbing a book and he's like, dis-separating

<div align="right">(Billy & Scott, clip 4)</div>

They explained that Tom only lives because people write in the diary and that the stabbing of it destroys the life in the memories that sustained him. They also saw the

diary as active in two ways. It 'soaks up' words, and it can possess its writer. This latter characteristic was suggested as the motivation for Malfoy to 'get rid of it'. They implicitly suggested that Malfoy's motive was self-preservation (rather than, as the text offers, supporting Voldemort). The final word in this extract shows the speaker's dilemma over whether to choose 'disappearing' or 'separating' when the film shows both occurring. This exchange provided two explanations; that of the link between Tom and the diary (other people writing in it sustains him), and that of suggesting Malfoy's motivation in giving away a powerful book which 'takes over' its owner. The book had volition attributed to it in line 3 but this concept is not present in line 6 (which carries the sense of 'just a book'). This exchange was connotative because it attributed magical volition and agency to the book (as it has in the film-world) but also revealed aesthetic engagement as it constructed characters' points of view (Harry, Malfoy).

5.4.3 Structural explanations for causation

Explaining the connection between the death of Tom Riddle and the simultaneous revival of the nearly-dead Ginny was another causation question posed by clip 4. Abstract concepts were used by two groups to explain the link, with this pair using the term 'power' to label vital energy.

> I think how she wakes up when he dies is because he gets all the power from her and he's able to become human again. And when he dies all the power goes back to her so she's able to come alive again
>
> (Emma & Arpege, clip 4)

This pair, which had previously offered a literal explanation of causation (see 5.4.1 above), gave a structural explanation which encompassed a broad sweep of the film's action (Riddle's motivation in possessing Ginny) along with the higher level concept of 'power'. Power is a more explanatory concept than either 'memory' or 'life', the terms that the film dialogue offers. This shows structural engagement because the higher level notion of power as a transferable commodity enables the children to link a number of the story's events to make a generalisation about the forces operating in them.

Another group struggled with the causation problem and then used a notion that came from other fantasy texts they were familiar with (such as *Pokemon*, *Dungeons and Dragons*). The first speaker asked about how the diary and Tom are linked (a good question).

> I don't get it, how that's Tom Riddle [S asking about how the diary=Tom]
> I do. That's Tom Riddle. That's his light … that's his … I don't know what it is
> Like his life …
> That's his life-points kind of   (Maisy & Sonya, card task 1)

The concept of 'life-points' is used in other magical and fantasy fiction and is an appropriate explanation here, because life-points are a quantifiable abstract representation of 'life-force'. Using this concept, the diary can represent Tom Riddle's vitality rather than his body and, as with the group above, this vital essence is transferable from one being to another. This pair was trying to establish the basis for an explanation and used an appropriate higher-level concept from other fiction.

The pair below used their talk to construct the logic that Harry might have used to enable him to cause Tom's death.

> 1   Tom Riddle was like, 'isn't that funny what a silly little book can do'
> 2   Yeah, can do
> 3   And he's [Harry's] like – 'the book!'
> 4   And he already knows that the book is actually Lord Voldemort, it's him that is actually
> 5   He knows that it's only the memory …
> 6   *Right*
> 7   So if he gets rid of the memory, then he'll
> 8   He'll disappear   (Elena & Kit, clip 4)

Their logic depended on the equating of the diary with Voldemort ('is actually', line 4) through the existence of the memories it has recorded. The speaker of line 5 paused, leaving her implied statement ('it's only the memory that sustains him') unfinished. Then, 'gets rid of the memory' is seen to equal the end of Tom Riddle, who is also Voldemort and so the point is proven. They did not give any specifics about how stabbing the book destroys the memories, however. (Of course, the film and the books also remain vague and 'mystical' about such specifics.) This exchange

combined aesthetic and structural engagement as it took the viewpoint and knowledge of a character (Harry), showed a thorough appreciation of his understandings within the world of the film and included Voldemort (as the incarnation of evil), the higher level 'absent' character who fuels the broad direction of events within the Hogwarts world. It is the recognition of the dual identity of Riddle and the identification of Voldemort with the diary that creates the structural component of this engagement. Voldemort causes a number of 'bad events' in the plot and personifies evil as a force in the film's moral struggle.

The causal explanations drew on the film-world and in two cases also drew on appropriate abstract concepts from outside the text. The final example drew on the higher level explanatory concepts of the story world (the ex-student Tom Riddle having transmuted into the evil force Voldemort who has no body and thus needs to reside in the diary). The structural explanations showed children talking about the abstract forces behind the concrete story struggles and events.

5.5   Understandings of film codes

So far in this chapter, the content of utterances and the viewing practice continuum categories have been used as organising principles. This section, however, deals with children's comments that foreground their awareness of film codes and conventions. As all engagement categories can include comments about codes it is often difficult to assign clearly the comments about codes to a category, so the codes themselves will be used as organisers. Most of the comments in this section were made during the clip activities that allowed discussion of a more extended nature because the film's inexorable progress was not a pressure. There were no comments on written codes and a few literal comments on audio codes (on character's accents and on non-diegetic music ('that's Harry's music again')) which will not be discussed.

5.5.1   Technical codes

Technical codes consist of the film production process and the associated technologies that construct the illusion of the story's 'natural' action. This section

includes examples of the children's comments on camera work, editing and special effects.

5.5.1.1   **Camera**

Children generally used their everyday vocabulary rather than specialist film terminology in their comments about camera work, probably because they were not familiar with the terminology. There were very few comments about cameras during the initial viewing, but a number during the clip activities. This may indicate that using short clips (with frequent stops) allowed children to articulate their awareness of camera work, which may have been squeezed out of the conversation during viewing.

The following comment was made as Harry was hearing voices, so there was no special action taking place. A literal comment would have been 'Harry looks at us' but this connotative utterance acknowledged the produced and mediated nature of the scene.

> Harry looks at the camera, he goes [facial expression] and then he looks up.   (Billy & Scott, viewing, 41 minutes)

The same pair commented during a clip activity about the camera directing their attention.

> 1   It's a talking hat.
> 2   Yeah.
> 3   We probably didn't notice first of all it said that.
> 4   Yeah.
> 5   But they practically had the camera right on it.   (Billy & Scott, clip 2)

Line 5 suggested that the camera directs the audience's attention. It would also have been appropriate to have commented on the mise en scène here (61 minutes) because the hat blends in with the dark sepia tones of Dumbledore's bookshelf. Line 3 commented on an audience member's first viewing, while line 5 talked in terms of how the scene is constructed to direct audience attention. The extract began with literal commentary (line 1) and finished with structural comments (lines 3 and 5) which show a meta-awareness of viewing.

A similar point was made by another pair. In this case, the camera is the subject of the first sentence in line 5, while the second sentence has 'they', which acknowledges the constructed nature of the image.

> 1 *And who's that behind them all?*
> 2 Ahh, I think that's some of the teachers
> 3 *Why can't you see them properly?*
> 4 Too far away
> 5 Because the camera is like, not close up to them, it's like, just on Harry and Ron. They don't want us to like, see the other table or anything - it's all on their part   (Emma & Arpege, clip 5)

Line 4 gave a naïve 'realistic' (literal category) reason for teachers being in the background. This was significantly modified to 'the camera… is not close up (to them) … it's … on Harry and Ron'. The difference between the statement that said that the audience was far away and one saying that the camera was not close is very significant in terms of understanding. The former used the model of the audience being spectators to a drama, while the latter was framed in terms of the technical code with the camera as the mechanism for a film's selective attention. This pair, and most children in the sample, showed a range of levels of awareness of cameras and other aspects of film production during their talk.

Two pairs made structural comments about the camera movement during the final scene of the film, as this example illustrates.

> This is nearly the end.
> *How do we know?*
> Probably cos they're zooming out.   (Marty & Rick, clip 5)

Not only did this exchange correctly use film terminology, but it also showed an awareness of conventional film endings where either a crane or an aerial shot signals the audience being withdrawn from its close relationship with the characters and setting of the narrative.

5.5.1.2   Editing

During both the initial viewing and the clip activities children made comments about how particular sequences might have been created. These comments were connotative

because they were based on assumptions that film action is mediated or constructed, but the comments showed varying levels of awareness.

Conversation about the scene where Ron and Harry are shown 'disappearing' up a chimney as they 'travel by floo powder', indicated these children's understandings.

> I wonder how they get around there.
> How do they make him disappear on the camera?
> He must, he could go to the side. The chimney could be like, low.
> The door, yeah.
> And he's like, when the flame goes up and he could just move to the side.
> Because it's more on one side than the other.
> He could go that side because there's more room there.
>
> (Emma & Arpege, clip 1)

This pair was thinking in terms of theatrical drama where illusions or tricks are necessary to make people 'disappear' because events occur in real time. This talk showed no understanding of editing as a process that could cause the actor to seem to disappear. Drama is the conceptual model of performance that these children used, along with notions of special effects (and foreshadows the comments made below in 'performance').

One child detailed what she saw as an important missing story element.

> It's confusing on that bit how she opens the Chamber of Secrets, cos she doesn't speak parsel tongue and sometimes I lie in bed at night and wonder how things are done. Like, I wonder how they could have literally done that. Like, unless Tom Riddle had opened the Chamber of Secrets early, who could have done it? She's not a parsel tongue
>
> (Maisy & Sonya, card task 1)

This extract shows how one repeated viewer focused on quite specific details between her viewings. This extract also reveals how the film's story was thought of as a complete entity, which was then filmed. There was a sense in the utterance that the action needed to be able to unfold so that it could be filmed. This is another manifestation of thinking of the action as a drama.

Significant technical knowledge about editing was articulated during the following conversation about the final scene with its zoom out to an aerial view of the school.

1 I don't know how they make it. Is it cool computer graphics?
2 Hmmm they might have just been in a helicopter and zoomed in really really
3 Yeah but it could be a computer graphic cos there might not be a real place like this.
4 I'm not too sure, either it's computer graphic[s] or they just had a camera zoomed in quite closely.
5 Yeah, but you can't hear helicopter sound.
6 Yeah but what if they edited out the sound and just put the
7 Oh Yeah.
8 Just put the thing, and they could just have the helicopter. And when that's inside the building they could have just had a camera in the corner so you couldn't see it.   (Marty & Rick, clip 5)

The pair began with an appreciation of the final image and a question about how it was done. From line 2 onwards, they explored how filmmakers' cameras might capture such footage. The speaker in line 6 showed knowledge about the separate recording of image and sound and used the term 'edit' correctly. Line 8 provided further detail but also showed that the understandings were partial, as the comment about the camera did not acknowledge that the whole film had relied on such cameras positioned 'so you couldn't see' them (the drama model was being used again).

5.5.1.3   Special effects

In this section, talk about images that the children deemed 'non-realistic' or 'special effects' is discussed to explore what viewing practices were embodied, as well as what understandings were revealed. Effects talk was usually brief comment sandwiched between other sorts of responses.

[Laughter at Ron's fear]
I know that's a simulation because all that glass would have gone into his head.
Yeah.
If it was me I'd be yelling for help …(Elena & Kit, viewing, 26 minutes)

Here the observation follows laughter and is followed by responses to the character's situation. The vocabulary of 'simulation' is precise and may have been familiar from

its use on television. 'Simulation' was used to indicate a 'staged' piece of action and so reveals some understanding of the constructedness of film.

The next example shows children puzzling about 'how it's done'.

1   Yeah it's just the actor's things, like they make special effects
2   They put it on
3   It's just blood and paint I think
4   Yeah and the bird is maybe put it on the camera. It's already on the camera because they make the cartoon like it, a cartoon thing like a bird, and then they put it on the camera and then they just show Harry and Ginny where it is and so they can just look where they think it is

(Emma & Arpege, clip 4)

The conversation began by puzzling about the 'blood', but then shifted to consider the phoenix. Knowledge of matte shots and blue screen was shown in line 4 where the filmmakers and the bird were the clear focus. The discussion of how human actors are instructed in such a situation ('they [are shown] where it is, so they can look…') showed knowledge that perhaps had been learned from viewing 'the making of …' programmes.

Sometimes pairs mixed their responses to the narrative and to the special effects with comparisons to their own realities.

1   That's actually really scary (indistinct).
2   Remember how they draw all the same things, spiders.
3   So aren't those real spiders?
4   I think um they have, like one and then they repeat it, like copy and paste, on a computer.
5   And the very first one, would it be real?

(Emma & Arpege, viewing, 102 minutes)

Line 2 referred to an earlier conversation about effects ('in heaps of movies they draw things and then they put them on to the camera'). The other speaker, in lines 1 and 3, was focused on the scariness of the spiders ('actually really scary') and her emotional responses. The important issue for her was deciding how 'real' the spiders were – perhaps she needed to feel that there was some distance between her own reality and the film's images. Her partner talked about how this effect is achieved (a structural comment) but the question of line 5 returned to the prospect of such a creature really

existing. The film was frightening her, not because of the narrative at that moment, but by showing her the possibility of something that would be personally very scary if it existed in her reality. The discussion about effects was, for her, focused on its implications about reality rather than the way the image was achieved. The discussion was connotative and affective for one speaker and about the technical code for the other. Viewing talk such as this reveals multi-layered responses from some viewers. Viewers were not just fluid across the film experience in identifying with different characters, but were involved across a number of engagement levels during viewing of single scenes.

Sometimes talk of the effects was used to show greater knowledge of, and distance from, the film.

That's just a stuffed cat. (Billy & Scott, viewing, 43 minutes)

This comment with its emphasis through 'just' was made at a time when the film was showing shocked emotional responses to the first petrifying, and the comment undercut any emotional intensity by rendering the object ridiculous rather than shocking. Elsewhere during the viewing this pair's comments seemed to be rating the film on how well its effects were done, through structural or critical responses. At these times, these viewers focused on technical codes rather than on the narrative.

Technical code talk by the children ranged from literal to structural engagement. Structural comments displayed knowledge of camera conventions for endings and of how some special effects are created. The model of a continuous theatrical performance which is recorded on film was used by a number of children. Most pairs showed occasional awareness of the constructed nature of film footage.

5.5.2 Symbolic codes

Symbols representing meanings in the images that contribute to how the images are viewed make up the symbolic codes. Children's comments on visuals, production design and performance will be discussed prior to comments about actors.

5.5.2.1   Images

There were a number of comments about visual aspects of the film during the children's discussions. Some pairs talked about fine detail, showing their close attention to the film's images. In this literal category example, a dry patch silhouette of Ginny on the otherwise wet floor of the chamber of secrets is pointed out.

> Um print from, it's all around it, that's where she's been lying
> *Oh yeah, it's sort of a different colour isn't it*
> It's like, all that's wet   (Emma & Arpege, clip 4)

One pair made a couple of connotative visual comments during their initial research viewing which interpret and compare aspects of images.

> Looks like an eye [view of the tunnel].
> …
> He's all grubby now. Faux [red phoenix] is the only colour in there.
>   (Maisy & Sonya, clip 4)

Both of these comments show attention to the mise en scène, not just to the film's events. The colour contrast noted in the second line was also talked about by another pair,

> But that, like, the picture. It's cool because of all the different, like greens.
> I like the greens. And then the big like, bold like, red in the middle of it.
> [The red phoenix flying in.]   (Billy & Scott, clip 4)

The comment is very specific in its awareness of colours and contrasts. It is close to commenting on the purpose of the contrast which was to focus viewers' attention on the element of good (the red phoenix) within the otherwise monochromatic muted green image (as a girl's red coat was used as a recurrent motif within the black and white images of *Schindler's List* (Spielberg, 1993)). The clip activity, which frequently held images on 'pause', may have supported such comments. The colour contrasts in the mise en scène belong to the symbolic code as they are part of the production design and carry symbolic meanings specific to the text.

One group linked their awareness of the visual impact of an image to lighting within the film.

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And he looks quite scary 'cause he's coming down to him
And the lighting, yeah 'cause look at the lighting, and the lighting,
because you know, that part of his face is lit up and the other bit is sort of
darker   (Elena & Kit, clip 4)

The first line conveys an emotional response to the chiaroscuro in the image and to
Tom's approach from the darkness. Then there is structural comment that is explicit
about the relationship between the image that is 'scary' and the technical means by
which that effect is promoted. The comment links the technical code of lighting with
the symbolic code of design. This is the only comment in the data set that relates an
element of film code to audience perception. It is categorised as structural because it
involves a meta-awareness encompassing both the viewer's affective response and
her thinking about how the filmmakers have created the impression that stimulated
that response.

5.5.2.2   Production design

A number of groups commented on the clothing of the child characters. This literal
exchange was from near the end of the film and noted differences in the students'
uniforms.

With Ron and Harry when they lean back, you can tell the difference
between their uniforms, like his one's all tatty, like it's like grey, and his
one's, like black.
Whose is the smarter one?
Harry's
Oh okay. Why is this?
Yeah, they um, they aren't, like rich or anything,
'Cos Harry got this money   (Emma & Arpege, clip 5)

Several groups noticed this difference, which may reflect their close attention to the
child characters and the viewers' awareness of such clothing differences in their own
real school life. The literal comment, which opened the exchange, was extended to
connotative ones that drew on knowledge of the film world in explanation.

5.5.2.3   Performance

There were two comments which showed an awareness that characters' actions were
controlled to fit, or to tell, the story.

> They've just made him be there.
> Yeah.
> They've just made him be there and then they …
>
> (Emma & Arpege, viewing, 78 minutes)

The first sentence conveys active controllers ('they' and 'made') who bring characters together in particular places at particular times. There is a sense that the forces of the story were not sufficient to drive the action and that these viewers were aware of the filmmakers who were organising it. 'Just' (in the third line) reinforces the sense that the character is directed rather than having agency. The second example also commented on orchestrated actions, but this time of a crowd scene.

> That bit's weird. Like when he walks in, everyone, they like immediately stop and look at him and then they all look at him at exactly the same time.
> *How could it have been better?*
> No, it's good that way, but -   (Billy & Scott, clip 5)

This comment drew attention to a 'staginess' in the action within the final sequence and so showed awareness of how the uplifting cheerful mood was being orchestrated. This pair had made a similar comment about actions earlier in the same scene, and another pair applied the adjective 'cheesy' to Ron and Harry's smiles in this scene (Tayla & Analees, clip 5), also implying that the 'tone' in this scene did not, after repeated viewings, convince these viewers.

These comments indicate that the model of a drama was being used, as they do not show any awareness of cinematic direction, which includes the control of point of view through the use of cameras, and the control of time, through editing. The comments show an awareness of the directedness of the actors' performances but not a full understanding or appreciation of the constructedness of film.

5.5.3   Actors

Although actors are not part of film codes[1], comments about them are considered here, as discussion about the people who portray characters is of the same order as

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[1] Stars and typecast actors can be considered as part of film codes. The actors in this film were playing the same characters as they had in *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (Columbus, 2001), so were becoming both stars (in terms of this audience) and typecast.

that of their performance as characters (above). Children's understanding of the distinction between characters and actors is significant. This section illustrates the way the distinction was consistently maintained by these viewers.

There were a number of references to actors in this film appearing in other films and these varied in terms of the detail given. The most basic mention, 'She's in another movie I've seen' (Miranda & Lizzie, viewing, 70 minutes), referred to Maggie Smith. Another pair (Marty & Rick, cards task 2) commented on her being in *Legally Blonde* (Luketic, 2001*)*, while the following is an unprompted solo effort that provided full information.

> Sonya, you know *The Secret Garden?* She's Maggie Smith who is the governess in it, Prof McGonagall - and the lady off *The Secret Garden*. She's nice.   (Maisy & Sonya, viewing, 29 minutes)

This pair's viewing talk also contained a number of references to other films, including links between the spiders in this film and those in *Raiders of the Lost Ark (*Spielberg, 1981) ('Indiana Jones gets all these um tarantulas all crawling down his back').

The most frequent information offered about actors in the film was about the death of Richard Harris, who played Dumbledore in the first two Harry Potter films, 'He's dead. Professor Dumbledore is dead in real life. I heard it on the news. /They have a new person for *The Prisoner of Azkaban* and he looks different.' (Step, Mazu & Kyle, viewing). The information was often offered in a manner that suggested it was socially significant extra-textual knowledge.

During sections of the film involving 'unreal' actions, there was often talk about how such effects were achieved (more fully discussed in 5.5.1.3 above). Often the actors were quoted as the source of information about such scenes. The scene in which Ron regurgitates slugs, brought comment.

> They're flavoured, he said they're real nice, they're chocolate and stuff.
> (Billy & Scott, viewing, 38 minutes)

Two groups gave some authenticating detail about the real-world flavouring of the slugs (Billy & Scott, Maisy & Sonya) while a third discussion (Step, Mazu & Kyle) also included mention of the skill of the actor. These comments show that the children brought knowledge from a number of sources to their talk about the film.

The children's comments showed consistent, aesthetic category recognition of the distinction between characters and actors, and a consistent use of media-derived information from and about the actors. The children's viewing talk indicates that viewing a favourite title includes the sharing of knowledge relevant to the film's content and context.

One pair was keen to establish a distance between the character of Hermione as a 'swot' who groans when exams are cancelled, and the actor's real personality.

> I read this magazine about her and, well she said that she's nothing like Hermione in real life, she like, loves clothes and in the movie she's like not, doesn't really care about fashion or anything.
> *Right*
> But in real life she like, loves clothes and she loves shopping and going to the mall and everything, and she's like not all that brainy and she does like having exams off   (Emma & Arpege, clip 5)

This talk constructs a person who is 'normal' and who is being claimed to be like the pair themselves. This is despite their assertions, in an earlier session, of similarity with Hermione ('I'm brainy like her' (Emma & Arpege, cards task 5)). This talk is concerned with asserting the importance of stereotypical 'feminine' values (fashion, shopping and the mall) and not being too brainy or serious about academic pursuits. The girls' comments imply that it is acceptable for this young woman to act at being really brainy and not caring about fashion as long as she is not really like that because that would threaten the viewers' concepts of feminine values and their identification with the character.

The children's talk showed that they often attended to a number of different aspects of the film within their utterances, and that comments about film codes were part of this mix. The selection of quotations shows that they do think about how the film is created and how it communicates, in ways that range across the connotative and

structural levels. Most pairs' understandings about film-making are incomplete and inconsistent.

5.6   Understandings and repeated viewing

The children made some spontaneous comments, during viewing, about their responses on first viewing parts of the film, and as part of the third data session the researcher asked about how repeatedly viewing the film had changed their responses to it and their perceptions of it (data from this source is labelled 'viewing history'). The structural category responses in this section show children talking about and reflecting on their experiences of viewing this film.

The viewing discussion, below, includes responses which show close involvement even after repeated viewings.

> It gives me a fright so I've got to be ready… I'm used to like, slow movies and I'm … I put my pillow over my face …
> I like that skull, it would be so cool to have that stuff in your room.
> Oooh … really scary it's coming NOW.
> I didn't even get a fright that time.
> All I do is just cover my eyes for the part, I can still watch it, but just for the part where it holds on, is the only part that scares me.
>   (Emma & Arpege, viewing, 15 minutes)

This exchange showed the classic horror film pleasure in being frightened ('really scary', 'so cool') and an energy in talking about their responses as they viewed, which went far beyond appearing interested for a researcher. In the final turn the speaker explained her awareness of what it was about the 'hand of glory' that still scared her and how she managed that sequence. (Figure 12 (#s 15, 16) in chapter 4 shows another participant covering her eyes during another scene.) For this pair, repeated viewing of this sequence had not completely removed its impact, while the dulling of frightening scenes' impact was referred to by other pairs (eg Miranda & Lizzie, Whomping Willow scene, viewing, 26 minutes).

These data show different opinions from the same pairs in different contexts, which demonstrates that talking about a film can be different from talking while viewing. Several pairs said they were bored with the film because they had watched it so many times ('I know what it means because I've seen it heaps'. Billy & Scott, clip 4). Yet while viewing, these boys engaged with the film and discussed their experience of successively viewing one scene.

> He's slipped another book in; I didn't notice that at first
> Neither
> How many times did it take you [to notice]?
> About three or four I think. When you keep your eye on it, you can notice
> (Billy & Scott, viewing, 21 minutes)

The image they were discussing is on screen for a very short time (less than two seconds, at 21 minutes into the film) and is later referred to by Harry (at 136 minutes running time) as important in establishing Malfoy's allegiance to evil. This brief exchange showed their awareness of how repeated viewing allowed them to 'fill in the gaps' of their first viewings.

The effect of familiarity with a text was also mentioned as a number of pairs talked about their increasing understanding of the film on successive viewings.

> This one was really fast when I first watched it and then it slowed down as
> I kept watching it   (Maisy & Sonya, viewing history)

For some pairs, their first viewing resulted in an incomplete comprehension (Step, Mazu & Kyle). The pair above used the metaphor of speed to convey their perception of the film in subsequent viewings and one of the girls expanded on her experience.

> And I quite like Harry Potter, but after you've watched it over and over it
> kind of gets a bit boring. I like all the little things that happen and they
> always get into trouble and I like the way that they use expression.
> (Maisy & Sonya, viewing history)

This pair had earlier talked about events not shown on screen that they thought about, so it is possible that the details of motivation and causation are 'little things' that they were interested in as their experience of the film 'slowed down'. The pleasure gained

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from 'the way they use expression' is illustrated by this girl's facial expressions during viewing which were discussed and illustrated in the previous chapter.

These comments show variation in accounts of repeated viewing with some viewers talking about the 'peaks' of the film's action (scary bits) diminishing, while others found fuller comprehension, and expressed interest in detail and performance. Such variation would be expected from any group of viewers of a particular film, as the pleasures, satisfactions and interests gained from a film reflect our preferences and our experiences.

5.7   Chapter summary

This discussion of children's talk about the film data addressed the question:
What kinds of understandings of the film were revealed by the children's talk?

The discussion began with audience evidence of the polysemic nature of the film text and the situated nature of responses to character, to establish the nature of the content data. The children did not have a uniform level of response to specific elements of the film (eg a character) across the film. The same pairs displayed different kinds of understanding about the same aspects at different times. These two characteristics of audience data constrain the nature of analysis. They make problematic any expectations of 'standard responses' based on textual features and any comparison of responses across participants in terms of what is 'expected'. Either of these approaches risks a lack of analytic validity because they disregard the inherent variability engendered by the text and by the situated responses of participants. Given the nature of the data, this chapter applies the viewing practices framework outlined in the literature review to delineate the range of understandings shown through the children's engagements.

The data provide evidence of a range of understandings from literal to critical, with many comments in the connotative and fewer in the structural-critical range. The viewing practice categories enabled a range of responses to a character or event to be compared for their differences but also for those responses to be categorised with

equivalent responses to other aspects of the film. In this way, the engagement categories provided a framework for considering levels of understanding across aspects of the film. The categories revealed that particular pairs engaged with the film in different ways at different points during viewing or talking about viewing. Some examples showed significant shifts in the category of viewing engagement within one or two conversation turns.

Literal category responses came from an engaged experiencing of the actions of the text and reacted to what was on screen. Connotative responses articulated the emotional states of characters, and commented on technical codes. Aesthetic responses reflected engaged experiencing as in a first viewing, but additionally incorporated links to the viewer's own world, along with close involvement with a number of characters. In terms of full engagement with the text as an experience, these three categories are equivalent, although with an increasing awareness across the categories of the dimension of the text which Bruner (1986) referred to as 'landscape of consciousness' – the 'non-action' aspects of the story. Structural engagement involves a relationship with the text that builds upon an awareness that can include the patterns of image, of imagery, of dialogue and of episodes through which the narrative is conveyed. Structural engagement is based on an overview of the film and a sense of the film as a text. Critical engagement was infrequent and was demonstrated through a sense of the text as an artefact which does not just convey content, but which also presents social and moral values through the way the story is represented. Viewers who are 'committed' through nominating a text as a favourite and investing time in repeat viewing of it, are more likely to align their perspective on parts of the world with that in the film, than to develop critical distance. There is further discussion on this matter on page 170.

These repeat viewers were familiar with each character's actions across the film and were able to talk about particular actions either in terms of those specific actions or in terms of the character's other actions and motivations. Literal engagement comments about characters focused on their actions, while connotative comments included character motivation, and aesthetic engagement practice comments talked about character development and explored characters' points of view. Structural engagement contained discussion of symbols that represented characters' qualities

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within the story. There were comments that showed embryonic critical comments by revealing awareness of omissions from, and of gender bias in, the film. The children showed a range of understandings about characters, including those positioned by the film for audiences to dislike.

Most children made some comments about the narrative shape of the film, while one group was very perceptive about the arbitrariness of assigning the moral sides within the fiction. While causation in the story is sometimes complicated and obscure, the children's explanations drew on appropriate concepts from the film world and from outside the text. One explanation drew on the higher level explanatory concepts of the story world (eg the main proponents of evil).

There were a number of comments which questioned the modality (the level of 'reality') and plausibility of images and which offered explanations on how special effects might have been achieved, in line with evidence from children in studies by Buckingham (1993), Hodge and Tripp (1986), Laidler (1998) and M. Robinson (1997). Although at times the children talked knowledgeably about film making, a number of comments on the directed nature of the action indicated that the model of stage drama was also still being used. Those comments did not show any sense of cinematic direction with its control of point of view, through the use of cameras, and its control of time, through editing. This suggests that their awareness of the constructed nature of a film text is intermittent (as it is for many viewers).

Children's talk about repeatedly viewing this text showed the complementary effects of action and scary events having less impact, while fuller comprehension of the story and appreciation of small details grew. These effects are predicted by the travelling lens model (Bickham, Wright & Huston, 2001), which describes the variations in interest and attention with increasing viewing experience. The evidence quoted in this chapter shows that fuller understandings occur through repeated viewing, a finding that matches the explanations about the experience of rereading print texts (Huck, 1999; Wolf & Heath, 1992). However, the children did not talk about their increased familiarity contributing to their sense of the story's shape and structure. The expressions of boredom with the film point up a hazard for researchers in investigating audience responses to repeated viewing. In this case, the children's busy

schedules made data-gathering occasions spread out more than anticipated, lengthening the time from their indication of the film as a favourite before their research sessions[2]. This lag posed a threat to the research's claim to be investigating viewers who were 'committed' to and engaged with the text. Ideally, this kind of research would gather data after sufficient viewings for accumulated understandings had been established, but prior to any disengagement due to the children having a new favourite or becoming bored.

These viewers rarely challenged the values of the text. As P. Phillips (2000) noted, viewers actively work to make sense of a film on one level, but that at the second level of the film's messages and values, they may or may not be active. The engagement reflected in the act of nominating a text as a favourite may preclude identifying or resisting the values embodied within it. Part of repeated viewing and gaining pleasure from repeatedly experiencing a narrative may be the acceptance of not only the patterns of the story but also of the values and worldview embodied in that text. Janks (1997) supported this view when she pointed out the inverse, that 'looking at a text critically is not very difficult when we disagree with it – when the positions that it offers to us as readers are far removed from what we think and believe and value' (p. 330). Certainly, in McKinley's (1997) study of a favourite television programme, the American adolescent viewers did not exercise 'discursive agency' nor challenge the programme's values just as the New Zealand children in this study did not.

While this chapter has analysed the understandings that children conveyed through language, the next chapter focuses closely on what else their language reveals through the application of discourse analysis.

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[2] The number of children's other out of school activities provides a counter to any suggestion that repeat viewers of films at home have no other interests or commitments.

Chapter 6

Critical discourse analysis and discussion

6.1   Analytical orientation and context

This research regards meaning-making by audiences as an engagement practice and assumes that meanings are constructed discursively, that is, through language. While the previous two results chapters attended to the children's multimodal engagement and language interaction patterns and focused on their understandings, this chapter focuses more closely on the language itself at clause level. It uses examples to illustrate elements in the children's language which constitute discourses and so uncovers the underlying viewing 'positions'. Prior to the analysis, there is a brief discussion of the initial research viewing context. A final section demonstrates, using short examples, the richness of combining the analytic approaches used in the study.

The term 'discourse' has two broad sets of meanings in academia. The first refers to 'language in use' and the patterns involved, while the second also takes in the social, cultural and ideological aspects of the language use (referred to as Discourse with a capital letter by Gee (1999) to distinguish it from the language-only sense). The term 'discourse analysis' similarly has various meanings referring to a range of approaches to the quantitative and qualitative analysis of both written and spoken text. Linguistic discourse analyses focus on how oral interaction is structured, while critical approaches are qualitative and focus on ideologies, the operation of power and on identity construction (Fairclough, 1995; Gee, 1999).

This research works from the poststructural assumption that understandings are constructed through talk and that talk also does social and ideological work. Critical discourse analysis is an analytical approach which examines the grammatical resources and patterns used, to enable further interpretation of transcript material. It is used here to explore further insights that the children's language offers into their social values and viewing positions, which are not consciously or explicitly articulated.

The basic approach of the critical discourse analysis used here is to focus on *how the children say things*, in terms of the grammatical structures they use, but also in terms of what Gee (1999, p. 29) calls 'grammar two'. This grammar interprets the language patterns for their signals about situated identities and functions. Gee (2004) explains that socially situated identities together with language functions produce and reproduce our social, political and cultural worlds through discourses (including the social ways of acting associated with 'language in use'). This chapter addresses the research question:

> *What does the language that the children used during viewing reveal about their engagement?*

6.1.1   Context

Systemic grammarians such as Halliday have argued that there are three aspects of context which make a difference to the way language is used. These three aspects of any context that have 'linguistic consequences' (Eggins, 1994, p. 52) are field, tenor and mode. These register variables allow us to describe the communicatively significant aspects of a context.

The context for the children's viewing of the video will be described in terms of Halliday's concept of 'context of situation'. Halliday conceives of a number of layers of context, with the most general level being 'context of culture'. This research does not concentrate on the wider cultural significances given to video narratives, but on aspects of the immediate situation. Halliday's 'context of situation' will be used to locate the viewing because systemic functional grammar is one foundation for discourse analysis and the subsequent analysis and discussion will use a systemic functional grammar discourse analysis approach. In following Halliday, the context will be discussed in terms of the nature of the social action taking place (field), the participants (tenor) and the functions of language (mode).

Halliday and Hasan (1985) define register as the 'verbal expression' of an interrelationship between field, tenor and mode. This present discussion describes the physical and social aspects of the context of situation to introduce a linguistic

exploration of the characteristics of the 'talking-viewing' register used by the children.

The viewing included conversation about, and commentary on, a video narrative which was well known to each child individually but which had not previously been jointly viewed. The content of the talk (the field, in Halliday's terminology) was the experiential meaning of the film text. Chapter five described the content understandings shown during the viewing (and later sessions). In this chapter, the language used in articulating those understandings is examined further.

The participants (the tenor) were from the same school and while some pairs were friends others were not. Most had not visited each other's homes before this. They were similar in age but the researcher had no information about their relative social standings. They had had some prior contact with the researcher in their school context but not previously at the home where the session was to take place. Their language will be discussed, at clause level, in terms of how it constitutes their interpersonal positions and interactions.

The role of language (the mode) was to exchange and create shared pleasures, opinions, responses and understandings of the video text. The physical setting in each case was a lounge where there was a couch or several easy chairs facing the screen with a low table close to the seating between it and the television. Some pairs talked a lot during viewing, while for others the role of language was almost insignificant, as they made few utterances. While coherence is a key aspect of mode in spoken communication, in this situation the film's constantly unfolding action created a changing context which still ensured coherence. (Appendix P illustrates how the same pronouns can refer unambiguously to different referents.)

6.1.2 Scope

This discourse analysis chapter will consider only the talk during the initial viewing because this talk was the least shaped by the researcher. The children were assured that they could view and talk without comment or direction from the researcher. Subsequent sessions can be characterised as involving 'researcher-instigated discourse' (N. Phillips & Hardy, 2002) and however much a facilitator rather than a

director the researcher tried to be, the language situations were nevertheless contextualised by the researcher's activities. Also, the sessions were 'semi-structured' in that they were shaped by the children's attention and responses and thus varied from each other more than the viewing sessions.

Children may attend to different aspects of a familiar film scene each time they view it. The transcripts analysed here show only what was attended to and then talked about during this particular viewing. Any discussion of silences (aspects not commented on) during this viewing needs to acknowledge that such topics may have been discussed during earlier viewings by these children. This study has no data about the kinds of things they had earlier talked about, although the short clip viewing aimed to indicate some of the range of considerations the children were aware of in those scenes. There is no way of knowing how representative this set of interactions is of the children's previous ten or so viewings of the film (in different social situations and company).

Although the viewing sessions for these pairs of children were of varying lengths (necessitated by family and physical arrangements) this analysis used a common cut-off point at 93 minutes of film time. Versions of the transcripts were prepared for discourse analysis by removing utterances which were solely continuity adjuncts ('yeah', 'mm', 'right' etc), part clauses which were then self-corrected to full clauses (eg 'That stick, the basilisk is on the end of that stick' M & S)[1], exact repetitions by the same speaker (eg 'Look at that one, look at that one'), clauses where the verb was indistinct ('he was xxx') and clauses with incomplete verb groups (eg 'he was …'). Talk which was solely about the physical arrangements of the viewing (going to the toilet, getting food or drink) was also excluded. Appendix O has two pages of transcript and shows the coding used.

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[1] As this chapter focuses on shorter language units than the previous two, initials only will be used to identify participants, so that sentence flow is not disrupted more than is necessary, while still sourcing all comments. Also in this chapter, the film running time (in minutes) when comments were made is included in brackets after the initials, eg B & S (15).

6.2   The experiential meanings of viewing

The analysis in this section examines how the structures of clauses encoded the way language constructed and represented the viewing experience (the 'field'). For this purpose, systemic grammar views the basic structure of clauses as consisting of participants, processes and circumstances (which are alternative ways of thinking about the subjects, verbs and objects of traditional grammar). Examining the grammatical resources that were used can illuminate and document the way the experience was expressed.

Different ways of relating to the film are revealed by the children's differing talk in response to the sequence where a 'magical' hand suddenly grasps Harry's hand (Columbus, 2002, 15 minutes). Three sentences produced in response to this event are compared in Table 4.

Table 4

Comparison of clause participants and processes

Participant	Process	Circumstance	
This hand	grabs	him	(M & R)
Actor	*Material*	*Goal*	
This part	's	a little bit scary	(M & L)
Carrier	*Relational - attributive*	*Attribute*	
I	hate	this bit	(T & A)
Senser	*Mental – affective*	*Phenomenon*	

These three sentences have different kinds of participants (subjects) and different kinds of processes (verbs) to represent the experience of the same film event. In systemic functional grammar the participant role accompanying each process differs and so is given a separate label. The first sentence conveyed the event through action, which is represented as being caused by 'this hand' and acting on 'him' (Harry). The second sentence attributed a quality ('a little bit scary') to the film ('this part'). The third sentence stated that the viewer was emotionally affected by the experience of

'this bit' (of the film). The second and third sentences both have an emotional element which is absent from the account of physical action in the first sentence. Sentences two and three differ, however, in the way they represent the source of the emotion. Sentence two attributes the scariness to the film which grammatically is labelled, appropriately for this case, as the carrier (of the scariness). In sentence three the emotion originates with the senser in response to the 'bit' of the film.

This brief comparison of the sentences shows that examining them using the resources of systemic functional grammar can clarify the differences in how language is used to represent experience of the same section of film. If such patterns persisted across sections of a viewing they would reveal viewers as receivers of, or as agents of, their interaction with the text. Speaking of oneself as an agent in the film experience, places the speaker as central to the meanings of the experience, whereas attributing the responses to the text, positions the viewer as just responsive. In this viewing talk, most pairs used a variety of language patterns to represent their experience. Such analysis provides warrantable evidence and explanation, rather than subjective interpretation, as a basis for further discussion about the nature and extent of children's interaction with a text.

6.2.1   Processes

Systemic grammar distinguishes between different types of verb groups on the basis of the kinds of meaning represented (Halliday, 1994). Examining the processes (verb groups) which speakers used, reveals the way they were using language to represent the experiences of, in this case, the film text. In this section, the balance of processes used is discussed, and then mental processes are focused on.

The verb group in each clause was categorised using Halliday's (1994) processes (material, behavioural, mental, verbal and relational). The mental processes were further divided into Halliday's categories of thinking (cognitive), feeling (affective) and perceiving. All groups' transcripts were analysed in this way even though the number of clauses varied from 44 to 359 (the pairs at each end of the range were girls, showing that the amount of talk varied widely within each gender).

The verb group indicates the kind of process being used to represent experience. In this case the children's experience of the film text was rendered through their viewing talk. Examination of the processes was undertaken to provide an indication of the aspects of the text experience that were being talked about. Definitions of each category (from Eggins, 1994) and examples from the children's viewing talk are given for illustration.

Material processes: action
      'the Malfoys come in'   (B & S)

Behavioural processes: behaviour not subject to deliberate control
      'they'd died before'   (E & A)

Mental processes: thinking, feeling and perceiving
      'I wonder what would happen to him'   (S, M & K)
      'I like this bit'   (T & A)
      'it looks so weird'   (E & K)

Verbal processes: use of language

      'he said it was eating the slugs'   (S, M & K)

Relational processes: relationships of attribution, possession, identity or existence.
      'she's very touchy'   (E & K)
      'he's got a basilisk on the end of his stick'   (M & S)
      'she's a ghost'   (M & L)
      'they were (like) chocolate and stuff'   (B & S)

The percentage of processes used are shown in Table 5 with pairs arranged left to right in order of descending material percentages and rather erratically ascending mental processes.

Table 5

Percentages of processes[2] used during viewing

Process type	M & R	E & A	B & S	M & L	S, M & K	T & A	M & S	E & K
Material	49	46	41	40	34	32	29	21
Relational	27	27	35	25	28	25	34	48
Mental	21	19	23	34	24	41	31	24
Verbal	5	5	8	1	5	7	6	7
No. of clauses	130	294	124	91	102	44	359	62

These figures show that groups produced different proportions of processes, that is, they represented their experience of the film differently. Comparing M & R who talked mainly about the actions being performed, with E & K, M & S (or T & A) whose commentaries used more mental processes than action ones, shows that their viewing talk is quite different. Some groups focus on the actions on screen while others focus on their own and the characters' internal states. To pursue this avenue further, the mental category was divided into verb groups which involve thinking, feeling and perceiving as three separate sub-categories (Halliday, 1994).

Tallying the cognitive, affective and perceiving processes used by each pair and then calculating the percentages, revealed a gender difference across the occurrence of the three sub-processes, as shown in Table 6. It shows that most of the difference in the use of mental processes was within the use of affective processes.

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[2] These figures do not include clauses which belonged to the category of 'behavioural' which comprised less than 3% of totals. The table is designed to highlight the significant variations in process use, so the percentages were calculated using just these more used categories.

Table 6

The occurrence of types of mental processes by gender

| Processes | Boys | | Girls | |
	Number	Percentage[3]	Number	Percentage
Cognitive	31	9.1	90	11
Affective	15	4.4	91	11
Perceiving	30	8.7	60	7.8
Total	76 (25/group)	22.2	241 (48/group)	29.8

The absolute numbers of boys' clauses containing mental processes are low because there were only three groups of boys (cf five pairs of girls) and they talked less than two of the girls' groups. The proportions of use are totally consistent across the groups of boys and almost so across the girls (except for T & A). This difference in language pattern suggests that the genders in this sample use different types of language in their viewing talk, with girls using language more to comment affectively on aspects of the film. A closer discussion of the use of affective processes follows in 6.2.1.2.

Numbers sit somewhat uneasily within an interpretative analysis such as this, but systemic functional grammarians do tally as part of textual analysis (eg Eggins, 1994, p. 313). The counting being used is of what Seale (1999, p. 12) calls 'the countable' by which he means phenomena which are 'well defined and illustrated'. Numbers are not being used to claim effects or validity but to indicate the proportions of processes which otherwise would need to be conveyed through lengthy transcript quotations. Fine distinctions are not being claimed through the figures but broad trends in usage based on well-defined functional grammar categories.

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[3] These aggregated percentages were calculated from each pair's percentage rather than the raw numbers because of the wide variation of clause numbers which would have meant that a 'talkative' pair would have out-weighed a 'non-talkative' pair. The table demonstrates the profile of different mental process use, rather than the absolute number of clauses.

6.2.1.1 Mental processes – cognitive

The differences within cognitive process use were minor with the only aspect of interest being the more frequent use of conversational 'openings' (eg 'you know' and 'do you know') by the girls as a group. Rather than any significant difference in the use of cognitive verbs for expressing thoughts, this is seen as a difference in interpersonal interaction style.

6.2.1.2 Mental processes – affective

Table 6 shows that the girls created a bigger proportion of these statements than the boys did. Within those totals the boys and girls used a similar percentage of third-person affective utterances (eg 'the hand gave me a fright' B & S, 15 minutes) but differed widely in first-person use of affective processes. This discussion about the verbs includes comments made about characters' feelings and the children's own responses. First the types of affective processes themselves are considered and then the first-person examples.

For both groups the most used verb was 'like[4]', however as a proportion of the affective processes, for the boys it was 36% and the girls 66%. The boys' usage of 'fright' and 'surprise' (used as a synonym for fright) at (27%) was greater than the girls' equivalent group of verbs ('frighten, scared, gives shivers, shock') combined (13%). Boys also talked about 'hurt' a significant amount (27%), while for girls it was a minor usage. The affective language gender patterns suggest that boys' language was more focused on the fear components of their viewing experience while the girls' language was concerned with establishing attitudes and opinions (about both characters and themselves). The boys' language focus on fear contrasts with Nolan & Ryan's (2000) findings of males being more reluctant to directly express fear responses to film than females – although the age of their university student subjects may be the significant difference.

The first-person utterances such as 'I like it (when they talk to the spiders)' (T & A, 85 minutes), 'I like this scene, (it's funny)' (E & K, 31 minutes) were used to both announce interpretations of images, and to make personal links to them. (The clauses

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[4] Excluding the colloquial use of 'like' in non-verb positions.

in brackets are not part of this category but are included here to convey the communicative sense of the initial clause.) As well as announcing scenes, first person affective statements were used to discursively create links with, or distance from, aspects of characters,

I like her top	(E & A, 10 minutes)
I don't like his eyes	(M & S, 28 minutes);

and to construct alignment or non-alignment with characters,

I like Hermione (she's real pretty)	(E & A, 15 minutes)
I feel sorry for him	(M & S, 55 minutes)
I don't like Malfoy	(E & A, 51 minutes).

These statements conveyed attitudes to the character and about the viewers themselves, as they contributed to both the conversational interaction and the engagement with the film. They constructed and expressed pleasure as well as a discursive agency. As viewers decided who was 'in' and who was 'out' they were making taste statements and defining their own identities to each other in response to the film. This talk, which evaluated and passed judgement on others and their behaviour, appears to be exercising personal discursive agency. McKinley (1997) found in her study that such talk, while apparently 'active viewing', was hegemonic and accepted the text's values, as the talk in this study does too. Bourdieu's (1984) concept of taste as the operator 'which raises the differences inscribed in the physical order' to 'the symbolic order of significant distinctions' (p. 175) describes what these children were doing through this use of verbal processes. Demarcation of characters and situations in the film into 'liked' and 'not liked' was defining taste and identity (the two are closely linked, as Bourdieu points out) during the viewing talk. Through the use of affective processes children were accepting the differences the film's images communicated and the significant distinctions stemming from them. The children generally adopted the film's judgements and consequently its taste.

6.2.2 Participants

This section focuses on the participants in two particular sorts of clauses. First, clauses which performed the function of signalling interpretation of the next scene

will be discussed and then clauses with relational-attributive processes. The purpose of this exploration is to examine the viewing positions associated with differences in sentence subjects.

6.2.2.1   **Participants (and processes) in announced interpretations**

These children knew the film well and all pairs 'announced' some scenes by giving an interpretation label for a coming scene. This particular category of the data is of connotative statements which occurred prior to the scene. These statements are also discussed briefly in section 4.3.1 'Announcing interpretations' in chapter four (p. 102). In this section, the choice of participant and of process within the announcements will be the focus.

There were two distinct ways of signalling a scene as shown in the following examples: 'this part's a little bit scary' (M & L, 15 minutes), 'this bit is so funny' (T & A, 21 minutes); and 'I hate this bit' (T & A, 15 minutes), and 'I don't like this bit' (M & L, 21 minutes). The structures signal differences in positioning towards the film as described earlier (in section 6.2). The different ways of announcing and labelling scenes differ in both participants and processes as Table 7 shows.

Table 7

Comparison of announced interpretation clauses

Participant	Process	Circumstance	
This bit	is	so funny.	(E & K)
Carrier	*Relational - attributive*	*Attribute*	
I	like	this scene	(E & K)
Senser	*Mental - affective*	*Phenomenon*	

While both forms of statement served to structure the viewing, to anticipate pleasures (of humour or fear), to offer a general opinion on the mood of a sequence and to maintain conversational contact, they do place the speaker in a different relationship with the film. The mental process statement explicitly links the interpretation to the

first-person senser (subject). The attributive statement, through its grammar, attributes the labelled quality to the film by verbally pointing to it ('this bit'), rather than acknowledging any link to the viewer. The two types of statement accredit the source of the text's meaning differently.

All pairs but one (Billy & Scott) created examples of both kinds of structure but the boys and girls differed in the proportions of participant-types and process-types they used to label scenes. Overall, the boys used eight times more third-person attribution statements than first-person affective statements in this category (totals of 25 attributive process statements and of 3 affective first person statements) whereas the pairs of girls produced almost the same numbers of each (totals of 28 attributive process statements and of 24 first person affective process statements with the highest ratio of attributive/affective being 2.25:1).

The most common participant in the boys' scene-interpretation announcements was the film scene itself ('this bit'). The passive construction of the claim (its lack of an agent) makes it seem objective, as if the scene 'is' funny and beyond discussion. (A modalised statement such as 'the scene seems funny' would allow for the contrary perceptions of others.) The attributive verb groups require third person participants which in turn locate the meaning of the experience in the text. The girls' more frequent use of themselves as the sensers, in labelling scenes, explicitly places them as the ones having affective attitudes ('I like'). These are personal statements about how they have responded to the scene in the past. Such language indicates personal interpretation (either positive or negative) of, and attitude to, the coming sequence and a personal offering to the conversation, which could be responded to in either personal terms or in terms of the film.

6.2.2.2   Participants in relational-attributive process clauses

This section further explores the effect of participants on viewing position by considering the category of all clauses with relational-attributive processes. Relational processes establish connections within a clause, and attribution ascribes a particular quality to the subject, usually through an adjective.

Relational-attributive processes were used as a similar proportion of all the children's talk (see Table 5, above and Table 8, below). However, this functional grammar category contains both general statements about a scene in the film (eg 'this part is scary', M & L, 15 minutes) and also comments about characters which attribute physical, social or emotional qualities or states to them (eg 'she's embarrassed', E & A, 10 minutes). Even a general character-comment such as 'she's cool' (M & S, 61), performs more identity work than 'it's cool' (E & K, 36) could, because it explicitly aligns the speaker with a specific character rather than the image which contained that character. In these transcripts, such character-based comments were also linked with more nuanced emotional descriptions, while the majority of the general statements used broad descriptors such as 'funny' (seven times), 'scary' (four times), 'cool' (three times), 'freaky' and 'not very nice'. While both relational-attributive comments illustrated above have third person participants (subjects) they embody different perceptions of the 'effect' of a scene. Table 8 shows the percentage of relational-attributive clauses which have a specific carrier (eg 'she', 'Dobby') rather than a general one (eg 'this').

Table 8

Relational-attributive processes with specific character carriers as a percentage of total processes

	E&K	M&S	E&A	M&L	S, M&K	B&S	T&A	M&R
Relational processes as % of total	48	34	27	25	28	35	25	27
Specific carriers as % of relational-attributive	40	40	48	45	31	21	25	20
Specific carriers as % of total processes	19	13.6	13	11.3	8.7	7.4	6.3	5.4

Four groups of children (the boys (S, M & K; B & S; M & R) and T & A) had a lower proportion of their relational utterances which referred to a specific 'character' (which includes animal characters) rather than the scene or setting as a whole. This comparison of the carriers shows that there is considerable variation in the ways that

relational processes are used and hence in the degree of focus through which children represent their experiences of the film. (The average percentage of specific characters, in terms of the total processes of the highest four pairs, is 14%; the lowest four average is 7%).

The use of attributive processes to comment specifically on characters, created a focus on them as central to the film experience, while attribution processes used with the scene as subject (eg 'this is cool' B & S, 51 minutes), made general statements about mise-en-scène. The range of character-carriers used is indicated by the following examples.

She's real cool	[McGonagall]	(E & K, 28 minutes)
He's pretty stupid to go on railway tracks	[Ron]	(E & A, 22 minutes)
He's scary	[Filch]	(M & L, 25 minutes)
Snape's way better than Lockhart		(M & R, 61 minutes)
Dobby is happy because		(S, M & K, 55 minutes)
He's jealous	[Lucius Malfoy]	(M & S, 16 minutes)

Sometimes these clauses are expressing opinions on or making judgements about characters and their actions. Some of these clauses are difficult to distinguish from those belonging to the mental process of feelings ('he feels embarrassed' is affective; 'he is embarrassed' is relational-attributive (Halliday, 1994, p. 121)). These statements may have operated similarly for the children to the first person affective clauses discussed above, in that they provided ways of expressing personal evaluations about characters and so defined viewer identity. Examples which created alignment with characters were 'cool' and 'cute', while 'scary' and 'stupid' showed identity through non-alignment. Attributions such as 'embarrassed' and 'jealous' also did identity work by constructing the speaker as emotionally perceptive.

This sub-division of the relational-attributive sub-category reveals another aspect of difference in how the children represented their film viewing experience. It shows a gender tendency in viewing talk in regard to film characters, as most of the girls made more character links than the boys. These commentary statements about the characters, construct and represent an involvement with them and their actions, as well as doing identity work. The boys' language more often attributed qualities to the film images in general terms.

6.2.3 Vocabularies – social languages

This section moves from using systemic functional grammar as the reference framework to using a more general concept of language variation. Gee (1999) points out that just as we foreground different aspects of our identities in different situations, so the language we use is made up of a set of variations which we use in different social contexts. He calls these variants 'social languages' and describes them as variable in terms of their dominant grammatical patterns and structures, which reflect their different purposes and our different identities. While Gee's description of social languages includes a number of aspects of grammar that vary to meet social situations, the viewing situation focused on here is homogenous. The participants are the same throughout the viewing, the subject matter varies (but within the bounds of the film's world) and the mode of communication is the same. The children's conversations were informal and the grammatical structures were relatively informal, with some clauses more formal and others less so, but with a narrower range of variation than a speaker would exhibit in moving from one communicative situation to another. The significant variations in language then, revealed themselves through vocabulary more commonly than they did through variations in other aspects of grammar.

Fairclough (1995) also considers the particular meanings from any word's 'meaning potential' which are evoked by the user, as significant for analysis because the lexical choices speakers make within a conversation signal the position they are taking. He uses the term 'intertextual analysis' (p. 188) to refer to the level of analysis that examines how texts selectively draw upon 'orders of discourse' (a concept similar to Gee's 'social languages'). Across the talk during their viewing, most of the children used words from a range of 'social languages' or 'orders of discourse'. Some of those words brought with them 'storylines' (Davies & Harre, 1999) or socially situated meanings (Gee, 1999). This section discusses words and the kinds of social meanings they bring with them, in order to identify the different social worlds the children bring to their viewing. The plural is used in these discussions because children draw on a number of their potential discourses during any conversation. As an example, the same pair used 'chucked' (E & K, 15 minutes) and 'simulation' (25), words which come from quite different social languages.

As would be expected of children who remember lines of dialogue and say them with the film, vocabulary from the book and film featured in children's discussions. As well as proper names, the terms for people and objects were used (eg 'mudbloods' (M & S, 36), 'basilisk' (M & S, 16)) and a magical state ('petrified' (M & L, 67)). Boarding school vocabulary (eg 'house' (M & S, 47), 'expel' (E & K, 28)) was used along with some more general vocabulary which the film may or may not have stimulated the use of, such as 'fancies' (E & A, 16) (in the sense of being attracted to), and 'jinx' (E & A, 55). Through literally 'speaking its language' the children were demonstrating to their partner their familiarity with the film, and their engagement with, and knowledge of, the film world.

Contrasting with the general informality of the conversations were items of vocabulary which are more specialised. They included a number of nouns such as 'simulation' (E & K, 25), 'arachnophobia' (E & A, 100), 'essence' (B & S, 74), and 'governess' (M & S, 28). An extended (for this context) noun group, 'a person who likes looking at himself' (E & A, 28) provided a good description of Lockhart's narcissism. A number of quite specific adjectives such as 'disgusting' (S, M & K, 74), 'realistic' (S, M & K, 85), and 'unison' (M & S, 61) were used appropriately along with a verb, 'dispose' (M & R, 91). This group of words suggests mature and precise vocabulary use, associated with the children's developing capability for adult-level discussion. Within informal pleasurable conversation they used these terms which are quite different from the 'playground' informality to be considered next.

Children also used a social language which was informal, such as might be used in the playground. They used this vocabulary for material processes eg 'chucked' (E & K, 15), 'crack up' (E & K, 15), 'spewing' (B & S, 36; E & A, 36) and 'snooping' (M & S, 42). Cognitive processes were also named from this language by 'reckon' (B & S, 74) and 'I bet' (M & S, 36). Onomatopoeic terms like 'yuck' (M & S, 74) and '(they go) donk' (B & S, 21) were used. The onomatopoeic qualities of 'donk' made it very appropriate to characters crashing into a brick pillar. The same pair said, in a similar vein, 'when he spews up that slug' (B & S, 36), where the speaker's language was counting the character as part of the same kind of world he inhabits. This group of vocabulary signalled that the speakers were commenting from a playground position and perhaps saw the characters as part of that kind of world.

'Way' was used to form comparatives such as 'way better' (M & R, 61) and 'way scarier' (S, M & K, 40). 'Like' was used in two different 'non-standard' ways, as documented by Tagliamonte (2005), to signal simulated quotes in language and as a discourse marker. These uses show that these young people were using their informal language resources in these discussions. Evaluative and descriptive terms from this social language included 'freaky' (B & S, 21), 'totally crazy' (E & K, 21), 'he's just mental' M & S, 34), and 'so gross' (E & A, 74). The children were clearly deploying their playground language repertoire to label undesirable things.

In commenting on Gilderoy Lockhart, the self-admiring ineffectual master, the children used informal language including 'up himself' (T & A, 36), 'full of himself' (E & K, 61), 'show-off' (M & S, 16) and 'pretty boy' (E & K, 61). This latter label carries along with the negative connotations of the other terms, connotations of non-masculinity. The application of 'pretty' to a male and 'boy' to an adult are both diminishing to the referent. Here the pair was casting aspersions about his sexuality through this social language and thus extending the negative judgement that the other examples convey, of egotism and being an extrovert. Other uses of this social language included conveying scatological content 'skids on undies' (E & A, 74) which is clearly in the playground register in terms of both subject matter and vocabulary; 'it's a wonder he doesn't wet his pants' (M & S, 25, 32) was used to convey the stress of the character. This vocabulary could be considered as 'not very impolite' as more informal versions would be used by some children in the playground eg 'pee/piss himself'. The playground social language was also used to undercut Lockhart's spell through transmuting its two words into 'smelly armpits' (M & S, 61). One pair used informal language to talk back to the character of Lockhart to show distain for him by saying 'whatever' (M & L, 61) – the reply which young people give to adults when they wish to discount the force of a message.

One pair also employed a 'polite' social language which conveyed actions and negative judgements through comments such as 'landed on his bottom' (M & S, 62), 'not very nice' (M & S, 32), 'not a nice thing to say' (M & S, 82) and 'he's naughty' (M & S, 61). This vocabulary carries a sense of adult propriety with it, positioning the children as arbiters of taste and appropriateness. Such evaluative statements work

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very differently to their playground equivalents which might use terms such as 'sick', 'freaky' or 'gross'. This comparison shows how the language conveys a social position as well as its content. The polite vocabulary is from a position which is not involved in the action but is judging it against a set of 'standards' for behaviour. The fact that the same pair produced social vocabularies ranging from the colloquial 'wetting pants' to the politeness of 'naughty', clearly illustrates the multiple positions which these viewers took during their viewing.

The children showed that talking while viewing called forth vocabulary from a number of social languages and hence from a number of their different identities.

6.3   The interpersonal meanings of viewing

Speakers create the interpersonal dimensions of their exchanges (including the exercise of power or solidarity) through the grammatical systems of mood and modality (Eggins, 1994). As viewing talk operates differently from normal conversation in terms of dynamics like turn-taking, because of the contribution the ongoing dialogue makes to exchanges, just the expressions of degrees of certainty will be discussed here.

6.3.1   Certainty

This section focuses on the degree of certainty that students' language embodied and so attention is paid to the 'finite' part of the verb group as it 'makes the proposition definite' (Eggins, 1994, p. 157). Degrees of certainty are controlled through modal auxiliary verbs (eg 'may' and 'would') or modal adverbs (such as 'probably' and 'possibly'). A comparison, using utterances from the same point in the film, illustrates the involvement of modality in constructing and communicating understandings.

> Why's everyone looking at him?
> They don't like him because he's a parsel-mouth, he should have been in
> Slytherin   (Billy & Scott, 66 minutes)

> They all think that he is Salazar Slytherin's great, great, great um grandson
> (Maisy & Sonya, 66 minutes)

B & S were definite that Harry belongs in Slytherin (which misrepresents the opinion of Dumbledore) expressing this with a high degree of certainty which is conveyed by the finite 'should'. Less definite statements available to them here include 'he could have been', 'he might belong', 'he probably belongs' and 'he probably could be'. So, from the possibilities available, B & S used a strong degree of certainty[5]. M & S conveyed the possibility of Harry being a Slytherin through the apprehensions of the other students, using the modality of an opinion ('they think') to lessen the degree of certainty of the statement because then it contained the implication that the thinking could be mistaken (compared with other possible alternatives such as, 'they know', 'they think he must be'). The certainty of Billy's language projected him as an authority on the text while the comment by M & S conveyed the opinion of the characters, not of the speaker. One pair constructed themselves (at this point) as the authority while the other pair talked about the point of view of the characters. The language of both pairs showed involvement in the film, with B & S speaking for the film within its framework and M & S talking about how the characters with their limited knowledge understand the situation. B & S's comment used their knowledge of the complete text while M & S commented on knowledge that the characters had at that juncture. This focus on examining certainty levels has revealed differences in the perspectives the children constructed and expressed through their talk.

The children made comments about characters, objects, actions and events in the film ranging from low probability modalised comments such as, 'I think it might have been seven people' (E & A) to the certainty of declaratives. However, in making comments about film-making, they mostly used modal language rather than declaratives, which reflected the speculative nature of this kind of talk for most viewers.

I know that's a simulation	(E & K) declarative
They must use magic	(E & A) high probability
(It is) Most likely a girl	(E & A) medium probability

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[5] In the film when Draco insults Hermione, this pair said 'someone should punch him', using certainty to convey an attitude to Harry as 'too weak' which was an attitude also held by boys in Burn & Schott (2004, p.9).

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It could be a photograph   (M & S) medium probability
                    I think they just make it look   (E & A) medium probability

In the third example the brackets give the assumed (by the speaker) impersonal clause
which is followed by a modal phrase ('most likely'). This apparently objective
statement appears to be more authoritative than those using an explicit subjective
source of modalisation, but is not any more authoritative (Eggins & Slade, 1997).
Example five shows how a clause using a mental process is used to encode the
modalisation of the following declarative. Each of the four modalised utterances
contains a potential declarative statement which would assert the case ('they use', 'it
is', 'it is', 'they make'). Such a comparison shows how these children used language
to soften their claims about how the film effect was achieved. This indicates that,
while they consistently discuss film-making, their language reflects a lack of certain
knowledge about the processes. The talk shows that they are aware of aspects of the
text that reveal the constructedness of films but that they are not sure about how they
are constructed.

6.4   Viewing positions

Positioning theory accepts the assumptions of social constructionism and so is
congruent with the view of language taken by this research. The metaphorical concept
of position is used to describe the discursive behaviour of individuals, in relation to
others, and to ideologies. A position implies both a conceptual repertoire and 'a
location for persons within the structure of rights and duties for those who use the
repertoire' (Davies & Harre, 1999). Positions are seen as more fluid than the notion of
'roles' but as equivalent to Discourses (with a capital 'D' as in Gee, 1999) because
both concepts encompass the social assumptions and values associated with a
particular kind of language use. Both concepts include the identity-constructing
function of language within a framework where individuals enact a number of
identities. In this section the language use aspect (discourse) is used to uncover a
Discourse or position being performed.

The words that speakers use convey values and attitudes and also invoke 'ways of being that the participants take themselves to be involved in' (Davies & Harre, 1999, p. 36). Identifying and providing evidence for positions, involves interpretation, and can only be fully warranted against a complete transcript. The characterisations of positions that are shown in the viewing talk of the three pairs which follow are therefore the result of the researcher's selections and interpretations and reflect the researcher's perceptions. Examples will be presented and discussed to illustrate the characteristics of the position being perceived. It is not claimed that these are the only possible positions which could be adduced from the transcripts, but that these are significant and warranted themes present in the talk.

So far in the discussion of children's talk, the whole group of children has been treated as a single case study. For the three brief sections which follow, separate pairs will be the focus so as to illustrate differences in the positions taken. The intention is to demonstrate that the preoccupations of individuals and the dynamics of pairs contribute to the construction of particular discourses across a viewing. The particular position presented here for a pair, is intended to be read as a 'theme' of their viewing, not to suggest that the position represents all their viewing talk. The extracts that were discussed earlier illustrated how varied each pair's responses were across the viewing, while the purpose here is to demonstrate that the talk of some pairs conveyed 'threads' of underlying position(s).

6.4.1   Evaluating appearances – Emma and Arpege

A significant discourse in the viewing talk of Emma & Arpege was that of discussion the appearance of characters. An early extract indicates the territory of the discourse,

> I like whatever his name is, Dobby
> Look at his nose, it's so pointed
> His pillowcase is nasty   (E & A, 2 minutes)

The potentially conflicting statements (in the first and last lines) are both examples of the position which underlies this viewing, which is that the viewers comment on the physical appearance of characters and also express their personal opinions about the details of their appearance. The examples below show the consistent attention through the viewing to what the characters look like, specifically their faces and clothes but

also their overall appearance. (The examples are indicative of the pair's eleven different appearance comments.)

1	I like his mother	
2	I like her top	(10 minutes)
3	He always wears that jumper with 'R' on it.	(13 minutes)
4	I like Hermione she's real pretty, she's real cool	(15 minutes)
5	She's got cool blue eyes; she must have contacts or something.	
6	Yeah, they're too blue.	
7	You can't get really blue eyes.	
8	Yeah, you can't get that blue.	
9	There's this lady at school and she had sort of like that but they were bright … (indistinct).	
10	You would have to have contacts to do that colour.	(28 minutes)
11	The nurse is pretty, eh?	(42 minutes)
12	She looks pretty.	
13	Yeah.	
14	Well, not really pretty.	
15	Yeah, but looks cool as a cat.	
16	Yeah her eyes are, yeah … yeah cool.	(80 minutes)
17	Look how bright his clothes are.	
18	Yeah and it's all grey.	(85 minutes)

The position being taken here by the pair was that of being aware of and commenting on characters' appearances often in relation to the children's own social and physical world (especially in lines 5 to 10). In that exchange, the authority of these experts was clear in the certainty of their statements ('must have' (line 5) and 'would have to' (line 10)). They cite a known real person to reinforce their stance about bright eyes. Sometimes attitudes towards an image were negotiated through discussion (lines 12-16) but from similar value positions. Even minor characters, such as the nurse (line 11) and the car (not shown above, 85 minutes) provided opportunity for exercising this position. The narrative line was being attended to, but this identity work was also a preoccupation for the viewers. Perhaps part of their pleasure in repeat viewing was that having knowledge about the narrative direction allowed attention to be given to

other important aspects of the film – in this case defining and refining taste as applied to appearance.

The language used in this discourse on clothing and appearance showed that a position of 'expert' was being constructed. The statements were largely declarative, as they were not hedged by qualifications such as 'sort of', 'could' or 'I think', in contrast to other examples from the same pair. Not only was the talk confident, it frequently used intensifiers to emphasise the qualities being discussed ('always' (line 3), 'real' (line 4), 'cool' (5), and 'really' (7, 14)). The combination of declarative statements and the emphases, created a position of authority on such matters. Comments on appearances were also frequent and although they were not prompted by film dialogue, they were never treated as irrelevant. This positioning of the girls as experts on appearance showed that their viewing talk was doing identity work. It was as if this pair had agreed that it was important to talk about appearance just as the female viewers in McKinley's (1997) study had. McKinley found that her viewers knew 'that the right answer was simply the act of commenting on appearance' (p. 70). This pair, Emma & Arpege, attended to aspects of the film which were not commented on by any of the other viewers (topics in lines 1-4, and 17-18 were the only ones mentioned by other children) suggesting that the position of appearance experts was not taken up so thoroughly by any of the others in the study.

While Dobby, as a fantasy figure, was liked despite his 'nasty' garb, the standards of social reality were otherwise applied, for example in lines 12-16 where Hermione could not be really described as 'pretty' even in her fantasy form of a cat. The verdict of her looking 'cool' as a cat seemed to be judging her as if she was in a fancy dress outfit in the real world, without any consideration of how she was made to look this way. The appearances discourse enabled delivery of opinions on characters' appearances, definition of real world 'taste' and the construction of identities as expert females. The earlier grammatical discussion (Table 5) showed that this pair created more action processes in their clauses than mental ones but that a high proportion of their relational-attributive processes referred to specific characters, and some of those clauses contributed to this position (eg 'she's pretty').

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6.4.2 Evaluating characters – Maisy and Sonya

Through their viewing talk this pair showed a comprehensive involvement in the 'Hogwarts world'. Their talk revealed unacknowledged references to detail from the book (Rowling, 1999) and feeling for all the characters. It was as if their pleasure in the Harry Potter world was primary, and that this made any need to link those experiences with their everyday reality, secondary. Their talk articulated the emotional states of a range of characters using a range of social languages which included informal playground language as well as a language of propriety.

These comments, near the end of the film, show responsiveness to the tone of Malfoy's lines and then talk of the character's feelings.

> [Lucius] Malfoy is being sarcastic.
> He wants [Draco] Malfoy to be like Harry.
> Better than Harry. (137 minutes)

This view of the father Malfoy wishing his son were 'like Harry' had not been given in either the film or the book, so these speakers had inferred it. One of the pair suggested this view at the beginning of the viewing on the character's first appearance,

> You know Lucius Malfoy; he's jealous (16 minutes)

These comments clearly illustrate an interpretation of this character's psychology which existed prior to this viewing. Such a view, from a 'real world' psychological understanding (and not taking any account of Malfoy's dark magic motivations), suggests reflective thinking about the character and his point of view. The position being proposed here is one which considers these characters as real entities who think and feel like humans.

This pair's talk was often focused on the inner states of the characters,

1 Yeah, she's embarrassed (10 minutes)
2 It's a wonder he doesn't wet his pants … he's going to be frightened
                                                            (25 minutes)
3 He's embarrassed, he's scared (32 minutes)
4 It looks like she's crying, eh? (48 minutes)

5	Oohhh, I feel sorry for him	(56 minutes)
6	Everyone stares at him; it's not very nice	(67 minutes)
7	His hands are shaking because um Hermione got petrified	
		(94 minutes)
8	It's probably Ron's worst nightmare	(98 minutes)
9	He has a soft spot for him.	(133 minutes)
10	I feel sorry for him	(136 minutes)
11	That would be embarrassing	(139 minutes)

The characters being referred to in the examples above are Ginny, Ron (x3), McGonagall, Draco Malfoy, Harry, Hagrid, Dumbledore, Dobby and Lucius Malfoy. The list spans characters who are students and staff as well as 'goodies' and 'baddies'. Other pairs in the study reserved their empathy for sympathetic characters while this pair both disliked the 'bad' characters and expressed sympathy for their social embarrassments and physical misfortunes. The predominantly declarative statements above show a sense of confidence in the judgements being made about characters. The statements are a mix of first-person affective statements (lines 5, 10), third-person statements about the characters' affective states (1-3, 8, 9), indirect statements which suggest affective states (4, 7) and general statements about embarrassing situations (6, 11). The commonality is that each one showed both understanding of the particular character's situation and sharing of projected emotion in the conversation. The position focuses on the emotional experiences of many characters regardless of their moral affiliations within the 'Hogwarts world'.

Close attention to a 'bad' character and his thoughts and inner state is shown in this example which commented on Draco Malfoy,

1	He's a bully	
2	He must feel really sick when he lands from his stick from flying like that.	
3	He must feel really sick.	
4	His dad doesn't really care.	(54 minutes)

The tone of voice in line 1 showed dislike of Malfoy and loyalty for Harry, but the following lines explored how the world might be from Draco's point of view. This empathy is expressed through the language of high certainty ('must' lines 2, 3) and declaratives (lines 1, 4) and includes Draco's familial context as well as his physical discomfort. This wider appreciation may have been prompted by a reaction shot

immediately after Draco's crash which showed Lucius Malfoy's face (with an expression which could be interpreted as expressing disappointment). Lucius is identified in the film as a supporter of Voldemort and rather secondarily as Draco's father. The empathetic position taken by this pair is shown by their talk about this relationship at a time in the film when the audience's attentions and sympathies are designed to be with Harry. In spite of the film foregrounding Harry's situation, Maisy & Sonya express through their talk, not only the physical, but also the social and emotional pain Draco 'must be' feeling. They are not completely absorbed in the plotline, so they are able to explore the points of view of characters other than the 'goodies'.

Two further examples show facial expressions being closely observed and interpreted.

1	It's like he [Dumbledore] is going to say 'detention'.	
2	He's nice.	
3	He has a soft spot for him.	(133 minutes)
4	He's thinking about setting Dobby free	(137 minutes)

Line 1 was a response to the dramatic tension created by Dumbledore mentioning their having broken school rules, his unsmiling demeanour, and an hiatus before he congratulates Ron and Harry. His enigmatic expression was talked about only by this pair, further showing their close viewing and discussion of the nuances of screen interactions. Lines 2 and 3 showed the pair's agreement about Dumbledore's character and attitude to Harry. Line 4 refers to an image of Harry hesitating before moving and the comment again showed an interpretation of the shot and his facial expression, not just a response to his subsequent actions. This talk about subtle moments in the film showed close attention to thinking about the characters and their perspectives (expressed through the language of relational and cognitive processes (verbs) rather than action ones). In this way this position relates the film experience closely to the children's own social, psychological and emotional realties. The identity work that this position (and discourse (in its wide sense)) achieves is that of projecting the speakers as knowledgeable about the characters', and therefore of people's, inner states. The position is that of experts about the characters and about people's emotions.

These latter two extracts reveal viewing talk which belongs to Rosenblatt's (1995) category of 'aesthetic' response because the talk 'include[d] the personal, affective aura and associations surrounding the words evoked' and 'the moods, scenes, and situations being created' (p. xvii) during the engagement. Rosenblatt's categories define a continuum of interactional styles, with the aesthetic end characterising the fullest experiencing of, and exchange with, the text. Maisy & Sonya's language showed an aesthetic involvement with the full range of characters.

Thorough familiarity with the 'Hogwarts world' and with matters beyond those shown by the film, but using the terms of the film's world, was shown by Maisy & Sonya's viewing talk. They even extrapolated film characters' lives into the future.

> Sonya, I reckon Colin will be a photographer for *The Daily Prophet* when he grows up. [Colin Creevey, boy character with camera]
> He thinks he's important.   (42 minutes)

Both girls in the pair take such matters, of considering the adult occupations of student characters, as legitimate conversation. The topic shows a close engagement with the fictional world and its extension beyond the scope of the projected series of books, which is designed to end with that group of students finishing their schooling. This position takes these characters as the material for imaginative involvement and speculation similar to that which writers employ in developing their fictions.

This imaginative involvement did not mean that the pair accepted everything in the film as 'given'. During this viewing they made three statements which showed disagreement with the actions of the characters of Dobby and Harry.

> Harry wasn't supposed to tell him that.   (136 minutes)

This example was in response to Harry unthinkingly betraying Dobby to his master. The response showed belief in the value of fairness (as in their other examples) and also that of loyalty. It showed the pair thinking about such values and applying them, even to the main character with whom they identified closely.

Further evidence that this viewing position was not just a thoughtlessly loyal one is shown by the pair's level of self-awareness. A brief comment during a scene in which Ron is scared and keeps asking if they can go back, and Harry replies 'come on' (Columbus, 2002: 137 minutes), showed understanding of the characters' dynamics.

> He's like the hero, eh?
> It's probably Ron's worst nightmare.

This exchange showed that the pair had understanding of both characters (including Ron's arachnophobia) and an awareness of the role Harry plays in the fiction (perhaps in terms of a wider intertextual knowledge of 'heroes' which their references to *Indiana Jones* films (cited in chapter 5) suggested).

The pair identified and empathised closely with the community of characters while maintaining and applying their own moral sense to actions within the plot. Their position talked about the characters as 'real' people and explored the affective aspects of the story in relation to how they perceive real people thinking and feeling. Earlier comparisons of the proportions of types of processes (verbs) used (Table 4) showed that this pair produced more mental and relational processes and fewer material (action) ones than most. Their focus on the mental processes (of thinking, feeling and perceiving) produced this position of discussing a wide range of characters' points of view. Such conversations may help viewers rehearse for discussing their own emotional situations and issues. This pair was similar to McKinley's (1997, p. 97) participants in that constructing the characters as real allowed them to 'create a discursive community with the characters' and thus to build their own identities through that discourse.

6.4.3   Evaluating the film – Billy and Scott

This pair showed that they were aware of the constructed-ness of film through their comments on illogicalities in the film (which were often discrepancies between the book and film) for example,

> 1   Shouldn't the inside be invisible as well?
> 2   Does it say that in the book?
> 3   I don't know, I forgot.   (21minutes)

4   How can they hear her with ear muffs on?   (31 minutes).

Such comments as lines 1 and 4 indicate viewers who were not only very familiar with the detail of the film but who were also taking an evaluative stance towards its consistency with the book and its logic. Their talk shows that their attention was not dominated by the content of the film's story, as they were attending to how that story was being conveyed. They also, from this superior position of knowledgeable critical viewers, commented on repetition between the first and second films 'You'd think he'd know that spell [to repair spectacles] by now, 'cos she fixed them in the first book' (Billy & Scott, 16 minutes).

This position of knowledgeable critic produced the following comments about the language of the film:

> Does he mean, like essence of crab, the thing from the sea or Crabbe from Crabbe the person? (14 seconds) Like he'd lean over that bowl. (8 seconds)
> He's getting fat (18 seconds)
> Good special effect and he's taller.
> He's way taller.   (76 minutes)

The question about crab/Crabbe indicated a playful attitude to the film's language which considers more than its function in the plot. The rhetorical question form enabled the speaker to make an amusing language point (the film's context makes the referent for 'Crabbe' obvious). A further example of this playfulness with language was at 42 minutes when Harry alone was hearing the basilisk voice saying 'kill' and Hermione greeted him with 'Harry'. Billy said, 'kill – Harry, did you hear it? Kill Harry.' This utterance showed a viewer's position of not being engrossed in the action, and a view of the film as a text to be commented upon, at times ironically or against its own intention. The first utterance above expressed scepticism about the actions ('like he'd lean over that bowl') and at the same time (through 'that') conveyed the speaker's knowledge that the location would be significant later in the film. Both of these comments showed a viewer whose attention was not on the scene's vile-tasting brew or bodily transformations, but on particular aspects of a character's language and actions, and on the setting of the scene.

Another aspect of the position was commenting on the filming. This was shown in the line above where approval of the transformation special effects was given. The comment signalled that the viewer was not fully engaged in the plot or with the characters at this point but was a more distant or sophisticated viewer, a 'critic' who evaluated the effectiveness of techniques. The viewers' attention was not on the characters, but on the filmmaking technique, as the example below also shows.

> That's just a stuffed cat   (42 minutes)

The 'just' made it explicit that the disbelief of the viewer had not been suspended, positioning the speaker as superior to the film and its efforts to convince viewers of the reality of its world. This comment with its declarative form (also as quoted above 'He's getting fat/[That is a] good special effect') contrasts with most other talk by the children about special effects which included modal elements (eg 'I wonder if', 'maybe they', 'they might have'). Only one other pair made a declarative comment during viewing – 'I know that's a simulation' (Elena & Kit, 25 minutes) which shows that this position was not often taken up by these children.

One member of the pair, Scott, asked a number of questions throughout the viewing. These positioned him as an inquirer who did not know everything there was to know about the film. Billy's responses to the questions were sometimes rather casual, as if questions were not to be taken too seriously.

> What was his detention? Why did he get a detention?
> Don't know, maybe coming in late.   (38 minutes)

The reply was incorrect (the detention was for using a magical car) which is surprising from a viewer who knows the film very well, although it was hedged with 'maybe'. Billy's answers were not concerned with specific details and conveyed a stance (reinforced by his tone of voice) of not being bothered with minutiae.

From these examples it is clear that one of these boys is doing what Harre & van Langenhove (1999) call 'deliberate self-positioning' by expressing his identity through the discourse of 'the critic'. His viewing pleasure seems to be derived, at least in part, from evaluating aspects of the film. This evaluative discourse was also

evident in the earlier discussions in this chapter. Billy & Scott were the only pair not to generate any first-person scene announcements, always labelling scenes using the third person ('this bit's funny'). Their viewing talk contained more action processes (41%) than mental ones (22%) and only 21% of their relational-attributive processes referred to characters (so the majority of their relational-attributive processes were general scene observations). These less personally engaged grammatical patterns contribute to the position of 'critic' of the film being advanced here.

The next and final section of this chapter addresses the research question which asks, *in what ways are understandings about children's engagement extended by using several analytic approaches?* In doing so, it looks back over the three results chapters and the analytic approaches used, to produce instances which illustrate the combination of approaches.

6.5   Combining analytic approaches

The material view of language asserts that it performs several functions simultaneously. This position, combined with an acceptance of the multimodal possibilities of communication (applied to a film text communicating with its audience, to audience responses to a film and to the interpersonal communication between people) result in the viewing of a film being seen as consisting of a range of possible communication strands[6] any number of which may be significant in a particular context. The literature review and methodology chapters proposed that to adequately acknowledge the multi-strand nature of children's viewing data, a number of analytic approaches are required. This section uses categories of viewing talk to show the advantage of linking hitherto separate analyses and then successively applies three analytic approaches to two brief extracts.

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[6] The metaphor of 'strands' is used in preference to alternatives such as 'layers' or 'levels' which carry connotations of hierarchy. Strand is taken to suggest an intermingling or interweaving of elements of different types without any assumptions of one element necessarily being more dominant.

There are two categories of viewing talk each of which featured in more than one of the results chapters (chapters four, five and six) and which will be briefly revisited here to introduce discussion illustrating the advantages in using several analytic approaches. The first type of talk, announcing interpretations, is described within the interaction chapter (chapter four) as overt connotative engagement behaviour which functions to ensure a common interpretation of the coming scene and to claim familiarity with the film. Further, as responses to such announcements were inevitably affirmation, this talk was seen as an element of cumulative talk, with its focus on strengthening the relationship. The present chapter, using discourse analysis, examines the differences in the grammatical resources used in the announcements and has uncovered different patterns associated with gender. While the pairs of girls used a roughly even mix of personal statements and third person attributions, the boys overwhelmingly used the latter. This difference in language indicates that the boys construed meanings as qualities of the film, with them as recipients, while the girls' language ascribed the film's impact evenly to themselves and to the film. The announced interpretations seemed to fulfil the same function for all children, but on examining the language used it is clear that there are different relationships with the text.

The second kind of talk is about the film's special effects. In the analysis of understandings (chapter 5), it was shown that the children puzzled about 'non-realistic' images and that their knowledge about the technical means of creating such effects was fragmentary. Through discourse analysis in this chapter, the uncertainty (eg 'it could be') language used about special effects was contrasted with the higher incidence of declarative certainty statements about characters and other events in the film. In this instance, the second analytic perspective reinforced the initial interpretation. With each of these kinds of talk the combination of analytic approaches provides a fuller understanding of the children's experience of the film.

A comparison of the responses of two pairs to the same short scene will demonstrate how the approaches of multimodal analysis, content analysis and discourse analysis can be combined to provide a more nuanced description of viewing behaviour and the understandings constructed by viewing talk.

While the transcription of the duelling scene in the interaction chapter (Figure 12, p. 112) showed only the talk which accompanied actions, the versions here are more conventional transcripts which show all verbalisation. Two pairs were chosen who produced comparable amounts of talk during the scene. These transcripts do not include time indications, but the elapsed time for each is approximately 4 minutes 30 seconds.

6.5.1   **Combining analyses: pair one** (Emma & Arpege)

1   I like the cape, (Giggle) I don't know why.
2   You need to be there to catch the cape   [Gesture – enacting]
3   He's got a wedgie   [Gesture – commentating, emphasis]
4   His hair is weird.
5   Yeah
6   *"three" [Harry's counting]
7   Woow! [Harry's landing]
8   Oooh! [Malfoy's landing]
9   (Laugh)
10   It would be cool walking on the table.
11   Ooh. [reacting to the threatening snake]
12   He's not really talking snake language,   [Gesture – codes, emphasis]
      you can so tell. See, you can tell, he's just mouthing it.
13   He's saying, 'leave him alone'.
14   Yeah.

<div align="center">Multi-modal analysis</div>

The children used gesture three times to enact the film action or to emphasise their verbal comments. The giggle in line 1 was a non-verbal signal which perhaps discounted the 'liking' and prefaced the distancing comments about Lockhart (lines 3, 4, 5). Similarly the exclamations in lines 7-9 successively suggest engagement and non-alignment with the characters' actions. Line 6 shows engagement through chorusing of the end of a line of dialogue. Line 13 creates a translation from the on-screen parsel-tongue.

The engagement is predominantly literal, consisting of commentating about on-screen actions, responding non-verbally (lines 7-9) and gesturing (lines 2, 3). The opinion in line 12 is connotative practice because its claim treats the film as a constructed text. Line 10 is aesthetic engagement through its imaginative involvement with the setting (the stars- and moon-decorated long blue table).

Content analysis

There are three 'topics' in this sequence: Lockhart and the girls; walking on the table; and the parsel tongue 'special effect'. The viewers identify with the girls but are then negative about Lockhart's appearance, producing comments which are literal (line 3), connotative (4) and aesthetic (1, 2). Line 10 is also aesthetic as it links the film setting to potential real life experience. Then they, through comments on film codes (12), show an understanding of the constructed nature of film sound tracks where vocals are added after filming.

Discourse analysis

The children produced a number of mental processes (affective (line 1), cognitive (1) and perceptive (12)) as well as material (lines 2, 10 and 13), relational (3, 4) and verbal processes (12, 13). The subjects included first, second and third person pronouns. In the 'translation' of Harry's speech (line 13), they included reference to Justin ('him') who was being threatened by the snake. The comments in line 12 about the film's construction begins with a qualified comment, 'not really', but finishes with the certainty of 'he's just', before the next utterance focuses back on the content of the snake language. These comments construct the pair as discerning viewers who can deconstruct the film's codes. While most of the language conveyed high certainty, lines 10 and 12 contained expressions of lower modality ('would be', 'not really talking'). The two differing degrees of certainty in line 12, though, are within the context of the gesture which supports and adds emphasis to the language.

6.5.2   Combining analyses: pair two (Marty & Rick)

15 [Can everybody] * "hear me?" [Lockhart's dialogue]
16 Snape's way better than Lockhart.   [Shifting position]
17 Mmm. 'But will they have their Defence against the Dark Arts Master?'
                                                                         [Change posture, speaking as character]
18 *"Expelliamus!" [Snape's spell]
19 (Laugh)
20 *"you wish!" [Harry's dialogue]
21 Malfoy is the first.   [Proxemics, commentating talk]
     He does it at number two.
22 Yeah he cheats on the counts.
23 He didn't do the bow.
24 Ooh
25 *"Ascenderay!" [Lockhart's spell]

26 That does nothing but change its mood.
27 *"Sci haas si heth" [Harry's snake language]
28 He's telling him to stop

Multi-modal analysis

This pair shifted their physical positions relative to each other three times during the scene with Marty's second shift coinciding with and emphasising his speech as a character (line 17). There were five chorused utterances, joining in with the dialogue of three different characters. This involvement (including responses in lines 19, 24) accounts for half the turns, showing a close verbal and literal engagement with the scene. Connotative practice is evident in lines 22 and 26 which interpret and give opinion about on-screen action. Speaking as a character (line 17) is aesthetic engagement because it results from close involvement with the action and character. The pair expresses its literal engagement through commentating and chorusing, accompanied by changes in their physical positions.

Content analysis

The boys commented unfavourably on Lockhart through a global comparison with another character, created literal commentary about the breaking of duelling rules, about effect of a spell on the snake and about the meaning of Harry's snake language. Their comments were mostly literal apart from connotative interpretations (lines 16, 22, 26) and the aesthetic dialogue (line 17). Their talk focuses on close attention to the details of the duel (21-24).

Discourse analysis

All clause-subjects are third-person, with the processes used including material (21, 22, 23, 26), relational (16, 17, 21) and verbal (28), but no mental processes. Their final turn about Harry's snake language refers to the snake as the object, with no mention of Justin. Their language consistently conveyed high certainty, with no expressions of qualification.

6.5.3 Comparing the pairs' engagement during the duelling scene

Multi-modal analysis examines the different 'behavioural' channels which constitute engagement practices. Both pairs showed physical movement during this scene, with Emma & Arpege's gestures reinforcing their talk, while Marty & Rick's orientation

towards each other at line 21 (see image 7, Figure 12) supporting their interpersonal interaction. Marty & Rick chorused more lines and so were more verbally engaged with the scene. While most engagement was literal, both pairs also generated instances of connotative and aesthetic engagement. Multi-modal analysis, by including both verbal and non-verbal actions, provides evidence of different styles of engagement with the film and of interpersonal interaction. Both pairs used cumulative talk, as shown by their general agreement.

The content analysis shows that Emma & Arpege paid more attention to the attractiveness (or otherwise) of Lockhart's appearance, while Marty & Rick only commented on his magical efficacy. Marty & Rick's aesthetic engagement was focused on the film world, while Emma & Arpege made links to their personal realities and feelings. Their connotative engagement focused on the film codes used during the scene, so challenging the technically smooth surface of the text. The differences suggest that Emma & Arpege were using their talk more to define their real life selves than Marty & Rick were. Emma & Arpege's talk shows them as experts on appearance, and makes links with the film action ('would be cool walking on the table'). The focus on the characters' abilities and actions by Marty & Rick reveals them as talking about the film's world on its terms, rather than in comparison to their own world.

Discourse analysis shows that the range of both participants and processes used by Emma & Arpege is greater than the other pair who did not use any mental processes or first person participants. The first-person participants are the grammatical means through which the children express their personal engagement, and the mental processes are the means through which their thoughts and emotions were expressed. A comparison of the 'translation' of parsel tongue which the pairs give (13, 28) illustrates the tone of each pair's comments on this scene. Both pairs use Harry as the participant (or subject) in the sentence and use verbal processes to announce what he says. While both reported utterances address the snake, the transitive verb (leave alone) requires an object and they supply a pronoun referring to Justin, whereas the equivalent transitive verb (stop) addresses the snake alone, without any mention of its intended victim. The language resources Emma & Arpege use in this line include Justin, a character who continues in the story, rather than the snake who exits at this

point. The third-person participants in the language of both pairs were particular characters (except for line 10) rather than the scenes in general, showing engagement at the character, as well as the story, level.

Both pairs were overtly engaged in the scene verbally, non-verbally (non-word exclamations, laughter) and physically, though Marty & Rick chorused more. Emma & Arpege's talk placed them within the scene (lines 2 and 10), focused on Lockhart's appearance and challenged the film's technical code (12). This varied engagement compares with a more straightforward, literal based commentary from Marty & Rick. Discourse analysis also revealed a more varied engagement by Emma & Arpege with a focus on characters rather than on actions, as in Marty & Rick's dialogue.

These three illustrative comparisons each suggest that Marty & Rick's engagement was more consistently focused on the action, while Emma & Arpege engaged with characters and linked to their own reality. The different analyses each contributed to and corroborated this interpretation. While multiple analysis is not a triangulation of data from different sources, it can provide a more comprehensive and trustworthy warrant for interpretations because it coordinates analysis from different perspectives. There will be further discussion of combining analytic approaches in the next chapter.

6.6   Chapter summary

This chapter has the dual aims of answering a research question and also of demonstrating the usefulness of discourse analysis for examining children's viewing talk. The evidence will be discussed first because the value of the analytical approach depends on the insights it generates. Research question two asks what the language that the children used during viewing reveals about their engagement positions.

The purpose of grounding this chapter on linguistic analysis of text was to provide a solid base for discussion about the language. As Halliday & Hasan (1976) said, the 'linguistic analysis of text is not an interpretation of that text; it is an explanation.' (p. 327). The approach here has been to perform what Eggins (1994, p. 311) called 'selective text analysis', where only analyses which are likely to be rewarding are

undertaken. In this chapter, the clause processes and participants were analysed in terms of the experiential metafunction in which the clause represents experience. Further, within the interpersonal metafunction, where the clause performs relationship and identity work, the modality of the mood system was explored.

The children's viewing talk revealed different orientations to the televisual text. The girls' language attributed the meaning of their viewing to the film and to their personal responses to it in roughly equal proportions. The boys' language embodied responses as originating from the film most of the time. The potential of English grammar was taken up in different ways by the gender groups 'and so in effect construing different forms of social relationships and different models of experience' (Christie, 1999, p. 5 citing Halliday, 1993, p. 14).There has been considerable discussion about whether the text is primary in making meaning, within the fields of literary response theory (eg the 'New Critics'), of film studies (eg the periodical *Screen* during the 1970s) proposing 'textual determinism' and of audience research with a shift, under the influence of cultural studies, to the concept of the 'active audience'. In this study the viewers' own use of grammatical resources created two types of statement which attributed the source of the text's meaning differently. The two participant-types (third-person and first-person) enact different positions towards the meanings of a film. Assuming that meaning resides in a text, constructs a conduit model of viewing, whereas when meaning is referred to as being negotiated by the viewer, then viewing is seen as an engagement with a text. The mix of announcements from the pairs of girls constructed both viewer and text as contributing to the meaning-making, while the boys' language clearly located the centre of gravity of meaning within the text. This difference in the attributed location of meaning merits further and wider examination to establish its generality. If the difference were to prove pervasive (whether it were always linked to gender or not) it would have implications for teaching.

Examination of the verb groups used by the children revealed further gender-associated language differences in the focus of viewing. The boys showed a preponderance of attention to actions (as they used a greater proportion of material processes), while the girls' language focused more on their own inner states and those of the characters (through greater use of mental processes). Within the mental

processes category itself, further differences in language use were revealed. The girls used a higher proportion of first person affective statements than the boys and so constructed emotional links with characters more often. The relational-attributive participant evidence suggests that more of the girls' language created comments about characters' qualities in comparison with the boys' language which included more comments about scenes or mise-en-scène. The representations of the viewing experience thus showed gender variation in the relationship with characters. This evidence at the micro-process level of gender performance shows stereotypical value positions, such as orientations to action by boys and to character by girls, being replicated through viewing talk. The evidence provides examples of how children 'use linguistic resources to produce gender differentiation.' (Cameron, 1997, p. 49). Holmes (1998, p. 463) maintains that interactional research findings show that 'women tend to focus on the affective functions of an interaction more often than men do'. This chapter has shown gender differences in viewing talk which reinforce such differentiation.

The range of social languages from which children drew their vocabulary shows the range of identities they brought into play during this viewing. As expected, there was considerable use of both the film's own vocabulary and what can be characterised as 'informal children's language'. However, there were several other social languages used which showed that children's out of school viewings also drew on their capabilities to use more formal and specialised vocabulary.

A focus on three pairs revealed different viewing positions being taken, with expertness, expressed through declarative statements, being the common quality. One pair positioned themselves as critics of the film's quality and technical competence, while another pair took the position of experts on the physical appearance of characters. These two pairs used similar proportions of action and mental verb groups but their use of the relational attributive groups reinforced the difference claimed at discourse level. The appearance judging pair had specific characters as 48% of the subjects in those clauses (13% of their total processes), while the critics had only 20% (7.4% of their total). A third pair demonstrated significant involvement and empathy with, and evaluation of, a wide range of characters. (This is reinforced by their having specific carriers as 13.6% of their total processes.) This pair's predominance of

mental and relational processes created a discursive sense of community with the characters. In each of these cases, the close attention paid to examples of the children's language against the background of the numerical proportions of grammatical resources was used to support the proposed position.

The ways in which children engaged with and negotiated the film's meanings expressed the positions they took at various points during the viewing. Despite variations, the viewers' language showed that, apart from isolated exceptions, they accepted the value positions conveyed by the film's favoured characters and by the story.

Discourse analysis has been used in two ways in this chapter, with the concreteness and established system of functional grammar providing tools for examining language use. Firstly, systemic grammar was used to identify clause-level variations in language across the group, which indicated differing styles of engagement with the film. This enabled differences (often associated with gender) in viewing orientations to be identified and characterised. Secondly, analysis identified themes, the language used to express them and thus the particular 'expert' discourses of three pairs of children. Both of these applications of discourse analysis provided evidence of language use constructing and calling up discursive positions. The variations in viewing orientations show the diversity of experiences children have of a text. Further research could establish whether particular children take the same positions and use the same discourses in viewing a number of films.

Chapter 7

Discussion of findings

This research addressed questions about the engagement behaviours that children exhibit as they view one of their favourite films, what their viewing language reveals, the ways they interact during viewing and the range of understandings that children display about a favourite film. The potential advantages of using several analytic approaches was the final research question. This chapter first considers the research procedures used, to confirm their trustworthiness in generating naturalistic data, and then the findings relevant to each research question are discussed.

7.1   Discussion of methodology

The research elicited and generated data using a combination of several activities, and evaluation of individual aspects of the method is appropriate before consideration of the findings which were generated from the procedures. The educated consent process will be briefly reconsidered, the four different data generating activities will be evaluated and the engagement practices framework discussed, before there is a general consideration of methodological limitations.

7.1.1   The educated consent process

Thorough efforts were made (documented in chapter 3) to ensure that the children were not merely informed using the conventions of informed consent, but were helped to learn about what was involved in participating in the home-based research phase. Learning about the research procedures was scaffolded through the screening of, and subsequent discussion about, an information video, copies of which were then taken home by the children. Of those who consented to this phase all but one child, (who withdrew prior to an initial session scheduled during a school holiday break), completed all sessions and reported to the researcher that the process had been enjoyable. The children stated that the sessions they participated in were similar to

those shown on the information video, which suggests that showing simulated research formats and discussing them within a small group was an educationally and ethically sound procedure for use with 9 and 10 year olds.

7.1.2 Data generation

The situated nature of both language and learning was discussed in the review of literature and methodology chapters and the research was designed accordingly. The collection of data in children's own homes was to ensure that the viewing context, the engagement practices and the language used were as 'natural' as possible. Other significant elements of the design included using participants who had nominated the particular film as a favourite, having the re-viewing of the film done in pairs (and in children's homes), generating data from several different activities and providing refreshments during the sessions. The use of playground-type language was evidence of the children's perception of the situation as 'informal' and relatively relaxed, and this is highlighted in the discourse analysis chapter.

The viewings produced a range in the quantity of talk, with some pairs talking frequently and others rarely. This variation of talk quantity provided empirical detail of the survey responses where the amount of talk during viewing as assessed by the children was indicated by some as 'very little' and by others as 'quite a lot'. The variation suggests that children were talking while viewing 'normally' or at least somewhere within their normal range. The video and audio recordings from these sessions were fruitful in providing detail about the kinds of viewing engagement behaviour of the children, which included body language.

The short clip activities (an adapted 'think aloud protocol' (Afflerbach, 2000; Kucan & Beck, 1997)) were successful in generating significant amounts of specific talk very close to the moments of viewing. Interruption of the flow of the film prompted children to talk about particular aspects that they had just re-experienced. While the content of the talk is discussed in chapter 5, an indication of the amount of talk comes from a comparison of four groups on clip 4 (Table 9). The clip was approximately 175 seconds long and was paused between 5 and 11 times during the activity. The ratios of film-time to the children's talk-time are shown in Table 9.

Table 9

Ratio of clip time (seconds) to talk time (seconds)

Pair	No. of pauses	Seconds talk	Ratio (175 secs/talk time)
M & R (boys)	5	135	1: 0.8
E & K (girls)	6	311	1: 1.8
E & A (girls)	11	574	1: 3.4
B & S (boys)	10	603	1: 3.6

As a method of stimulating children's talk about a film this activity is worthy of further consideration, as with most pairs it produced considerable talk. The number of pauses varied as the researcher was trying to be responsive to each pair's attitude and their ability to talk after short sections of film. It is appropriate to note here that the pair of Elena & Kit produced the least amount of talk during viewing of all pairs (37 utterances during 93 minutes), but that in responding to this clip (and the others) they talked for almost twice as long as they viewed. This example illustrates the influence of context on responses and is a warning to researchers about making inferences based on children's overt viewing behaviour alone.

The card activities, on the whole, were judged to have generated useful data. Occasionally a pair would generate only perfunctory or fairly superficial talk but generally the children seemed to enjoy the tasks and to respond positively to working with images from the film. During the initial activity session, some groups treated the images as narrative moments (this possibility was raised in section 3.15, p. 88) rather than the conceptual representation (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) the images were designed to provide. Prompting by the researcher overcame this slight difficulty and in the subsequent session, children reminded each other not to treat an image as that specific narrative moment. Often, some of the cards were moved around several times during an activity as groupings were proposed, amended and further amended during discussion. Some of the talk during the card activities suggested to the researcher that ideas were being generated by the stimulus of the activity rather than previous

thoughts being aired again. This is an example of a research activity altering the situation it sought to observe, as commented on by Arizpe & Styles[1] (2003).

The interviews that were conducted to gather information about the children's viewing benefited from the fairly relaxed atmosphere during the sessions. The second and third sessions contained a variety of activities and the duration (one hour) seemed appropriate for children's after-school attention spans and energies, and enabled convenient scheduling even during the early darkness of the winter months. The variety of data generating activities was justified by the diversity of understandings from particular pairs which were constructed across the range of activities. For example, short clips, when paused, provided the only evidence of understandings about camera and images. The card activities generated significant talk about characters and prompted the only comments about symbolism.

7.1.3   Discussion of the engagement practices framework

The literature review established the need for a comprehensive framework to describe the range of engagement practices and responses to films, and then provided one. Such a framework was necessary to enable fine-grained analysis which could meaningfully address the research questions. This section discusses the ways in which the framework operated as an analytical tool in the study, while later in this chapter the findings which the framework enabled will be discussed.

Any responses-framework embodies assumptions about the ways of responding to and of 'understanding' a text. One purpose of this framework was to create categories which would recognise various levels of 'understanding' and 'appreciation', as well as including the emancipatory goal of critical viewing. An assumption was made that there were a number of distinguishable levels of engagement more elementary than those of 'appreciation' and of 'critical viewing'. Media Studies has a tradition of describing its aims in terms of either endorsing students' pleasures or of building 'resistant' readings (eg Alvermann, Moon & Hagood, 1999) although there are more sophisticated models which incorporate both possibilities (eg Buckingham, 2003). Film study has links with the fields of literature teaching within English and of Media

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[1]There is further comment on this in the findings section, 7.2.4 'Understandings of the film.', p. 223).

Studies in terms of pedagogy which includes production and aims for understandings and responses which include textual appreciation, genre (or structural) critique and ideological analysis. The conceptualisation of engagement embodied in the framework is consistent with contemporary pedagogy (eg Buckingham, 2003; Burn & Durran, 2007).

The viewing engagement practices framework provided a satisfactory conceptual organisation for the viewing engagement and understandings data. The categories enabled responses to different parts of the film to be meaningfully linked, and for responses expressed through different modes to be analysed together. This multimodal capability brought together physical (eg gestures) and verbal expressions of response and allowed a more holistic account of the audience experience. The framework distinguished the various engagement practices in the data, showing the range of levels that individual pairs used across a viewing and in discussion, in line with Buckingham's (1993, p. 284) view that televisual literacy is a set of social practices which are 'inevitably plural and diverse'.

7.1.4   Perceived limitations of the methodology

Interpretive research is able to claim 'moderatum generalisations' where findings 'can be seen to be instances of a broader recognisable set of features' (Williams, 2002, p. 131), rather than the total or statistical generalisations of the physical and natural sciences. However, even within the modest scope of interpretivist research there are limitations of various kinds which may undermine the validity or constrain the generalisability of findings. This section first describes factors which may be threats to validity of the data and then explores the interpretative limitations of the study.

The researcher's organising of the pairs may have cut across pairings which could have been more productive and/or enjoyable for the children. The particular pairings may have undermined the aim of the research design for a sociable context and subsequently the quality of discussion. Although data was generated on three occasions using several activities, it provides only a snapshot of the range of viewing behaviours and talk that the children have generated since they began viewing *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (Columbus, 2002). The aim of the research design was to gather data from the children's accumulated understandings of the film, but

some children were becoming bored with the film and so they may not have engaged with it or talked about it as fully as they had earlier. The three factors described here mean that the degree to which the data is fully 'naturalistic' is not certain (see also p. 221).

The interpretation of the data is centrally that of the researcher because the individual nature of this research meant that coding categories and instances, although discussed with colleagues, were not independently checked from the data. Outliers or discrepant cases within research data require explanation, but, owing to the constraints of scope, that has not been consistently attempted here. The pair of Tayla & Analeese generated very little talk during viewing, and the language resources they used more closely matched those of the groups of boys, both in the types of mental processes (verbs) and in the proportion of relational-attributive processes with specific carriers. Tayla and Analeese's data suggests either that the other four groups of girls were unusual, or that the three groups of boys were anomalous. The lack of any evidence or analysis to resolve this discrepancy is a limitation.

Although the degree to which the data is 'naturalistic' cannot be established, the study is explicit about the arrangements made to approach as closely as possible to normal viewing circumstances. Similarly, the individual (and it is hoped, consistent) nature of the interpretation is acknowledged. Generally, the research methods employed were found to be effective and productive in terms of providing a satisfactory range of data for analysis.

This evaluation of the research procedures and tools considers that the educative consent process was effective for the participants, that the data generating activities were effective and productive in producing a range of relevant data, and that the engagement practices framework was a useful analytic tool. A number of limitations of the research methodology were acknowledged. Now the findings for each research question in turn are discussed.

7.2   Discussion of findings

This study proposed that nine and ten year old children who repeatedly view a favourite film at home can articulate understandings appropriate for classroom study of the film. Two broad questions, concerning the nature of children's engagement with a repeatedly viewed film, and the kinds of understandings of a film that repeat viewers construct, structured the research. In this section the findings of the study are discussed in terms of the specific research questions, which focused on viewing engagement, viewing language, linguistic interaction, understandings about the film and the potential benefits of using several analytic approaches.

7.2.1   Viewing engagement practices
In what ways did the children engage with their favourite film during viewing?
(Research question 1)
The study included talk, gestures, and movement as viewing engagement data and grouped together behaviours which showed the same category of engagement with the film. The viewing practices continuum enabled distinctions such as that between children mirroring a character's behaviour (chorusing and enacting) and behaving as a character (speaking and gesturing as a character). The aesthetic engagement practice of acting as the character requires a level of understanding and appreciation of that character's personality and place in the story as well as unscripted acting of that part (whether thorough or temporary). Such practice is quite different from the literal level simultaneous mimicking of lines and actions which draw on memory of the film. Aesthetic engagement involves knowledgably participating in the diegesis (film world) in ways the film has not shown. The viewing engagement categories promote distinctions between different kinds of talk and gesture, and these distinctions provided empirical evidence towards an understanding of 'active viewing' as a continuum, as an analogue rather than a binary concept (Silverstone, 1994).

The evidence about the manner of viewing showed a range in the number of overt behaviours accompanying viewing and a range of viewing engagement practices. As chapter 5 and the section below on understandings (7.2.4, p. 224) describe, there was no correlation between the kinds of viewing engagement and the understandings children showed in subsequent sessions. The higher level understandings shown later

by viewers who had intently viewed but spoken rarely and moved very little, is inconsistent with the notion of 'active viewer' as a behavioural description. Rather, pairs of children showed different 'styles' of viewing where those styles varied in the amount of overt behaviour but not in the levels of engagement as demonstrated through the later activities. Two of the eight groups had viewing styles which showed very little overt engagement. Pairs' viewing engagement practice levels also varied across their viewing, so a single level is not an accurate characterisation of a particular pair, even for a particular viewing occasion. This evidence suggests that it is not valid to talk of a 'typical' child viewer.

This study has shown that a form of multimodal analysis in conjunction with the viewing engagement categories is productive in revealing the children's range of viewing engagement practices. The data images in chapter 4 showed that gestures reinforced and sometimes extended verbal communication. Instances of nine kinds of engagement behaviours across the literal, connotative and aesthetic engagement levels were documented.

7.2.2   Viewing language positioned the pairs in relation to the film

What does the language the children use during viewing reveal about their engagement? (Research question 2)

This research question examined the language patterns used by the children to gather evidence about how they related to the film. Discourses consist of both the language resources used and the socio-cultural values conveyed and constructed through that language (Fairclough, 1995; Gee, 1999). The clause level discourse analysis revealed a range of viewing positions and social languages used in the course of viewing. Analysis of the participants (subjects) and processes (verbs) uncovered fundamental differences in viewing positions that were associated with gender. The boys attributed meaning and affect to the film, with their talk constructing textual determinism, while the girls attributed meaning and affect equally to the film and to their own input. The girls used more affective verbs than the boys and furthermore within this category the girls used more first person emotional statements than the boys. This use of mental category verbs matches the gender differences found by Kanaris (1999) in children of the same age writing about their first hand experience. The pattern found in evidence from writing and from viewing talk links with other more general findings about

gender and language use (Cook-Gumperz & Kyratzis, 2001; Tannen, 2001). This broad usage pattern was noted by Buckingham (1987, 1993) and Hodge and Tripp (1986) but has not been widely explored in viewing data since.

The particular affective processes used by these children also provided a gender contrast, with the boys using a greater proportion of verbs associated with fear and hurt, whereas the girls' major use was of the verb 'like'. So not only was there a greater quantity of affective processes from the girls, but the content of their affective verbs expressed a different emotional range from that of the boys. This evidence matches that from film retellings (Buckingham, 1993) of the same film where boys foregrounded thriller and action elements, while the girls focused on the family relationships and romance plot.

Other gender-associated differences were found, with girls using relational-attributive clauses to comment on characters' qualities rather than the scene as a whole (eg 'she's embarrassed' rather than 'this part is scary', see p. 184). The boys 'disowned' affective responses by attributing affect to the text and referring to mise-en-scène in general terms, while the girls articulated personal affective responses and engaged with characters rather than the mise-en-scène. The boys did not use language which would construct affective relations with the film or its characters, though they acknowledged the inherent affective quality of actions and events. The girls' language constructs them as agents who take emotional positions towards events, who respond emotionally to them and who connect personally with characters. The gender patterns revealed by this discourse analysis may be expected to be reflective of the children's everyday gender language patterns, because Halliday's (1994) systemic functional grammar indicates that language in a particular context (context of situation) maps the influences from the wider culture (context of culture). The differences in viewing position might have been expected to predispose girls towards aesthetic engagement (close involvement in the text world) and predispose boys towards structural and critical viewing practices (overall text shape and ideologies), but that was not evident from these analyses. The discourse analysis findings suggested that these boys and girls are different kinds of audiences, but that despite the differences, pairs of both genders created higher level understandings of the film.

Declarative statements provided indicators of 'expert' positions or discourses which pairs created during their viewing. In each case discussed, the pair evaluated particular aspects of the film experience, using language resources to establish their expertise as judges. These discourses thus performed identity work for the viewers in relation to their evaluative focus and showed how diverse the viewing discourses about the same film can be.

Since discourse analysis was first used as a tool in audience reception research (Hodge & Tripp, 1986; Buckingham, 1993), its use has not been sustained and it has not been widely applied to children's viewing talk. The use of discourse analysis in this study demonstrates the potential of such analysis to provide linguistic evidence of different viewing stances and to add to the insights from other data analysis approaches.

7.2.3 Language positioning within the pair

In what ways do the children verbally interact with each other when viewing a favourite film? (Research question 3)

This question was addressed in terms of the three categories described by Wegerif & Mercer (1997) which treat talk in terms of 'the social modes of thinking' (p. 54). Although there were examples of the assertion of personal power through the put-downs, claims and disagreements of disputational talk, there were also instances of the open, thoughtful discussion which comprises exploratory talk. The three categories had been formulated to describe student talk within classrooms, with exploratory talk seen as the optimum type for peer learning which needed to be modelled and taught by teachers. It is an interesting but unintended finding of the study that this kind of talk occurred during such informal viewing, as it provides further evidence of 'home-skills' which children could use in building the understandings valued in classrooms.

The language used by the children during viewing showed a mix of types of talk with some used primarily for interpersonal purposes (to build relationships or to assert dominance) and some for exploring understandings of the film. Examples of exploratory talk illustrated that these children not only learned within their leisure pursuits with friends at home, but also that some boys and some girls used a style of

interaction having positive educational implications. This finding suggests that repeated video viewing could make positive contributions to children's educational development if teachers were willing to incorporate the resulting learning and interactional skills into their classrooms.

7.2.4 Understandings of the film

What kinds of understandings of the film are revealed by the children's talk? (Research question 4)

As well as finding out what children already understood about film narrative in general and this film in particular, the research activities may have stimulated learning through which pupils became more accomplished at talking and thinking about the film. By intervening in a social context, a researcher affects the behaviour within it, and research into learning also often influences that learning, as discussed above in the 'data generation' section (see p. 216). As an example, Arizpe and Styles (2003) reported participant learning as an unintended consequence of this research process. Those researchers reflected that they had conveyed a message that reading the study texts was a 'worthwhile and high status' activity and that their 'evident fascination' with what the children had to say, had contributed to creating learning (p. 247). So, while the understandings documented in this study are not 'pure' they should be read as data generated in a domestic context through activities which were intended to elicit, rather than teach, understandings by a researcher who positioned the children as experts and who did not provide explanations about the film text. The understandings discussed here were collected with the minimum of prompting and are intended to be as close to 'naturalistic' data as possible.

The different activity contexts within which the children talked, produced a range of content about aspects of the film from each group, as expected, given a polysemous text and the situated nature of language. The variability of the data reinforced the methodological importance for audience research of stimulating talk in a number of different meaningful contexts to collect the widest possible range of engagement practices.

The viewing engagement practices framework describes a potential range of understandings about a film. The framework facilitated consistent treatment of the

levels of the children's understandings about different aspects of the film such as those about character, about story and about causation.

Features of film which are distinctive to moving image texts have been conceptualised, within the subjects of Film Studies and Media Studies, as 'film codes' (Lealand & Martin, 2001) and the vocabulary used to describe them, as the 'language of moving images' (Film Education Working Group, 1999). In this study, children's talk about film codes was grouped within *NVivo™* so that it could be discussed as a category. It was not expected that children would, in a home leisure context, pay much attention to technical codes nor necessarily be familiar with such terminology, and the data confirmed that expectation.

Nevertheless, the children's talk about the film codes ranged from connotative through to structural engagement, including a number of examples of explanations of the technical means through which emotion-inducing effects were created. There was, as with previous studies (Buckingham, 1993; Hodge & Tripp, 1986; Laidler, 1998; M. Robinson, 1997), talk about how special effects were created. However, awareness of the constructed nature of film was intermittent, as evidenced by comments which revealed audience expectations associated with live performance rather than film. While card activity #10, which used cards showing the narrow colour palette of the film, prompted the children to 'talk about the colour and mood in the images', there was no other explicit foregrounding of technical or aesthetic film codes. This avoidance of a focus on any particular aspects of the film was designed to allow the children's own perceptions sufficient scope in the data. The evidence does show some children's beginning awareness of mise-en-scène, which educators could use as a basis for work in this area.

The data contains evidence of aesthetic engagement and of structural engagement in terms of character, of story and of causation, and of critical engagement in the two former areas. Aesthetic engagement comments about character showed thorough involvement with a character (being able to take their point of view) or situation, and sometimes also appreciation. Structural engagement indicates viewing which considers patterns within the text as a whole, abstracted from the concrete particulars of specific scenes, characters or actions. Structural engagement practice may be seen

to form the basis of appreciation of at least aspects of the whole work by using higher level linkages such as motifs or themes. Such aspects were referred to by Hodge and Tripp (1986) as 'hypotactic' because through higher level concepts they enable numbers of specifics to be considered as examples of a more general notion. Being able to articulate some of the symbolism in the text also shows a significant level of understanding and further contributes to what may be characterised as 'appreciation'. 'Appreciation' as a term is used to describe responses to cultural artefacts which combine evaluation and enjoyment, and as discussed here (and previously in chapter two, 2.7.4.3, p. 45) can consist of responses to the text at either or both of aesthetic and structural levels. The inclusion here of appreciation acknowledges the significance of enjoyment in engaging with film texts.

The children's talk showed a range of understandings including examples of aesthetic engagement and more abstract structural comments, with just a couple of instances (as would be expected with a favourite) which approached critical practice. The occurrence of structural comments showed that repeated home viewing had enabled children to view some aspects of the film in abstract or critically distanced ways.

These examples of children's thinking about a film text occurred without any formal instruction or focus on 'learning'. They have come about through children's 'intuitive' learning from voluntary repeated viewing, often in the company of younger siblings. Texts can perform some of the roles of an expert, as proposed by Greenhough et al. (2006, p. 155), because they instantiate those roles and, as Rogoff (1990) and Wells (2001) more generally pointed out, cultural tools embody previous expert practice. Kozulin (1998) conceives of literary texts as supertools because they present mediated understandings. The position taken here is that film texts should be considered as cultural supertools which can, through repeated viewing, function to scaffold a range of learning.

7.2.5 Combining several analytic approaches

In what ways are understandings about children's engagement extended by using several analytic approaches? (Research question 5)

Acceptance of the multimodal possibilities of communication (applied to a film text communicating with its audience, to audience responses to a film and to the interpersonal communication between people), resulted in the viewing of a film being seen as consisting of a range of possible communication strands, any number of which may be significant in context. The literature review and methodology chapter discussed the desirability of using a number of analytic approaches to adequately acknowledge the multi-strand nature of children's viewing data.

The small scale comparisons at the end of chapter 6 (section 6.5, p. 202) illustrated the complementary perspectives of the analytical approaches and supported some modest claims for such multiple analyses in terms of the study's treatment of data as a whole. The three approaches applied a successively narrowing semiotic focus, which began by considering physical manifestations of engagement with the film, then considered talk in terms of the interaction patterns and in terms of the content it conveys and, finally, focused on the way language resources were used in the talk.

The viewing practices framework was applied through both multi-modal and content analyses to distinguish between different levels of engagement. The multi-modal view provided a fuller picture of the non-verbal semiotic tools that the children used to engage with a favourite film. This view showed that some pairs used a number of physical modes to express their literal, connotative and aesthetic engagement. The physical expressions of engagement significantly added to their verbal interactions.

The other two analytic approaches operated on transcribed talk data. Content analysis showed the range of understandings of the film across the engagement practices framework and the understandings shown about film codes and conventions. The content analysis showed that children with differing viewing behaviours had similar levels of understanding. Discourse analysis uncovered the language patterns which constructed and conveyed different styles of viewing, revealing gender differences and a number of 'expert' positions being taken by pairs of children. The accumulation of analysis from the different approaches produced a more nuanced account of the

data, which included physical aspects of communication, the ideas expressed and the social purposes being fulfilled.

Given that participants' talk cannot be taken as unproblematic expressions of their views and understandings, combining several analyses can provide a productive strategy for interpreting and analysing talk. A combination of analytic approaches is an appropriate consequence of the importance given to the ideals of rich data and 'thick description' (Geertz, 1996) in social science research, and can be seen as the analytic means for achieving the equivalent of anthropology's 'thick description'.

7.3   Chapter summary

Generating data through a number of activities and using an appropriate framework in combination with several analytic approaches contributed to dependable description and analysis. While a number of potential limitations have been identified, none are considered serious enough to threaten the overall trustworthiness of the study and its findings.

Children showed a range of both the kinds of viewing behaviour and the number of overt engagement behaviours. These ranges of overt engagement behaviour, not associated in this study with levels of understanding about the film, constituted different viewing styles. The evidence of lack of fit between viewing style and levels of understanding contributes to the notion of active viewing as a cognitive rather than a behavioural concept (Silverstone, 1994). Discourse analysis of the children's viewing talk revealed further dimensions of viewing styles by uncovering variations in the position(s) pairs took in relation to the impact of the film. These differences were independent of the amount of viewing talk generated and were associated with gender. As would be expected, there were also differences in the ways that children interacted with their partner-participant. Most pairs produced interaction in each of Wegerif & Mercer's (1997) three categories, but pairs differed considerably in the proportions of the categories they generated. The engagement practices framework allowed the range of understandings about different aspects of the film to be meaningfully collated. While understandings which are educationally significant were

shown by each pair of children, the emphasis in analysis was on the range exhibited by a group of children equivalent in number to half an average school class.

The final chapter presents conclusions from which implications for various levels of education and for research can be drawn.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and implications

The aim of this thesis has been to investigate the complexity of children's engagement with the home viewing of film and to establish the kinds of understandings they build up over several viewings. Other research questions focused on the children's talk about the film, on their verbal interaction within pairs and on applying successive analytic approaches to the data. The group of children who participated in the study had nominated a particular film as a favourite, which enabled the range of engagement behaviours with and understandings about a common text to be clearly established.

This chapter identifies the contributions of this research and describes some implications of the findings for the New Zealand education system, and for audience research on the relationships between children and media.

8.1   Contributions of this study

Previous studies (Buckingham, 1993, 1996; Hodge & Tripp, 1986; Lealand, 1998; McKinley, 1997; and Palmer, 1986) had shown a range of viewing behaviours, such as talking about what is on screen, talking back to the screen, generating dialogue for characters and challenging special effects, which were also demonstrated by pairs in this study. The engagement practices framework enables such multimodal communication to be grouped in terms of the level of processing by the viewer. The framework facilitates consistent analysis of both multimodal viewing behaviour and the content understandings shown through viewing talk and activity talk. As noted in the review of literature (p. 22), children's multimodal viewing behaviours have not previously been considered alongside their viewing talk.

The viewing engagement framework enables children's engagement and understandings, including those concerning the codes and conventions, to be identified at several levels. The framework accommodates the identification of both the values represented in a film which constitutes critical viewing and the motifs, which, through combined aesthetic and structural engagement, constitute appreciation.

The use of the viewing engagement framework facilitated consistent treatment of children's understandings about different aspects of the film. The categories enable understandings about character, story and causation to be considered together in terms of levels. The framework could be a useful planning and evaluation tool for classroom teachers who incorporate televisual materials in their teaching.

The gender differences that were revealed by discourse analysis in the attributive language patterns used during viewing contribute further evidence to findings such as those of Cook-Gumperz & Kyratzis (2001) about children's language patterns and may indicate differences in the viewing experiences of boys and girls (Buckingham, 1993; Hodge & Tripp, 1986).

Children's home viewing produced understandings about characters and their development, about the narrative and about causation within the film world. There were also some understandings shown about the technical and symbolic codes and conventions used by the film. Most of the understandings were at the connotative and aesthetic levels of the viewing practices framework, although some structural responses were produced. The children's understandings from this combined group provide a significant basis on which to build classroom learning about, and appreciation of, televisual texts.

8.2   Implications for education

This section discusses how the findings of this study could facilitate further progress in primary school age children learning from films, first by discussing the implications for parents and then by describing the implications for teachers and for

educational policy. The implications of the study are not restricted to the particular population of pairs of children: the implications involve the examined phenomenon, that is, the semiotic, social, cultural, and ideological dynamics of viewing and learning from repeatedly viewed films at home.

While this study did not focus on classroom learning or teaching, it carefully examined the ways that children engaged with film at home, the language they used in that engagement and the understandings that they articulated. The findings and the viewing engagement practices framework provide relevant new information for those involved with televisual learning in this increasingly visually-oriented age. The study aims to contribute to the reduction by schools of the waste of children's out-of-school experiences (identified by Dewey, 1899/1998), in this case, their experiences of film.

8.2.1 Implications for children and parents

Dyson (1999) points out that the commercial media and affordable technologies in homes (eg videorecorder, DVD players) have increased children's independent access to film stories. The ability to repeatedly experience pleasures from a film narrative is often characterised, through protectionist discourses[2], as a danger to children's wellbeing. One aspect of the perceived threat to children is the assumption that the children's experiences of film result in pleasure without any other gains. By documenting the understandings that children gain from their home viewing, this study provides evidence of the levels of learning which can result from children's textual engagement in that context. The self-directed and pleasurable leisure-time activity of repeatedly viewing films is shown to produce not only socially valuable knowledge and understandings important for children within their peer culture, but also knowledge and understandings which are relevant to school learning. Such findings further blur the dichotomy between classroom education and self-selected out-of-school activities and contribute some evidence to discussions about children's leisure pursuits. In a discussion of the personal value of literature, Sumara (2002) describes the complex contribution that such texts can make.

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[2] 'Protectionist discourse' assumes that children are innocent, vulnerable, in need of adult protection and needing to be inoculated against the damaging effects of the media (Jenkins, 1998; Buckingham, 2000). This rhetoric was briefly discussed earlier, in section 2.3.

I do not read them for pleasure, although I do experience pleasure. I do not read them to learn moral lessons, although I do learn moral lessons. I do not read them to expand my repertoire of cultural and historical knowledge, although this does happen. I read them because I find I must continually create new sites to interpret my lived situation. (p. 3)

His elaboration shows how crude the education and entertainment oppositional categories are, when applied to the value of narrative texts. A number of other writers have made the point that experiencing stories makes central contributions to our sense of identity (eg Hardy, 1975; Huck, 1999). The evidence from this study provides a more rational basis than conventional attitudes to televisual texts, for thinking about the increasingly electronic nature of children's leisure time. Being informed that learning can occur during repeated viewing may help reduce parents' anxieties and enable them to interact more positively with their children about their repeated film viewing experiences.

8.2.2   Implications for primary school teachers

Many teachers, who may have adult knowledge about film, could benefit from pedagogical content knowledge (ie knowledge about how children learn particular material, and knowledge about how teachers can facilitate children's learning; Shulman, 1990) and information about the understandings about film that children bring into the classroom from their home viewing. This section will briefly discuss some pedagogical implications of the findings for teachers.

The range of viewing behaviours documented in the study shows that some children of this age are physically and verbally active during viewing at home, thus challenging the notion of 'passive viewers'. Classroom viewing norms would constrain such engagement practices, so for some children the opportunity for viewing a focus text at home as well as at school may be beneficial.

The discourses used by boys and by girls during their viewing differed significantly, creating different relationships with the film's affective dimensions. The girls' language positioned them as joint partners with the film, in constructing meaning and responses, while the boys' language positioned them as receivers. Awareness of the potentially different starting points of boys and girls in their viewing accounts could

be valuable in assisting teachers to scaffold students into using the school-valued discourse.

The sociocultural view of learning used in the study can also be appropriate for thinking about classroom learning. The examples of collaborative talk from a number of pairs in the informal research setting epitomise 'social modes of thinking' (Wegerif & Mercer, 1997). These examples provide evidence for teachers that some children do practise exploratory talk and suggest that such pairs could be used as role models or facilitators in classroom discussions about film. Teachers could be explicit about how they want groups to interact and could praise instances of exploratory talk as well as the content of discussions. Exploring the meanings of films in classrooms is assumed to be most effective for children when they have opportunities in small groups to exchange tentative understandings. Exploratory talk, a mechanism for collaborative thinking among peers, can be seen as a necessary requirement for successful film learning.

The engagement practices framework created a productive context for locating the range of viewing practices in the data and could also be useful for identifying the range of viewing engagement practices in a classroom, because the framework levels indicate further potential learning. The differences that were apparent in the children's engagement practices suggest that there could be potential gains from having students share their viewing understandings. As each conceptual framework category encompasses film techniques and codes, the categories provide ways to acknowledge those features while maintaining a focus on progress towards aesthetic appreciation, structural awareness and critical viewing of the film. A version of the framework using language appropriate for children could be used to communicate learning intentions to them.

Teachers make planning decisions about children's 'official' or sanctioned institutional learning and so, as education professionals, they need to be more informed than the general population, about children's out-of-school learning. This study provides teachers with information about the understandings that children's home viewing can produce, which, along with a viewing engagement framework appropriate for planning and evaluation, may stimulate them to 'widen' their

interpretations of the curriculum by including film texts in their classroom programme. This brief consideration of pedagogy has suggested that collaborative and cooperative purposeful activities are appropriate for learning from films at school.

8.2.3   Implications for policy

A number of writers already cited (eg. Dyson, 1997; Luke, 2002; Marsh, 2004) have stated that while managerially-run educational systems may not explicitly exclude televisual texts from their curricula, the emphasis on school and teacher accountability for print literacy contributes to a lack of utilisation of other semiotic modes in classrooms. The findings from this study demonstrate that children build educationally relevant abilities and knowledge through their engagement with the semiotic modes of films. The findings contribute to the evidence that learning from outside the classroom can bolster classroom learning. The growth in Media Studies as a mainstream senior secondary school subject in New Zealand (Lealand, 2007) and as an area of university study attracting increasing numbers of students, shows that higher levels of the education system are responding to society's increasing use of visual communication. Dissemination of the findings of this study will add to the evidential base for broadening the systemic support given to primary teachers about their literacy and literary programmes. The study contributes to a research base from which curriculum policy makers can advocate for, and provide resources to support, the inclusion of film experiences in the enacted primary school curriculum. The findings also imply the need for greater breadth in the literacy pedagogies conveyed in initial primary teacher education.

8.3   Implications for research

By incorporating educated consent (in contrast to merely informed consent), by collecting data from a number of activities and by using several analytic approaches, this study endeavoured to be methodologically sound. Claims have already been made about the appropriateness and productiveness for this study of each of these features. Here, there will be brief discussion about the wider applicability to research

with children of such features, and about the research questions which arise from the findings of this study.

8.3.1   Implications for educational research

The concept of educating children as a basis for their consent to participate in educational research has compelling consistency. Dissemination of this study will aim to inform a wider audience (including other researchers) about both the concept and the particulars used here. There is scope to explore and evaluate appropriate ways of educating for consent across the school age range. Exemplars could be included with future ethical guidelines for researchers in education.

The practice of using several data analysis approaches has been demonstrated to be beneficial in this study. A number of research projects could benefit from the incorporation of multimodal analysis to examine the range of children's interactions and communications, and from the use of discourse analysis to pay attention to the ways language resources are used both in the representation of reality (or of a televisual text) and in the performance of identities.

The repertoires of skills and knowledge that children bring through the school gate are changing, and evidence of both the processes of learning and the results of self-selected out-of-school learning described by this study may be useful for educators. While the evidence from this study can make a small contribution, there is a need for considerably more research in this area. Studies that cover both out-of-school and in-school learning processes and knowledge (eg Knobel, 1999) could be of benefit to educators through identification of the mismatches between what Gee (1999) calls 'primary discourses' and those of the school (eg. Hicks, 2001). Such evidence could be expected to modify views of 'deficit' primary discourses and their various relationships to schooling discourses.

Specifically, evidence of the learning processes and knowledge that children construct through their engagement with television, DVDs, gaming and other online activities could be useful for teachers prepared to utilise and build upon those processes and knowledge. In New Zealand, there have been surveys and qualitative research (eg Lealand, 2001; Lealand & Zanker, 2005) which provide indications of

the changing leisure time activities of 9-12 year olds. Such surveys provide valuable local information to compare with overseas data (eg Livingstone, Holden & Bovill, 1999), but do not give us a full picture of the practices of individuals. Some in-depth evidence from interviews and observations in homes would begin to fill in details within the outline we presently have. Studies of the relationship between children's out-of-school understandings and their school viewing, reading and writing motivation, activities and achievements would provide valuable additional information to inform both policy and classroom practice.

This study has provided a first step, albeit on a small scale, in proposing and testing a framework of viewing engagement practices suitable for teachers. While response data from a larger number of children would need to be analysed, using the framework, before the boundaries of its categories could be considered sufficiently robust and stable enough for wider dissemination, the present version provides a basis for future research to test and refine.

8.3.2   Implications for audience research

This study used multiple data-generating occasions and activities as well as multiple analyses of data in an attempt to provide rich descriptions of the children's engagement. The multiple perspectives in both phases allowed exploration of not just the content of children's language but also their interaction patterns, engagement styles and discourses. Employing multiple perspectives is a logical consequence of accepting Halliday's (1978) metafunctional view of communication (see also Kress, 2003). As mentioned earlier, the implications of this view of communication have been applied infrequently to audience studies. Multimodal treatment of viewing data is a further corollary of a semiotic view of communication and links children's viewing talk to their other viewing behaviours. It enables a richer picture of viewing engagement practices to be built up. This study argues that a 'combined approach' to analysis of audience talk is necessary.

The study has shown that designing several data-generating activities focused on the same text can furnish rich and complementary data about children's meaning-making. Such an approach is congruent with an interactive model of deriving meaning from texts and contrasts with single-viewing research based on a transmission model of

communication. This study's contribution to the use of viewing observation data builds on that of Buckingham (1993), while the repeated viewing aspect builds on the research that McKinley (1997) carried out with viewers of a television series, and the research of Arizpe & Styles (2003) on children revisiting picture books. The variations in viewing styles (discussed previously in chapter four - 'expressive' viewing characterised by talking, gestures and other behaviour, compared with almost silent viewing) were complemented in this study by data from other activities. Audience research which solely uses self-reported or survey data about viewing is vulnerable to similar variations or distortions in behavioural styles.

This study conceptualises children's engagement with a film during viewing and the understandings that they show when talking about it, in terms of a single framework. The framework extends the audience reception knowledge-base as reviewed in chapter two, and has proved useful in categorising children's talk. The framework enables comments about a particular aspect (eg causation) to be identified at the different levels, as well as comments about a range of film elements at the same engagement practice level (eg connotative engagement). It provides a coherent basis for comparing initial and later understandings of a film, as well as a basis on which teachers could plan for progressions in student learning. This frame of reference extends previous discrete viewing categories (Palmer, 1986; Lealand, 1998) by creating a continuum and by linking a range of viewing behaviours with categories of understanding, thus increasing the potential usefulness of the framework. It is not assumed that children's understandings are of a consistent level across a film viewing. Morley's (1996) critique of the dominant/resistant reading categories, with their implications of consistent responses, has here been empirically demonstrated by the children's varied levels of engagement during a viewing. The framework reveals that pairs responded to different aspects of the film at quite different levels. This shows that dichotomous classifications of viewing position are less than helpful, even when applied to a single viewing, scene by scene. The five points on the viewing practices continuum provide a more nuanced framework for describing viewing and understanding.

Discourse analysis enabled identification of the 'expert positions' which some pairs established through their discussion. Further research, to explore whether such

viewers take a similar position to other films within a genre that they view and in different viewing circumstances, would extend audience reception knowledge.

The viewing practices framework enables distinctions to be made which reveal that most pairs showed both literal and aesthetic engagement during their viewing, but that some pairs predominantly engaged at the literal level. Further research may show that literal engagement is a precursor, in viewings of a particular film, to 'acting as a character' (this term is explained in chapter four on p. 106). If there were evidence for such a progression during repeated viewing, it would have implications for the optimum viewing style for learning, and consequently for school viewing protocols.

The viewing talk data proved particularly useful, and further studies that collect out-of-school viewing data, of material chosen by children, would add to understandings in the area. The two areas of deficiency in existing studies were identified, in the literature review, as actual viewing behaviour data and adequately analysed out-of-school talk about film. This study attempted to provide some evidence in those areas, but clearly further studies of this type are needed to build a stronger evidential foundation about children's out-of-school engagement with film and television. In future, child audience research comparisons of viewing stances and discourse use may be made across studies, further enriching understandings of viewing.

8.4   Concluding comment

The changing semiotic environment presents narratives through a widening range of media, while many teachers ascribe educational value only to print literature. This study has provided evidence that films embody expert practice and that children can learn from them. When teachers appreciate and acknowledge the understandings of televisual texts that children bring into classrooms, they are in a position to facilitate meaningful learning about narrative and film for those students. Such extended views of literacy and literature, by teachers, would enable more students than at present to have their out-of-school learning valued by having it used as the basis for further learning.

This study has explored the engagement practices and the understandings expressed during out-of-school viewing in terms of a framework which encompasses a range of levels of involvement with a film text. The study has attempted to represent the children's experiences of a film in ways which validly illustrate their perceptions of, and understandings about, the film. Through this representation of children's engagement practices it is hoped that teachers will be stimulated, by the evidence of contemporary children's out-of-school learning, to provide classroom experiences which build on the significant repertoires of knowledge that are gained through repeated viewing.

It is hoped that dissemination of the findings will encourage all adults who play a role in children's socialisation and learning, to appreciate that learning from and pleasure in televisual texts are closely related. It is also hoped that those adults will view children's experiences of film as potentially positive, and will act to ensure that these experiences are accorded more value in the future.

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Appendix A   Ethics Committee approval

ᴥ Massey University
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Te Kupenga o Te Mātauranga

College of Education Ethics Committee
RESEARCH PROPOSAL REVIEW

Name of Applicant(s)   Brian Finch

Title of Research   Children viewing video narratives

Reference Number   COE 03/070

The Proposal has been reviewed, as follows:

☐   No change

√   Minor amendments (as listed at Amendments below)

☐   Major amendments (as listed at Amendments below) to be reviewed by
       Committee

☐   Submit to MUHEC

AMENDMENTS

1. Information Sheet for Principal and BOT (Consent Document 1) needs to indicate
   the identity of the school will be protected. On this sheet it would be good to
   signal that you wish to discuss appropriate ways for the teachers to be informed
   about the research and a means for them to signal their wish to volunteer to be
   involved.
2. For Teachers Information Sheet (Consent Document 3) it needs a bullet point
   under Teacher Participant's rights "provide information on the understanding that
   their name will not be used."
3. It is good to use bullet points on the consent form (which are generally an edited
   version of the participant's rights) which make it clear on that form what
   participants are consenting to.
4. Consent Document 13 – the College Ethics Committee does not need to see the
   Information Video. If you would like it could be seen by the Reviewer of your
   application or the Chair.
5. Last bit on the Information Sheets should, along with your contact details, include
   contact details for your supervisor.
6. In the information sheets (and consent forms) you need to clarify whether the
   video footage of children on the information video or data collection videos would
   be viewed in the context of presentations of your research findings or the
   development of your research methodology. In particular, you may wish to seek
   consent from the information video parents for this purpose as it is an innovative
   approach that could be usefully shared at conferences.

Te Kupenga ki Pūehutanga

Inception to Infinity: Massey University's commitment to learning as a life-long partnership

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7. Information sheet references to 'student cameraperson' and 'students considering taking part' are unclear. 'Students' could mean school students or college students. For the second statement it would be more informative to state the specific roles they are taking e.g. cameraperson, transcriber.

NOTES

The information sheets for parents does not clarify what will happen if parents wish to 'sit in' on the viewing. This possibility needs prior consideration by the researcher.

This project was reviewed by the Massey University College of Education Ethics Committee and found to meet the university's ethical guidelines.

Signature p.p.: Helen Sneddon   Date Friday, October 03, 2003

Professor Joy Cullen
Chairperson
College of Education Ethics Committee   Phone 06 351 3355

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Appendix B   Information sheets, phase 1[3]

[Massey University College of Education Letterhead]

Children viewing videos
INFORMATION SHEET FOR STUDENTS

[Date]
Dear student,

My name is Brian Finch and I work at Massey University College of Education. I am trying to find out about the movies children watch on video. I am doing this to find out what children learn when they watch videos.

The research has four parts to it.

1. The first part is a questionnaire for teachers.
2. **Part two is a questionnaire which asks children for the titles of their favourite videos and for some other information about their viewing of videos at home. The questionnaire takes about 10 minutes to complete. From the information given I would identify a group of children who have the same favourite.**
3. Part three involves some students talking about one particular video.
4. Part four involves pairs of children viewing the video at home and later talking about the video.

I need your permission before I can ask you to fill in the questionnaire. The questionnaire asks questions about video watching. You will be asked to read the questions and then tick your choice of answer or write down what you think. If you have any questions about the research, you can talk to your class teacher or to me.

When I write about this research, I will not mention your name or the school's name. If you don't want to answer any of the questions in the questionnaire you don't have to.

If you are willing to do the questionnaire, please sign the consent form and return it to your class teacher.

Yours sincerely,
Brian Finch

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[3] The documents refer to this phase as 'Part two' because the research included phases not reported on here.

Children viewing video narratives
STAGE TWO INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS / CAREGIVERS

[Date]
Dear Parent / Caregiver

My name is Brian Finch and I work in the Department of Arts and Language Education at Massey University College of Education. I have a particular interest in the visual language strand of the English Curriculum and this research is part of my doctoral work.

I am carrying out research on children's home viewing of movies on video. My purpose is to discover the learning they achieve through watching a particular video more than once. I hope this information will help teachers in planning visual language activities.

The research has four stages, the first three of which will take place in school. At each stage participants need to volunteer to take part by giving their consent.

5. The first stage is a short questionnaire which asks teachers to give their views on children's viewing and understandings.

6. **Stage two is a questionnaire which asks children to nominate their current favourite titles and for some other information about their viewing of videos at home. The questionnaire takes about 10 minutes to complete. From the information given I would identify a group of children who have the same favourite.**

7. Those children with the chosen favourite, who consent to take part in stage three, will take part in a 30-40 minute discussion about their viewing and the particular title. To ensure a chance for everyone in the group to talk, two groups will be run.

8. The final stage involves pairs of children and their parents giving consent to being observed while viewing the video at home and later being interviewed about their understandings of the video.

Before each of stages two, three and four, parents/caregivers and children need to give written consent to participate and children have the right to withdraw at any stage.

Informed consent is required from parents / caregivers and from each child before the child can take part in this research. Enclosed with this letter is a consent form requesting permission for your daughter / son to take part in **Stage two** of the project, the questionnaire. If you are happy for your child to take part in this research could you please complete the parents/ caregivers consent form.

Also enclosed is an information sheet and consent form for your child. If you give consent please read the enclosed student information sheet along with your child to ensure they understand what they are being asked to volunteer for.

Please return the completed consent forms to the school.

Children have the right to withdraw from the research at any time. They have the right to decline to answer any question in the questionnaire. As a participant's parent / caregiver you have the right to ask any question about the study at any time during the study. In writing up the research, the name of the school, teachers, and students will remain confidential.

If you have any questions about this research you are welcome to contact me to discuss it further. I can be contacted by phone or email at the College on 356 9099 ext. 8717 or b.t.finch@massey.ac.nz I have the approval and support of Professor Roy Nash, my supervisor who can be contacted on 356 9099 ext.8633 or R.Nash@xtra.co.nz .

Yours sincerely

Brian Finch

Appendix C   Information sheets, phase 2[4]

Children viewing videos
INFORMATION SHEET FOR STUDENTS

May 10, 2004
Dear   ,

My name is Brian Finch and I work at Massey University College of Education. I am trying to find out about how children watch videos and what they learn when they watch.

You probably remember taking part at school in the group discussion about one of your favourite videos. That was Part three of the research. The last part involves some children viewing and talking about the *Harry Potter* video in their home. You are invited to take part but you don't have to.

Part four involves pairs of children being observed while viewing the video at home and later being interviewed about their understandings of the video. The male researcher will take the sessions with the pairs of boys and a female researcher will run the sessions involving the pairs of girls. Sessions will be held in a child's or friend's home at a time convenient to the family when adults were present.

An information video tape is provided with this letter to show both you and your parents what is involved in this part of the research. I hope it makes clear what you would be asked to do on each of the four different research occasions. Watch it and talk about it with your parents to decide whether you are willing to take part.
1. **A viewing of the favourite video with the researcher present. The children would be videotaped while viewing. (time, 90-120 minutes)**
2. **A re-viewing of two ten-minute sections of the video. The children will have the remote control and will explain what they think about as they watch. This session would be tape recorded. (time, 1 hour)**
3. **An interview and activities. The researcher will ask questions about what children think about the video and ask them to do two activities to do with the video. This session would be tape recorded. (time 1 hour)**
4. **Transcript checking. The researcher would ask the children to check that the written records we have made of what they have said are accurate. The children can ask for any parts they wish to be removed at this stage. This session would be tape recorded. (time, 30 minutes)**

I need your permission before you can take part.

---

[4] In these documents this research phase is referred to as 'Part four' because the research included phases not reported on here.

A tape recorder will record the discussion so we can remember what was said. You can ask for the tape to be stopped at any time. If you have any questions about the research, you can talk to your class teacher or to me.

During any session, you have the right to ask for recording, either sound or video, to be stopped. The recordings are to ensure true records of what you do and say. The tape will only be listened to or watched by the two researchers who will not tell anyone else your name. Both video and sound tapes will only be listened to by the researchers and no one else.

When I write about this research, I will not mention your name or the school's name.

If you don't want to answer any of the questions during the discussion you don't have to.

Yours sincerely

Brian Finch

Children viewing video narratives
PART FOUR INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS / CAREGIVERS

May 10, 2004
Dear Parent / Caregiver

My name is Brian Finch and I work in the Department of Arts and Language Education at Massey University College of Education. I am doing research into children's learning from videos as part of my doctoral work.

You may remember Part two and Part three of the research, a questionnaire and group discussion which have been completed. The video *Harry Potter and the chamber of secret*s which is one of your child's favourites has been selected for further study. Your child is invited to take part in Part four of the research. This is voluntary.

Part four involves pairs of children and their parents giving consent to the children being observed while viewing the video at home and later being interviewed about their understandings of the video. The male researcher will take the sessions with the pairs of boys and a female researcher will run the sessions involving the pairs of girls. Sessions will be held in a child's or friend's home at a time convenient to the family when adults were present.

An information video tape is provided with this letter to show both you and your child what is involved in this final part of the research. I hope it makes clear what the children would be asked to do on each of the four different research occasions.
5. **A viewing of the favourite video with the researcher present. The children would be videotaped while viewing. (time, 90-120 minutes)**
6. **A re-viewing of two ten-minute sections of the video. The children will have the remote control and will explain what they think about as they watch. This session would be tape recorded. (time, 1 hour)**
7. **An interview and activities. The researcher will ask questions about what children think about the video and ask them to do two activities to do with the video. This session would be tape recorded. (time 1 hour)**
8. **Transcript checking. The researcher would ask the children to check that the written records we have made of what they have said are accurate. The children can ask for any parts they wish to be removed at this stage. This session would be tape recorded. (time, 30 minutes)**

During any session, children have the right to ask for recording, either sound or video, to be stopped. The recordings are to ensure accurate records of what children do and say. Both video and sound tapes will be confidential to the researchers and will be stored securely. They will be destroyed after five years.

Informed consent is required from parents / caregivers and from each child before the child can take part in this research. Enclosed with this letter is a consent form requesting permission for your daughter / son to take part in **Part four** of the project,

the home viewing and interviewing. If you are happy for your child to take part in this stage of the research could you please complete the parents/ caregivers consent form.

Also enclosed is an information sheet and consent form for your child. If you give consent please view the video (6 minutes in length) and read the enclosed student information sheet along with your child to ensure they understand what they are being asked to volunteer for.

Please return completed consent forms (but not the video) to the school.

Children have the right to withdraw from the research at any time. They have the right to decline to answer any question. As a participant's parent / caregiver you have the right to ask any question about the study at any time. In writing up the research, the name of the school, teachers, and students will remain confidential.

If you have any questions about this research you are welcome to contact me to discuss it further. I can be contacted by phone or email at the College on 356 9099 ext. 8717 or b.t.finch@massey.ac.nz I have the approval and support of Professor Roy Nash, my supervisor, who can be contacted on 356 9099 ext.8633 or R.Nash@xtra.co.nz .

Yours sincerely

Brian Finch

Appendix D   Information video for potential participants

Originally, this material was on VHS videotape and each copy carried labels as below.

Information Video about the research
'Children viewing and learning from videos'

Questions or further information:

Brian Finch
Massey University College of Education
Ph: 356 9099 extn 8717
Email: b.t.finch@massey.ac.nz

After viewing, this videotape becomes
the property of the child. Thank you
for helping me with this research.

The CD is attached to the inside back cover.

The CD runs on PC and Mac computers and plays through Windows Media Player™.

Massey University
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Te Kupenga o Te Matauranga

Children viewing and learning from videos – *Harry Potter*

Hello parents and children,
This letter is addressed to the child participant and the adult who signed the consent form last year. I am reporting some of my thoughts so far, about this research which I'm carrying out on a part-time basis alongside my lecturing job at the College of Education.

There were 8 groups of children altogether in this part of the research (7 pairs and one group of three). I began the video viewing and activity sessions last June and finished the final session in November. Since then I have been working on the information, trying to interpret all the things the children said.

It was clear during the sessions that all the children were active and thinking during their viewing, which is what I had expected. It is also clear that all children have learned from their repeated viewing of *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*.

Many children showed their close knowledge of the film by saying lines of dialogue either at the same time or before the film characters did. In doing this they also imitated the actors' accents and their phrasing of the lines. Often they then commented on the character or the situation. Many of the children also physically imitated characters' movements or facial expressions during the movie. Other research with younger children has shown this, but the persistent saying of dialogue has not been noted before in research.

The spontaneous talk of children and their partners during our first viewing included comments on:
> the actors (other films they appeared in, information about their real personalities and lives etc);
> how particular film effects or sequences might have been made (there were discussions about computer generated special effects and camera 'tricks'); and
> characters' actions, their past histories in the first book and/or film, their future in the third book/film or the fourth or fifth books (often their actions were contrasted with what had happened in the first film).

Children who had viewed and talked about this video with a parent, mentioned scenes, moments or lines of dialogue that were favourites with that adult. A couple of children also mentioned understandings about characters or their motivation which had been clarified through discussions with a parent. I think this evidence could encourage adults to view and talk about films and videos with their children.

At present I am working through the data describing and analysing a range of aspects including:
> Language and pair interaction;
>> the ways the pairs interacted with each other,
>> the kinds of questions the children asked each other,
>> the ways they joined in the film's dialogue,
> Understandings about stories;
>> the range of knowledge that children brought to their viewing (eg knowledge about phoenixes, griffins, etc),
>> the understandings about people which informed children's judgements about the rightness or wrongness of characters' actions,
>> the different kinds of links children made between different parts of the movie,
>> the kinds of reasons given for things being important in the film,
> Understandings about film-making;
>> their understandings about how films are physically made, and
>> their understandings about how the film leaves out many details from the book.

The aim of my research is to show the kinds of learning which children achieve through repeated viewing and talking about a movie. I believe that such information will be helpful for both parents and for teachers.

Once again, thank you very much for the flexibility and cooperation you showed in letting me (and Nikki) come into your home to talk with your child.

I'm happy to answer any further questions you have about the research,

Thanks,

Brian

Brian Finch   27/5/05
b.t.finch@massey.ac.nz
356 9099, extn 8717

Appendix F   Questionnaire for children

Questionnaire

I'm _____ years old and I'm in Year ____ at school. I'm in Room _____.

I'm a boy   /   girl   (tick one circle).

My first name is _____   the first letter of my surname is __.

Place a tick in the circle beside each activity that you enjoy doing when you are not at school. You can tick more than one.

	◯	Reading
	◯	Listening to radio, music tapes, CDs
	◯	Playing video or computer games
	◯	Drawing, writing, making things
	◯	Going places (to the shops, to friends homes)
	◯	Watching TV
	◯	General playing (toys, hobbies, pets)
	◯	Watching videos or DVDs
	◯	Playing or practising musical instruments
	◯	Other – please write in

In the list above write a '1' beside the circle of the activity that you enjoy doing most, a '2' beside the next, and a '3' beside your third choice.

Tick one

◯   In our house we DO NOT watch videos or DVDs. If you tick this circle you

       do not need to answer any other questions.

◯   In our house we DO watch videos ◯ DVDs ◯ (tick one or two).

At the moment my top three favourite video/DVD titles that we have at home are:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

If you have watched any of these titles more than once, put the number of times you think you've watched it after its name on the list above.

                                                     Please turn over …

When I really like a video/DVD I watch it more than once. A video/DVD that I'm watching over and over <u>at the moment</u> is: _____

I usually watch my favourite video/DVD:

- ○ By myself
- ○ With other children who are family members
- ○ With friends
- ○ With adults
- ○ Other (eg friends and family together)

Please put a '1' in the circle by who you most like to watch with, '2' by your second choice and '3' by your third choice.

When I'm watching one of my favourite videos with someone else, we talk about it; (tick one)

. quite a lot   . a bit   . very little

When I'm watching a video that I like and have seen before;
(you can tick more than one)

  I watch right through with some stops

  I watch right through with no stops

  I fast forward through some parts

- ○ I rewind some parts to watch them more than once

In our house some other videos/DVDs we own, that I like watching are:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your time and information.

Appendix G Synopsis of *Harry Potter and the chamber of secrets*

Dobby the house elf visits the Dursley house to warn Harry not to return to Hogwarts. Harry is 'rescued' from the Dursleys by the Weasley boys and is soon on his way to another year at Hogwarts, where he must unravel the mystery surrounding the force that 'petrifies' a cat and Hogwarts students, malevolent voices that seem to whisper to him from within walls, spiders, an enchanted diary, the mystery of Tom Riddle, a former Hogwarts student, and a basilisk in the chamber of secrets.

Suspicion falls on Harry, especially when he reveals a sinister ability to talk to snakes. Harry finds a magic diary of a former student called Tom Riddle. By 'entering' it, Harry learns how the school caretaker Hagrid was accused of opening the Chamber of Secrets when he was a student at Hogwarts and expelled. In the present, Hagrid is arrested and the headmaster Dumbledore relieved of his post. Entranced by Tom Riddle, Ron Weasley's sister, Ginny, is used to lure Harry to the chamber of secrets. Harry eventually finds the secret passageway to the chamber. He enters it to save Ginny and discovers that Tom Marvolo Riddle, a vengeful memory preserved for fifty years within a magical diary, has become the past, present and future of the evil Lord Voldemort. Harry succeeds in killing the basilisk and then uses a fang of the giant snake to stab the enchanted diary, defeats Voldemort once again and rescues Ginny. The petrified people are restored to normal, Dumbledore reinstated and Hagrid cleared. Harry tricks Dobby's owner, Draco's father Lucius (who planted the diary), into freeing Dobby.

Appendix H   Information sheet for Board of Trustees[5]

[Massey University College of Education Letterhead]

Children viewing video narratives
INFORMATION SHEET FOR THE PRINCIPAL AND BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Introduction
My name is Brian Finch and I am a Senior Lecturer at Massey University College of Education in the Department of Arts and Language Education. I have a particular interest in the visual language strand of the English Curriculum. This research is part of my doctoral study.

The research
I wish to carry out research on children's home viewing of movies on video. My purpose is to discover the learning they achieve through watching a particular video more than once. I hope this information will help teachers in planning visual language activities.

The research has four stages, the first three of which will take place in school. The name and location of the school will not be given in any discussion (written or oral) of the research. At each stage participants need to volunteer to take part by giving their consent.

1. The first stage is a short questionnaire (10 minutes)which asks teachers to give their views on children's viewing and understandings.
2. Stage two is a questionnaire (10 minutes)which asks children to nominate their current favourite titles and for some other information about their viewing of videos at home. From the information given I would identify a group of children who have the same favourite.
3. Those children with the nominated favourite, who consent to take part in stage three, would take part in a 30-40 minute discussion about their viewing and the particular title. To ensure a chance for everyone in the group to talk, two groups will be run.
4. The final stage involves pairs of children and their parents giving consent to being observed while viewing the video at home and later being interviewed about their understandings of the video.

Teachers will receive a sheet similar to this one, informing them about the research and giving them the opportunity to volunteer to be involved. Before each of stages two, three and four, parents/caregivers and children need to give written consent to participate and children have the right to withdraw at any stage.

The questionnaires will be undertaken at times convenient to the teachers. The group discussions (Stage three) will take place at a time convenient to the classroom teachers and the students. An audio tape recording of the group discussions will be used to provide an accurate record that can be referred to.

---

[5] Only research phases two and four are reported on in this thesis, where they are referred to as part one and part two.

The tapes will be kept confidential and stored securely at Massey University for five years and then they will be destroyed.

I will provide class teachers with a summary of their class's favourite video titles and other information gathered, after Stage two. I will give a report of preliminary findings to the teachers after Stage three or four which will include a summary of the information from the teachers' questionnaires.

Participants' rights
The teachers and children will be told that they have the right to:
- decline to participate;
- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study at any time;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that their name will not be used;
- ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the children's group discussion;
- be given access to a summary of the research findings when it is finished.

If you have any questions about this research you are welcome to contact me to discuss this further. I can be contacted by phone or email at the College on 356 9099 ext. 8717 or b.t.finch@massey.ac.nz I have the approval and support of Professor Roy Nash, my supervisor who can be contacted on 356 9099 ext.8633 or R.Nash@xtra.co.nz .

Yours sincerely,

Brian Finch

Appendix I Questionnaire 2 for children

 Questionnaire 2

I'm in Room _____.

My first name is _____   the first letter of my surname is __.

1 Choose your favourites from the video/DVD titles below, by writing '1' by your most favourite, '2' by your next most favoured, and so on in the **order** column.

The titles are from those the group gave in the first questionnaire, leaving out those with 'M' certificate.

Title	Your **order** (1, 2, 3, 4, up to 8)	Approximate **number** of times you have watched the movie (please circle)			
Finding Nemo		0	1-5	5-10	10+
The Lion King (original or new)		0	1-5	5-10	10+
Harry Potter (Philosopher's Stone OR Chamber of Secrets) (circle if you have a preference)		0	1-5	5-10	10+
Shrek		0	1-5	5-10	10+
Scooby Doo		0	1-5	5-10	10+
Lilo & Stitch (1st or 2nd) (circle if you have a preference)		0	1-5	5-10	10+
Whale Rider		0	1-5	5-10	10+
Like Mike		0	1-5	5-10	10+

I don't really like any of those titles.

2 If you have watched any of these titles more than once, circle the number of times you think you've watched it in the **number** column in the list above.

Thank you again for your time and information.

Appendix J   **Feedback sheet for children**

Thanks for your information, Years 5 & 6

The videos you liked watching at home the most were, in order:

1. Harry Potter
2. Lord of the Rings
3. Lion King
4. Finding Nemo
5. Scooby Doo
6. Lilo & Stitch
7. 2 Fast 2 Furious
8. Pirates of the Caribbean = Spiderman = Charlie's Angels = Austin Powers

Some of these titles have an 'M Certificate' rating so will not be considered for the next part of the research.

The majority of you most enjoyed the activities with the higher rankings.

Activity	Girls' ranking	Boys' ranking	Overall ranking
Watching videos or DVDs	1=	3	1
Playing video or computer games	5=	1	2
Going places (to shops, friends' homes)	1=	7	3
Watching television	7	2	4
Drawing, writing, making things	3=	8	5=
General play (toys, hobbies, pets)	5=	4	5=
Reading	3=	5=	7
Listening to radio, music tapes, CDs	8	5=	8
Playing musical instruments	9	10	9
Other – please write in	10	9	10

Brian

Brian Finch

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Appendix K   Family arrangements sheet

Children viewing and learning from videos/DVDs

𝕳arry 𝕻otter & the 𝕮hamber of 𝕾ecrets

Thank you for agreeing to be part of the final part of this research.
To make sure things run smoothly for the families involved we would like some further information.

Child's name: _____

Address: _____

Phone number: _____

Nominated friend (from within the research group): _____

Adults' section

This part of the research takes part in children's homes after school (starting at either 3.30 or 4pm). They will be paired with a friend. Sessions can take place in either child's home to suit the convenience of the adults concerned. We hope to be able to arrange sessions at times to suit you and your child that also fit with our other work commitments.

As this part of the research will take place in winter, we will deliver children to their homes by car (Nikki Maw for girls and Brian for boys) from all sessions to avoid children walking by themselves in the dark.

The number of children in this part of the research means that it will take us some weeks to work with all groups. For this reason we're asking for an indication of whether the school holidays (July 5 – 16) would be a suitable time for your family. This information will help us sort out an order in which to work with the pairs of children. (At the same time we realise that family plans can change –we're just asking for an indication of things as they are at the moment.)

We envisage that the children, in pairs, will have a research session two or three times in a week (as we need to get the interview answers typed up before the fourth session, there may be a time delay between the third and fourth sessions).

<u>Suitable times</u>

Are there particular afternoons which will <u>not</u> be convenient? If so, which day/s?
_____

Would a time during the weekend be convenient?   ○ Yes;   ○ No

Will your child be available for the research during the school holidays (July 5 – 16)?
   ○ Yes, during the first week July 5-9
   ○ Yes, during the second week July 12 – 16
   ○   No

○ Yes there is usually an adult home in the afternoon.

 Please tick one (or two) of the three options below:
○ I would prefer that the children have sessions at my house.
○ I don't mind if sessions take place at my house.
○ I would rather not have the sessions at my house.

To help us organise our equipment please specify whether you have:
○ Videotape player
○ DVD player

Adult's signature: _____

Please post this form back to me in the envelope provided (try to ignore the messy postmarking!). Feel free to contact me directly with any concerns or questions.
We look forward to meeting you soon when we work with your children.
Thanks for your help,

Brian Finch
b.t.finch@massey.ac.nz
356 9099 xtn8717 (work)
357 3433 (home)

Appendix L   List of short clips

The numbers given below are used within the data record and when quoting from children's transcripts in the results chapters. The film running time of each clip (in hours: minutes: seconds as taken from the DVD) and the clip duration are given, then a synopsis of the main action and finally, the research rationale for the choice of each segment is stated.

1. Running time 0:10:26 – 0:16:00 [Duration 5 minutes:34 seconds]. Harry and the Weasley boys arrive at the Weasley's house with its magical appliances. Mrs Weasley and the Mr Weasley meet Harry. Errol the owl, they use floo powder to travel to Knockturn Alley.
   The purpose of this clip was to provide practice with the think-aloud procedure.

2. 1:10:00 – 1:14:11 [4:11]. The magic staircase to Dumbledore's office. The phoenix catches fire and is born again. Dumbledore asks if there is anything Harry should tell him.
   The purpose of this clip was to see if and how the children connected the film's parallel scenes (as Dumbledore asks this question of Tom Riddle in the flashback sequence).

3. 1:33:44 – 1:38:37 [4:53]. The scene in Hagrid's cottage where both Dumbledore and Hagrid talk to Ron and Harry (although they are behind the invisibility cloak) as they are removed from their school positions.
   The purpose of this clip was to investigate children's perceptions of the 'implicit' address used by Dumbledore and Hagrid.

4. 2:09:20 – 2:12:16 [2:56]. Harry destroys Tom Riddle by stabbing the diary and thus reviving Ginny.
   The purpose of this clip was to investigate children's explanations of the nature of Tom's existence and death – of how 'magic power' operates in the story.

5. 2:20:38 – 2: 25:25 [4:47]. The return of Hermione and Hagrid into the dining hall and Harry Potter's and Ron's responses different responses to them.
The purpose of this clip was to elicit children's perceptions of the relationships between the three child protagonists and of that between Harry and Hagrid.

6. 2:13:14 – 2:15:30 [2:16]. Harry and Dumbledore are talking about his allocation to a house.
The purpose of this clip was to stimulate the children to explain Harry's conflicted identity. (He is in Gryffindor, but can speak parsel-tongue, which is a Slytherin attribute.)

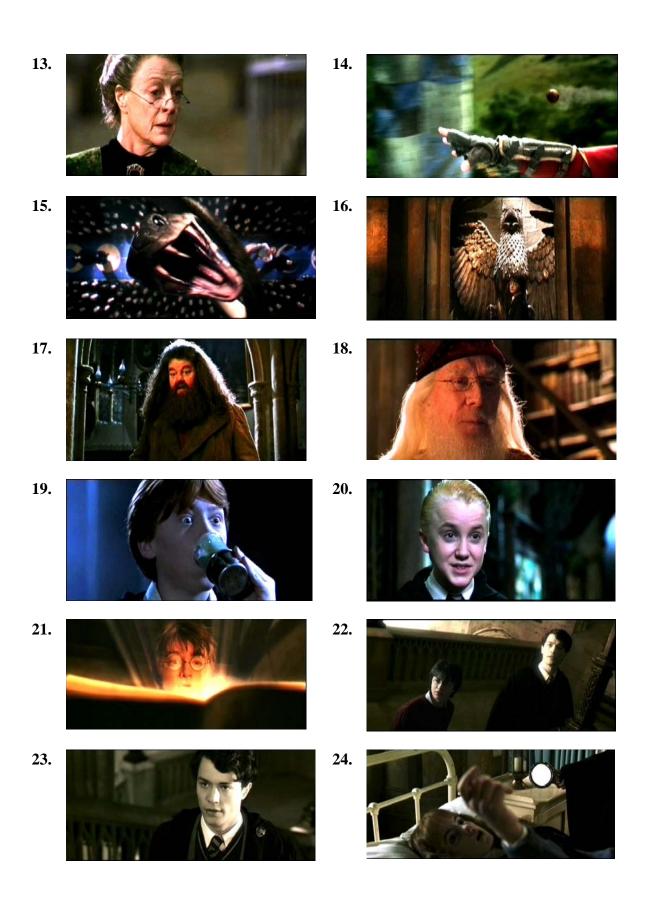# Appendix M   Card activities and images

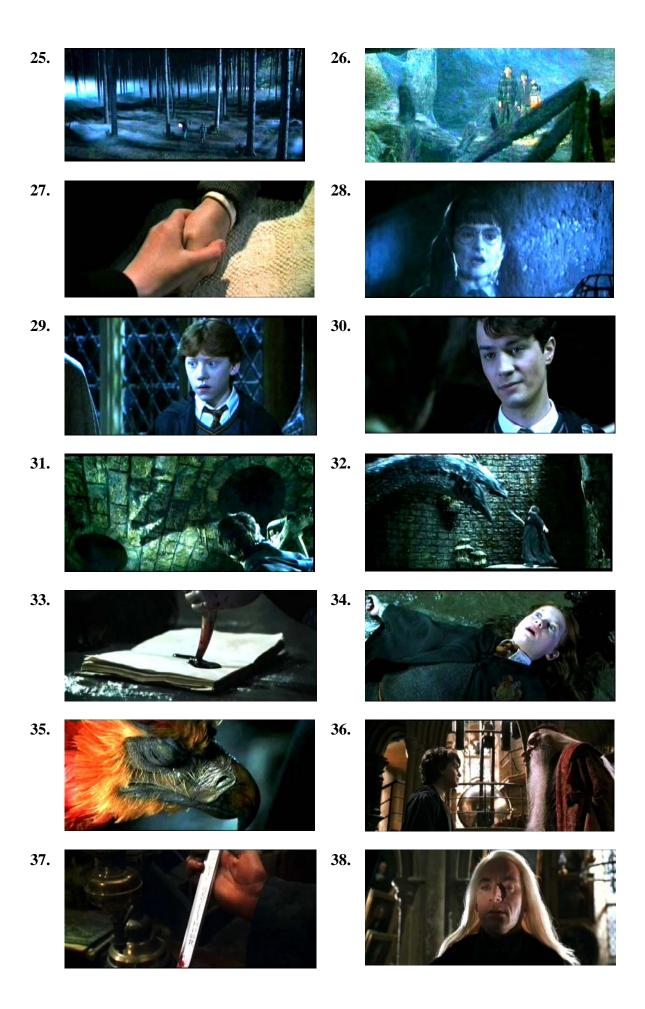Table M.1

Card activity descriptions

Activity #: image no.s	Questions & prompts	Activity focus
#1: 2, 6, 14, 15, 21, 27, 32, 33, 34, 35.	Which of these images show the most important moments in the film? Choose 4/5 Why do you think these are the most important?	Identifying significant elements and the reasons for their importance. [NB: not on same day as #2]
#2: 1, 9, 13, 18, 20, 35, 37, 41, 46, 47.	Which cards show people or things which are most important to Harry Potter? Choose 4 or 5. Why are they the most important?	Identifying reasons for images to be important to Harry Potter.
#3: 2, 3, 7, 14, 28, 32, 38, 40.	Which cards could go together and why?	Dobby's role as causer of events
#4: 11, 13, 17, 18, 38, 43.	Group together people who have things in common.	Identification of staff roles within the Hogwarts, differentiation between good/evil characters.
#5: 45, 46, 47. (also, digital image of child)	Who do you most admire? Who are you most like? Who would you most like to be like?	Further explanation of the qualities of the 3 main characters

#6:	Talk about the links between these	Explanation of the connections
6, 23, 24,	cards.	between Ginny, the diary, & Tom
34.	Which cards go together and why?	Riddle. (Why did Tom choose
		Ginny?)

#7:	What links can you explain between	Comparison of Dumbledore's
18, 36, 44.	these cards?	interactions; can they see the
		parallels? (Why does Dumbledore
		always accept their replies? Does
		he really know the answers?)

#8:	Talk about the links between these	Exploration of any parallels
1, 2, 39.	images.	between the imprisonment of Harry
		and the enslavement of Dobby.

#9:	Talk about what makes them similar	There are similarities (sport,
20, 45.	and what makes them different.	money, breeding) as well as
		differences (Harry's powers, his
		more inclusive personal attitudes)
		between Draco and Harry.

#10:	Can you group these and then talk	Explanations for and awareness of
5, 9, 12, 19,	about the colour and mood in these	the narrow colour range in the film
22, 25, 26,	images?	and the effects of darkness on
28, 42.	[Lion King image is for contrast]	viewers.

#11:	Put these images in the order in	Awareness of chronology and the
4, 15, 21,	which they happen and explain the	prequel sequence (Tom
22, 31, 32,	order.	Riddle/sepia , no. 23)
35, 41.		

#12: two	Choose things that each of you most	Their choices of favourite images
complete	like from this film.	and reasons for liking them.
sets		

Figure M.1 Card activity images

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Figure M.2 Card activity number 2: digital camera images of arrangements

'Which cards show people or things which are most important to Harry Potter? Choose 4 or 5.' (Cards provided: #s 1, 9, 13, 18, 20, 35, 37, 41, 46, 47).

Elena & Kit: (18, 41, 46. 47)
Dumbledore, Hagrid, Ron, Hermione

Tayla & Analeese: (18, 37, 41, 46, 47)
Dumbledore, sword, Hagrid, Ron,
Hermione

Marty & Rick:
(13, 18, 20, 37, 41, 46, 47)
McGonagall, Dumbledore,
Draco, sword, Hagrid, Ron,
Hermione.

Appendix N　　　　　**Examples of transcript coding in *nVivo*™**

Figure N.1 Nvivo coding categories that cover content, interpersonal, interaction and activity aspects: Elena & Kit session 3, short clip
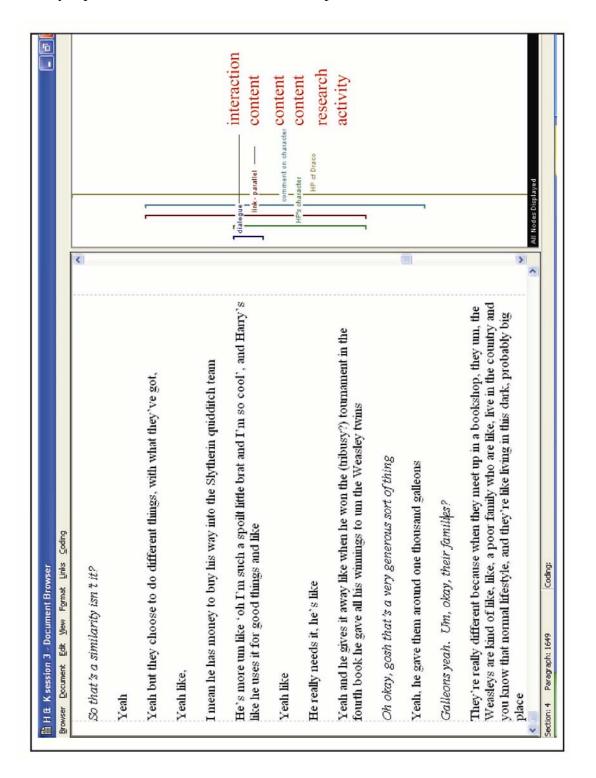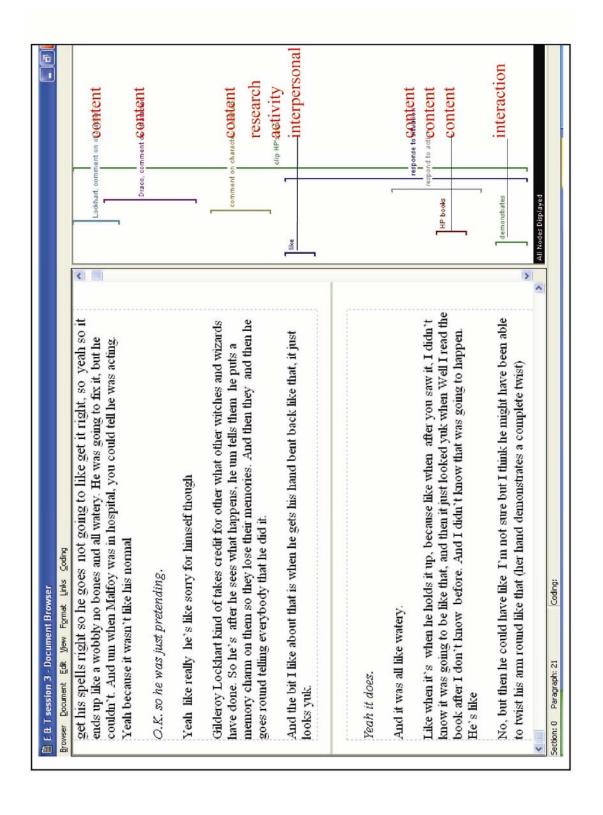
Figure N.2 Nvivo coding categories that cover content, interaction and research activity: Maisy & Sonya, session 3, card task 9

Appendix O   Examples of manual coding of processes for discourse analysis in a viewing transcript

Table O.1

Process types and codes

Process (verb) type	Code
Material	Ma
Relational	
- attributive	R.A.
- existential	R.E.
Mental	
- perceptive	M.P.
- affective	M.A.
- cognitive	M.C.
Verbal	V

Note: Figures following Mental codes indicate whether the clause has first (1), second (2) or third (3) person participants (eg 'M.A.1' is a clause with a first person participant and a mental-affective process).

Viewing transcript 1 – Emma & Arpege (beginning at the film's opening)

M.P3   oh that looks yum.
Ma   Yeah how would they eat it?
R.A.   it's awesome.
M.A1 2:00   I like whatever his name is, Dobby, Dobbin. Dobby,
R.A.   His pillowcase is nasty
M.P3   Look at his nose,
R.A.   it's so pointed.
Ma?   He doesn't have any (indistinct)
Ma   At least he's stopped ….
V   Should stop thinking "punish me", …
Ma   stopped banging his head
R.A.   This part's really funny (cake)
M.C2 Do you know what they do
Ma   to make like Dobby look real?
Ma   They um make a guy
Ma   wear this special suit
Ma   that sends messages to the ...
Ma   shows the movements, his movements and
Ma   then they make it look like Dobby.
RA   That's so funny
M.A1 7:40   Oh, I like this part
Ma   where the car comes.
R.A.   Mmm, it's funny
Ma   when his uncle falls out the window
R.A.   He's crazy.

Ma   9:49   How do they do that?
Ma   Cause it's hooked on /
Ma   oh yeah it must be like/
Ma   and they pull it.
R.A.   Oh like ropes the size of …
M.A1   10:00 I like his mother,
M.A3   She must laugh at that part.
R.A.   She has a different accent/
M.A1   I like her top/
R.A.   accent for the boys and
Ma   then she is like really nice to HP.
R.A.   She's embarrassed (Ginny).
M.C1   Yeah, I think
M.A3   she has a crush on him.
V   Harry always says 'sir'.
R.A.   This part's really funny,
Ma   He wasn't meaning that,
V   he just said it cos …
Ma   the owl saved him
R.A.   Yeah. The owl's funny.

Viewing transcript 2 – Marty & Rick (beginning at the film's opening)

R.A.   This is where
Ma   he meets Dobby.
R.A.   The third film is better.
R.A.   The second one is freaky in the car bits
Ma   Harry's got heaps of things.
R.A.   10:00 This is cool here.
Ma   Everything works by magic and
Ma   this thing, the clock.
Ma   He crashes into the window.
V   Harry says diagonally.
V   He says diagonally.
Ma   This hand grabs him
Ma   Hagrid comes
Ma   19:50   He puts the book in the basket,
Ma   He crashes.
Ma   He should have gone to a normal place
R.E.   where there was no one,
M.P3   some people saw it.
Ma   The train comes up behind them.
M.A1   I like this bit.
R.E.   25:42   Scabbers is that pet in the third one.
Ma   Who's doing it?
M.C1   I'm not sure,
R.E.   it's probably someone like Luke [Lucius].
Ma   No, Dumbledore wouldn't have done that..

R.E.   It must be someone else.
R.E.   28:16   He's a muggle, eh.
M.C1 I forgot the name of it,
Ma   but he can't do magic.
R.E.   He isn't a muggle,
R.E.   he's something else.
R.E.   Yeah that's it a squib.
R.A.   What's the detention?
Ma   Is it for going into the forest?
R.E.   No, that was in the first movie.
V   But that doesn't say the detention.
R.E.   31 This is the baby ones.
R.A.   This is funny.
R.E.   Lockhart's really a kind of a squib.
R.E.   That guy is a squib.
Ma   Because his spells don't really work
M.C1 I wonder
Ma   how they actually do that?
Ma   Maybe he just puts two in his mouth at a time.
R.E.   It could be computer graphics.
Ma   Maybe they just flavoured them.
R.E.   This is where
M.P3 he hears the snake.
R.A.   It's not dead.

Table O.2

Comparison of processes in two examples of viewing transcripts

Process (Verb type)	Code	E & A Count	E & A %	M & R Count	M & R %[1]
Material	Ma	20	42	19	39
Relational					
- attributive	R.A.	14		7	
- existential	R.E.	0		14	
			30		43
Mental					
- perceptive	M.P.	2		2	
- affective	M.A.	6		1	
- cognitive	M.C.	3		3	
			23		12
Verbal	V	2	4	3	5
Totals		47	99%	49	99%

[1]Comparison of the percentages of Relational and Mental processes used shows, as Chapter 6 details, that the boys (here M & R) used a lower proportion of Mental and a higher proportion of relational verbs than the girls (here E & A). This appendix illustrates the working of the quantification aspect of the discourse analysis process.

Appendix P   Pronoun references

While the pattern in ordinary conversation is that a subject is introduced and then can be referred back to by using pronouns, when viewing, the changing images on screen provide reference points for the talk being used to represent them. Linguists use the term exophoric to label pronouns that point 'out of' a conversation. That term is not strictly applicable here because the changing referents for pronouns are part of the unfolding context. This achievement of maintaining comprehensibility while the referents keep changing without being explicitly announced within the conversation will be illustrated by several examples. The first example provides the film dialogue to indicate the changing nature of potential topics of talk.

Table P.1

Changing pronoun referents in children's talk compared with film dialogue

	Children's talk (Maisy & Lizzie, 77 minutes)	Film dialogue	Time (secs)
1	Harry needs to take off his glasses		3.5
		RON: Harry?	10
		HARRY: Ron?	
		RON: Bloody hell	4
		HARRY: We still sound like ourselves. You need to sound more like Crabbe	5
		RON: Ah, bloody hell	1
		HARRY: Excellent	2
2	What was she supposed to be?	RON: But where's Hermione?	4
		HERMIONE: I – I don't think I'm going	
3	Another girl	HERMIONE: You go on without me	3
		HARRY: Hermione are you ok?	
		HERMIONE: Just go, you're wasting time	3

This example shows that the dialogue flows on and is referenced by the children's talk. Line 1 refers to Harry still wearing his glasses which are out of character for the boy he has changed into. (This is explicitly mentioned in the film a minute or two later.) No acknowledgement of or response to this comment was made. In line 2 'she' refers to Hermione who is not shown on screen but whose voice is heard by Ron and

Harry. Her voice though, clearly indicates the reference for the pronoun. In this way the talk interacts with the dialogue which provides a changing context for the conversation without any of the usual language transitions for changes of topic or referent. The question that one child asks the other also (correctly) assumes shared knowledge about Hermione's unfortunate transformation (in which her head became like a cat's head).

The following example further details the unannounced shifting referents within utterances.

> 1   *"Why's it always me?" (ahead of film) [Laugh (at Hermione's expression looking at Lockhart) and imitates her face.]
> 2   They're cute. Look at him, everything happens to him, and he says 'why does it always happen to me?'
> 3   They look like aliens. Look at Neville. (Maisy & Sonya, 34 minutes)

The example begins with an unmarked chorusing of a character's line (it is described as unmarked because within this conversation there is no perceived need to announce it by using a quotative ('she said') or attribute it to a character.) There is a switch in focus then as shown by the laughter in response to Hermione, before a change again to the pixies. The switching of subject within lines and between lines shows how agile this commentary was in responding to the rapidly changing content on screen. In turn 2 the content of 'everything happens' made clear that it was not Lockhart, Ron or Harry being referred to (though each appears within the sequence). In each of two turns (2 and 3) the subject changed within the utterance but with no potential for ambiguity (perhaps assisted here by the difference between singular Neville and the plural pixies) as shown by turn three which confirms the dual focus.